ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

VOLUME III

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ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF THE LITERARY POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY THE ARCHÆOLOGY GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE

EDITED BY

THE REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D.

ORIEL PROFESSOR OF THE INTERPRETATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE AT OXFORD
AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE
CANON OF ROCHESTER

AND

J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D.

FORMERLY ASSISTANT EDITOR OF THE 'ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA'

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ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The following pages explain the abbreviations that are used in the more technical parts (see above, p. xiv **3 i.** [*a*]) of the *Encyclopædia*. The list does not claim to be exhaustive, and, for the most part, it takes no account of well-established abbreviations, or such as have seemed to be fairly obvious. The bibliographical notes will, it is hoped, be welcome to the student.

The Canonical and Apocryphal books of the Bible are usually referred to as Gen., Ex., Lev., Nu., Dt., Josh., Judg., Ruth, S(a.), K(i.), Ch[r.], Ezra, Neh., Esth., Job, Ps., Pr., Eccles., C(an)t., Is., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., Hos., Joel, Am., Ob., Jon., Mi., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.; 1 Esd., 4 Esd. (*i.e.*, 2 Esd. of EV), Tob., Judith, Wisd., Ecclus., Baruch, Epistle of Jeremy (*i.e.*, Bar. ch. 6), Song of the Three Children (Dan. 3_{23}), Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, 1-4 Macc.; Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn., Acts, Rom., Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thess., Tim., Tit., Philem., Heb., Ja[s.], Pet., 1-3 Jn., Jude, Rev. [or Apoc.].

An explanation of some of the symbols (A, ℵ, B, etc.), now generally used to denote certain Greek MSS of the Old or New Testaments, will be found above, at p. xvi. It may be added that the bracketed index numerals denote the edition of the work to which they are attached: thus *OTJC*(2) = *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition (exceptions *RP*(2), *AOF*(2); see below). The unbracketed numerals above the line refer to footnotes; for those under the line see below under D_2, E_2, J_2, P_2.

When a foreign book is cited by an English name the reference is to the English translation.

It is suggested that this work be referred to as the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and that the name may be abbreviated thus: *Ency. Bib.* or *EBi.* It will be observed that all the larger articles can be referred to by the numbered sections (§§); or any passage can readily be cited by column and paragraph or line. The columns will be numbered continuously to the end of the work.

Abulw.	Abulwalīd, the Jewish grammarian (b. *circa* 990), author of *Book of Roots*, etc.
Acad.	*The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science, and Art.* London, '69 *ff.*
AF	See *AOF.*
AHT	*Ancient Hebrew Tradition.* See Hommel.
Alt[test]. Unt.	See Winckler.
Amer. Journ. of Phil.	*American Journal of Philology*, '80 *ff.*
A[mer.]J[ourn.]S[em.] L[ang.]	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing *Hebraica* ['84-'95]), '95 *ff.*
Am. Tab.	The Tell-el-Amarna Letters (= *KB* 5)
Ant.	Josephus, *Antiquities.*
AOF	*Altorientalische Forschungen.* See Winckler.
Apocr. Anecd.	*Apocrypha Anecdota*, 1st and 2nd series, published under the general title 'Texts and Studies' at the Cambridge University Press.
Aq.	Aquila, Jewish proselyte (temp. revolt against Hadrian), author of a Greek translation of the Old Testament. See TEXT.
Ar.	Arabic.
Aram.	Aramaic. See ARAMAIC.
Arch.	*Archæology* or *Archäologie.* See Benzinger, Nowack.
Ar. Des.	Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, '88.
Ar. Heid., or *Heid.*	*Reste arabischen Heidentums.* See Wellhausen.
Arm.	Armenian.
Ass.	Assyrian.
Ass. HWB	*Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.* See Delitzsch.
As. u. Eur.	W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, '93.
AT, ATliche	*Das Alte Testament, Alttestamentliche.* Old Testament.
AT Unters.	*Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen.* See Winckler.
AV	Authorised Version.
b.	*ben, b'ne* (son, sons, Hebrew).
Bä.	Baer and Delitzsch's critical edition of the Massoretic Text, Leipsic, '69, and following years.
Bab.	Babylonian.
Baed., or Baed. *Pal.*	Baedeker, *Palestine* (ed. Socin), (2), '94; (3), '98 (Benzinger) based on 4th German ed.
Baethg., or Baethg. *Beitr.*	Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religions-geschichte*, '88.
BAG	C. P. Tiele, *Babylonische-assyrische Geschichte*, pt. i., '86; pt. ii., '88.
Ba. *NB.*	Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, i., '89; ii., '91; (2) '94.
Baraitha	See LAW LITERATURE.
BDB *Lex.*	[Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Lexicon*] *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, based on the Lexicon of Gesenius, by F. Brown, with the co-operation of S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, '92, and following years.
Be.	E. Bertheau (1812-88). In *KGH*; *Richter u. Ruth*, '45; (2) '83; *Chronik*, '54; (2), '73; *Esra, Nehemia u. Ester*, '62; (2), by Ryssel, '87.
Beitr.	*Beiträge*, especially Baethgen (as above).
Beitr. z. Ass.	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*; ed. Fried. Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, i., '90; ii., '94; iii., '98; iv. 1, '99.
Benz. *HA*	I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, '94.

Kön. . *Konige* in *KHC*, '99.

Bertholet, *Stellung* A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, '96.

Bi. . . . . Gustav Bickell:
Grundriss der hebräischen Grammatik, '69 *f.*; ET, '77.
Carmina VT metrice etc., '82.
Dichtungen der Hebräer, '82 *f.*
Kritische Bearbeitung der Prov., '90.

Biblioth. Sac. . *Bibliotheca Sacra*, '43 *ff.*

BJ . . . *De Bello Judaico*. See Josephus.

BL . . . Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon; Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Geistliche u. Gemeindeglieder*, 5 vols., '69–'75.

Boch. . . S. Bochart (1599–1667):
Geographia Sacra, 1646;
Hierozoicon, sive de Animalibus Scripturæ Sacræ, 1663.

Boeckh . . Aug. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr. Græc.*, 4 vols., '28–'77.

BOR . . *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, '87 *ff.*

Böttch. . . Friedrich Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, '66–'68.

Böttg. *Lex.* . Böttger, *Lexicon z. d. Schriften des Fl. Josephus*, '79.

BR . . . *Biblical Researches*. See Robinson.

Bu. . . . Karl Budde:
Urgesch. . *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. 1–12₄), '83.
Ri.Sa. . *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau*, '90.
Sam.. . *Samuel* in *SBOT* (Heb.), '94.
Das Buch Hiob in *HK*, '96.
Klagelieder and *Hohelied* in *KHC*, '98.

Buhl . . See *Pal.*

Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* Johann Buxtorf (1564–1629), *Synagoga Judaica*, 1603, etc.

Buxt. *Lex.* . Johann Buxtorf, son (1599–1644), *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, 1639, folio. Reprint with additions by B. Fischer, 2 vols., '69 and '74.

c., *cir.* . . *circa*.

Calwer Bib. Lex. . *Calwer Kirchelexikon, Theologisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. P. Zeller, '89–'93.

c. Ap. . . *contra Apionem*. See Josephus.

CH . . . *Composition des Hexateuchs*. See Wellhausen.

Chald. Gen. . *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. A new edition, thoroughly revised and corrected by A. H. Sayce, '80.

Che. . . . T. K. Cheyne:
Proph. Is. . *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2 vols. ('80–'81; revised, (5), '89).
Job and Sol. *Job and Solomon*, or *The Wisdom of the Old Testament* ('87).
Ps. . . *The Book of Psalms*, transl. with comm. ('88); (2), rewritten (forthcoming).
OPs. . . *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* ('Bampton Lectures,' '89), '91.
Aids . . *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, '92.
Founders . *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, '94.
Intr. Is. . *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* ('95).
Is. SBOT. *Isaiah* in *SBOT* [Eng.], ('97); [Heb.], ('99).
Jeremiah, his Life and Times in 'Men of the Bible' ('88).
Jew. Rel. Life *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, '98.

CIG . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* (ed. Dittenberger), '82 *ff.* See also Boeckh.

CIL . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, '63, and following years, 14 vols., with supplements.

CIS . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, '81 *ff.* Pt. i., Phœnician and Punic inscriptions; pt. ii., Aramaic inscriptions; pt. iv., S. Arabian inscriptions.

Class. Rev. . *The Classical Review*, '87 *ff.*

Cl.-Gan. . . Clermont-Ganneau:
Rec. . . *Recueil d'Archéologie*, '85 *ff.*

Co. . . . Cornill:
Ezek. . *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, '86.
Einl. . *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, '91; (3), '96.
Hist. . *History of the People of Israel from the earliest times*, '98.

COT . . *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. See Schrader.

Crit. Mon. . A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, '94.

Cr. Rev. . . *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* [ed. Salmond], '91 *ff.*

D . . . . Author of Deuteronomy; also used of Deuteronomistic passages.

D_2 . . . Later Deuteronomistic editors. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

Dalm. *Gram.* . Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, '94.
Worte Jesu *Die Worte Jesu*, i., '98.
Aram. Lex. *Aramäisch - Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, und Midrasch*, Teil i., '97.

Dav. . . A. B. Davidson:
Job . . *Book of Job* in Camb. Bible, '84.
Ezek. . *Book of Ezekiel* in Cambridge Bible, '92.

DB . . . W. Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, 3 vols., '63; *DB*(2), 2nd ed. of vol. i., in two parts, '93.
or, J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology*, vol. i., '98; vol. ii., '99.
or, F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, '95 *ff.*

de C. *Orig.* . Alph. de Candolle, *Origine des Plantes Cultivées*, '82; (4), '96. ET in the *International Scientific Series*.

De Gent. . . *De Gentibus*. See Wellhausen.

Del. . . . Delitzsch, Franz (1813–90), author of many commentaries on books of the OT, etc.
or, Delitzsch, Friedrich, son of preceding, author of:
Par. . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* ('81).
Heb. Lang. *The Hebrew Language viewed*

in the light of Assyrian Research, '83.

Prol. . *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum AT*, '86.

Ass. HWB *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, '96.

DHM *Ep. Denk.* D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, '89.

Die Propheten in ihren ursprünglichen Form. Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie, 2 Bde., '96.

Di. . . . Dillmann, August (1823-94), in *KGH: Genesis*, 3rd ed. of Knobel, '75; [4], '82; [6], '92 (ET by Stevenson, '97); *Exodus und Leviticus*, 2nd ed. of Knobel, '80; 3rd ed. by Ryssel, '97; *Numb., Deut., Josh.*, 2nd ed. of Knobel, '86; *Isaiah*, [5], '90; (edd. 1-3 by Knobel; 4th ed. by Diestel; 6th ed. by Kittel, '98).

Did. . . *Didachè*. See APOCRYPHA, § 31, 1.

Dozy, *Suppl.* . *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, '79 *ff.*

Dr. . . . Driver, S. R.:

HT. . *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, '74; [2], '81; [3], '92.

TBS . *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, '90.

Introd. . *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, [1], '91; [6], '97.

Par. Ps. . *Parallel Psalter*, '98.

Deut. . *Deuteronomy* in *The International Critical Commentary*, '95.

Joel and Amos in the *Cambridge Bible*, '97.

Lev. SBOT *SBOT* (Eng.), *Leviticus*, assisted by H. A. White, '98.

'Hebrew Authority' in *Authority and Archæology, Sacred and Profane*, ed. David G. Hogarth, London, '99.

Is. . . *Isaiah, His Life and Times*, in 'Men of the Bible,' [2], '93.

Drus. . . Drusius (1550-1616) in *Critici Sacri*.

Du. . . . Bernhard Duhm:

Proph. . *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion*, '75.

Is. . . *Das Buch Jesaia* in *HK*, '92.

Ps. . . *Die Psalmen erklärt*, in *KHC*, '99.

E . . . Old Hebrew historical document.

E_2 . . . Later additions to E. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

EB[9] . . *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., '75-'88.

Ebers, *Aeg. BM* Georg Ebers ('37-'98), *Aegypten u. die Bücher Mose's*, i., '68.

Einl. . . *Einleitung* (Introduction). See Cornill, etc.

Eng. Hist. Rev. *The English Historical Review*, '86 *ff.*

Ent[*st*]. . . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*. See Ed. Meyer.

ET . . . English translation.

Eth. . . Ethiopic.

Eus. . . Eusebius of Cæsarea (2nd half of 3rd to 1st half of 4th cent. A.D.):

Onom. or *OS* *Onomasticon*; 'On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture.'

HE. . *Historia Ecclesiastica.*

P[*ræp.*]*E*[*v.*] *Præparatio Evangelica.*

Chron. . *Chronicon.*

EV . . . English version (where authorised and revised agree).

Ew. . . Heinrich Ewald (1803-75):

Lehrb. . *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, '44; [8], '70.

Gesch. . *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*; [3] i.-vii., '64-'68; ET [2] 5 vols. (pre-Christian period), '69-'80.

Dichter . *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes* [3], '66 *f.*

Proph. . *Die Propheten*, '40 *f.*; [2], '67 *f.*; ET '76 *f.*

Expos. . . *Expositor*, 5th ser., '95 *ff.*

Exp[*os*]. *T*[*imes*] *Expository Times*, '89-'90 *ff.*

f. and *ff.* . . following (verse, or verses, etc.).

FFP . . *Fauna and Flora of Palestine*. See Tristram.

Field, *Hex.* . F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt sive Veterum Interpretum Græcorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta* ('75).

F[*r.*]*HG*. . *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, ed. Müller, 5 vols., '41-'72.

Fl. and Hanb. *Pharm.* F. A. Flückiger and D. Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*.

Floigl, *GA* . Floigl, *Geschichte des semitischen Altertums in Tabellen*, '82.

Founders . . *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*. See Cheyne.

Fr. . . . O. F. Fritzsche (1812-96), commentaries on books of the Apocrypha in *KHG*.

Frä. . . . Sigismund Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, '86.

Frankenb. . W. Frankenberg, *Die Sprüche* in *KH*, '98.

Frazer . . J. G. Frazer:

Totemism ('87).

Golden Bough ('90); [2] in prep.

Pausanias's Description of Greece (translation and notes, 6 vols., '98).

Fund. . . J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte*, '96.

𝔊 . . . Greek Version, see above, p. xv. *f.* and TEXT AND VERSIONS.

GA . . . *Geschichte d. Alterthums* (see Meyer, Floigl).

GÄ . . . *Geschichte Ägyptens* (see Meyer).

GBA . . *Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens* (see Winckler, Hommel).

GASm. . . George Adam Smith. See Smith.

GAT . . Reuss, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, '81; [2], '90.

Gei. *Urschr.* . A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judenthums*, '57.

Ges. . . F. H. W. Gesenius (1786-1842):

Thes. . *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Ling. Hebr. et Chald. Veteris Testamenti*, '35-'42.

Gramm. . *Hebräische Grammatik*, '13; [26], by E. Kautzsch, '96; ET '98.

Lex. . . *Hebräisches u. chaldäisches Handwörterbuch*, '12; [11] (Mühlau u. Volck), '90; [12] (Buhl, with Socin and Zimmern), '95; [13] (Buhl), '99.

Ges.-Bu. . . Gesenius-Buhl. See above, Ges.

Gesch. . . *Geschichte* (History).

GGA . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, '24 *ff.*

GGN . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten*, '45 *ff.*

GI . . . *Geschichte Israels.* See Winckler.

Gi[nsb]. . . Ginsburg, *Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, '94, *Introduction*, '97.

GJV . . *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.* See Schürer.

Glaser . . Eduard Glaser:
Skizze . . *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, '90.

Gr. . . . K. Grimm (1807-91). *Maccabees* ('53) and *Wisdom* ('60) in *KGH.*

Grä. . . . Heinrich Grätz:
Gesch. . . *Geschichte der Juden*, i.–x., '74 *ff.*; ET i.–v., '91–'92.
Ps. . . *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, '82 *f.*

Gr. Ven. . . Versio Veneta. See TEXT.

GVI . . *Gesch. des Volkes Israel.* See Ewald, Stade, etc.

H . . . 'The Law of Holiness' (Lev. 17-26). See LEVITICUS.

HA or *Hebr. Arch.* *Hebräische Archäologie.* See Benzinger, Nowack.

Hal. . . Joseph Halévy. The inscriptions in *Rapport sur une Mission Archéologique dans le Yémen* ('72) are cited: Hal. 535, etc.
Mél. . . *Mélanges d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques*,'74.

Hamburger [*RE*] Hamburger, *Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, i. '70, (2) '92; ii. '83, suppl. '86, '91 *f.*, '97.

Harper, *ABL* . R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K*[Kuyunjik] *collection of the British Museum*, '93 *ff.*

HC . . . *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, H. v. Soden, '89–'91.

Heb. . . Hebrew.

Hebraica . . Continued as *AJSL* (*q.v.*).

Heid. . . *Reste arabischen Heidentums.* See Wellhausen.

Herst. . . Kosters, *Het Herstel van Israël in het Perzische Tijdvak*, '93; Germ. transl. *Die Wiederherstellung Israels*, '95.

Herzog, *RE* . See *PRE.*

Het Herstel . See *Herst.*

Hex. . . *Hexateuch* (see Kuenen, Holzinger, etc.).

Hexap. . . See Field.

HG . . . *Historical Geography of the Holy Land.* See Smith, G. A.

Hierob. . . See Bochart.

Hilgf. . . A. Hilgenfeld, NT scholar (*Einl.*, etc.), and ed. since '58 of *ZWT.*

Hist. . . See Schürer, Ewald, Kittel, etc.

Hist. Proph. Mon. J. F. M'Curdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*: i. To the Downfall of Samaria ('94); ii. To the Fall of Nineveh ('96).

Hi[tz]. . . F. Hitzig (1807–75), in *KGH*: *Prediger* ('47), *Hohelied* ('55), *Die kleinen Propheten* ('38; (3), '63), *Jeremias* ('41; (2), '66). Also *Die Psalmen* ('35–'36; (3), '63–'65).

HK . . . *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Nowack, '92 *ff.*

Holz. *Einl.* . H. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* ('93), *Genesis* in the *KHC* ('98).

Hommel . . Fritz Hommel:
AHT . . *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung*; ET, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, '97.
GBA . . *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Asyriens*, '85 *ff.*

Hor. Hebr. . Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, 1684.

HP . . . Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum variis lectionibus*, 1798–1827.

HPN . . G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, '96.

HPSm. . . Henry Preserved Smith. *Samuel* in *International Critical Commentary.*

HS . . . *Die Heilige Schrift.* See Kautzsch.

HWB . . Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums*, 2 vols., '84; (2), '93–'94. See also Delitzsch (Friedr.).

IJG . . . *Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte.* See Wellhausen.

Intr[od]. . . Introduction.

Intr. Is. . . *Introduction to Isaiah.* See Cheyne.

It. . . . Itala. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

It. Anton. . *Itinerarium Antonini*, Fortia d'Urban, '45.

J . . . . Old Hebrew historical document.

J_2 . . . . Later additions to J.

J[*ourn.*] *A*[*m.*] *O*[*r.*] *S*[*oc.*] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, '51 *ff.*

Jastrow, *Dict.* M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, etc., and Midrashim*, '86 *ff.*

J[*ourn.*] *As.* . *Journal Asiatique*, '53 *ff.*; 7th ser., '73; 8th ser., '83; 9th ser., '93.

JBL . . *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, '90 *ff.*; formerly ('82–'88) called *Journal of the Society of Biblical Lit. and Exeg.*

JBW . . *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaft* ('49–'65).

JDT . . *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, '56–'78.

JE . . . The 'Prophetical' narrative of the Hexateuch, composed of J and E.

Jensen, *Kosm.* . P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, '90.

Jer. . . Jerome, or Jeremiah.

Jon. . . Jonathan. See Targum.

Jos. . . Flavius Josephus (b. 37 A.D.), *Antiquitates Judaicæ, De Bello Judaico, Vita, contra Apionem* (ed. Niese, 3 vols., '87–'94).

J[*ourn.*] *Phil.* . *Journal of Philology*, i. (Nos. 1 and 2, '68), ii. (Nos. 3 and 4, '69), etc.

JPT . . *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, '75–'92.

JQR . . *Jewish Quarterly Review*, '88–'89 *ff.*

JRAS . . *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (vols. 1–20, '34 *ff.*; new series, vols. 1–24, '65–'92; current series, '93 *ff.*).

JSBL . . See *JBL.*

KAT . . *Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament.* See Schrader.

Kau. . . E. Kautzsch:
Gram. . . *Grammatik des Biblischen-Aramäischen*, '84.
HS . . *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, '94.

Apokr. . *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments*, '98 *f.*

KB. . . *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Sammlung von ass. u. bab. Texten in Umschrift u. Uebersetzung*, 5 vols. (1, 2, 3 *a*, *b*, 4, 5), '89–'96. Edited by Schrader, in collaboration with L. Abel, C. Bezold, P. Jensen, F. E. Peiser, and H. Winckler.

Ke. . . . K. F. Keil (d. '88).

Kenn. . . B. Kennicott (1718–83), *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, 2 vols., 1776–80.

KG . . . *Kirchengeschichte.*

KGF . . *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung.* See Schrader.

KGH . . *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch.* See Di., Hitz., Knob., Ol.

KGK . . *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten u. Neuen Testaments sowie zu den Apokryphen*, ed. H. Strack and O. Zöckler, '87 *ff.*

KHC . . *Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Marti, '97 *ff.*

Ki. . . . Rudolf Kittel:

Gesch. . *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 2 vols., '88, '92; Eng. transl., *History of the Hebrews*, '95–'96.

Ch. SBOT *The Book of Chronicles*, Critical Edition of the Hebrew text, '95 (translated by Bacon).

Kim. . . R. David Kimḥi, *circa* 1200 A.D., the famous Jewish scholar and lexicographer, by whose exegesis the AV is mainly guided.

Kin[s]. . . *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.* See W. R. Smith.

Kl. Proph. . *Kleine Propheten* (Minor Prophets). See Wellhausen, Nowack, etc.

Klo[st]. . . Aug. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* ('87) in *KGK.*

GVI. . *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemia*, '96.

Kn[ob]. . . Aug. Knobel (1807–63) in *KGH*: *Exodus und Leviticus*, (2) by Dillmann, '80; *Der Prophet Jesaia*, '43, (3), '61. See Dillmann.

Kö. . . . F. E. König, *Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache*, 3 vols., '81–'97.

Köh. . . Aug. Köhler.

Kr. . . . Ḳrē (lit. 'to be read'), a marginal reading which the Massoretes intended to supplant that in the text (Kĕthīb); see below.

Kt. . . . Kĕthīb (lit. 'written'), a reading in the MT; see above.

Kue.. . . Abr. Kuenen (1828–91):

Ond. . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, 3 vols., '61–'65; (2), '85–'89; Germ. transl., *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, '87–'92; vol. i., *The Hexateuch*, translated by Philip Wicksteed, '86.

Godsd. . *De Godsdienst van Israel*, '69–'70; Eng. transl., 3 vols., '73–'75.

De Profeten en der Profetie onder Israel, '75; ET, '77.

Ges. Abh. . *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur bibl. Wissenschaft*, German by Budde, '94.

L . . . . de Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum, Pars Prior Græce*, '83.

Lag. . . Paul de Lagarde ('27–'91):

Hag. . *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, '73.

Syr. . . *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace*, '61.

Ges. Abh. . *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, '66.

Mitt. . *Mitteilungen*, i.–iv., '84–'89.

Sym. . *Symmicta*, ii., '80.

Prov. . *Proverbien*, '63.

Übers. or *BN* *Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen, und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*, '89.

Beitr. . *Beiträge z. baktrischen Lexikographie*, '68.

Proph. . *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, '72.

Sem. . *Semitica*, '78 *f.*

Arm. St. . *Armenische Studien.*

Or. . . *Orientalia*, i., '79.

Lane . . E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, '63 *ff.*

L [and] B . W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, '59; new ed. '94.

LBR . . *Later Biblical Researches.* See Robinson.

Levy, *NHWB* J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, '76–'89.

Chald. Lex. *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, '67 *ff.*

Lehrgeb. . . See König.

Leps. *Denkm.* . R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, '49–'60.

Lightf. . . John Lightfoot (1602–75), *Horæ Hebraicæ* (1684).

Joseph B. Lightfoot ('28–'89); commentaries on *Galatians* ((4), '74); *Philippians* ((3), '73); *Colossians and Philemon* ('75).

Lips. 1 *f.* . . Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, '83–'90.

Löw . . . J. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, '81.

Luc. . . See L.

LXX or 𝔊 . Septuagint. See above, p. xv *f.*, and TEXT AND VERSIONS.

Maimonides . Moses Maimonides (1131–1204). Exegete, author of *Mishneh Torah*, *Mōrē Nebōkhim*, etc.

Mand. . . Mandæan. See ARAMAIC, § 10.

Marq. *Fund.* . J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte*, '96.

Marti . . K. Marti:

Gram. . *Kurzgefasste Grammatik d. biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache*, '96.

Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion(3), '97 (a revision of A. Kayser, *Die Theol. des AT*).

Jes. . . *Das Buch Jesaia*, in *KHC*, '99.

Masp. . . G. Maspero:

Dawn of Civilisation, Egypt and Chaldea ((2), '96).

Les premières Mêlées des Peuples; ET by McClure.

The Struggle of the Nations—Egypt, Syria, and Assyria. Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient ('99 *ff.*).

MBBA . . *Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie.*

MDPV . . *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* '95 *ff.*

Merx . . A. Merx, *Archiv f. wissenschaftliche Erforschung d. AT* ('69).

Mey.. . . Ed. Meyer:
- *GA* . . *Geschichte des Alterthums;* i., *Gesch. d. Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs* ('84); ii., *Gesch. des Abendlandes bis auf die Perserkriege* ('93).
- *Entst[eh].* . . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums,* '96.

Meyer . . H. A. W. Meyer (1800–73), founder of the series *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament.*

MGWJ . . *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums,* '51 *ff.*

MH . . . Mishnic Hebrew, the language of the Mishna, Tosephta, Midrashim, and considerable parts of the Talmud.

MI . . . Mesha Inscription, commonly known as the 'Moabite Stone.' See MESHA.

Midr. . . Midrash. See CHRONICLES, § 6 (2).

Mish. . . Mishna, the standard collection (completed, according to tradition, by R. Judah the Holy, about 200 A.D.) of sixty-three treatises (representing the Jewish traditional or unwritten law as developed by the second century A.D.), arranged in six groups or Sēders thus:—i. *Zĕrā'īm* (11 tractates), ii. *Mō'ēd* (12), iii. *Nāshīm* (7), iv. *Nĕzīkīn* (10), v. *Ḳodāshīm* (11), vi. *Ṭohŏrōth* (12).

'Ăbōdā zārā, iv. 8	Miḳwā'ōth, vi. 6
Abōth, iv. 9	Mō'ēd Kāṭān, ii. 11
'Ărākhin, v. 5	Nāzir, iii. 4
Bābā Bathrā, iv. 3	Nĕdārim, iii. 3
Bābā Ḳammā, iv. 1	Nĕgā'im, vi. 3
Bābā Mĕṣi'ā, iv. 2	Niddā, vi. 7
Bĕkhōrōth, v. 4	Ohālōth, vi. 2
Bĕrākhōth, i. 1	'Orlā, i. 10
Bēṣā, ii. 7	Pārā, vi. 4
Bikkūrim, i. 11	Pē'ā, i. 2
Chăgigā, ii. 12	Pĕsāchim, ii. 3
Challā, i. 9	Rōsh Ha(sh)shānā, ii. 8
Chullin, v. 3	Sanhedrin, iv. 4
Dĕmái, i. 3	Shabbāth, ii. 1
'Edūyōth, iv. 7	Shĕbū'ōth, iv. 6.
'Erūbin, ii. 2	Shĕbi'ith, i. 5
Giṭṭin, iii. 6	Shĕḳālim, ii. 4
Hōrāyōth, iv. 10	Sōṭā, iii. 5.
Kēlim, vi. 1	Sukkā, ii. 6
Kĕrithōth, v. 7	Ta'ănith, ii. 9
Kĕthūbōth, iii. 2	Tāmid, v. 9
Ḳiddūshin, iii. 7	Ṭĕbūl Yōm, vi. 10
Kil'áyim, i. 4	Tĕmūrā, v. 6
Ḳinnim, v. 11	Tĕrūmōth, i. 6
Ma'ăsēr Shēni, i. 8	Ṭohŏrōth, vi. 5
Ma'ăsĕrōth, i. 7	'Ūḳṣin, vi. 12
Makhshirin, vi. 8	Yādáyim, vi. 11
Makkōth, iv. 5	Yĕbāmōth, iii. 1
Mĕgillā, ii. 10	Yōmā, ii. 5
Mĕ'ilā, v. 8	Zābim, vi. 9
Mĕnāchōth, v. 2	Zĕbāchim, v. 1
Middōth, v. 10	

MT . . . Massoretic text, the Hebrew text of the OT substantially as it was in the early part of the second century A.D. (temp. Mishna). It remained unvocalised until about the end of the seventh century A.D. See TEXT.

Murray . . *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* ed. J. A. H. Murray, '88 *ff.*; also H. Bradley, '97 *ff.*

Muss-Arn. . W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language,* '94–'99 (A–MAG).

MVG . . *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft,* '97 *ff.*

n. . . . note.

Nab. . . Nabatæan. See ARAMAIC, § 4.

NB . . . *Nominalbildung,* Barth; see Ba.

Nestle, *Eig.* . *Die israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung,* '76.
- *Marg.* . *Marginalien u. Materialien,* '93.

Neub. *Géogr.* . A. Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud,* '68.

NHB . . *Natural History of the Bible.* See Tristram.

NHWB . . *Neu-hebr. u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch.* See Levy.

no. . . . number.

Nö[ld]. . . Th. Nöldeke:
- *Unters.* . *Untersuchungen z. Kritik d. Alten Testaments,* '69.
- *Alttestamentliche Litteratur,* '68.

Now. . . . W. Nowack:
- *H[ebr.] A[rch.]* *Lehrbuch d. Hebräischen Archäologie,* '94.
- *Kl. Proph.* *Die Kleinen Propheten* (in *HKC*), '97.

NT . . . New Testament, Neues Testament.

Ol[sh]. . . Justus Olshausen:
- *Ps.* . . *Die Psalmen,* '53.
- *Lehrb.* . *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache,* '61 [incomplete].

OLZ (or *Or. LZ*) *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung,* ed. Peiser, '98 *f.*

Ond. . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek.* See Kuenen.

Onk., Onq. . Onkelos, Onqelos. See Targ.

Onom. . . See *OS.*

OPs. . . *Origin of the Psalter.* See Cheyne.

OS . . . *Onomastica Sacra,* containing the 'name-lists' of Eusebius and Jerome (Lagarde, [2], '87; the pagination of [1] printed on the margin of [2] is followed).

OT . . . Old Testament.

OTJC . . *Old Testament in the Jewish Church.* See W. R. Smith.

P . . . Priestly Writer. See HIST. LIT.

P_2 . . . Secondary Priestly Writers.

Pal. . . F. Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina,* '96. See also Baedeker and Reland.

Palm. . . Palmyrene. See ARAMAIC, § 4.

Pal. Syr. . . Palestinian Syriac or Christian Palestinian. See ARAMAIC, § 4.

PAOS . . *Proceedings of American Oriental Society,* '51 *ff.* (printed annually at end of *JAOS*).

Par. . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* See Delitzsch.

Pat. Pal. . . Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine,* '95.

PE . . . *Præparatio Evangelica.* See Eusebius.

PEFM[em.] . *Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs,* 3 vols., '81–'83.

PEFQ[u. St.] . *Palestine Exploration Fund* [founded '65] *Quarterly Statement,* '69 *ff.*

Per.-Chip. . Perrot and Chipiez: *Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité. Égypte — Assyrie — Perse — Asie Mineure — Grèce — Étrurie — Rome;* '81 *ff.*
ET: *Ancient Egypt,* '83; *Chaldæa and Assyria,* '84; *Phœnicia and Cyprus,* '85; *Sardinia, Judæa,* etc., '90; *Primitive Greece,* '94.

Pers. . . Persian.

Pesh. . . Peshiṭta, the Syriac vulgate (2nd–3rd cent.). *Vetus Testamentum Syriace,* ed. S. Lee, '23, OT and NT, '24.
W. E. Barnes, *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version,* '97.

Ph., Phœn. . Phœnician.

PRE . . *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie u. Kirche,* ed. J. J. Herzog, 22 vols., '54–'68; $^{(2)}$, ed. J. J. Herzog, G. L. Plitt, Alb. Hauck, 18 vols., '77–'88; $^{(3)}$, ed. Alb. Hauck, vol. i.–vii. [A-Hau], '96–'99.

Preuss. Jahrbb. *Preussische Jahrbücher,* '72 *ff.*

Prim. Cult. . E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* '71; $^{(3)}$, '91.

Proph. Is. . *The Prophecies of Isaiah.* See Cheyne.

Prol. . . *Prolegomena.* See Wellhausen.

Prot. KZ . . *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung für das Evangelische Deutschland* (vols. i.–xliii., '54–'96); continued as *Prot. Monatshefte* ('97 *ff.*).

PSBA . . *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology,* '78 *ff.*

PS *Thes.* . Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus.*

Pun. . . Punic.

R . . . Redactor or Editor.

R_{JE} . . . Redactor(s) of JE.

R_{D} . . . Deuteronomistic Editor(s).

R_{P} . . . Priestly Redactor(s).

1–5R . . H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* i.–v. ('61–'84; iv. $^{(2)}$, '91).

Rab. . . Rabbinical.

Rashi . . *i.e.* Rabbenu Shelomoh Yiṣḥaki (1040–1105), the celebrated Jewish commentator.

Rec. Trav. . *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philol. et à l'Archéol. egypt. et assyr.* '70 *ff.*

REJ . . *Revue des Études juives,* i., '80; ii. and iii., '81; and so on.

Rel. *Pal.* . . Reland, *Palæstina ex Monumentis veteribus illustrata,* 2 vols., 1714.

Rev. . . *Revue.*

Rev. Sém. . *Revue sémitique,* '93 *ff.*

Ri. Sa. . . *Die Bücher Richter u. Samuel.* See Budde.

Rob. . . Edward Robinson:
BR . *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mt. Sinai, and Arabia Petræa, a journal of travels in the year* 1838 (i.–iii., '41 = $BR^{(2)}$, i.–ii., '56).

LBR or *BR* iv. or $BR^{(2)}$ iii. *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions, a journal of travels in the year* 1852 ('56).
Physical Geography of the Holy Land, '65.

Roscher . . *Ausführliches Lexikon d. Griechischen u. Römischen Mythologie* ('84 *ff.*).

RP . . . *Records of the Past, being English translations of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia,* ed. S. Birch, vols. i.–xii. ('73–'81). New series [$RP^{(2)}$] ed. A. H. Sayce, vols. i.–vi., '88–'92. See ASSYRIA, § 35.

RS or *Rel. Sem.* *Religion of the Semites.* See W. R. Smith.

RV . . . Revised Version (NT, '80; OT, '84; Apocrypha, '95).

RWB . . G. B. Winer (1789–1858), *Biblisches Realwörterbuch,* '20; $^{(3)}$, 2 vols., '47 *f.*

Rys. . . Ryssel; cp. Dillmann, Bertheau.

Saad. . . R. Sa'adya (Sĕ'adya; Ar. Sa'īd), the tenth century Jewish grammarian and lexicographer (b. 892); Explanations of the *hapax-legomena* in the OT, etc.

Sab. . . Sabæan, less fittingly called Himyaritic; the name given to a class of S. Arabian inscriptions.

Sab. Denkm. . *Sabäische Denkmäler,* edd. Müller and Mordtmann.

Sam. . . Samaritan.

SBAW . . *Sitzungsberichte der Berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

SBE . . *The Sacred Books of the East,* translated by various scholars and edited by the Rt. Hon. F. Max Müller, 50 vols. 1879 *ff.*

SBOT (Eng.) [Otherwise known as the *Polychrome Bible*] *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, a new Eng. transl., with Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations; prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and of America, and edited, with the assistance of Horace Howard Furness, by Paul Haupt,* '97 *ff.*

SBOT (Ḥeb.) . Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament; a critical edition of the Hebrew text, printed in colours, with notes, prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and America, under the editorial direction of Paul Haupt,* '93 *ff.*

Schöpf. . . Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit u. Endzeit,* '95.

Schr. . . E. Schrader; editor of *KB* [*q.v.*]:
KGF . *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung,* '78.
KAT . *Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament,* '72; $^{(2)}$, '83.
COT . Eng. transl. of $KAT^{(2)}$ *by* O. C. Whitehouse, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament,* 2 vols., '85, '88 (the pagination of the German is retained in the margin of the Eng. ed.).

Schür. . . E. Schürer:
GJV . *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi;* i. Einleitung u. Politische Geschichte, '90; ii. Die Inneren Zustände Palästinas u. des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter

Jesu Christi, '86; new ed. vol. ii. Die Inneren Zustände, '98, vol. iii. Das Judenthum in der Zerstreuung u. die jüdische Literatur, '98.

Hist. . ET of above ('90 *ff.*). Vols. 1 *f.* (*i.e.*, Div. i. vols. 1 *f.*) = vol. 1 of German; vols. 3-5 (*i.e.*, Div. ii. vols. 1-3) = vol. 2 of German [= vols. ii., iii. of [3]].

Selden . . J. Selden, *de Jure naturali et gentium juxta disciplinam Ebræorum*, 7 bks., 1665. *de Diis Syris*, 1617.

Sem. . . Semitic.

Sin. . . Sinaitic; see ARAMAIC, § 4.

Smend, *Listen* . Smend, *Die Listen der Bücher Esra u. Nehemiah*, '81.

Smith

GASm. . George Adam Smith:

HG . *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church*, '94 (additions to [4], '96.)

WRS . . William Robertson Smith ('46–'94):

OTJC *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, '81; [2], revised and much enlarged, '92; (Germ. transl. by Rothstein, '94).

Proph. . *The Prophets of Israel and their place in History, to the close of the eighth century B.C.*, '82; [2], with introduction and additional notes by T. K. Cheyne, '95.

Kin. . *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, '85.

R[*el.*]*S*[*em.*] *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites:* 1st ser., The Fundamental Institutions, '89; new and revised edition (*RS*[2]), '94; Germ. transl. by Stube, '99.

[The MS notes of the later Burnett Lectures—on Priesthood, Divination and Prophecy, and Semitic Polytheism and Cosmogony—remain unpublished, but are occasionally cited by the editors in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* as 'Burnett Lects. MS.]'

SP . . . A. P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their history*, '56, last ed. '96.

Spencer . . *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus* (2 vols. 1727).

SS . . . Siegfried and Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testamente*, '93.

St., Sta. . . B. Stade:

GVI . . *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, '81–'88.

Abh. . . *Ausgewählte Akademische Reden u. Abhandlungen*, '99.

St. Kr. . . *Studien und Kritiken*, '28 *ff.*

Stad. m. m. . *Stadiasmus magni maris* (Marcianus).

Stud. Bibl. . *Studia Biblica, Essays in Biblical Archæology and Criticism and kindred subjects*, 4 vols., '85–'91.

Sw. . . . H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint;* [1], '87–'94; [2], '95–'99.

SWAW . . *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.*

Sym[m]. . . Symmachus, author of a Greek version of the Old Testament (*circa* 200 A.D.). See TEXT.

Syr. . . . Syriac. See ARAMAIC, § 11 *f.*

Tab. Peut. . *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Desjardins, '68.

Talm. Bab. Jer. Talmud, Babylonian or Jerusalem, consisting of the text of the Mishna broken up into small sections, each followed by the discursive comment called Gĕmārā. See LAW LITERATURE.

T[ar]g. . . Targum. See TEXT.

Jer. . . The (fragmentary) Targum Jerushalmi.

Jon. . . Targum Jonathan, the name borne by the Babylonian Targum to the Prophets.

Onk. . . Targum Onkelos, the Babylonian Targum to the Pentateuch (towards end of second century A.D.).

ps.-Jon. . The Targ. to the Pentateuch, known by the name of Jonathan.

TBS . . *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis:* see Wellhausen; or *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel:* see Driver.

temp. . . tempore (in the time [of]).

T[extus] R[eceptus] The 'received text' of the NT. See TEXT.

Th[e]. . . Thenius, *die Bücher Samuelis* in *KGH*, '42; [2], '64; [3], Löhr, '98.

Theod. . . Theodotion (end of second century), author of a Greek version of the Old Testament ('rather a revision of the LXX than a new translation'). See TEXT.

Theol. Studiën . *Studiën*, published in connection with *Th. T* (see DEUTERONOMY, § 33*2*).

Thes. . . See Gesenius.
R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, '68 *ff.*

Th. T . . *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, '67 *ff.*

Ti. or Tisch. . Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Græce*, editio octava critica maior, '69–'72.

TLZ . . *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, '76 *ff.*

Tosephta . . See LAW LITERATURE.

Treg. . . S. P. Tregelles, *The Greek New Testament; edited from ancient authorities*, '57–'72.

Tristram . . H. B. Tristram:

FFP . . *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*, '89.

NHB . *The Natural History of the Bible*, [8], '89.

TSBA . . *Transactions of Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, vols. i.–ix., '72 *ff.*

Tüb. Z. f. Theol. *Tübingen Zeitschrift f. Theologie*, '34 *ff.*

Untersuch. . *Untersuchungen*. See Nöldeke, Winckler.

Urgesch. . . *Die biblische Urgeschichte*. See Budde.

v. . . . verse.

Var. Apoc. . *The Apocrypha* (AV) *edited with various renderings, etc.*, by C. J. Ball.

Var. Bib. . *The Old and New Testaments* (AV) *edited with various renderings, etc.*, by T. K. Cheyne, S. R.

Driver (OT), and R. L. Clarke, A. Goodwin, W. Sanday (NT) [otherwise known as the *Queen's printers' Bible*].

Vet. Lat. . . Versio Vetus Latina; the old-Latin version (made from the Greek); later superseded by the Vulgate. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

Vg. . . . Vulgate, Jerome's Latin Bible: OT from Heb., NT a revision of Vet. Lat. (end of 4th and beginning of 5th cent.). See TEXT.

We., Wellh. . Julius Wellhausen.
- *De Gent.* — *De Gentibus et Familiis Judæis quæ in* 1 *Chr.* 2 4 *numerantur Dissertatio* ('70).
- *TBS* . — *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* ('71).
- *Phar. u. Sadd.* — *Die Pharisäer u. d. Sadducäer; eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschicht* ('74).
- *Gesch.* . — *Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. ('78).
- *Prol.* . — 2nd ed. of *Gesch.*, entitled *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israels*, '83; ET '85; 4th Germ. ed. '95.
- *IJG* . . — *Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte*, '94; (3), '97; an amplification of *Abriss der Gesch. Israels u. Juda's* in 'Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten,' '84. The *Abriss* was substantially a reproduction of 'Israel' in *EB*(9) ('81; republished in ET of *Prol.* ['85] and separately as *Sketch of Hist. of Israel and Judah*, (3), '91).
- [*Ar.*]*Heid.* — *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (in 'Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten') ('87; (2), '97).
- *Kl. Proph.* — *Die Kleinen Propheten übersetzt, mit Noten* ('92; (3), '98).
- *CH* . . — *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* ('85; Zweiter Druck, mit Nachträgen, '89; originally published in *JDT* 21 392 *ff.*, ['76], 22 407 ['77], and in Bleek, *Einl.* (4), '78).

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Wetz. . . . Wetzstein, *Ausgewählte griechische und lateinische Inschriften, gesammelt auf Reisen in den Trachonen und um das Haurângebirge*,'63; *Reisebericht über Haurân und Trachonen*, '60.

WF . . . Wellhausen-Furness, *The book of Psalms* ('98) in *SBOT* (*Eng.*).

WH [W & H] . Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, '81.

Wi. Hugo Winckler:
- *Unters.* . — *Untersuchungen z. Altorientalischen Geschichte*, '89.
- *Alt*[*test*]. *Unt.* — *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, '92.
- *GBA* . — *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, '92.
- *AOF* or *AF* — *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 1st ser. i.-vi., '93-'97; 2nd ser. (*AF*(2)) i., '98 *f.*
- *GI* . . — *Geschichte Israels in einzeldarstellungen*, i. '95.
- *Sarg.* . — *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, '89.
- *KB*5. . — *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna* (ET Metcalf).

Wilk. . . J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, '37-'41; (2) by Birch, 3 vols., '78.

Winer . . G. B. Winer:
- *RWB* . — *Bibl. Realwörterbuch;* see *RWB.*
- *Gram.* . — *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*(8), neu bearbeitet von Paul Wilh. Schmiedel, '94 *ff.*; ET of 6th ed., W. F. Moulton, '70.

WMM . . See *As. u. Eur.*

Wr. . . . W. Wright:
- *Comp. Gram.* — *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, '90.
- *Ar. Gram.* — *A Grammar of the Arabic Language, translated from the German of Caspari and edited, with numerous additions and corrections* by W. Wright; (2) 2 vols., '74-'75; (3) revised by W. Robertson Smith and M. J. de Goeje, vol. i. '96, vol. ii. '98.

WRS . . William Robertson Smith. See Smith.

WZKM . . *Wiener Zeitschrift für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 87 *ff.*

Yākūt . . The well-known Arabian geographical writer (1179-1229). *Kitab Mo'jam el-Buldān* edited by F. Wüstenfeld (*Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*,'66-'70).

Z . . . *Zeitschrift* (Journal).

ZA . . . *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie u. verwandte Gebiete*, '86 *ff.*

ZÄ . . . *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde*, '63 *ff.*

ZATW . . *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, '81 *ff.*

ZDMG . . *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, '46 *ff.*

ZDPV . . *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-vereins*, '78 *ff.*

ZKF . . *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, '84 *f.*, continued as *ZA.*

ZKM . . See *WZKM.*

ZKW . . *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft u. kirchliches Leben* (ed. Luthardt), i.-ix., '80-'89 *ff.*

ZLT . . *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, '40-'78.

ZTK . . *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, '91 *ff.*

ZWT . . *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* (ed. Hilgenfeld), '58 *ff.*

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

ACL	*Altchristliche Litteratur: e.g.*— Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, of which there appeared in 1893 Pt. I. *Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand*, and in 1897, Pt. II. *Die Chronologie*, vol. I. down to Irenæus (cited also as *Chronol.*, 1). Gustav Krüger, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 1895 (in *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften*).
APK	F. Spiegel, *Die alt-persischen Keilinschriften*, 1862, (2) 1881.
Crit. Bib. . . .	Cheyne, *Critica Biblica* (in preparation).
GA	*Geschichte Aegyptens.*
OCL	W. C. van Manen, *Handleiding voor de Oudchristelijke Letterkunde* (1900).
Ohnefalsch-Richter .	M. H. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel, und Homer*, 1893.
SMAW . . .	*Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich.

KEY TO SIGNATURES IN VOLUME III

Arranged according to the alphabetical order of the first initial. Joint authorship is where possible indicated thus: A. B. §§ 1-5; C. D. §§ 6-10

A. B.	BERTHOLET, ALFRED, Professor Extraordinarius of Exegesis in the University of Basel.
A. C. P.	PATERSON, A. C., M.A. (Oxon.).
A. E. S.	SHIPLEY, A. E., M.A., F.Z.S., Fellow, Tutor, and Lecturer at Christ's College, Cambridge.
A. J.	JÜLICHER, GUSTAV ADOLF, D.D., Professor of Church History and New Testament Exegesis, Marburg.
A. R. S. K.	KENNEDY, Rev. ARCHIBALD R. S., M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages, Edinburgh.
A. S.	SOCIN, The late A., Professor of Oriental Languages, Leipsic.
B. D.	DUHM, BERNHARD, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the University of Basel.
C. C.	CREIGHTON, C., M.D., London.
C. C. T.	TORREY, CHARLES C., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages, Yale University.
C. H. T.	TOY, C. H., D.D., Professor of Hebrew, Harvard University.
C. H. W. J.	JOHNS, Rev. C. H. W., M.A., Assistant Chaplain, Queens' College, Cambridge.
C. P. T.	TIELE, The late C. P., D.D., Professor of the Science of Religion, Leyden.
E. A. A.	ABBOTT, Rev. E. A., D.D., London.
E. H.	HATCH, The late Rev. EDWIN, D.D.
E. K.	KAUTZSCH, E., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, Halle.
E. M.	MEYER, EDUARD, Professor of Ancient History, Halle.
E. N.	NESTLE, Eb., D.D., Maulbronn, Würtemberg.
F. B.	BROWN, Rev. FRANCIS, D.D., Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.
G. A. B.	BARTON, G. A., Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania.
G. A. D.	DEISSMANN, G. ADOLF, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis, Heidelberg.
G. A. S.	SMITH, Rev. GEORGE ADAM, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, United Free Church College, Glasgow.
G. B. G.	GRAY, Rev. G. BUCHANAN, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in Mansfield College, Oxford.
G. F. H.	HILL, G. F., M.A., British Museum.
G. F. M.	MOORE, Rev. GEORGE F., D.D., President and Professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.
H. G.	GUTHE, HERMANN, Professor Extraordinarius of Old Testament Exegesis, Leipsic.
H. H. W. P.	PEARSON, H. H. W., M.A., Royal Gardens, Kew.
H. U.	USENER, H., Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Bonn.
H. W.	WINCKLER, H., Ph.D., Privat-docent in Semitic Philology, Berlin.
H. W. H.	HOGG, HOPE W., M.A., Lecturer in Hebrew and Arabic in Owens College, Victoria University, Manchester.
H. Z.	ZIMMERN, HEINRICH, Professor of Semitic Languages and Assyriology, Leipsic.
I. A.	ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL, London, Editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.
I. B.	BENZINGER, Dr. IMMANUEL, Privat-docent in Old Testament Theology, Berlin.

J. A. R. ROBINSON, Rev. J. ARMITAGE, D.D., Canon of Westminster.
J. D. P. PRINCE, J. D., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Comparative Philology, New York University.
J. G. F. FRAZER, J. G., LL.D., D.C.L., Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
J. L. M. MYRES, J. L., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
J. W. WELLHAUSEN, JULIUS, D.D., Professor of Semitic Philology, Göttingen.
K. B. BUDDE, KARL, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and the Hebrew Language, Marburg.
K. M. MARTI, KARL, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and the Hebrew Language, Berne.
Lu. G. GAUTIER, LUCIEN, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and History, Geneva.
M. A. C. CANNEY, MAURICE A., M.A. (Oxon.), St. Peter's Rectory, Saffron Hill, London, E.C.
N. M. M'LEAN, NORMAN, M.A., Lecturer in Hebrew, and Fellow of Christ's College, Lecturer in Semitic Languages at Caius College, Cambridge.
O. C. CONE, Rev. Professor ORELLO, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in St. Lawrence University.
P. V. VOLZ, Herr Repetent PAUL, Tübingen.
P. W. S. SCHMIEDEL, PAUL W., D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis, Zürich.
S. A. C. COOK, STANLEY A., M.A., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge.
S. R. D. DRIVER, Rev. SAMUEL ROLLES, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.
T. G. P. PINCHES, THEOPHILUS G., M.R.A.S., formerly of the Egyptian and Assyrian Department in the British Museum.
T. K. C. CHEYNE, Rev. T. K., D.Litt., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, Canon of Rochester.
T. N. NÖLDEKE, THEODOR, Professor of Semitic Languages, Strassburg.
T. W. D. DAVIES, T. W., Ph.D., Lecturer in Semitic Languages, University College of North Wales, Bangor.
W. C. A. ALLEN, Rev. W. C., M.A., Chaplain, Fellow, and Lecturer in Theology and Hebrew, Exeter College, Oxford.
W. C. v. M. MANEN, W. C. VAN, D.D., Professor of Old-Christian Literature and New Testament Exegesis, Leyden.
W. E. A. ADDIS, Rev. W. E., M.A., Lecturer in Old Testament Criticism in Manchester College, Oxford.
W. H. B. BENNETT, Rev. W. H., Litt.D., D.D., Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature, Hackney College, London, and Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, New College, London.
W. H. K. KOSTERS, The late W. H., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, Leyden.
W. J. W. WOODHOUSE, W. J., M.A., Professor of Greek, University of Sydney.
W. M. M. MÜLLER, W. MAX, Professor of Old Testament Literature, Reformed Episcopal Church Seminary, Philadelphia.
W. R. S. SMITH, The late W. ROBERTSON, D.D., Adams Professor of Arabic, Cambridge.
W. T. T.-D. THISELTON-DYER, Sir WILLIAM TURNER, C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S., Director Royal Gardens, Kew.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME III

Arranged according to alphabetical order of surnames.

ABBOTT, E. A.	**E. A. A.**
ABRAHAMS, I.	**I. A.**
ADDIS, W. E.	**W. E. A.**
ALLEN, W. C.	**W. C. A.**
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WINCKLER, H.	**H. W.**
WOODHOUSE, W. J.	**W. J. W.**
ZIMMERN, H.	**H. Z.**

MAPS IN VOLUME III

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SOME OF THE ARTICLES IN VOL. III., WITH THE AUTHORS' NAMES

LADANUM	Sir W. T. Thistleton-Dyer.
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LAMP, LANTERN	S. A. Cook.
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MARRIAGE	Dr. I. Benzinger.
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MICAH	The late Prof. W. R. Smith and Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
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NAHUM	Prof. Karl Budde.
NAME	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
NAMES	Prof. Th. Nöldeke, Prof. G. B. Gray, Prof. E. Kautzsch, and Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
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NATIVITY (-NARRATIVES)	Prof. H. Usener.
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NAZARETH	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
NAZIRITE	The late Prof. W. R. Smith and Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
NEBO (MOUNT)	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
NEBUCHADREZZAR	Rev. C. H. W. Johns.
NEGEB (with Map)	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
NEHEMIAH	The late Prof. W. H. Kosters and Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
NEPHILIM	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
NETHINIM	Dr. I. Benzinger.
NEW MOON	Dr. I. Benzinger.
NICODEMUS	Rev. E. A. Abbott.
NILE (with Illustration)	Prof. W. M. Müller.
NIMROD	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
NINEVEH (with Plans)	Rev. C. H. W. Johns.
NO, NO-AMON	Prof. W. M. Müller.
NOPH	Prof. W. M. Müller.
NUMBER	Prof. G. A. Barton.
NUMBERS (BOOK)	President G. F. Moore.
OATH	M. A. Canney and Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
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OIL	Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy.
OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE	Prof. W. C. van Manen.
OLIVES, THE MOUNT OF	Prof. Lu. Gautier.
ONIAS	Prof. H. Guthe.
OPHIR	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
PALACE (with Illustrations)	Prof. T. K. Cheyne and Dr. I. Benzinger.
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PARADISE	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
PASSOVER, and FEAST OF UNLEAVENED BREAD	Dr. I. Benzinger.
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PAVEMENT	M. A. Canney.
PENNY (with Illustrations)	G. F. Hill.
PENTECOST	Dr. I. Benzinger.
PERGAMOS	Prof. W. J. Woodhouse.
PERSIA	The late Prof. C. P. Tiele and Prof. F. Brown.
PESTILENCE	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
PETER, THE EPISTLES OF	Prof. O. Cone.
PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO	Prof. W. C. van Manen.
PHILIP THE APOSTLE AND PHILIP THE EVANGELIST	Prof. P. W. Schmiedel.
PHILIPPIANS (EPISTLES)	Prof. W. C. van Manen.
PHILISTINES	President G. F. Moore.
PHINEHAS	Prof. T. K. Cheyne, Prof. W. M. Müller, and S. A. Cook.
PHŒNICIA (with Map)	Prof. Ed. Meyer.
PHRYGIA	Prof. W. J. Woodhouse.
PILLAR OF CLOUD AND FIRE	Prof. G. B. Gray.
PITHOM	Prof. W. M. Müller.
PLAGUES, THE TEN	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
POETICAL LITERATURE	Prof. B. Duhm.
PONTUS	Prof. W. J. Woodhouse.
POOR	A. C. Paterson.
POTTERY (with Illustrations)	J. L. Myres.
PRAYER	Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
PRESBYTER	Rev. Canon J. A. Robinson.
PRIEST	The late Prof. W. R. Smith and Prof. A. Bertholet.
PROPHETIC LITERATURE, PROPHET, AND PROPHECY	Prof. T. K. Cheyne, Prof. H. Guthe, Paul Volz, and Rev. Canon J. A. Robinson.
PROSELYTE	The late Prof. W. R. Smith and Prof. W. H. Bennett.
PROVERBS (BOOK)	Prof. C. H. Toy.
PSALMS (BOOK)	The late Prof. W. R. Smith and Prof. T. K. Cheyne.
PTOLEMAIS	Prof. G. A. Smith.
PUL	T. G. Pinches.
PURIM	Rev. C. H. W. Johns, Dr. J. G. Frazer, and Prof. T. K. Cheyne.

CONTRIBUTORS

TO

VOLUME III.

Contributor	Articles
ABBOTT, Rev. E. A., D.D., London	Lazarus; Nicodemus.
ABRAHAMS, I., M.A., London	Mantle; Mitre; Modin.
ADDIS, Rev. W. E., M.A., Manchester College, Oxford	Nadab and Abihu.
ALLEN, Rev. W. C., M.A., Exeter College, Oxford	Matthew; Matthias.
BARTON, Rev. Prof. G. A., Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania	Number.
BENNETT, Rev. Prof. W. H., Litt.D., D.D., London	Nadabath; Proselyte.
BENZINGER, Dr. Immanuel, Berlin	Law and Justice; Marriage; Mourning Customs; Nethinim; New Moon; Palace; Passover; Pentecost.
BERTHOLET, Prof. A., Basel	Levites; Priest.
BROWN, Rev. Prof. F., D.D., New York	Persia.
BUDDE, Prof. K., D.D., Marburg	Nahum.
CANNEY, Maurice A., M.A., London	Oath; Pavement.
CHEYNE, Rev. Prof. T. K., D.Litt., D.D., Oxford	Lamentations (Book); Lovingkindness; Melchizedek; Mephibosheth; Micah; Mizraim; Moses; Name; Nazareth; Nebo (Mt.); Negeb; Nephilim; Nimrod; Ophir; Paradise; Plagues, The Ten; Prayer; Prophetic Literature; Psalms (Book).
CONE, Rev. Prof. O., D.D., St. Lawrence University	Peter (Epistles of).
COOK, S. A., M.A., Caius College, Cambridge	Lamp; Lion; Locust; Manna; Mantle; Massah and Meribah; Mitre; Phinehas.
CREIGHTON, C., M.D., London	Leprosy; Medicine.
DAVIES, T. W., Ph.D., University College, North Wales	Magic.
DEISSMANN, Prof. G. A., D.D., Heidelberg	Lord's Day; Mercy Seat; Papyri.
DRIVER, Rev. Prof. S. R., D.D., Oxford	Mesha.
DUHM, Prof. B., D.D., Basel	Poetical Literature.
FRAZER, J. G., LL.D., D.C.L., Trinity College, Cambridge	Purim.
GAUTIER, Prof. Lucien, Geneva	Olives, Mount of.
GRAY, Rev. Prof. G. B., M.A., Mansfield College, Oxford	Law Literature; Names; Pillar of Cloud and Fire.
GUTHE, Prof. H., D.D., Leipsic	Onias; Prophetic Literature.
HATCH, the late Rev. Edwin, D.D.	Paul.
HILL, G. F., M.A., British Museum	Penny.
HOGG, H. W., M.A., Owens College, Manchester	Manasseh; Naphtali.
JOHNS, Rev. C. H. W., M.A., Queens' College, Cambridge	Nebuchadrezzar; Nineveh; Purim.
JÜLICHER, Prof. A., D.D., Marburg	Logos; Mystery; Parables.
KAUTZSCH, Prof. E., D.D., Halle	Messiah; Names.
KENNEDY, Rev. Prof. A. R. S., D.D., Edinburgh	Leaven; Meals; Milk; Mill; Oil.
KOSTERS, the late Prof. W. H., D.D., Leyden	Nehemiah.
M'LEAN, N., M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge	Linen; Manna.
MANEN, Prof. W. C. van, D.D., Leyden	Old-Christian Literature; Paul; Philemon (Epistle to); Philippians (Ep.).
MARTI, Prof. K., D.D., Bern	Month.
MEYER, Prof. Ed., Halle	Phœnicia.
MOORE, Rev. Pres. G. F., D.D., Andover	Leviticus; Massebah; Molech; Nature Worship; Numbers (Book); Philistines.
MÜLLER, Prof. W. M., Philadelphia	Nile; No; Noph; Pharaoh; Phinehas; Pithom.
MYRES, J. L., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford	Pottery.
NESTLE, Eb., D.D., Maulbronn, Würtemberg	Lord's Prayer; Mammon.
NÖLDEKE, Prof. Theodor, Strassburg	Midian; Names.
PATERSON, A. C., M.A.	Poor.
PEARSON, H. H. W., M.A., Royal Gardens, Kew	Palestine (flora).
PINCHES, T. G., formerly of British Museum	Pul.
PRINCE, Prof. J. D., Ph.D., New York	Music.
ROBINSON, Rev. J. A., D.D., Canon of Westminster	Presbyter; Prophet (New Testament).
SCHMIEDEL, Prof. P. W., D.D., Zürich	Luke; Lysanias; Mark; Mary; Ministry; Philip.
SHIPLEY, A. E., M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge	Lion; Locust; Palestine (fauna).
SMITH, Rev. Prof. G. A., D.D., Glasgow	Moab; Ptolemais.
SMITH, the late Prof. W. Robertson, D.D.	Lamentations (Book); Levites; Malachi; Messiah; Micah; Nazirite; Obadiah (Book); Priest; Proselyte; Psalms (Book).
SOCIN, the late Prof. A., Leipsic.	Lebanon; Mesopotamia; Palestine.
THISELTON-DYER, Sir W. T., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., Director, Royal Gardens, Kew	Ladanum.
TIELE, the late Prof. C. P., D.D., Leyden	Persia.
TORREY, Prof. Charles C., Ph.D., Andover	Maccabees (Family); Maccabees (Books); Malachi.
TOY, Prof. C. H., D.D., Harvard	Proverbs.
USENER, Prof. H., Bonn	Nativity.
VOLZ, Herr Repetent Paul, Tübingen	Prophetic Literature.
WELLHAUSEN, Prof. Julius, D.D., Göttingen	Moab.
WINCKLER, H., Ph.D., Berlin	Mesopotamia.
WOODHOUSE, Prof. W. J., M.A., Sydney	Lycaonia; Pergamos; Phrygia; Pontus.
ZIMMERN, Prof. H., Leipsic	Magic.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

VOLUME III

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LAADAH (לַעְדָּה, § 35; perhaps abbrev. from אֶלְעָדָה 'El passes by'; cp ELADAH), a Judahite; 1 Ch. 4 21 (*μαδαθ* [B], *ααδα* [A], *λαδηι* [L]). For a probable solution of the problem of 'Laadah,' see LECAH.

LAADAN (לַעְדָּן), 1 Ch. 7 26 23 7 *ff.* 26 21 AV, RV LADAN (*q.v.*).

LABAN (לָבָן; λαβαν [ADEL]), son of Nahor (Gen. 29 5 J; cp 24 47, where 'Bethuel, son of,' should be omitted as an interpolation).[1] He was also brother of Rebekah (24 29), and became father of Leah and Rachel (chap. 29), and of several sons (30 35 31 1); he was therefore uncle and father-in-law of Jacob. According to P (25 20) he was, like Bethuel, 'an Aramæan' (אֲרַמִּי, EV 'a Syrian'); but P does not mean to deny that he was a Nahorite; 'Milcah' and 'Aram' are both probably corruptions of 'Jerahmeel,' and the northern Jerahmeelites dwelt at 'the city of Nahor.' It is in fact here that the tradition given by J places the home of Laban (24 10 27 43); the God of Laban, too, is called by E the 'God of Nahor' (31 53). Elsewhere (see NAHOR) it is suggested that 'Nahor' is most probably miswritten for 'Ḥauran'; very possibly J and E had before them corrupt versions of the traditional narrative.

It would be unfair to criticise the character of Laban as if he were a historical individual; we can only venture to infer that the later Israelites criticised the character of the Aramæans very unfavourably. It is essential, however, to notice the religious difference between Laban and Jacob; note especially the incident with the teraphim (Gen. 31 30; cp 35 2, and see TERAPHIM). Since Laban—*i.e.*, the Laban-tribe—resides in or near a city of Ḥauran it is archæologically important to try to clear up the name. A very similar name, LIBNI [*q.v.*], is given in Ex. 6 17 Nu. 3 18 to a son of Gershon, son of Levi; in 1 Ch. 6 17, however, Libni's father is called Gershom. Now, Gershom (=Gershon) is a 'Jerahmeelite' name. Gershom in Ex. 2 22 is the son of Moshè (Moses), who was the son of Amram (Ex. 6 20, P); Amram, like Abram, contains in our view an abbreviation of the name Jerahmeel. Levi too is claimed elsewhere (LEVI, 1) as a Jerahmeelite name; it corresponds to Leah, which is explained elsewhere (LEAH) as a fragment of a feminine form of Jerahmeel. The natural inference, if these data be granted, is that Laban and Libni are both connected with Leah and Levi; לבן, Laban, may be from לוין, and Libni may be a further development of לבן.

Hence the Levi-tribe was at one time viewed as the equal of the Jacob-tribe, though afterwards it had to accept an inferior, dependent position. It thus becomes unnecessary to combine Laban with an Assyrian god Laban (cp [*ilu*] *libitti*, 'god of brickwork,' *KB* 3 2 100 *f.*) mentioned by Delitzsch and Sayce (*Hibb. Lect.* 249, n. 3), or with the Lapana (probably Helbon) of Am. Tab. 139 35 37, or to regard the name as originally a title of the Ḥarranian moon-god (Schr. *KAT*(2) on Gen. 27 43; Jensen, *ZA*, 1896, p. 298; cp Goldziher, *Heb. Myth.* 158; Wi. *GI* 2 57). Gunkel (*Gen.* 292) finds the Laban legend free from mythology; on the other side, see Winckler, *op. cit.*

T. K. C.

1 Similarly the references to Bethuel in Gen. 24 15 24 50 (J) are to be viewed as interpolations. See Mez, *Gesch. d. St. Harran*, 19 *ff.* and Dillmann's *Genesis*. In Gen. 22 20-23 (J) the list should end with 'and Laban and Rebekah.'

LABAN (לָבָן; λοβον [BAFL]), an unknown locality (Dt. 1 1); perhaps the same as LIBNAH (2, *q.v.*). Cp WANDERINGS, § 10.

LABANA (λαβανα [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 29 = Neh. 7 48, LEBANA.

LABOUR (יְגִיעַ, Gen. 31 42; עָמָל, Dt. 26 7), **Labourer** (εργατης, Mt. 9 37). See SLAVERY. The use of 'labour' for 'fruit of labour' (*e.g.*, Hab. 3 17) is one of the most questionable Hebraisms of the EV.

LACEDÆMONIANS (λακεδαιμονιοι [AV], λακαι. [A]; see Swete, *ad loc.* and App.), mentioned only in 2 Macc. 5 9; elsewhere always 'Spartans' (σπαρτιαται) is used. See JASON, 2 (end), SPARTA.

The Jews claimed kinship with the Lacedæmonians (see SPARTA for diplomatic relations between the two peoples about 300 B.C. and 145 B.C.). For the presence of Jews in Sparta, we may compare 1 Macc. 15 23, and in the Peloponnese generally, Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* 36.

LACHISH (לָכִישׁ; λαχεις [BAL, etc.]). A city in the Shĕphēlāh (Josh. 15 39, *μαχης* [B*A], λα. [Bab superscr. λ]). Its king, with four other Amorite kings, was defeated by Joshua at Gibeon (Josh. 10 3-15; cp GIBEON, § 1, MAKKEDAH); on the fate of the city and its population, see Josh. 10 31 *f.*

1. History. It seems to have been a 'chariot-city' (Mic. 1 13; cp 1 K. 9 19 and BETH-MARCABOTH). The Chronicler speaks of its fortification by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 9). Amaziah fled thither from a conspiracy (2 K. 14 19; see AMAZIAH, 1). Sennacherib besieged and took the place on his expedition against Egypt, and sent the Rabshakeh thence to Jerusalem (2 K. 18 14, 17, cp 19 8; Is. 36 2 λα[χ]ης [Γ], cp 37 8 [om. ℵAOQ]). Lachish was one of the two last 'fenced cities' to be captured by Nebuchadrezzar's army (Jer. 34 7). It is mentioned in a list of cities in Nehemiah (11 30); but on critical grounds we cannot assume that Jews really dwelt there in the period referred to (see EZRA ii., § 5, n. 3). Prof. Petrie's inferences from his excavations entirely bear out this opinion—viz., that, 'after the return of the Jews Lachish appears to have been hardly reoccupied' (*Tell el-Hesy*, 29).

In Mic. 1 13 Lachish is called 'the beginning of sin for the daughter (*i.e.*, people) of Zion.' Possibly some heathen Philistine rites (cp Is. 2 6) had been introduced at Lachish, and spread thence to Jerusalem. The play on the name of Lachish is obscure. Read perhaps רַתְּקִי מֶרְכָּבָה [ו]רְכָשִׁים, 'Make ready chariot horses';[1] cp Ass. *narkabâte rakisu*, 'chariot-horses,'

1 See Ges.-Buhl, *s.v.* רתק; and, for the rest, Che. *JQR* 10 576 *f.* [1898]. MT is rendered in RV, 'Bind the chariot to the

Del. *Ass. HWB* 622; *rākis* and *lākīsh* produce an assonance. The people of Lachish have good cause to flee, for they are partners in the sins of Jerusalem.

The antiquity of Lachish is proved by the references to it in some of the Amarna tablets (15th cent. B.C.). Zimrida (cp ZIMRI) was prince of the city under the Egyptian king Amen-ḥotep IV. Efforts were made to shake his allegiance to Egypt; but he handed over the man who had tried to seduce him to an Egyptian official. Soon after, however, Lachish rebelled against him; the fate of Zimrida remains uncertain.

See Am. Tab. 217, 219, 181, and Peiser, *OLZ*, 15th Jan. 1899. Max Müller, however (*OLZ*, 15th March 1899), finds some difficulties in the situation supposed by Peiser. No. 219 is the famous tablet found at Tell el-Ḥesy (see below, § 2) and included by Winckler in his edition of the Amarna Tablets.

There is also in the British Museum a bas-relief (found at Kuyunjiḳ) with this inscription, according to Winckler, 'Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, took his seat on the throne, and the captives from Lachish marched up before him'[1] (*Textbuch*, 37). This confirms the inference from 2 K. 19 8 that Sennacherib's siege of Lachish was successful.

Eusebius and Jerome place the site of Lachish 7 R.m. S. of Eleutheropolis, towards the Dārōm (*OS* 274 9 135 22). This does not agree with the position of Umm Lāḳis, which most recent scholars have identified with Lachish, this place being W., not S., of Eleutheropolis. In fact, its sole recommendations consist in a very slight resemblance of its name to that of Lachish (ḳ, not k, is the second consonant),[2] and in its being only three-quarters of an hour from 'Ajlān (Eglon); cp Josh. 10 34. It presents, as Conder states, 'only a few traces of ruins, two masonry cisterns, and a small, low mound' (*PEFQ*, 1878, p. 20). On the ground of this apparent insignificance, Robinson long ago rejected it (*BR* 2 389), adding that the mound of Tell el-Ḥesy must certainly represent some important city; 'a finer position could hardly be imagined.' It was left for Conder, however, to point out that Lachish ought to be, and for Petrie virtually to prove that it was, the city which Tell el-Ḥesy represents. The work of excavation was begun by Flinders Petrie in April 1890. A study of the walls and of the pottery of different levels led him to the conclusion that 'the earliest dwellings are not later than the seventeenth century B.C., and the latest belong to the fifth century B.C.' 'The great walls below the level of the ash-bed belong to the pre-Israelitish or Amorite times. The stones below the bed of ashes belong to the rude period of the Judges. The ashes represent a desolation when the tell was used by alkali-burners. [Bliss accounts for the great bed of ashes differently.] The buildings above the ashes represent the cities of the various Jewish kings to the time of the Captivity.' It was in the third city, in the stratum overspread by the ash-bed, that the cuneiform tablet was found; other tablets must or may have been carried off by foes.

2. Site.

Petrie identifies the *tell* with Lachish for three reasons.

1. The position commands the only springs in the district, except those of Tell en-Nejīleh (see EGLON ii.).

2. It corresponds sufficiently with the geographical determination in the *Onomasticon*, being only three miles farther from Eleutheropolis than Eusebius and Jerome say that Lachish was.

3. It agrees with the situation represented on Sennacherib's bas-relief, and the remains in the *tell* permit a conception of the fortunes of the site which agrees with the data of history. F. J. Bliss took up Petrie's work in March 1891. His general conclusion agrees with that of his predecessor; the importance of the site is such that hardly any other identification appears possible.

Whether Umm Lāḳis is really the site of a Jewish settlement which took the place of the old Lachish, is less certain. G. A. Smith (*Twelve Prophets*, 280 *f.*) has suggested that Umm Lāḳis may represent the ancient Elḳoš, which, according to Epiphanius, was 'beyond Bēt Gabrē, of the tribe of Simeon' (cp ELKOSHITE, *c*). The consonants are suitable; but we should not have expected the vocalisation Lāḳis. Conder has identified Umm Lāḳis with the Malagues of the Crusaders. To the present writer the site of Lachish appears to be identified with virtual certainty by Petrie's brilliant investigation. Cp BRONZE, HONEY, POTTERY; and, on the strategical importance of Lachish, see GASm. *HG* 234 *f.*

See Flinders Petrie, *Tell el-Hesy: a Memoir* (1891); F. J. Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities; or Tell el-Hesy excavated* (1898). For a fresh translation of the Lachish tablet see Peiser, *OLZ*, 15th Jan. 1899, and cp WMM, *OLZ*, 15th March 1899. W. Max Müller adheres to Umm Lāḳis (in spite of the ḳ) as the site of Lachish. He thinks the letter was addressed, not to the Egyptian grand vizier, but to a neighbour of Zimrida. The grounds for the prevalent view are not, however, discussed.

T. K. C.

LACUNUS, RV **LACCUNUS** (λακκουνος [BA], βαναιας ? [L]), the name of one of the sons of Addi in the list of those with foreign wives, 1 Esd. 9 31 (see EZRA i., § 5 end). If we compare || Ezra 10 30, we shall see that the name has arisen from the names 'Chelal, Benaiah' (כלל בניה), the final ל of Chelal having been taken with the following name, and the ב read as a כ—*i.e.*, לכניה.

LADAN (לַעְדָּן, § 38; λααδαν [BL]).

1. An Ephraimite, 1 Ch. 7 26 RV, AV LAADAN (λαδδαν [B], καθααν [A]); whose name appears in *v.* 20 as ELADAH (*q.v.*). See ERAN, EZER ii., 3 and cp EPHRAIM i., § 12.

2. RV, AV LAADAN, a Gershonite name, 1 Ch. 23 7-9 (εδαν [B], λεαδαν [A], λαα. [L]) 26 21 (χαδαν [B once], λεδ. twice λααδᾱ [A], λααδαν [L]). See LIBNI, 1.

3. 1 Esd. 5 37 AV, RV DALAN. See DELAIAH, 4.

LADANUM (לֹט, *lōṭ*, στακτη [ADEFL], *RESINA*), Gen. 37 25† (RV^mg. MYRRH) 43 11† (EV MYRRH), is the name of a resin called by the Arabs *lādhan* or *lādan*[1] which was yielded by some species of Cistus. It was known to the Greeks as early as the times of Herodotus and Theophrastus by the names λῆδον, λάδανον, and λήδανον, which are very closely allied to the Arabic name.

Ladanum is described by Herodotus (3 112) as particularly fragrant, though gathered from the beards of goats, on which it is found sticking; similarly Dioscorides (1 128). Tournefort, in modern times (*Voyage*, 1 29), has given a detailed description of the mode of obtaining *ladanum*. He relates that it is now gathered by means of a λαδανιστήριον or kind of flail[2] with which the plants are threshed. When these thongs are loaded with the fragrant and sticky resin, they are scraped with a knife; the substance is then rolled into a mass, in which state it is called *ladanum* or *labdanum*. Ladanum consists of resin and volatile oil, and is highly fragrant, and stimulant as a medicine, but is often adulterated with sand in commerce. The *ladanum* which is used in Europe is collected chiefly in the Greek isles, and also in continental Greece. It is yielded by species of the genus *Cistus* (especially by *C. creticus*) which are known in this country by the name of Rock Rose; they are natives of the S. of Europe, the Mediterranean islands, and the N. of Africa. According to Tristram (*FFP* 235) Palestinian ladanum is derived from *Cistus villosus*, L., which grows 'in the hill districts E. and W. of Jordan,' and is 'especially plentiful on Carmel.' *Cistus creticus*, which is only a variety of this and distinguished by its viscidity, is 'the common form on the southern hills.' [Fonck thinks of the *Cistus salvifolius*, which is also plentiful on Carmel, for the ladanum; but H. Christ (*ZDPV* 65 *ff.* [1899]) questions this identification.]

Ladanum is said by Pliny, as it was long before said by Herodotus, to be a product of Arabia, though this has not been proved to be the case in modern times. Enough, however, has been adduced to show that *ladanum* was known to, and esteemed by, the ancients; and, as it is

swift steed'; but the first word (רְתֹם) is, strictly, untranslatable, and רכש can hardly be used of a chariot-horse (see HORSE, §§ 1, 4). The order of the words 'chariot' and 'swift steed' is also scarcely possible; to alter it in the translation (G. A. Smith) is arbitrary. If, however, Prof. Smith's rendering might stand, his explanation would be at least plausible. He sees an allusion to the Egyptian subsidies of horses and chariots (in which the politicians put their trust), which would be received at Lachish, as being the last Judæan outpost towards Egypt.

[1] 'Came forward into his presence' (M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 2 427). Cp Meinhold, *Jesaja u. seine Zeit* (1898), who also adopts Wi.'s translation of *šallat maḫaršu etiḳ*. Bezold, however (*KB* 2 115), renders 'received the spoil of Lachish'; and Del. 'brought up before himself (*i.e.*, took a minute survey of) the spoil of Lachish' (*Ass. HWB* 159 *a*).

[2] So Robinson. According to Conder the name is pronounced Umm Lags. Sayce states that, after repeated inquiries of the fellāḥīn, he assured himself (in 1881) that the name was Laṭis; but Bliss confirms Conder's statement; Umm Laggis is the form which he gives.

[1] According to Mordtmann and Müller (*Sab. Denk.* 84) the *lādhan* is the proper Arabic form derived from Persian.

[2] Specimens of the implement can be seen in the Museum at Kew (Crete and Cyprus).

stated to have been a product of Syria, it was very likely to have been sent to Egypt both as a present and as merchandise. The word *lādan* is found in the inscription on a S. Arabian censer (*Sab. Denk.* 84), and in Assyrian in the list of objects received as tribute from Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser III. (*KAT*(2) 151, 18). The biblical narrative (J) shows that לֹט was some precious gum produced in Canaan or at least in Gilead.

See Royle's article 'Lot' in Kitto's *Bibl. Cycl.*, on which this article is mainly based. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

LADDER (סֻלָּם ; κλιμαξ) Gen. 28 12†. The rendering 'ladder' is unfortunate; a 'flight of steps' is meant according to most scholars. Cp BETHEL, § 2. Probably, however, מַעֲלָה, 'ascent' is the right reading (adapt suffixes accordingly), cp Neh. 3 15 12 37 (𝔊 κλίμακες = מעלות). So Che. See STAIRS, 4.

The classical use of the term 'ladder' in topography (cp Paus. viii. 6 4 and see Frazer's note) is exemplified in **The Ladder of Tyrus,** RV . . . OF TYRE (κλιμακος τυρου [ANV]), 1 Macc. 11 59, the northern limit of the region over which Simon the Maccabee was made commandant (στρατηγός) by Antiochus VI., son of Balas. Josephus (*BJ* ii. 10 2) defines it as a high mountain 100 stadia N. from Ptolemais. It is the steep and lofty headland now known as the Rās en-Nāḳūrah—'the natural barrier between Phœnicia and Palestine' (Stanley). True, we should have expected the title to have been rather given to the *Rās el-abyaḍ*, the *Promontorium album* of Pliny. Regarded from the S., however, the Rās en-Nāḳūrah, which Neubauer (*Géogr.* 39) identifies with the סולמא של צור of the Talmud, may have presented itself as the end of the Lebanon and the barrier of Tyre.

LAEL (לָאֵל, §§ 22, 37,[1] '[belonging] to God'; or, the form having no sure parallel in Hebrew, read 'Joel,' see GENEALOGIES i., § 7, col. 1664, no. 3), a Gershonite, Nu. 3 24 (δαηλ [BAF], δαουηλ [L]).

Gray (*HPN* 207) quotes the parallel of LEMUEL in Prov. 31 1, and, as more remotely analogous, BESODEIAH and possibly BEZALEEL. All these names, however, are liable to grave suspicion. Nöldeke, indeed, has shown that there were such Semitic names as Lael (in later times?), but *not* that MT is correct in its reading. T. K. C.

LAHAD (לַהַד), b. JAHATH (*q.v.*, 1), a clan of Judah, 1 Ch. 4 2† (λααθ [B], λα[α]δ [AL]), Jerahmeelite, to judge from the names (Che.).

LAHAI-ROI ([בְּאֵר] לַחַי רֹאִי), Gen. 24 62 25 11 AV, RV BEER-LAHAI-ROI (*q.v.*).

LAHMAS (לַחְמָס ; μαχες [B], λαμας [A], λαμμας [L]), Josh. 15 40 RVmg., or, according to many MSS, **Lahmam** (לַחְמָם), as in EV. A town in the lowland of Judah, perhaps the modern *el-Laḥm*, 2½ m. S. from Eleutheropolis (Bēt Jibrīn).

LAHMI (לַחְמִי ; ελεμεε [B], λεεμει [A], λοομι [L]), 'brother of Goliath' (1 Ch. 20 5†). See ELHANAN, § 2.

LAISH. 1. (לַיִשׁ ; λαισα [BAL]), the original name of the northern frontier-city DAN (*q.v.*), Judg. 18 7 14 27 29 ([ουλαμ]αις [B], αλεις [A]). Another form (probably) is Lesham (see LESHEM). In the list of Thotmes III. it perhaps appears as Liusa (Mariette, Brugsch, etc.). On the narrative in Judg. 18 see JUDGES (BOOK), § 12.

Winckler (*GI* 2 63 *ff.*) endeavours to show that the foundation of Dan is related not only in Josh. 19 47 and Judg. 18, but also in Judg. 1 22-26. The city 'in the land of the Hittites' called Luz ('unto this day') must have been Dan; the statement that it was called Luz involves a confusion between the name of the sanctuary (properly an appellative meaning 'asylum'—see LUZ) and that of the city. Winckler also suggests that Laish and Leshem really mean 'there is not' and 'nameless' respectively, in allusion to the destruction of the old city by the Danites. It may be more natural to suppose that here, too, there is an early writer's misunderstanding, and that Laish (whence Leshem) is a corruption of Luz, or of a name from which Luz is corrupted.

2. Is. 10 30. See LAISHAH. T. K. C.

LAISH (לַיִשׁ, as if 'lion,' § 68 ; in 2 S. 3 15 לוש Kt.), evidently a short form of Laishah (Shalishah). See LAISHAH, PALTI. The name occurs in 1 S. 25 44 (some MSS have Kt. לוש ; αμεις [B], λαις [A], ιωας [L]); and in 2 S. 3 15 (σελλης [B], λαεις [A], σελλειμ [L, for which, see BAHURIM, n. 1]).

LAISHAH (לַיְשָׁה ; λαισα [Qmg.], of which εν σα [BA] is a corruption: λεις [Theod.], λαις [Symm. et forte Aq.]), a place in Benjamin near Gallim (?) and Anathoth (Is. 10 30† RV, AV 'unto Laish'). According to Conder (*PEFQ*, 1875, p. 183) and Van Kasteren (*ZDPV* 13 100 *f.*) it is the modern *el-'Isāwīyeh*, a small village on the E. slope of a mountain to the NNE. of the Mount of Olives, less than an hour's walk from the neighbouring village of 'Anātā. The site still shows traces of high antiquity (Guérin, *Judée*, 3 80 *f.*; Gray Hill, *PEFQ*, 1899, pp. 45-47). It is doubtful, however, whether we can trust the name Laishah any more than GALLIM [*q.v.*]. Both 'Laishah' and 'Laish' are probably distortions of SHALISHAH [*q.v.*], the name of the district in which 'Gibeah of Shā'ūl' (rather 'Gibeah of Shalishah'), mentioned just before (see *v.* 29), was situated. For another possible corruption of the same name see MERAB, MEPHIBOSHETH. Cp further SHECHEM.

Grove (Smith, *DB*(1), *s.v.*) suspects the identity of Laishah and the Eleasa of 1 Macc. 9 5 (αλασα [A], ελ. [ℵV]), where Vg. gives *Laisa*, while Halévy (*Kohut Mem. Semitic Studies*, 241 *f.*) identifies Laishah with CHEPHIRAH [*q.v.*], both names, according to him, meaning 'lion-town.' T. K. C.

LAKUM, RV **Lakkum** (לַקּוּם ; δωδαμ [B], ακρου [A], λακουμ [L]), an unidentified town in Naphtali (Josh. 19 33).

LAMB (שֶׂה, *śeh*, Gen. 22 7 *f.* etc.; כֶּשֶׂב, *keśeb*, Lev. 4 35 etc.; כֶּבֶשׂ, *kébeś*, Lev. 14 12 etc.). See SHEEP; and cp CATTLE, § 2.

For Gen. 33 19 (קְשִׂיטָה, AVmg. 'lamb'), see KESITAH.

LAMECH (לֶמֶךְ), Gen. 4 18-24. See CAINITES, § 8 *f.*, SETHITES.

LAMENTATION. Lamentations for great calamities, especially for deaths, held an important place among the customs of the Israelites. We may regard these lamentations in different aspects, according as they are private or public, nonliterary or literary. The origin of lamentation is a simple cry or wail, and even when art had elaborated new kinds of lamentation in which musical instruments played a part, the simple cry was a necessary accompaniment—such a cry as the prolonged *wēlī*, 'woe is me,' still customary in Syria, with which *'ōi lī, hōi āḥī, hōi ādōn*, 'ah, me,' 'ah, my brother,' 'ah, lord,' in 2 K. 9 37 (𝔊L), 1 K. 13 30 Jer. 22 18 34 5 may be compared. This is what is primarily meant by the *nèhī* (נְהִי ; cp νηνία, and see BDB)—*i.e.*, 'wailing' (EV)—of Jer. 9 10 [9] 18-20 [17-19] 31 15 Am. 5 16 Mic. 2 4[1]†. The heart-rending *wēlī*, however, is not the only expression of woe; songs in measured verse and with musical accompaniment are chanted by the professional mourning women of Syria, and so it was in Palestine of old (cp MOURNING CUSTOMS, § 1). We may presume that public lamentations were on the same model. Pinches[2] (Smith's *DB* 2 980 *b*) has translated a Babylonian hymn, 'probably prehistoric,' which, at any rate in a wide sense, may be called an elegy (like the 'Lamentations'). For a dirge in the stricter sense we can go to the twelfth tablet of the Gilgameš epic, where we find the lament of Gilgameš over the dead hero Eabani (cp CREATION, § 20, n. 4; JOB, § 4).

1. Character.

[1] Cp Nöld., 'Verwandtschaftsnamen als Personennamen' in 'Kleinigkeiten zur semitischen Onomatologie' (*WZKM* 6 314 [1892]).

[1] The term is used here rather widely.

[2] Cp *BOR*, Dec. 1886, pp. 22 *f.*; Halévy, *RP* 11 160. It has also been compared with Ps. 79 (Che. *Ps.*(1) 223).

Thou takest no part in the noble feast; to the assembly they call thee not; thou liftest not the bow from the ground; what is hit by the bow is not for thee; thy hand grasps not the club and strikes not the prey, nor stretches thy foeman dead on the earth. The wife thou lovest thou kissest not; the wife thou hatest thou strikest not. The child thou lovest thou kissest not; the child thou hatest thou strikest not. The might of the earth has swallowed thee. O Darkness, Darkness, Mother Darkness! thou enfoldest him like a mantle; like a deep well thou enclosest him!'[1]

The result of the crying and lamenting of Gilgameš was that Ea-bani's spirit, after holding intercourse with Gilgameš, was transferred from the dark world of the shades to the land of the blessed. Wailing, it would seem, had an object, apart from that of relieving the feelings of the mourners, and in this case it was to effect an improvement in the lot of the dead. Perhaps, however, it may once have been intended as an attempt to influence the supernatural powers, and to bring back the departed tenant of the body;[2] for this we may compare the familiar Arabic mourning phrase addressed to the dead, 'Depart not.' At the same time there is a considerable mass of evidence that suggests a very different object—viz., to drive away the spirits of the dead lest they should harm the living.[3]

The most trustworthy specimen of an ancient Hebrew dirge is David's lament over Abner (2 S. 3 33 *f.*; see ABNER).

2. Of Specimens. Whether the reported lamentation over Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 1 17-27) can safely be classed with this, or whether it is not rather a literary product of the post-exilic age, is becoming somewhat doubtful (see JASHER, BOOK OF, § 2). At any rate, in Am. 5 1 we have a beautiful specimen of a new class of elegy—the prophetic:—

Prostrate is fallen to rise no more | the virgin Israel;
There she lies stretched on the ground; | no one raises her up.

Jeremiah (38 22) represents the women of the house of the king of Judah (Zedekiah) as singing a dirge containing these words,

Misled thou wast and overpowered | by thy bosom friends;
Thy feet sank in the mire, | but those remained behind.

Other specimens of prophetic dirge-poetry will be found in Jer. 9 19 21 22 [18 20 21]. The prophet, however, who, more than any other, delights in elegy, is Ezekiel (see Ezek. 19 26 17 27 2 32 28 12 32 2 cp also 32 18), and among the many passages of 'limping verse' in the later portions of Isaiah there are some (*e.g.*, Is. 14 4*b*-21) that bear an elegiac character.

The little elegy in Am. 5 1 helps us to understand the Lamentations wrongly ascribed to Jeremiah. The death which the singers of these poems lamented was that of the Jewish nation (cp Jer. 9 19 [18] Ezek. 19), and as early as the time of Amos this form of speech was in use. As Robertson Smith has said, 'the agonies of the nation's last desperate struggle took a form modelled on the death-wail sung by "cunning women" (Jer. 9 17) and by poets "skilful of lamentation" (Am. 5 16) at the wake (אֵבֶל) of the illustrious dead.'[4]

The researches of Budde leave no doubt that one of the metres specially used in dirges was that of

3. Metre. the so-called 'limping verse,' in which 'the uniformly undulating movement which is the usual characteristic of Hebrew poetry, is changed to a peculiar and limping metre.'[5]

In the Psalter the 'limping verse' is often found; but there is only a single passage in which, Budde thinks, it is used for the purpose of lamentation. This is Ps. 137 4-9; but it is questionable whether Budde's view is correct; and still more doubtful is it whether the use of what this able critic calls the elegiac metre can be taken to prove the early exilic date of this remarkable song (see PSALMS, § 28, ix.).

The term Ḳīnāh-metre for the so-called 'limping verse' is convenient. We cannot, however, regard the theory that it is primarily elegiac as proved. Budde's attempt to explain why it is not used in David's famous elegy (*ZATW* 2 45)—viz., that this elegy had a private character—is far from convincing; and even apart from this it is hazardous to assert that because some early elegiac passages are in the 'Ḳīnāh metre,' the metre must therefore have been reserved originally for elegiac poetry. See Minocchi, *Le Lamentazioni*, 36.

Wetzstein's description of the funeral ceremonies in modern Syria will be found in Bastian's *Zt. f. Ethnologie*, 1873. See also Budde's essays 'Die hebräische Leichenklage,' *ZDPV* 6 180 *ff.*, and 'The Folk-song of Israel,' *New World*, March 1893; Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 604 *f.* 658 660. On the professional 'mourning women' see *RP*(2), 2 78; Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Life*, 153 *ff.*; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 1 251. Cp further POETICAL LITERATURE.

T. K. C.

[1] Translated from Haupt's German version by Ragozin, *Chaldea*, 313 *f.* (1891); but cp Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 41 (1891).

[2] Cp Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult*, 55.

[3] Cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 100, n. 2; Grüneisen, *Ahnencultus*, 100. Cp the strange anecdote given in We. *Ar. Heid.* 161 (the cattle killed that their lowing might add to the noise of the lamentations).

[4] *EB*(9), art. 'Lamentations, Book of.'

[5] Budde, *New World*, March 1893.

LAMENTATIONS (BOOK)[1]

In Hebrew Bibles the Book of Lamentations bears the superscription אֵיכָה, 'Ah how!' (cp 1 1 2 1 4 1).

1. External characteristics. The Talmud, however, and Jewish writers in general call it קִינוֹת, *Ḳīnōth* (*i.e.*, 'elegies' or 'dirges'), which is the Hebrew title known to Jerome in his Prologus Galeatus (*Ieremias cum Cinoth, id est, Lamentationibus suis*). 𝔊's title is Θρῆνοι. A fuller title, assigning the book to Jeremiah, is found in Pesh. and in some MSS of 𝔊—*e.g.*, in Bᵇא, but not in A and B*—and in 𝔊 and Pesh. Lamentations is attached to the Book of Jeremiah (Baruch intervening in the former version). At the same time Bא have the introductory verse assigning at any rate chap. 1 to Jeremiah. It is a mistake to suppose that this arrangement of Lamentations is original, the scheme which accommodates the number of the sacred books to the number of the twenty-two Hebrew letters being self-evidently artificial, and the evidence that this arrangement (adopted by Jos.) had an established place among the Jews of Palestine being scanty and precarious. It is noteworthy, too, that the translation of Lamentations in 𝔊, which agrees pretty closely with our Hebrew text, cannot be by the same hand as the translation of the Book of Jeremiah.

The poems which make up the book are five, and the first four are alphabetical acrostics—successive stanzas (each consisting, in chap. 3, of three verses, elsewhere of one verse) beginning with successive letters of the alphabet. The last poem (chap. 5) has twenty-two stanzas, like chaps. 1-4, but is not an acrostic.

In chaps. 2-4, however, by an irregularity, the פ-stanza precedes the ע-stanza. The sense shows that this is not due to a transposition of the original order of the stanzas, whilst the fact that the same irregularity occurs three times makes it plain that the deviation from the common order rests on a variation in the order of the alphabet as used by the author (cp WRITING). According to Bickell, Cheyne, and Duhm, the same irregularity occurs in the true text of Ps. 9-10 (an acrostic poem), and not a few critics (including Bickell, Baethgen, König, and Duhm) find it in that of Ps. 34. It is perhaps better, however, to prefix צַדִּיקִים to *v.* 18 (as Street long ago suggested), and to omit יהוה (Che. *Ps.*(2)). Another case of want of uniformity concerns the use of אשר and ש *relativum*. In Lam. 1 only אשר occurs (*vv.* 7 12); in

[1] In 1882, when Robertson Smith printed the article 'Lamentations' in *EB*(9), it was hardly possible to give more than the vaguest determination of the date of the Lamentations. Budde, whose commentary (1898) marks our entrance on a fresh critical stage, is naturally more definite in his conclusions; the present writer has retained all that he could of Robertson Smith's work, in order to recognise the continuity of criticism. Some of the retained paragraphs, as being specially distinctive, have been marked with signs of quotation. This does not apply to translations from the Hebrew.

LAMENTATIONS (BOOK)

Lam. 2 אשר in *v.* 17, ש in *vv.* 15 *f.*; in Lam. 3 neither אשר nor ש; in Lam. 4 and 5 only ש (4 9 5 18). The observation is König's (*Einl.* 420).

The metre of the first four poems differs from that of the fifth. The metre of the fifth poem consists of ordinary three-toned lines; the metre of the first four poems is in the so-called 'limping verse,' which, being specially, though not exclusively, used for elegies, is commonly called the Ḳīnāh metre (first fully made out by Budde[1]). To speak of *five* Lamentations is incorrect. It is only chaps. 1 2 and 4 that are properly dirges, as referring to a death—the death of the Jewish nation (see LAMENTATION, § 2). These are highly elaborate and artificial poems in which every element of pity and terror which the subject supplies is brought forward with conscious art to stir the minds of the hearers. In their present form they appear to be rather late works; but they may perhaps have embedded in them phrases of earlier elegies[2] such as were used liturgically in the fifth month (Ab) in Zechariah's time (Zech. 7 5), and of course earlier, to commemorate the fall of the temple.[3] To suppose that our *Ḳīnōth* were already composed when Zechariah gave his decision to the deputation (Zech. 7 3) is hardly consistent with the evidence. Let us now consider their contents.

2. Lam. 1.

'The first elegy commences with a picture of the distress of Zion during and after the siege (1 1-11); Jerusalem, or the people of Judah, being figured as a widowed and dishonoured princess. Then, in the latter half of the poem she herself takes up the lamentation, describes her grievous sorrow, confesses the righteousness of Yahwè's anger, and invokes retribution on her enemies.' In a carefully restored text, it is seen to be a beautiful, though monotonous, composition in elegiac metre.

In *v.* 6 MT is correct. By turning אילים, 'harts,' into אֵילִים, 'rams,' 𝔊 spoils the figure. Verse 7 is grievously corrupt both in MT and in 𝔊. Read in the first stichus, 'ז' ירו' כָּל־מַכְאֹבֶיהָ; between יְמֵי and קֶדֶם is a collection of variants, all corruptions of 'כל־מכ'. In the last hemistich read, מְשֹׁאָתָהּ, 'her desolation.' In *v.* 10 MT is rough; read 'Zion (צִיּוֹן) spreadeth forth her hands because of her pleasant things' (Bickell). In *v.* 14, for נִשְׂקַד read נֶעֱקַד; in aβ read בִּידֵם הִסְגִּירַנִי. On *v.* 19 see Budde.

3. Lam. 2.

'In the second chapter the desolation of the city and the horrors of the siege are again rehearsed and made more bitter by allusion to the joy of the enemies of Israel. The cause of the calamity is national sin, which false prophets failed to denounce while repentance was still possible, and now no hope remains save in tears and supplication to stir the compassion of Yahwè for the terrible fate of his people.' The structure is the same as in chap. 1, except that פ introduces the 16th, ע the 17th verse as in chaps. 3 and 4. There is more vivid presentation, more dramatic life, more connection and progress of thought; but the religious element is less pervasive.

These are among the blemishes which need removal. In the very first verse 'covers (imperf.) with a cloud' (יָעִיב) is an impossible word (note Paseḳ after בְּאַפּוֹ). Probably we should read הֵבִישׁ, 'put to shame'; ע and ש are easily confounded. In *v.* 2*b* both AV and RV overlook the metrical structure. The rendering of MT should be 'He hath brought to the ground, hath profaned the kingdom, and its princes.' The first verb, however, is unsuitable, and the combination 'kingdom and princes' is unnatural. Read נֵזֶר מַמְלָכָה, 'the royal crown' (cp כתר מלכות, Esth. 1 11, etc.), and all becomes plain. Verses 4 6 7 8 have given much trouble, but are not incurable. Read (see *Crit. Bib.*):

'Foe-like, he hath bent his bow, | his arrows he prepareth;
He slaughtereth and killeth the children, | the delights of the eye,
In the tent of Zion he hath poured out | his wrath like fire.'

'And he hath smitten to pieces his dwelling with an axe, | hath destroyed his sanctuary,
Yahwè hath brought low in Zion | ruler and judge,
And rejected in the fury of his anger | king and priest.'

'Yahwè hath rejected his altar, | hath cast down his sanctuary,
He hath delivered into the hand of the foe | all her precious things,
Terrible nations stretch out the line | in Yahwè's house.'

'Yahwè purposeth to destroy | the precious things of Zion,
He hath not kept his hand from annihilating [all her palaces].
He hath annihilated bulwark and wall, | together they languish.'

In *v.* 12 MT makes the little children call out for 'corn and wine' (דגן ויין, a doubly impossible phrase), and, in *v.* 18 (according to EV), it reads 'Their heart cried unto the Lord, O wall of the daughter of Zion.' Clearly wrong, and, *v.* 18 especially, not to be superficially dealt with. Verse 12 can be restored with certainty; there is no question asked, and *therefore* no answer is returned. Read, 'They say to their mothers, Wo unto us! for our life goes.' Verse 18 should probably be read as follows:

Cry out because of Jerusalem's disgrace, | Zion's insult,
Let tears run down like a torrent | day and night,
Give thyself no pause, | let not the apple of thine eye cease.

4. Lam. 3.

'The third elegy [if we may call it such] takes a personal turn, and describes the affliction of the individual Israelite, or of the nation under the type of a single individual, under the sense of Yahwè's just but terrible indignation. But even this affliction is a wholesome discipline. It draws the heart of the singer nearer to his God in penitent self-examination, sustained by trust in Yahwè's unfailing mercy, which shows itself in the continued preservation of his people through all their woes. From the lowest pit the voice of faith calls to the Redeemer, and hears a voice that says, "Fear not." Yahwè will yet plead the cause of his people, and so in the closing verses the accents of humble entreaty pass into a tone of confident appeal for just vengeance against the oppressor.' Of the two views (individual or nation) here indicated respecting the subject of the elegy, the latter appears to be the one most easily defensible. As in the case of so many of the psalms and in that of the Songs of the Servant of Yahwè (see SERVANT OF THE LORD), the speaker is the company of the humble-minded righteous who form the kernel of the Jewish community. Hence it is easy for the imagined speaker to pass from the 1st person singular to the 1st person plural, and to say in *v.* 48 that he weeps unceasingly for the disaster of his country-people (בַּת עַמִּי). The vehemence of the imprecations at the close of the elegy is most easily intelligible if the offences referred to have been committed against the Jewish people, not against an individual (*e.g.*, Jeremiah), imagined by the poet. This is the view of Hupfeld (on Ps. 38), Reuss, Cheyne, Löhr, and especially Smend (*ZATW* 8 62 *f.* [1888]). It is opposed especially by Stade (*GVI* 701) and Budde, mainly (see the latter) on two grounds: (1) the occurrence of certain expressions in *vv.* 1 and 27 (Oettli wrongly adds *v.* 14), and (2) the inconsistency of personifying the community elsewhere as a woman, but here as a man. Against this we may urge (*a*) the analogy of so many other poems, which are marred (as indeed Lam. 3 appears to some to be marred) by the assumption of an individualising reference, (*b*) the possibility of interpreting *vv.* 1 and 27, as Smend has done, of the people conscious of its solidarity (הַגֶּבֶר) and looking forward to an extended future (בנעוריו?), and (*c*) the probability, admitted by Budde, that Lam. 3 is the latest of the five poems—it is, in fact, rather a poetic monologue of Israel than an elegy. On *vv.* 52-58 Budde remarks, 'Abruptly the poet turns to his own sufferings. . . . To regard the community as the subject is possible (cp Ps. 6, etc.), but more probably it arises from the inconsiderate use of the psalms which served as models.' It is surely not right to assume inconsiderateness, when such a highly characteristic

1 For translated specimens see below. See also LAMENTATION, POETICAL LITERATURE.

2 Just so, phrases of earlier psalms may conceivably have passed into some of the existing late psalms. Proof and disproof are alike impossible.

3 On the 9th day of Ab this event is still celebrated by the synagogue. See *Mas. Sōpherīm*, chap. 18, and the notes in Müller's edition (1878).

idea as the solidarity of all good Israelites is in question; the idea was one which had incorporated itself in the Jewish system of thought.

As to *vv.* 1 14 and 27. It is no doubt quite possible to explain, 'I am the man,' as 'I am the people'; and the particular word for 'man' (גֶּבֶר) occurs again in *vv.* 27 35 39. But the closing words 'by the rod of his fury' (בְּשֵׁבֶט עֶבְרָתוֹ) are peculiar, inasmuch as the name of Yahwè has not been mentioned, nor will it be till *v.* 18. It is probable that the text is corrupt. In *v.* 14 a doubt is hardly possible; עַמִּי, 'my people,' should be עַמִּים, 'peoples.' In *v.* 27 בנעוריו, 'in his youth,' introduces a new idea (that a young man has time before him to profit by chastisement), which is not further utilised. Here, too, the text seems to be corrupt.

In *v.* 1 read perhaps אֲדֹנָי הַפֹּקֵד עַל־עֲוֹנִי, 'it is the Lord who visits mine iniquity,' and in *v.* 27 טוֹב כִּי יִשָּׂא אִלֵּם גַּעֲרַת יהוה, 'it is good that he bear mutely the rebuke of Yahwè.'

The variant מנעוריו is thus accounted for. מִנֹּעַר in Ps. 88 16 requires a similar correction. A few other blemishes may be mentioned. 'Gall and travail' (*v.* 5) should be 'my head (רֹאשִׁי) with travail' (Prätorius, *ZATW* 15 326 [1895]). In *v.* 16*a* the 'teeth' and the 'gravel-stones' are troublesome; Löhr leaves the latter, but gives dots, expressive of perplexity, for the former; *v.* 16*b* is, on linguistic grounds, hardly less improbable. The reading we propose is as simple and appropriate as possible. 'And I girded sackloth on my flesh; I rolled myself in ashes' (see *Crit. Bib.*). In *v.* 39 'a *living* man' cannot be right; ארם חי should be אלהים. Not improbably we should read, 'Why do we murmur against God, (against) him who visits our sins?' Cp *v.* 1 as above.

'In the fourth acrostic the bitter sorrow again bursts forth in passionate wailing. The images of horror imprinted on the poet's soul during the last months of Jerusalem's death-struggle and in the flight that followed are painted with more ghastly detail than in the previous chapters, and the climax is reached when the singer describes the capture of the king, "the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of Yahwè, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the nations." The cup of Israel's sorrow is filled up. The very completeness of the calamity is a proof that the iniquity of Zion has met with full recompense. The day of captivity is over, and the wrath of Yahwè is now ready to pass from his people to visit the sins of Edom, the most merciless of its foes.' At any rate, even if the fourth acrostic is not the work of an eye-witness, the poet stands near enough to the horrors of the siege of Jerusalem to be able to describe them, and there has been trouble enough since then to awaken his imaginative faculty. It must be admitted, however, that through literary reminiscences and an inborn tendency to rhetoric the author falls short in simplicity and naturalness of description. It is also certain that corruption of the text has here and there marred the picture. Happily the faults can often be cured. Verses 1 *f.*, for instance, should run thus,—

5. Lam. 4.

a. c. s.

How is Sheba's gold polluted— | the choice gold!
Sacred stones are poured forth | at every street-corner!
The sons of Zion—so precious— | to be valued with fine gold—
How are they esteemed as earthen pitchers, | the handiwork of the potter!

It is a most beautiful and moving piece of rhetoric. All the critics misunderstand the first line, and few have done complete justice to the second. It is not the 'dimming' or the 'changing' of fine gold that is referred to, nor is the first stichus so overladen as MT represents. It is the desecration of the image of God in the persons of slaughtered citizens of Zion that calls forth the איכה ('alas, how!') of the elegy. (For 'at every street-corner' cp 2 19, and the interpolated passage Is. 51 20.) Reading יִשְׁמָא for ויעם, makes MT's phrase, 'sacred stones,' secure.[1] In *v.* 3 the 'sea-monsters' should probably rather be 'jackals.'[2] Verse 5 is in a very bad state; the beginning of the cure is due to Budde. Read,

Those that ate the bread of luxury[3] | perish in the steeets.
The delicate, the possessors of halls, | embrace ash-mounds.

Verse 7 gains not less by critical treatment. 'Her Nazirites' (נזיריה) should be 'her dignitaries' (רֹזְנֶיהָ); the absurdities of the second part of the verse in MT are removed elsewhere (see SAPPHIRE). Verses 14 *f.* in MT (and therefore also in EV) are a mass of inconsistencies. It can hardly be doubted that the true text runs nearly as follows—

Her princes wander in the countries, | they stumble in the lands,
And they are not able to find | for themselves a resting-place.
'Away'—men call unto them—'away, | away, rest not,'
For they find no resting-place, | they may not sojourn any more.[1]

The mistakes of MT were caused by the reference to bloodshed in *v.* 13, from which, however, *vv.* 14 *f.* are quite distinct. The passage is reminiscent of Jer. 6 22, Dt. 28 65.[2] On *v.* 21 see § 8.

6. Lam. 5. 'The fifth chapter, which [in *vv.* 1, 20-22] takes the form of a prayer, [is not an acrostic, and] does not follow the scheme common to the three foregoing sections. The elegy proper must begin with the utterance of grief for its own sake. Here on the contrary the first words are a petition, and the picture of Israel's woes comes in to support the prayer. The point of view, too, is changed, and the chapter closes under the sense of continued wrath. The centre of the singer's feeling lies no longer in the recollection of the last days of Jerusalem, but in the long continuance of a divine indignation which seems to lay a measureless interval between the present afflicted state of Israel and those happy days of old which are so fresh in the recollection of the poet in the first four chapters. The details, too, are drawn less from one crowning misfortune than from a continued state of bondage to the servants of the foreign tyrant (*v.* 8), and a continued series of insults and miseries. And with this goes a change in the consciousness of sin: "Our fathers have sinned, and are not; and we have borne their iniquities" (*v.* 7; cp Zech. 1 2-6, and similar complaints in very late psalms).'

The contents of chapter 5 are such that we are compelled to enter immediately on the question of its date.

7. Date of Lam. 5. The author of the poem endeavours, it is true, to express the feelings of an earlier generation; he indites a complaint of the sad lot of those who have not only survived the great catastrophe, but also remain on the ancestral soil. He cannot, however, preserve consistency; he speaks partly as if he were one of a people of serfs or day-labourers in the country-districts—especially perhaps in the wilderness of Judah (see Budde on *v.* 9)—partly as if some of those for whom he speaks were settled in or near Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (*v.* 11). Moreover, he says nothing of the sword of the all-powerful enemy, which had robbed Judah of the flower of her population; less eminent foes are referred to under conventional terms (of which more presently). This is a matter of great moment for the critic, who by the help of the Book of Nehemiah can with reasonable probability determine the author's age. The important distichs are *vv.* 6, 8, 9, 10, 18, of the first four of which we give a rendering based on a critically emended text. (The MT of *v.* 6 has caused hopeless perplexity.)

6 We have surrendered to the Miṣrites,
We have become subject to the Ishmaelites.
8 Arabians rule over us,
There is none to deliver out of their hand.
9 We bring in our corn (לַחְמֵנוּ) with peril of our lives
Because of the Arabian of the desert.
10 Our young men and our maidens are sold
Because of the terror of famine.

The terms 'Miṣrites' (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*) and 'Ishmaelites' are conventional archaisms, many parallels for which use are probably to be found in the Psalter (see

1 Budde proposes אַבְנֵי יְקָר, 'precious stones'; cp *v.* 2.

2 Budde prefers 'sea-monsters,' but expresses surprise that the natural phenomenon referred to should have been known to the writer. Read תַּנִּים; the Aramaic ending ין- may be put down to the scribe.

3 לֶחֶם עֲדָנִים, Budde. For *l.* 2, cp Dt. 28 54 56, Jer. 22 14, and see *Crit. Bib.*

1 נָעוּ שָׂרֶיהָ בָּאֲרָצוֹת | נִכְשְׁלוּ בָּאֲדָמוֹת
וְלֹא יוּכְלוּ מְצֹא | מַרְגּוֹעַ לְנַפְשָׁם
סוּרוּ קָרְאוּ לָם סוּרוּ | סוּרוּ אַל־תַּרְגִּיעוּ
כִּי לֹא יִמְצְאוּ מַרְגּוֹעַ | לֹא יוֹסִפוּ לָגוּר

2 In *v.* 16 Löhr partly sees aright, but unfortunately creates a doublet. Bickell's general view is better than Budde's or Löhr's.

PSALMS [BOOK]), and, so far as 'Miṣrites' is concerned, in the fourth elegy (Lam. 4 21; see below, § 8). The enemies intended are the Edomites who had probably joined in the Babylonian invasion, and had occupied the southern part of the old territory of Judah, and perhaps, too, the Nabatæan Arabs, one of whom was the Geshem or Gashmu of whom Nehemiah speaks[1] (Neh. 2 19; cp 4 7, 'the Arabians'). The trouble from these foes (at any rate from the Edomites) no doubt began early; but it also continued very long (see EDOM, § 9; NEHEMIAH, § 3). Their dangerousness was particularly felt at harvest-time; this is indicated in *v.* 9, of which a welcome illustration is furnished by Is. 62 8 (age of Nehemiah), where we read—

By his right hand has Yahwè sworn | and by his strong arm,
Surely I will no more give thy wheat | to be food for thy foes.

The trouble from insufficient agricultural labour and from the general economic disturbance doubtless continued, and it is difficult not to illustrate *v.* 10 (according to the text rendered above) by the thrilling account which Nehemiah gives (Neh. 5 1-13) of the sufferings of the poorer Jews, and of the selling of their children into slavery. Once more, it is not denied that there are features in the description in Lam. 5 which suggest an earlier period; but we cannot shut our eyes to the accordance of other features with the circumstances of the Nehemian age. Nehemiah certainly has not yet come; mount Zion is still desolate (*v.* 18; cp Neh. 1 3), and such central authority as there is does not interest itself greatly in the welfare of the Jewish subjects. It is still possible to speak of Yahwè as 'forgetting' his servants 'for ever,' and to express, in a subdued tone, the reluctant admission that it might not be God's will to grant the prayer for the restoration of Israel as of old,—

Unless thou hast utterly rejected us,
(And) art exceedingly wroth against us.
(Lam. 5 22; cp RV.)

Still, though the situation of affairs is bad, a deliverer—Nehemiah—is at hand. The allusion in *v.* 12*b* to Lev. 19 32 (in the Holiness-law) suggests that the writer is a member of that stricter religious party among the Jews, which presumably kept up relations with men like Nehemiah and Ezra, and afterwards did their best to assist those great men. It does not seem necessary or natural to suppose with Budde that *vv.* 11 *f.* are a later insertion (see his note); Budde's mistake is partly due to his following the corrupt reading of MT in *v.* 12*a*, which ought almost certainly to be read thus,

Grey-haired men and honourable ones suffer contempt;[2]
The persons of old men are not honoured.

The points of affinity between Lam. 5 and Job, Psalms, and 2 and 3 Isaiah also deserve attention.[3]

(*a*) *Job.* Cp *v.* 15*b*, Job 30 31; *v.* 16*a*, Job 19 9*b*. (*b*) *Psalms.* Cp *v.* 1, Ps. 44 13 [14] 89 50 *f.* [51 *f.*]; *v.* 8 (פרק, 'to deliver'), Ps. 136 24; *v.* 10 וְלַעֲפוֹת, Ps. 11 6 119 53†, but note that in all these passages 'זל is miswritten for פַּלָּצוּת (Ezek. 7 18, etc.); *v.* 11 ('Zion,' 'cities of Judah'), Ps. 69 35 [36]; *v.* 15, Ps. 30 11 [12]; *v.* 17*b*, Ps. 6 7 [8] and (for use of חָשַׁךְ) 69 24 23]; *v.* 18 (הִלֵּךְ), Ps. 38 7 81 4, etc.; *v.* 19, Ps. 45 6 [7] 102 12; *v.* 20, Ps. 13 1 [2] 74 10 89 46 [47] (אֹרֶךְ יָמִים, Ps. 21 4 [5], etc.); *v.* 21, Ps. 80 3 7 [4 8]. (*c*) 2 *and* 3 *Isaiah.* *V.* 2 (נֶהְפַּךְ, sense), Is. 60 5; *v.* 3 (יְתוֹמִים אֵין אָב), Is. 63 16, the Jews no longer 'bnē Israel'; *v.* 7 (סָבַל), Is. 53 4 11; *v.* 11 ('Zion,' 'cities of Judah'), Is. 40 9; *v.* 18, Is. 54 10 [9]; *v.* 22*b*, Is. 57 16 54 12 [11].

[1] In *v.* 9*b*, however, the writer may also be thinking of כַּעֲרָבִי בַּמִּדְבָּר in Jer. 3 2. It is worth noting that in all probability Hosea (5 13) calls the king of Muṣur an Arabian (see JAREB).

[2] שָׂבִים וְנִכְבָּדִים נָקְלוּ (cp Lev. 19 32*a*).

[3] (3 Isaiah = Isaiah, chaps. 56-66.) In the selection of phraseological parallels Löhr's very full tables (see below, § 13) have been of the greatest service. A little more criticism on his part would have made his tables even more useful.

LAMENTATIONS (BOOK)

When we put all these data together, no earlier date seems plausible than 470-450 B.C. (*i.e.* pre-Nehemian). At the same time, a later date is by no means impossible. The shadows of evening darkened again, till night fell amidst the horrors occasioned by the barbarity of Artaxerxes Ochus (359-338 B.C.). Then, we may be sure, the fasting for the old calamities assumed a fresh vitality and intensity. It is at any rate difficult to place a long interval between Lam. 5 and Lam. 1-4, and Lam. 2-4 contain some elements which at least permit a date considerably after Nehemiah.

As it is the poorest of these plaintive compositions, we may conjecture Lam. 5 to be also the earliest. There is only one point of contact between Lam. 5 and Lam. 1-4—viz. in *v.* 3, cp 1 1—and this is of no real significance. In Lam. 5 3, the 'mothers,' if the text is right, are the cities of Judah (Ew., Löhr); more probably, however, we should read אַרְמְנֹתֵינוּ,[1] 'our citadels.' Those high, strong buildings, where formerly the warriors had held out so long against the foe, are now, complains the poet, untenanted and in ruins (cp Lam. 2 5), as helpless and incapable of helping as widows. In Lam. 1 1 Jerusalem itself is compared to a widow.

8. Date of Lam. 4.

We next turn to Lam. 4, which, like Lam. 5, seems to contain an archaising reference to Muṣri (cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), by which the writer means the land adjoining the S. of Palestine occupied by the Edomites after their displacement by the Nabatæans. Verse 21 should probably run—'Rejoice and be glad, O people of Edom, that dwellest in Miṣṣur'[2] (בְּמָצוֹר). Were it not for the archaistic Miṣṣur (Muṣur), which may point to a later age when archaisms were fashionable, we might assign *v.* 21 to some eye-witness of the great catastrophe; words quite as bitter are spoken against Edom by the prophet Ezekiel (chap. 35).

Another suspicious passage is *v.* 20:

The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of Yahwè, | was taken in their pit,[3]
Of whom we said, Under his shadow | we shall live among the nations.

That the king intended is, not Josiah (so Targ.), but Zedekiah, is certain. But a writer so fully in accord with Jeremiah and Ezekiel (see *vv.* 6 13) as the author of Lam. 4 would never have written thus, unless he had been separated from the historical Zedekiah by a considerable interval of time. Zedekiah, to this writer, is but a symbol of the Davidic dynasty; the manifold sufferings consequent on subjection to foreigners made even Zedekiah to be regretted.[4] Budde's view of this passage is hardly correct. The words 'Under his shadow we shall live,' etc., surely cannot refer to the hope of a feeble but still 'respected' (?) native royalty in the mountains of Moab and Ammon. It is in fact strictly 'David,' not Zedekiah, that the poet means. At the accession of each Davidic king—each restored 'David'—loyal subjects exclaimed, 'Under his shadow we shall live among the nations.' The strong rhetoric and the developed art of the poem are equally adverse to the view that it is the work of one of the Jews left by Nebuchadrezzar in Jerusalem. How long after Lam. 5 it was written, is uncertain; see below, § 9.

Points of contact between Lam. 4 and other late works. (*a*) *Job.* Terms for gold and precious stones in *vv.* 1 2 7; cp Job 28; *v.* 3 יְעֵנִים (Ḳr.), Job 39 13 (crit. emend.; see OSTRICH); *v.* 5.

[1] 2 S. 20 19 hardly justifies the equation, 'mother' = 'city.' Zion alone, in the poet's time, could be called 'mother' (cp Ps. 87 5, 𝔊). The play on *armanoth* and *almanoth* is a very natural one. Budde would take 'father' and 'mothers' literally; but 'father' should be 'fathers' and 'as widows' should be 'widows' to justify this view.

[2] בְּאֶרֶץ עוּץ not only makes the second part of the 'limping verse' too long, but also makes the poet guilty of an inaccuracy (see Uz).

[3] Seinecke gives the right explanation (*GVI* 2 30). SS, however, explains 'anointed of Yahwè' as a phrase for the pious kernel of the Jewish people.

[4] Read כְּשַׁחְתָּם (see Budde).

('*embrace* ash-mounds'), Job 24 8; *v.* 8*a*, Job 30 30*a*; *v.* 8*b*, Job 19 20 (crit. emend.). (*b*) *Psalms.* *V.* 5*b*, Ps. 113 7*b*; *v.* 12 ('the kings of the earth'), Ps. 2 3 76 12 [13], etc.; 'the inhabitants of the world,' 24 1 33 8 98 7; *v.* 20 (מְשִׁיחַ), Ps. 18 51 28 8 84 10; *v.* 21 (שׂוּשׂ with שָׂמַח), Ps. 40 16 [17] 70 4 [5]; *vv.* 21 *f.* (Edom), Ps. 137 7 *f.* (Che. *Ps.*(2)). (*c*) 2 *Isaiah.* *V.* 2, Is. 51 20 (?). The phrase in Is. is an interpolation (Bu., Che.). (*d*) *Deuteronomy* (late parts). *V.* 8 (נִכַּר), Dt. 32 27; *v.* 9 (תְּנוּבוֹת שָׂדָי), Dt. 32 13; *v.* 16 (נָשָׂא פָּנִים and חָנַן), Dt. 28 50; *v.* 17 ('our eyes failed . . .'), Dt. 28 32; *v.* 19 (eagles), Dt. 28 49. (*e*) *Ezekiel.* *V.* 8 (dry tree), Ezek. 17 24 20 47; *v.* 11 (כִּלָּה חֵמָה), Ezek. 5 13 6 12 13 15; *v.* 18 (בָּא קֵץ), Ezek. 7 2 6.

Lam. 2 and 4 are rightly regarded by Nöldeke and Budde as twin poems. They agree in poetical structure; both too are highly dramatic. Both speak of the strange reverses suffered by the leaders of the state; both, with much pathos, of the fate of young children. The reference to 'the law' (*tōrāh*) in *v.* 9 stamps the writer as a legalist; the idealisation of Jerusalem in *v.* 15*b* would incline us to make the poem nearly contemporary with Ps. 48, or even later than that poem, if Ps. 48 3, presupposed in Lam. 2, is corrupt. The reference to 'solemn feasts and sabbaths' in 2 6 is as imaginary as the supposed reference to the resounding cries of the worshippers in the temple in 2 7. The same date must of course be given to both the twin poems. They probably belong to the same age as the many 'persecution psalms' in Ps. 1-72—*i.e.*, to the latter part of the Persian period (see, however, PSALMS [BOOK]).

9. Date of Lam. 2.

Phraseological parallels.[1] (*a*) *Psalms.* *V.* 1 God's footstool in Zion), Ps. 99 5 132 7; *v.* 2 (נאות יעקב), Ps. 23 2 65 13, etc.; (חלל לארץ), Ps. 89 40† (cp above, § 3); *v.* 3 (גדע קרן), Ps. 75 10 [11]; *v.* 6 (corrected), Ps. 74 6 (corrected); *v.* 7 (זָנַח), Ps. 43 2 44 9 [10], etc.; *vv.* 11 12 19 (עטף), Ps. 61 2 [3] 77 3 [4] etc.; *v.* 16 (חָרַק שֵׁן), Ps. 35 16 37 12 112 10; *v.* 19 (נָשָׂא כַף), Ps. 63 4 [5]; 119 48 (אַשְׁמוּרָה), Ps. 63 6 [7] 90 4 119 148; Ps. 62 9† (שָׁפַךְ לֵב).

(*b*) 2 *Isaiah.* *V.* 13 (הִמָּה and הִשְׁוָה), Is. 46 5.

(*c*) *Deuteronomy* (late parts). *V.* 3 (בָּחֳרִי אַף), Dt. 29 23; *v.* 4 (דָּרַךְ קֶשֶׁת, of God), Dt. 32 23; *v.* 6 (נָאַץ, of God), Dt. 32 19.

(*d*) *Ezekiel.* *Vv.* 2 17 21 (לֹא חָמַל), Ezek. 5 11 7 4 9 8 18 9 5 10; *v.* 2 (הָרַס and הִגִּיעַ לָאָרֶץ), Ezek. 13 14; *v.* 3 (אבל, Hiphil), Ezek. 31 15; ויאבל, however, is not strong enough; read ויבלע (see above, § 3); *v.* 10 (העלה עפר), Ezek. 27 30; (חָגַר שַׂקִּים), Ezek. 7 18 27 31; *v.* 14 (חָזָה שָׁוְא), Ezek. 13 6 9 23 21 34 (with לָךְ, as here) 22 28; *v.* 14 (תָּפֵל), Ezek. 13 10 11 14 15, and especially 22 28; *v.* 15 (כְּלִילַת יֹפִי), Ezek. 16 14 28 12, and often; *vv.* 15 *f.* (שָׁרַק), Ezek. 27 36.

Lam. 1, Budde fully admits, can hardly be the work of an eye-witness of the fall of Jerusalem. That it is much later in origin than Lam. 2 and 4 seems an unnecessary inference.[2] Here, again, the parallels are very important.

10. Date of Lam. 1.

Parallels. (*a*) *Job.* *V.* 20, Job 30 27 (sense).

(*b*) *Psalms.* *V.* 3 (מְצָרִים), Ps. 118 5 (sing.) 116 3 (plur.); *v.* 6, Ps. 42 1 [2], cp Job 19 22 and (crit. emend.) 28. The pursued hart is a favourite image for the pious community or individual in time of trouble; *v.* 7 (אֵין עוֹזֵר ל'), Ps. 30 10 [11] 54 4 [6] 72 12; *v.* 9 (הִגְדִּיל עַל) (but read הִלְעִיג), Ps. 35 26 38 16 [17] 55 12 [13]; *v.* 10 (קָהָל), Ps. 22 25 [26] 35 18 40 10 89 6 107 32 149 1 (used in the post-exilic *religious* sense; see ASSEMBLY); *vv.* 11 *f.* (נָבַט with רָאָה), Ps. 22 17 [18] 80 14 [15] 142 4 [5]; *vv.* 12 18 (מַכְאוֹב), Ps. 32 10 38 17 [18] 69 26 [27]; *v.* 13 (מִמָּרוֹם), Ps. 18 17, etc.

(*c*) 2 *and* 3 *Isaiah.* *Vv.* 4 5 12 (הוֹגָה), Is. 51 23; cp Job 19 2; *vv.* 7 10 11 (מַחֲמַדִּים), Is. 64 11 [10]; *v.* 9 (זָכַר אַחֲרִיתָהּ), Is. 47 7; *v.* 10 (בָּסוּ מקדשה, *so read* for בָּאוּ [Grä.]), cp Is. 64 11 [10]; *v.* 15 (דָּרַךְ גַּת), Is. 63 1 *ff.*; cp Joel 3 [4] 13; *vv.* 10 17 (פָּרַשׂ יָד), Is. 65 2; cp 25 11 (very late) Ps. 143 6.

(*d*) *Deuteronomy* (late parts). *V.* 5 (הָיָה לְרֹאשׁ), Dt. 28 13 44; *v.* 20 (מִחוּץ־תְּשַׁכֶּל...בַּבַּיִת), Dt. 32 25.

(*e*) *Ezekiel.* *Vv.* 2 19 (אָהֵב, in figurative sense), Ezek. 16 33 36 *f.* 23 5 9 22; *v.* 6 (מִרְעֶה), Ezek. 34 14 (*bis*) 18 (*bis*); *vv.* 8 17 (נִידָה, נִדָּה), Ezek. 7 19 *f.*

The date of Lam. 3, relatively to Lam. 1 2 and 4, is very easily fixed. It shows a further development of the art of acrostic poetry which reminds us of Ps. 119, and its superabundant literary reminiscences place it on a level with the poorest of the canonical psalms. That, like some at least of those psalms, it is pervaded by a deep and tender religious feeling, may be most heartily admitted. Budde (p. 77) is probably right in assigning Lam. 3 to the pre-Maccabæan portion of the Greek age.

11. Date of Lam. 3.

Parallels. (*a*) *Job.* *Vv.* 7 9, Job 19 8; *v.* 8, Job 19 7; *vv.* 12 *f.*, Job 7 20 (for משא read מטרה) 16 12 *f.*; *v.* 14, Job 30 9 (cp Ps. 69 12 [13]; but in all three passages נְגִינָה, 'stringed music,' and in Lam. 3 63 מנגינה[1] should be שְׁנִינָה, 'a mock'); *v.* 15 (cp *v.* 19),[2] Job 9 18; *v.* 17*b*, Job 7 7*b*: *vv.* 30 46, Job 16 10.

(*b*) *Psalms.* *V.* 4*b*, Ps. 34 20 [21] 51 8 [10]; *v.* 6 (מַחֲשַׁכִּים), Ps. 74 20 88 6 [7] 143 3; (מֵתֵי עוֹלָם) Ps. 143 3; *v.* 8 (שִׁוַּע), Ps. 88 14 *f.*; *v.* 17 (זָנַח), Ps. 88 14 [15]; *v.* 20 (שׁוּחַ), Ps. 44 25 [26]; cp 42 5 7; *v.* 22 (חסדי י'), Ps. 89 1 [2] 107 43; *vv.* 23 (after לבקרים insert רחמיו)[3] 32*b*, Ps. 51 1*b* [3*b*] Ps. 89 1 5 [26]; *v.* 24, Ps. 16 5 73 26 119 57 142 5 [6]; *v.* 25, Ps. 37 7*a* 119 71; *v.* 31, Ps. 94 14; *v.* 33 (בְּנֵי אִישׁ), Ps. 4 2 [3] 49 2 [3] 62 9 [10]; *v.* 37, Ps. 33 9; *v.* 41 (נָשָׂא כַּף), Ps. 63 4 [5] 119 48; *v.* 46 (פָּצָה פֶּה), Ps. 22 13 [14] 35 21; *v.* 48*a*, Ps. 119 136; *v.* 49 (נִגַּר), Ps. 77 2 [3]; *v.* 50, Ps. 14 2, etc.; *v.* 52 ('like a bird'), Ps. 11 1 [2], if the text is sound; (אֹיְבַי חִנָּם) Ps. 35 19 69 4 [5] (שׂנאי ח'); *v.* 53, Ps. 103 4 (צִמְּתוּ, so point) Ps. 88 16 [17] 119 139; *v.* 54, Ps. 42 7 [8] 69 2 *f.*; *v.* 55, Ps. 88 6 [7]; *v.* 57 (יום אקראך), Ps. 56 9 [10], etc.; *v.* 58, Ps. 119 154; *v.* 62 (הִגָּיוֹן), Ps. 19 14 [15]; *v.* 64 (הֵשִׁיב גְּמוּל), Ps. 28 4.

(*c*) 2 *and* 3 *Isaiah.* *V.* 21 (אָשִׁיב אֶל לֵב), Is. 44 19 46 8 (Dt. 4 39)†; *v.* 26 (דוּמָם), Is. 47 5; *v.* 30*a*, Is. 50 6; *v.* 32 (כְּרֹב חֲסָדָיו), Is. 63 7 (Ps. 106 45).

It is true that, according to a tradition only recently called in question, the author of Lamentations is the prophet Jeremiah (cp *Bābā bathrā*, 15*a*). A picturesque notice prefixed to 𝔊's version says that, 'after Israel was taken captive and Jerusalem laid waste, Jeremiah sat down and wept, and sang this elegy over Jerusalem,' and the introduction of the Book in the Targum runs, 'Jeremiah the prophet and chief priest said thus.' There is also a passage in the Hebrew canon itself which was anciently interpreted as connecting the name of Jeremiah with our book. In 2 Ch. 35 25 we read, 'And Jeremiah composed an elegy upon Josiah, and all the singing men and singing women uttered a lamentation over Josiah unto this day; and they made it (*i.e.*, the singing of such elegies) a stated usage in Israel; behold it is written in the Lamentations'; see JEREMIAH ii., § 3 (1). 'Josephus says[4] that the dirge of Jeremiah on this occasion was extant in his days (*Ant.* x. 5 1), and no doubt means by this the canonical Lamentations. Jerome on Zech. 12 11 understands the passage in Chronicles in the same sense; but modern writers have generally assumed that, as our book was certainly written after the fall of Jerusalem, the dirges referred to in Chronicles must be a separate collection. This, however, is far from clear. The קינות of the Chronicler had, according to his statement, acquired a fixed and statutory place in Israel, and were connected with the name of a prophet. In other words, they were canonical as far as any book outside the Penta-

12. Traditional authorship.

[1] Let another expression of thanks here be given to Löhr for his useful labours.

[2] Robertson Smith inclined to Ewald's view that the ע stanza originally preceded the פ stanza; Budde is of an opposite opinion.

[1] מנגינה implies no affectation of originality (Bu.); ני=ם (dittography).

[2] Read מְרוֹרַי (note the parallelism).

[3] רחמיו, if written רחמ', would easily fall out after קרם. Omit רחמיו in *v.* 22. (So partly Bu.)

[4] This passage of his article in *Ency. Brit.* is quoted and endorsed by Robertson Smith in *OTJC*(2) 181, n. 2; he refers to Nöldeke, *Alttest. Lit.* (1868), 144.

teuch could be so called in that age.' It thus seems highly probable that in the third century B.C. (see CHRONICLES, § 3) the Book of Lamentations was used liturgically by a guild of singers, and that a portion of it was ascribed to Jeremiah as its author. Even this evidence, however, is some three centuries later than the events referred to in Lamentations. It is also discredited by its connection with an undoubted error of interpretation. The reference in Lam. 4 20 to the last representative of the much-regretted Davidic family is couched in terms which the Chronicler felt unable to apply to any king later than Josiah; Lam. 4 therefore had to be a dirge on Josiah, and who could have written such a dirge but Jeremiah?

Though there is a considerable element in the vocabulary of Lamentations which can be paralleled in Jeremiah, there are also many important characteristic words not used by the prophet, and some distinctive Jeremianic ideas are wanting in those poems. And in spite of a certain psychological plausibility in the traditional theory (cp Jer. 8 23 [9 1] 13 17 14 17) it must be admitted that the circumstances and the general attitude of the prophet make it extremely difficult to conceive his having written these poems. From Jer. 38 28 39 14 it is plain that during the capture of the city he was not a free man, and could not go about observing the sad condition of the citizens. Nor was his attitude towards the Chaldæans the same as that implied in the poems, for the poems are the expression of unavailing but ardent patriotism, whereas Jeremiah persistently counselled patient submission to the foreign rule. The sense of guilt, as Budde remarks, is very imperfectly developed in Lamentations. Here the blame of the national calamities is thrown on the prophets and priests; but Jeremiah's prophecies are full of stern appeals to the conscience. There are some passages, too, which in the mouth of Jeremiah would go directly against facts—*e.g.*, 2 9 and 4 17 20 (see Löhr, 16). It is at best a very incomplete answer that in chap. 3, where the singer's complaint may be thought to take a more personal turn, Jeremiah himself may be pictured in his isolation from Israel at large. Indeed, upon a close examination it turns out that this interpretation rests on a single word in 3 14—viz., עַמִּי, 'my people,' which, as we have seen, should rather be עַמִּים, 'peoples,' so that the singer of chap. 3, as the general argument of the poem requires, is a representative of Israel among the heathen, not an isolated figure among unsympathetic countrymen.

It is unnecessary to adduce *seriatim* the similarities of expression and imagery in Lamentations and the Book of Jeremiah respectively. It is admitted that the Book of Jeremiah had an enormous influence on the subsequent literature, and it would constitute a perplexing problem if in poems dealing with the religious aspects of the national troubles there were not numerous reminiscences of Jeremiah. Driver (*Intr.*(6), 462) has made a judicious selection of some of the more striking similarities. On the vocabulary see Löhr, *ZATW* 14 33 *ff.*

13. Literature. The most urgent question is that relating to the text. Here, as elsewhere, a very natural but no longer justifiable conservatism has hindered an adequate treatment of critical questions. It must also be remembered that the date of Lamentations can be satisfactorily discussed only in connection with the date of Psalms and Job. The older literature is fully given by Nägelsbach (p. 17); but recent commentaries, from Ewald's onwards (if we put aside those in which JEREMIAH [*q.v.*] and Lamentations are treated together), are much more important. Ewald treats the five Lamentations among the Psalms of the Exile (*Dichter*, vol. 1, pt. 2, (2) 1866). See also Thenius in *KGH*, 1855, who ascribes chaps. 2 and 4 to Jeremiah; Vaihinger, 1857; Reuss, *La Bible: Poésie Lyrique*, 1879; S. Oettli, in *KGH*, 1889; M. Löhr, 1891, and again in *HK*, 1893; S. Minochi (Rome, 1897); K. Budde, in *KHC* (*Fünf Megillot*), 1898. Recensions of the text have been given by G. Bickell, *Carmina VT metrice*, 112-120 (1882): and in *WZKM* 8 [1894] 101 *ff.*; C. J. Ball, *PSBA* 9 [1887] 131 *ff.* (metrical; cp Budde, *Fünf Meg.*, 71, n. 1); a translation of a revised text by J. Dyserinck, *Th.T* 26 [1892] 359; emendations by Houbigant, *Notæ criticæ* (1777), 2 477-483. On the metre see especially Budde, in *ZATW* 2 [1882] 1 *ff.* 12 [1892] 264 *ff.*; cp *Preuss. Jahrbb.* 1893, 460 *ff.* On the literary criticism see also Th. Nöldeke, *Die alttest. Literatur* (1868), 142-148; F. Montet, *Étude sur le livre de Lam.* (1875); Seinecke, *GVI* 2 (1884) 29 *ff.*; Stade, *GVI* (1887) 701, n. 1; Steinthal, 'Die Klagelieder Jer.,' in *Bibel u. Rel.-philosophie*, 16-33 (1890; Jewish); S. A. Fries, in *ZATW* 13 (1893) 110 *ff.* (Lam. 4 5, Maccabæan works; Lam. 1-3 probably by Jeremiah); M. Löhr, in *ZATW* 14 (1894), 51 *ff.* (an answer to Fries); and *ib.* 31 *ff.* (full statistical tables on the vocabulary of Lamentations). Winckler (*AOF*(2), 3 445) refers Lamentations to a partial destruction of Jerusalem in the time of Sheshbazzar, in which, he thinks, the temple was not destroyed. See, however, OBADIAH. Among the Introductions König's gives perhaps the most *distinctive* treatment to the critical questions; but Driver's is fuller.

T. K. C. (with some passages by W. R. S.).

LAMP, LANTERN. Before we proceed to a consideration of the use of artificial light among the early Hebrews there are eight Hebrew (including Aramaic) and Greek terms which have to be mentioned.

Passing over such terms as אוֹר, מָאוֹר, מְאוּרָה, φῶς, φωστήρ, and the like, we have:—

1. Terms.

1. נֵר, *nēr*, sometimes rendered 'candle' in AV (*e.g.*, Job 18 6 21 17 29 3, etc.), and even in RV also (Jer. 25 10, Zeph. 1 12), for which, as the Amer. Revisers recognise, 'lamp' is everywhere to be preferred: so in RV of Job, *l.c.*, and in AV also of Ex. 27 20. Cognate with *nēr* is:

2. נִיר, *nīr*, used only in a figurative sense, AV 'light' in 1 K. 11 36, 2 K. 8 19, 2 Ch. 21 7 (mg. 'candle'), but RV 'lamp' (so also in Prov. 21 4 where AV 'plowing,' mg. 'light,' RVmg. 'tillage'; see the Comm.), and AV also in 1 K. 15 4. From the same common root is derived מְנוֹרָה, *mĕnōrāh*,[1] which, with the single exception of 2 K. 4 10, is always used of the temple candelabrum (see CANDLESTICK).

3. לַפִּיד, *lappīd* (deriv. uncertain), though rendered 'lamp' in AV Gen. 15 17 Job 12 5 (RV also in Dan. 10 6 Is. 62 1), should rather be 'torch' (as in RV, so already AV in Nah. 2 4 [5], Zech. 12 6); it is rendered 'lightning' in Ex. 20 18 EV. On the apparently cognate פלדות (Nah. 2 3 [4] AV 'torches') see IRON, § 2, col. 2174.

4. נֶבְרַשְׁתָּא, *nĕbraštā*, in Bibl. Aram. Dan. 5 5, EV 'candlestick.'[2]

5. λύχνος (in 𝔊 for no. 1), 'candle' in AV of Mt. 5 15 Mk. 4 21 Lk. 8 16, etc., but 'lights' (in pl.) Lk. 12 35; RV 'lamp(s).'

6. λυχνία (in 𝔊 for *mĕnōrāh*, see 2 above), 'candlestick' AV Mt. 5 15 Mk. 4 21 Lk. 8 16 11 33 (RV 'stand'), and EV Heb. 9 2 Rev. 1 12 2 1 5 etc. (in Rev., RVmg., 'Gr. lamp-stands').

7. λαμπάς, 'lamp' AV Rev. 4 5 8 10, etc., and EV Mt. 25 1-8, properly 'torch' (so EV in Jn. 18 3, RV in Rev. *l.c.*, and RVmg. in Mt. *l.c.*). The word was transferred from the torch to the later invented 'lamp.' In Judith 10 22 mention is made of silver 'lamps' (λαμπάδες ἀργυραῖ).

8. φανός, Jn. 18 3†, EV 'lantern' (properly a torch).

2. Introduction of Lamps. The oldest form of artificial light was supplied by torches of rush, pine, or any other inflammable wood. The origin of the lamp is quite unknown. Classical tradition ascribed its invention to the joint efforts of Vulcan, Minerva, and Prometheus, whilst Egypt, on the other hand, claimed the credit for herself. At all events, according to Schliemann, lamps were unknown in the Homeric age, and, on the authority of Athenæus (15 700) were not in common use (in Greece) until the fourth century B.C. With the Romans, too, the *candela* is earlier than the *lucerna* and the *candelabrum*, and was used, even in later times, by the poorer classes rather than the more expensive lights requiring oil.

3. Description. The oldest kind of lamp is the shell-shaped clay vessel consisting of an open circular body with a projecting rim to prevent the oil from being spilled. This variety is found in Cyprus from the eighth to the fourth century B.C.,[3] and many Egyptian specimens, ascribed to the middle of the second millennium, were found at Tell el-Ḥesy.[4] These rude clay vessels have survived in the E. to the present day. The earliest Greek and Roman lamps (*lychni*, *lucernæ*) are almost always of terra-cotta, bronze is rarer.[5] In Egypt and Palestine, on the other hand,

[1] According to Hommel, *Süd-arab. Chrest.* 128, the related מנהרת in Hal. 353 = 'torch.'

[2] Deriv. quite obscure; see the Lexx. According to Barth (*ZA* 2 117) the *n* is a nominal prefix.

[3] Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 368, fig. 253 2, 411 n.; tab. 210 16.

[4] Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities* (1898), 136, fig. on p. 87.

[5] Cesnola, *Salaminia* (1884), 250 *ff.*

terra-cotta or even porcelain lamps do not seem to occur before the Roman and Byzantine periods respectively.[1]

Another popular variety is the shoe-shaped lamp, several specimens of which were found by Peters at Nippur,[2] sometimes plain, 'sometimes blue enamelled, and a few in copper.' They appear to be all post-Babylonian. (The older lamps were of a squarish shape; the most elaborate specimen was evidently Seleucidan.) Lamps of this description were used by the early Christians (cp *Dict. Christ. Ant. s.* 'Lamps,' 919).[3]

Generally speaking, therefore, the lamps of the Semites and Egyptians contrasted unfavourably with those of Grecian or Roman manufacture, and we may further conclude that the Hebrew lamp underwent little improvement and elaboration previous, at all events, to the time of the Seleucidæ. We may also infer, incidentally, that there are no grounds at present (at least) for supposing that P's temple-candelabrum was marked by any exceptional beauty—even in Samuel's time the sanctuary was lit only by a *nēr* (§ 1, 1 above).

4. Early Jewish Lamps.

In spite of the numerous references to the *nēr* in the OT we have really no indications to guide us to its shape, and in the light of the evidence above (§ 3) we can only surmise that it approximated to—if it was not identical with—the plain shell-shaped clay utensil already described. As the interesting passage in 2 K. 4 10 proves, a lamp of some kind formed a part of the furniture of every room, and the exceptional use of *mĕnōrāh* suggests that already it was customary to set the lamp upon an elevated stand. This we know was done in NT times. At all events we must not suppose that a candelabrum of the typical classical shape is intended in this pre-exilic reference. The more usual practice was to set the lamp upon a niche in the wall.

As the term *pištāh*, פִּשְׁתָּה, shows, the wick was commonly of FLAX [*q.v.*]. Whether, as in Egypt (cp Herod. 2 62), the oil was mixed with salt (to purify the flame) is unknown; see OIL.

The Oriental prefers to keep a light burning throughout the night[4]—a custom not wholly due to fear of darkness—and Kitto (*Bibl. Cycl.*, *s.v.*) suggests that this practice gives point to the familiar '*outer*-darkness' of the NT. The contrast implied in the term 'outer' refers to 'the effect produced by sudden expulsion into the darkness of night from a chamber highly illuminated for an entertainment.' Probably the custom originated in the widespread belief which associates and sometimes even identifies light and life.

5. Beliefs and metaphors.

So, the extinguishing of light is the cessation of life, Prov. 20 20, cp Prov. 13 9 24 20 Job 18 6 21 17 29 3. Similar is the use of *nīr* (§ 1, 2 above), and the metaphor 'quench the coal' in 2 S. 14 7 (COAL, § 4). The light may typify the life of the individual, of the clan, or of the nation. In 2 S. 21 17 where David is the 'lamp of Israel,' we may perhaps see in the people's anxiety to safeguard his person a trace of the primitive taboo of kings.[5] Again we find the widespread custom of the ever-burning sacred hearth or lamp (cp CANDLESTICK), on which see NAPHTHAR and cp Paus. i. 26 6 *f.*, viii. 53 9, and *Class. Dict.*, *s.v.* 'Prytaneum.'

On the association of the deity with flame, see FIRE.[6] Finally may be mentioned the Lydian custom (Paus. vii. 22 2) of lighting the sacred lamp before the image of Hermes in the market-place of Pharæ before approaching it for oracular purposes. This may, conceivably, illustrate 1 S. 3 3 where the point is emphasised that the lamp has not gone out. Did the writer believe that there would have been no oracle had the light been extinguished?[7]

From primitive cult to established custom is an easy step. On the lighting of torches and lamps on the occasion of marriage festivities see MARRIAGE.[1] Whether, as Bliss has conjectured,[2] lamps ever played a part in foundation-ceremonies, cannot at present be proved. The burning of lamps before the dead is too widely known to need more than a passing mention; see, further, MOURNING CUSTOMS. On lamps in Jewish festivals see DEDICATION, FEAST OF, col. 1054, and TABERNACLES, FEAST OF. S. A. C.

6. Lamps in Festivals.

[1] Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 2 157; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæological Researches*, 1 167 *f.*, 486 *f.*

[2] *Nippur*, 2 388 *f.*, cp pl. v., no. 10.

[3] Whether glass lamps were used in Egypt must be considered problematical, see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 3 424 (fig. 620).

[4] Doughty found paper-lanterns thus used among the Bedouins (*Ar. Des.* 1 8 72).

[5] Cp the care taken of the sacred torch-bearer among the Greeks (see Rawlinson on Herod. 8 6).

[6] So the Yezīdis light lamps at sacred springs (Parry, *Six months in a Syrian monastery*, 363).

[7] As it stands the passage is difficult. It is ordinarily supposed to indicate that it was still night-time (in *v.* 15 read: 'he *rose up early* in the morning'). Are we to suppose, therefore, that the *nēr* only burned for a few hours (note that יִכְבֶּה is intransitive)? This would be opposed not only to P, but also to universal custom.

LAMPSACUS, 1 Macc. 15 23 EVmg. (after Vg. *LAMPSACUS*); EV SAMPSAMES (*q.v.*).

LANCE. For כִּידוֹן, *kīdōn*, Jer. 50 42 AV, RV 'spear,' see JAVELIN, 5, WEAPONS. For רֹמַח, *rōmaḥ*, 1 K. 18 28 RV, AV '**lancet**,' see SPEAR, WEAPONS.

LAND-CROCODILE (כֹּחַ), Lev. 11 30, RV, AV CHAMELEON, (*q.v.*, 1).

LANDMARK (גְּבוּל), Dt. 19 14, etc. See AGRICULTURE, § 5.

LAND TENURE. See LAW AND JUSTICE (§§ 15, 18).

LANTERN (φανος), Jn. 18 3†. See LAMP.

LAODICEA (λαοδικια [Ti. WH] from ℵ everywhere; in TR everywhere λαοδικεια, which is certainly the correct Gk. form [Authors and inscrr.]. B has λαοδικια in Col. 2 1 Rev. 1 11 3 14; but λαοδικεια in Col. 4 13 15 16. Latin, *Laodicea*; but also *Laodicia* and other wrong forms are found. The ethnic is λαοδικευς [Lat. *Laodicensis*], **Laodicean,** Col. 4 16 [cp COINS]). The NT passages indicate the position of Laodiceia[3] as (1) in the Roman province of Asia, and (2) in close proximity to Colossæ and Hierapolis. A coin represents the city as a woman wearing a turreted crown, sitting between φρυγια and καρια, which are figured as standing females. This agrees with the ancient authorities, who are at variance whether Laodiceia belongs to Caria or to Phrygia.[4] It was in fact close to the frontier, on the S. bank of the Lycus, 6 m. S. of Hierapolis and about 10 m. W. of Colossæ (Col. 4 13 16). In order to distinguish it from other towns of the same name, it was called Λαοδίκεια ἡ πρὸς (or ἐπὶ) τῷ Λύκῳ (*Laodicea ad Lycum*, Strabo, 578).

Laodiceia probably owed its foundation to Antiochus II. (261-246 B.C.), and its name to his wife Laodicē. The foundations of the Greek kings in Asia Minor were intended as centres of Hellenic civilisation and of foreign domination. Ease of access and commercial convenience were sought, rather than merely military strength. Hence they were generally placed on rising ground at the edge of the plains (Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of AM*, 85). Such is the situation of Laodiceia, backed by the range of Mt. Salbacus (*Baba Dagh*) and, to the SE., Mt. Cadmus (*Khonas Dagh*). Being a Seleucid foundation, Laodiceia contained a Jewish element in its population, either due to the founder or imported by Antiochus the Great about 200 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 4).[5] In 62 B.C. Flaccus, the governor of Asia, seized twenty pounds of gold which had been collected at Laodiceia, as the centre of a district,[6] by the Jews for transmission to Jerusalem (Cic. *Pro Flacco*, 68; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 20, a letter addressed by the Laodicean magistrates to Gaius Rabirius in 48 or 45 B.C., guaranteeing religious freedom for the Jewish colony).

[1] Also a classical custom. Probably the flame was originally regarded as a vivifying and fertilising agent; cp especially Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 3 305. One remembers that Hymen is figured with a torch.

[2] *Op. cit.* 84.

[3] [At least six cities of this name were founded or renovated in the later Hellenic period. Cp LYCAONIA.]

[4] Carian, Ptol. and Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Antiocheia; Phrygian, Polyb. 5 57, Strabo, 576.

[5] [Cp Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, 41 *f.*, who denies the genuineness of the document.]

[6] Cp Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 2 667.

The prosperity of Laodiceia began only with the Roman period (Str. 578, *μικρὰ πρότερον οὖσα αὔξησιν ἔλαβεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πατέρων*, which sums up the first century B.C.). Strabo traces the growth of the city to its excellent territory and its fine breed of sheep; but the real secret lay in its situation at a knot in the imperial road-system (cp Pol. 5 57). At Laodiceia the great eastern highway met three other roads: (1) from the SE., from Attaleia and Perga; (2) from the NW., the important road from Sardis and Philadelpheia; (3) from the NE., from Dorylæum and northern Phrygia. The city was thus marked out as a commercial and administrative centre. It was the meeting-place of the Cibyratic *conventus*, and a banking-centre (Cicero proposes to cash there his treasury bills of exchange—*Ad Fam.* 3 5, *pecunia quæ ex publica permutatione debetur*. Cp id. *Ad Att.* 5 15). To this financial side of the city's repute refers Rev. 3 18 ('I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire'). Laodiceia also became great as a manufacturing town. The fine glossy black native wool (of the colour called *κοραξής*, Str. 578) was made into garments of various shapes and names, and into carpets.[1] A reference to this trade is found in Rev. 3 18 ('I counsel thee to buy of me . . . white raiment' [*ἱμάτια λευκά*—not the dark garments of native manufacture]). The town thus rapidly grew rich. Although it was passed over in 26 A.D. as not sufficiently important to be selected as the site of a temple to Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 4 55), it needed no help from the imperial exchequer in order to repair the havoc wrought by the great earthquake[2] of 60 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 14 27, *propriis opibus revaluit*). Hence the boast in Rev. 3 17 ('I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing').

Asklepios (Æsculapius) enjoyed great honour at Laodiceia. He is there the Grecised form of the native deity, Mēn Karos, whose temple was at Attouda, some 12 m. to the West (cp NEOCOROS). It was connected with a great school of medicine. That Laodiceia identified itself with this worship is clear from its coins, which under Augustus have the staff of Asklepios encircled by serpents, with the legend Ζεῦξις or Ζεῦξις Φιλαληθής: Zeuxis and Alexander Philalethes were two directors of the school. The expression in Rev. 3 18 ('eye-salve to anoint thine eyes with, that thou mayest see' RV) refers to the 'Phrygian powder' (*τέφρα Φρυγία*) used to cure weak eyes. We may infer that this was made at Laodiceia, and that the Laodicean physicians were skilful oculists. Thus the three epithets 'poor and blind and naked' in Rev. 3 17, are carefully selected with reference to three conspicuous features in the life of the city.

Of the history of Christianity in Laodiceia little is known. From Col. 2 1 ('*for* them at Laodicea, and *for* as many as have not seen my face in the flesh'), it is clear that at the time of writing Paul was not personally known to the bulk of the converts at Laodiceia. This inference is by no means irreconcilable with Acts 19 1 [on the expression *τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*, 'the upper coasts' AV, 'the upper country' RV, see GALATIA, § 7, col. 1596, and PHRYGIA, § 4]. The foundation of the Laodicean church must be traced to Paul's activity in Ephesus (Acts 18 19 19 10, 'so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word'). The actual founder of the church would appear to have been Epaphras (Col. 1 7 4 12 *f.*). From Col. 4 16 we gather that Paul wrote also to Laodiceia when he wrote to Colossæ; but the Laodicean epistle is lost—unless we accept the view that it is the extant Epistle to the Ephesians (cp COLOSSIANS, § 14). The epistle, extant in Latin, entitled *Epistola ad Laodicenses*, is a forgery.[3] The subscription to 1 Tim.—'The first to Timothy was written from Laodicea' AV—is also false.

The site of Laodiceia (mod. *Eski-Hissar*, the 'Old Castle') is now quite deserted; the ruins are many but not striking. The old city has served as a quarry for *Denizli*, a large Turkish town at the foot of the *Baba Dagh*, about 6 m. to the southward.

Literature. Ramsay, in his *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1 32 *ff.* 341 *f.* 2 512 542 *ff.*, etc., gives nearly all that is known of Laodiceia and the Lycus valley generally, with map of Laodiceia. Map of the Lycus valley in his *Church in the Rom. Emp.*(5), 472. See also Anderson, in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 1897, pp. 404 *ff.*, and Weber, *Jahrb. des arch. Instituts*, 1898. W. J. W.

[1] Cp *Edict of Diocl.* 16, 52 [ἐρέαν Τερεν]τεινὴν ἢ Λαδικηνήν.

[2] This region was notoriously liable to such visitations; cp Strabo, 578, εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλη, καὶ ἡ Λαοδίκεια εὔσειστος.

[3] See P. W. Schmiedel in Ersch and Gruber (1888), and PAUL, § 41 *a*.

LAPIDOTH, RV **LAPPIDOTH** (לַפִּידוֹת, as if 'torches' or [cp לַפִּידִים, Ex. 20 18] 'lightning flashes'; λαφ[ε]ιδωθ [BAL]), husband of DEBORAH (Judg. 4 4). There is reason, however, to suspect that both 'Deborah' and 'Lappidoth' may be corruptions, the former of the name of the centre of the clan of Saul (Ephrath—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel; see SAUL, § 1), the latter of PALTIEL, the origin of which was of course unknown when the Deborah legend was elaborated. The narratives in Judg. 4 and Josh. 11, and the song in Judg. 5, have in fact most probably undergone considerable transformation. See SHIMRON-MERON, SISERA. T. K. C.

LAPIS LAZULI (Rev. 21 19 RVmg.), the name by which a well-known blue mineral (mainly silicate of aluminium, calcium, and sodium), the source of ultramarine, has since the Arabian period been designated;[1] it is now brought chiefly from SW. Siberia, through Persia and Turkestan. To the Greeks it was known as *σάπφειρος*, to the Hebrews as סַפִּיר, *sappir* (see SAPPHIRE), to the Assyrians and Babylonians (most probably) as the *uknû*-stone, to the Egyptians as the *ḫspd*. It was prized alike for personal ornaments and for architectural decoration. A large number of Egyptian objects of luxury made from it have been preserved; various Assyrian seal-cylinders, inscribed tablets, and the like, in lapis lazuli, are also known (1450 B.C. onwards). Burnaburiaš of Babylonia sends to Napḫuria of Egypt (*i.e.*, Amenḥotep IV.) two minas of *uknū*-stone and a necklace of 1048 gems and *uknū*-stones. There is frequent mention of *uknū* in the 'Statistical' Table of Thotmes III. (*RP* 2 19 *ff.*), and Rameses III. is so rich in *uknū* that he can offer pyramids of it in his temple at Medinet Habū. It was one of the seven stones placed as amulets and ornaments on the breast of the Babylonian kings, and was used to overlay the highest parts of buildings. It is sometimes called *uknē-šadē* (uknū of the mountains), and Esarhaddon specially mentions the mountains of Media and the neighbouring regions as sources of the *uknū*. The inscriptions at ed-Deir el-Baḥrī speak of it as brought from the land of Punt.

See Am. Tab. 8 40 42 15 11; *KB* 3*b* 20; Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.* 'uknû'; Wi. *AOF* 1 150 160 271; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 278; *OLZ*, Feb. 1899, p. 39; Peters, *Nippur*, 2 132 143 195 210 240.

LAPWING (דּוּכִיפַת), Lev. 11 19 Dt. 14 18 AV, RV HOOPOE (*q.v.*).

LASEA (Acts 27 8, πολιc λαcαια [λαcεα WH, after B]: πολιc αλαccα [A], λαccαια [ℵ*], λαιccα [ℵc], λαcια [minusc. ap. Ti.]; *Vg.* THALASSA [tol THALASSIA; codd. ap. Lachm. THASLASSA, or THASSALA]). From Acts we learn that it was 'near' (*ἐγγύς*) Fair Havens, and the configuration of the coast thereabouts restricts us to the N. or the E. There was probably frequent communication between the town and Paul's ship, which lay for 'much time' at FAIR HAVENS (*q.v.*). The ruins of Lasea were discovered, apparently, by Captain Spratt, in 1853. They were first examined and described by the Rev. G. Brown in 1856. The site lies about a mile NE. of Cape *Leon(d)a* (= *Λέοντα*), a promontory resembling a *lion* couchant, 4 or 5 m. E. of Fair Havens. According to Mr. Brown, the peasants still call the place *Lasea*. This position agrees with that given to a place called *Lisia*, which in the *Peutinger Tables* is stated to be 16 m. from Gortyna (see Hoeck, *Kreta* 1 441, but cp Winer(8), § 5, n. 55). The true name, according to Bursian (*Geogr.* 2 567), is Alassa, and the place is identical with the Ἀλαί of the *Stadiasmus Med.* 322, and the *Alos* or *Lasos* of Pliny (*HN* 4 12); but Bursian is in error in identifying the remains near Cape *Leonda* as those of Leben, one of the ports of Gortyna (Strabo 478), and in putting Lasea on the islet now called *Traphos* which lies close to the coast a little to the NE. of Fair Havens.

[1] *Lāzuward*, of Pers. origin, whence also our 'azure.'

See James Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 4th ed., 82, 268 *f.* with map; Falkener in *Mus. of Class. Ant.* 1852, Sept. p. 287. For coins with legend Θαλασσεων, cp Head, *Hist. Num.* 386. W. J. W.

LASHA (לָשַׁע, pausal form; λαcα [EL]; Δαcα [A]), or rather Lesha, a frontier city of Canaan (*i.e.*, on the W. side of the Jordan), Gen. 10 19†. Jerome (*Quæst. in lib. Gen.*) and the Targum identify it with *Callirrhoe*, a place famous for its hot springs, near the *Wâdy Zerḳā Ma'īn*, on the E. side of the Dead Sea (see Seetzen's account in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 15 575 *ff.*). The situation of Callirrhoe, however, is unsuitable. Halévy proposes to read לָשׁוֹן, *lāšōn*, which is used in Josh. 15 2 of the southern end of the Dead Sea (*Recherches bibliques*, 8 164); but the article would in this case be indispensable. Seybold (*ZATW*, 1896, p. 318 *ff.*) actually identifies Lesha with Zoar (also called Bela), which, as the southern point of the Pentapolis, seems to him to be naturally expected in such a context. Wellhausen (*CH* 15) maintains that we should read לֶשֶׁם, Lesham · the letters ע and ם have a close resemblance in their Palmyrene form. In this case, the 'border of the Canaanites' is given thus—from Sidon to Gaza, from Gaza to the Dead Sea, and from the Dead Sea to Lesham—*i.e.*, Dan (cp LESHEM). Most probably, however, the original text referred to the Kenites or Kennizzites (not to the Canaanites), and the 'border' was drawn from Miṣṣur (not 'Zidon') to Gerar and Gaza (?), and in the direction of Sodom and Gomorrah as far as Eshcol (?)—*i.e.*, perhaps Ḥalūṣah. T. K. C.

LASHARON, RV **Lassharon** (לַשָּׁרוֹן; τηc αρωκ (?) [B], om. A, λεcαρων [L]), a royal city of Canaan, mentioned with Aphek, Josh. 12 18 (EV). מֶלֶךְ, 'king (of),' before לַשָּׁרוֹן is, however, probably an interpolation; it is not represented in 𝔊. Thus the true sense will be, 'the king of Aphek in the (plain of) Sharon' (see APHEK). Those who retain the MT suggest that Lasharon may be the modern Sārōnā [SW. of Tiberias. Kautzsch, *HS*, renders MT 'the king of Sharon.' Observe, however (1) that מֶלֶךְ לַשָּׁרוֹן should mean grammatically 'one of the kings of Sharon' (see Ges.-Kau. § 129 *c*), and (2) that Sārōnā, as a place-name, is probably a *late* echo of the older name of a district (see SHARON, 2). 𝔊 in Josh. 12 9-24, gives twenty-nine kings, MT thirty-one. It is more likely that the original writer made thirty.] W. R. S.

LASTHENES (λαcθεν[ε]ι dat. [ANV], -ηc [Jos.]), the minister of Demetrius II. Nicator (see DEMETRIUS, 2), who was ordered to lighten the fiscal burdens of the Jews. A copy of the order was also forwarded to Jonathan the Maccabee (see MACCABEES i., § 5), and appears in 1 Macc. 11 30 *ff.* in a form closely akin to that in Josephus *Ant.* xiii. 4 9 [§§ 126-130]).[1] From Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4 3) it would seem that Lasthenes was a Cretan who had raised a number of mercenaries (cp CRETE, col. 955) with which Demetrius had been able to commence his conquest of Syria. The honorific titles bestowed upon him in 1 Macc. 11 31 *f.* (συγγενής, πατήρ; see COUSIN, FATHER) testify to his high position, which (compare 10 69 74*a*) may have been that of governor of Cœlesyria, or grand vizier of the kingdom (cp Camb. Bib. *ad loc.*). Later, when quietness had been gained, the whole of the army of Demetrius was disbanded (probably at the instigation of Lasthenes) with the exception of the 'foreign forces from the isles of the gentiles' (11 38),[2] a circumstance which gave rise to widespread dissatisfaction; see, further, ANTIOCHUS 4; TRYPHON.

[1] The most noteworthy differences are (*a*) *v.* 37, ἐν ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ as compared with the preferable τοῦ ἁγίου ἱεροῦ [Jos. § 128]—ὄρει apparently a corruption of ἱερῷ, and (*b*) *v.* 38, αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων as against στρατιωτῶν [Jos. § 130]—the reading of Macc. being apparently a doublet with אבותיו read for צב[א]ותיו (as in 10 72 [see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 3 end]).

[2] Jos. § 129, no doubt correctly, οἱ . . ἐκ Κρήτης.

LATCHET (שְׂרוֹךְ, Is. 5 27; ιμας, Mk. 1 7 etc.). See SHOES.

LATIN (ρωμαιcτι) Jn. 19 20. See ROMAN EMPIRE.

LATTICE. Although the manufacture and use of glass (more particularly for ornamental purposes) was known to the civilisations of the East from the earliest times (see GLASS, § 1), we are without evidence of the employment of glass-panes in the construction of windows. Indeed, no openings such as windows were at any time common—a fact which finds sufficient explanation in climatic considerations. In Assyria and Babylonia, to avoid openings of any kind in the outer walls, the ancient architects used doorways reaching to ten or more feet in height, which were intended to light and ventilate the rooms as well as to facilitate the movements of their inhabitants (Place, *Ninive*, 1 313, see Per.-Chip., *Art in Chald.* 1 186 *ff.*). In Egypt, again, the openings were small but admitted of being 'closed with folding valves, secured . . . with a bolt or bar, and ornamented with carved panels or coloured devices' (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1 363, cp illustr. p. 362, fig. 132). Of the construction of the house among the ancient Hebrews we know but little (see HOUSE); the etymology, however, of some of the terms employed for certain parts[1] suggests constructions of lattice work, such as have happily not yet disappeared.[2] At the present day the windows looking out towards the street are small, closely barred, and at a considerable height from the ground. In the olden times these windows seem to have looked over the street, and in the case of houses built upon the city-wall offered an easy escape into the surrounding country (cp Josh. 2 15 2 Macc. 3 19). Cp HOUSE, § 2.

1. Use and form.

The OT words correctly rendered in EV 'lattice' or 'window' are four, to which מֶחֱזָה, *meḥĕzāh* (EV 'light'—*i.e.*, light-opening, window) in 1 K. 7 4 *f.* may be added. Of three other words (nos. 5-7) AV mistakes the meaning.

2. Hebrew names.

(1) אֲרֻבָּה, *'ărubbāh* (cp Ar. *'araba*, 'to tie [a knot]'), EV 'window,' used of the latticed openings of a dove-cote (Is. 60 8 ν[ε]οσ[σ]ος [BℵA, etc.]), of the sluices of the sky (Gen. 7 11, etc. καταρρακτης [in Is. 24 18 θυρίς]), and metaphorically of the eyes (Eccl. 12 3 ὀπη). On Hos. 13 3 (καπνοδοχη [AQ*]; δακρυων [B] comes from ακριδων [Compl.]—*i.e.*, אַרְבֶּה; EV 'chimney'), see COAL, § 3.

(2) חַלּוֹן, *ḥallōn*, θυρίς, EV 'window,' Gen. 26 8 Josh. 2 15 Judg. 5 28 Jer. 22 14 (where read חלוניו with Mich., Hi., etc.), not necessarily a mere opening (חלל, to bore, perforate), since 2 K. 13 17 shows that it could be opened and shut, but probably an opening provided with a movable covering of lattice-work (cp אֶשְׁנָב,[3] 'lattice,' Judg. 5 28*b* Pr. 7 6 [where AV 'casement']). בית חלוני 1 K. 6 4 is very probably the *bēt ḥillāni*, 'place of openings' or fortified portico, an architectural expression used by Sargon (*Khors.* 161 *f.*, cp *KB* 2 48) as a W. Palestinian term for *bēt appāti* (see FORTRESS, col. 1557, and references in Muss-Arn., *Ass. HWB s. v. xilani*). In 1 K. *l.c.*, 'ב' ח seems to be identical with or possibly a portion of the אוּלָם in *v.* 3.

(3) חֲרַכִּים (pl.), *ḥărakkim*, Ct. 2 9, cp חֲרַכָּא in Tgg. for חלון.

(4) כַּוִּין (pl.), *kawwīn*, Dan. 6 10 [11], Aramaic.

To these AV adds

(5) שמשת (pl.), *šᵉmāšōth*, Is. 54 12; but see BATTLEMENT, FORTRESS, col. 1557 *n.* 1.

(6) שֶׁקֶף, *šĕḳeph*, 1 K. 7 5 (cp שְׁקֻפִים 6 4 7 5), a difficult word which seems rather to denote a cross-beam (RVmg. 'with beams'); and

(7) צֹהַר, *ṣôhar*, Gen. 6 16 (in P's description of the ark). AV may be nearly right though, in spite of the support given to the rendering 'opening for light' by Tg., Pesh., Vulg., etc., many scholars now render 'roof'—*e.g.*, RVmg., Budde, and Ball; Ges.-Buhl and others who compare Ar. *ẓahr*, Ass. *ṣêru* (in Am.

[1] שְׂבָכָה, 'lattice,' 2 K. 1 2, δικτυωτός [BL], δίκτυον [A], see NET, 5; and אֲרֻבָּה (only in plur., except in Hos. 13 3), see above (1).

[2] See Baed.(3) xli. One must go to the more remote parts of Arabia to escape from glass window-panes altogether (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 286).

[3] On etymology, cp Moore *Judg. ad loc.* In Judg. τοξικόν [B], δικτυωτή [AL].

Tab. *ṣu'ru*), 'back.' It is doubtful, however, whether this comparison is legitimate. (*a*) The meaning of the Heb. root זהר צהר, 'to shine,' is well-established. (*b*) Jensen more safely connects Ass. ṣēru with צַוָּאר, 'neck' (*Kosmol.* 28, n. 1); and (*c*) there is no support for a word like צֹהַר, 'roof,' in the Babylonian Deluge-story. 𝔊 has ἐπισυνάγων, which is not a rendering of צֹהַר (Schleusner, Ball, and others) but a corruption of καπνοδοχήν. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 3 2) mentions a roof (ὄροφος), but is silent about the window, which in fact seems to be usually passed over in the accounts of the ark contained in the various deluge-legends (see DELUGE, § 20, *n.* 5), though, to be sure, J incidentally refers to a 'window.'[1] For RV's rend. 'light,' *i.e.*, a great light-opening, cp Symm., διαφανές. [On the whole it may be best to read אֲרֻבָּה (cp 𝔊, reading as above). Pasek in MT warns us to criticise the text. Cp *PSBA* 23 141. —T. K. C.]

LAVER.[2] Solomon's temple (see TEMPLE), besides its sea of bronze (see SEA, MOLTEN), had also ten bronze lavers (כִּיּוֹר; see POT, and cp COALS, § 3, FURNACE, § 1 [2]; λουτήρ 𝔊, but in Kings χυτρόκαυλος [AL-ογ]; Vg. *labrum*,[3] but four times *luter*, once *lebes*, and twice *concha*). The passage in 1 K. (7 27-39)[4] is evidently in great confusion; and but little help in the elucidation of the wholly inadequate details in MT's description can be obtained either from 𝔊 (7 13 *ff.*) or from Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 36). The figures in Stade (*GVI* 1 338 340 *f.*), Nowack (*HA* 2 43 *f.*), and Benzinger (*HA* 2 52 *ff.*; *Kön.* 49) may assist vague conjecture as to what may have been the appearance of structures which obviously none of the describers had ever seen.

1. In Kings.

Fresh light, however, has been thrown on the whole passage (1 Ki. 7 27-39) by Stade's new discussion in *ZATW* 21 (1901), pp. 145-192, mainly through discoveries of bronze chariots in Cyprus. The 'undersetters' (RV for כתפת) and the 'stays' (ידת) are now intelligible, and so too is the construction of the 'mouths' of the 'lavers.' Klostermann's excision of vv. 34-36 is found to be inadequate to the explanation of the present state of the text, which has arisen by the interweaving of two parallel accounts.

1. Of the lavers themselves all we are told is that they were of bronze, four cubits (six feet) in diameter, and that they had a cubic capacity of forty baths (90,000 cubic in., 52 cubic ft.). Thus they must have been about 2 ft. in depth and when filled with water their contents alone (325 gallons) must have weighed about 1½ tons.[5]

2. Each laver with its foot rested on a 'base.' Of these 'bases' (מְכֹנוֹת, *mĕkōnōth*; μεχωνωθ; *bases*) also we have no satisfactory description. Each of them was four (𝔊, Jos., five) cubits long, four (Jos., five) cubits broad, and three (𝔊, Jos., six) cubits high. Each consisted of מסגרות (*misgĕrōth*; συγκλειστόν, συγκλείσματα) and שלבים (*šĕlabbīm*; ἐξεχόμενα); but how these words should be rendered is quite uncertain.[6] Benzinger argues with some plausibility that the *šĕlabbīm* were the primary elements in the quadrilateral structure, and the *misgĕrōth* only secondary. The *misgĕrōth* were decorated with lions, oxen, and cherubim.

3. Each base rested on solid brazen wheels 1½ cubits in diameter; the axles of these wheels moved in *yādōth*—'hands' or 'stays'—which projected from the lower part of the base and were of the same piece with it.

4. The ten lavers as described in Kings were ranged five on the right side and five on the left side of the house facing eastward. According to 2 K. 16 17 king Ahaz (see Benzinger) cut up the *mĕkōnōth* and removed the *misgĕrōth*. Presumably if the lavers themselves remained they stood at a lower elevation than formerly. Perhaps, however, the bases were renewed, since they are said to have been broken in pieces by the army of Nebuchadrezzar (2 K. 25 13 16 = Jer. 52 17 20;[1] cp Jer. 27 19). What their function was is not stated in MT. Josephus, who must at least have known the arrangements of the temple of his own day, says that the lavers were 'for cleansing the entrails of the animals sacrificed, and also their feet (?).'

On the probable mythological significance of the lavers, see SEA [MOLTEN].

2. In P.

The laver (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 6 3 περιρραντηριον) of Ex. 30 18 28 35 16 38 8 39 39 40 7 11, Lev. 8 11 (all P) stood on its 'foot' (כֵּן, 𝔊 βάσις, Jos. κρηπίς; *basis*) between the door of the tabernacle and the altar. The laver belongs wholly to one of the later strata of P. (See Dr. *Introd.*(6), 38; Addis, *Doc. Hex.* 2 276, etc., and the *Oxf. Hex.*) Its dimensions or shape are nowhere stated; it is said (Ex. 38 8) to have been made out of the mirrors of the women (a very late Haggadic addition, thinks Wellhausen), and its use was for Aaron and his sons to wash their hands and feet therein when they entered the tabernacle.

When we compare the account of the tabernacle in P with the (very late) description of Solomon's temple in 1 K. it seems curious that the laver and its bases should be left undescribed in P; the case is reversed with the golden candlestick: perhaps we may conclude that the laver and the candlestick were one. Moreover, it may be worth noting that the use of only *one* laver in P when contrasted with the *ten* in 1 K. finds an analogy in the CANDLESTICK [*q.v.*, § 1]. See further SCAFFOLD.

(See Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, Taf. 134; also his notes on p. 449.)

LAW AND JUSTICE

Law and custom (§ 1).	Administration (§§ 8-10).
Effect of settlement (§ 2 *f.*).	Punishment (§§ 11-13).
Written laws (§§ 4-6).	Private law [property, etc.] (§§ 14-18).
Oral law (§ 7).	Bibliography (§ 19).

1. Law and custom.

Law is, originally, custom. As has been already shown under GOVERNMENT (esp. § 9), the old tribal system knew no legislative authority, no persons holding superior power whose will and command were looked upon as law or as constituting right. This does not, however, imply a condition of arbitrary lawlessness; on the contrary, tribal custom formed a law and a right of the most binding character. Its authority was much more powerful than that established by any mere popular custom in modern society. To break loose from tribal custom was, practically, to renounce the family and tribal connection altogether; any gross infraction of that custom was necessarily followed by expulsion from the tribe and deprivation of all legal right and protection. Further, it is to be remembered that in virtue of the intimate relation between the tribe and its god, every tribal custom is at the same time a religious custom—*i.e.*, compliance with it is looked upon as a duty to the divinity by whom the custom is upheld. This was felt perhaps more keenly in Israel, than amongst other peoples; law and righteousness were the special concern of Yahwè; in his name justice was dispensed and to him were all legal ordinances referred. To a certain extent also Yahwè was the creator of the law. Through his servants the priests, he gave his 'decisions' (תּוֹרֹת, *tōrōth*), which were to a large degree instructions on points of right. Such a divine utterance naturally becomes a law, in accordance with which other cases of the same kind are afterwards decided. When viewed in this light the fact—to our modern ideas so surprising—that all violations of religious observance are looked upon as crimes against the law and as ranking in the same category with civil offences, becomes intelligible. The worship of the tribal god forms a part, by no means the least important part, of the tribal custom; no distinction between worship and other integral parts of tribal custom is perceived.

In this connection we must bear in mind that even before the monarchy Israel had attained a certain degree of unity

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1 In J the words for 'window' and 'roof' are חַלּוֹן (Gen. 8 6) and מִכְסֶה ('covering' 8 13) respectively. Mr. S. A. Cook suggests that 6 16 may contain the statement that openings were to be made upon the first, second, and third stories—*e.g.*, וּפְתָחֶיהָ בָּהּ בְּצִדָּהּ תָּשִׂים וגו'. For the anticipatory pronominal suffix in בָּהּ, cp Josh. 1 2*b* Jer. 51 56 Ezek. 41 25, etc.

2 Fr. *lavoir*, Lat. *lavatorium*.

3 *i.e.*, *lavabrum*.

4 Contrast the bare notice in 2 Ch. 4 14.

5 Josephus, however (*Ant.* viii. 3 6, § 85), makes them 4 cubits (6 ft.) in depth, and thus of much larger capacity.

6 See for example Vg. of *v.* 28 *f.*: 'et ipsum opus basium interrasile erat et sculpturæ inter juncturas, et inter coronulas et plectas leones,' etc

1 The reference in Jer. 52 20 to the twelve brasen bulls under the bases is apparently due to a confusion with the 'sea.'

in matters of law; not in the sense that it possessed a written law common to all the tribes, or a uniform organisation for the pronouncing of legal judgments, but in the sense that along with a common god it had a community of custom and of feeling in matters of law. This community of feeling can be traced back very far; 'it is not so done in Israel,' and 'folly in Israel, which ought not to be done,' are proverbial expressions reaching back to quite early times (Gen. 34 7 Josh. 7 15 Judg. 19 23 20 10 2 S. 13 12).

The settlement in Western Palestine, so important in all respects, was peculiarly important in its effect on the development of law. From the nature of the case the law had to be greatly extended. The new circumstances raised new legal problems.

2. Change from nomad to settled life.

For one thing, the conception of private property has for peasants settled on the land a significance quite different from that which it possesses for nomads. Property with the Bedouin is uncertain; it may be gained and lost in a night; for peasants a certain security of ownership is indispensable. Again, with the settlement on the land a certain differentiation of ranks and classes became inevitable.

To the Bedouin social distinctions in our sense of the word are unknown; within the tribe all are 'brothers'; no one is master and no one is servant. Life in village and town soon brings with it great distinctions. 'Rich' and 'poor' become 'high' and 'low,' and the protection of the poor and of the alien becomes a pressing task for the new system of law.

To these considerations it has to be added that, by the settlement, the bonds of clanship came to be gradually loosened, and their place taken, so far, by local unions (see GOVERNMENT, § 15); upon this there naturally followed a weakening of the power which tribal custom had exercised through the family. The individual was not so dependent on the community; he could with greater ease break loose from the restraints of custom. A certain relaxation of discipline began to make itself felt. The later view, therefore, which characterised the period of the judges as one of lawlessness (Judg. 17 6 etc.) is partly correct. Custom had lost its old power and required the support of some external authority.

The first step towards meeting this requirement was when, by the settlement, the heads of clans and communities (see GOVERNMENT, § 16), gradually acquired the character of a superior authority which could be regarded as having been appointed by Yahwè and could thus come forward with a claim to legal powers. Their judicial utterances had no longer merely a moral authority; they had behind them the weight of the whole community, which was interested in giving them effect. The development of a kind of public law was thus possible. In one instance at all events this is plainly seen—viz., in the case of the penalty for manslaughter. Under the tribal system vengeance upon the manslayer is purely the affair of the avenger of blood—*i.e.*, the family: the support of the tribe at large is involved only in cases where the slayer belongs to another tribe. In settled communities, however, the supreme authority must, from a very early date, have begun to recognise it as falling within its domain on the one hand to guarantee security of life, and, on the other, gradually to displace the perilous custom of blood revenge by itself taking in hand the punishment of the slayer.

3. Fixed tribunals.

This advance towards the formation of an outside authority was at first by no means an adequate substitute for the unqualified power of custom which it sought to displace, and this insufficiency showed the need of fuller political organisation. There must be an organisation that would render possible or guarantee the development and consistent administration of a uniform system of law.

The monarchy provided a system of uniform common law by furnishing a regular tribunal and by supporting with its authority the ancient customs and legal practices. The king and his officials were no legislators; in fact for a considerable time after the establishment of the monarchy there was no real law at all in the modern sense. The judicial decisions of the king and his officials were determined simply by the ancient customary practice, and some time, it would seem, passed before even this law was codified, although doubtless it may have been common from an early date for single legal decrees to be publicly posted up, for example, at the sanctuaries. The first attempt at a comprehensive collection of legal precepts and a book of laws is probably to be found in what is known as the Book of the Covenant, dating probably from the ninth century (Ex. 20 24-23 19; cp HEXATEUCH, § 14, LAW LITERATURE, §§ 6-9).

A single glance shows that the appearance of the Book of the Covenant was not the introduction of a new law; the book was a setting down in writing of long-current legal practices. It nowhere enunciates great legal principles, or attempts to exhibit an abstract system of law, with a view to its application to concrete cases; it is merely a collection of individual legal decisions. Its origin is clear. Either the frequent repetition of similar decisions had given rise to an established precedent, or a single decision had been given by a divine Tōrāh—in either case with the same result, that a fixed rule was established. Hence is explained the nature and scope of the contents of the collection. It deals exclusively with the circumstances and incidents of every-day life; such matters as the legal position of slaves, injuries to life or limb resulting from hostility or carelessness, damage to property, whether daughter or slave, cattle or crop. The ruling principle is still that of the *jus talionis*. Trade or commerce as yet there is none—at least no laws are required for its regulation. That ordinances for the divine worship and general ethical precepts for the humane treatment of widows and strangers should also be included and placed on the same level will be readily understood after what has been said above (§ 1). Still, a distinction is made between *jus* and *fas* at least in so far as the form of decree in the *mišpāṭīm* (ethical and legal) differs from that in the *dĕbārīm* (relating to religion and worship).

4. Book of the Covenant.

The object of this codification probably was to secure a greater degree of uniformity in adjudication and punishment. It is matter for surprise that we are nowhere informed by whom this collection was introduced as an official law-book or whether it was ever so introduced at all. If what we are told regarding Jehoshaphat's legal reforms (2 Ch. 17 9) comes from a good source, it would be natural to think of him in this connection (see Benzinger, *Comm.* on 2 Ch. 17 9 *ff.*). On the other hand, it is also equally possible that the Book of the Covenant was never an official law-book (like Dt.) at all, that it was simply a collection undertaken privately (perhaps in priestly circles). As containing only ancient law and no new enactments, such a collection would need no kind of official introduction but gradually come to be tacitly and universally accepted.

With the law of D the case is different; it was brought in as the law of the state by a solemn act in the 18th year of Josiah (621 B.C.), when king and people made a solemn 'covenant' pledging themselves to its faithful observance (see 2 K. 23 1 *ff.*). This accords well with the fact that Dt. claims to be more than a mere compilation of the ancient laws; it comes before us as a new system. Though in form and in contents alike it connects itself very closely with the Book of the Covenant, its literary dependence on it being unmistakable, it nevertheless, as a law-book, marks a great advance in comparison with the other, inasmuch as it embodies an attempt to systematise both the civil and the ecclesiastical law under a single point of view, that of the unique relationship of God to his people. The norm for determining what is right and what is wrong is no longer merely ancient law and custom: the supreme principle is now the demand for holiness. As a consequence, much of what has long been established law must disappear; in

5. The law of D.

the sphere of worship, indeed, the law-book has expressly in view nothing less than a thorough-going reform. In spirit the legislation is characterised by its humanity; humanitarian ordinances of all sorts, provisions for the poor and for servants, for widows and orphans, for levites and strangers, have a large place.

The priestly law in like manner, after the exile, was introduced much as D had been (Neh. 8-10). This law aims only at the regulation of worship; law and ethics in the broader sense are purposely left alone; the constitution now given to the community everywhere presupposes a state organisation and civil rights. It is only exceptionally that matters belonging to the domain of law properly so called are dealt with, and even in these instances that is done only in so far as the questions are connected with the hierocratic system of P. Within P, the law of holiness (H) forms a separate collection (Lev. 17-26 and some other isolated precepts; cp HEXATEUCH, §§ 16 *ff.*, LAW LITERATURE, § 15, LEVITICUS, §§ 13-23), though it does not seem ever to have received separate recognition, but only to have come into currency in conjunction with the Priestly Law as a whole. As distinguished from P, H includes ethical and legal enactments (especially Lev. 19), which are made from the point of view of the holiness of the people, as in Dt. (the mild humanity of which it also shares).

6. The Priestly Law.

The *tōrāh*, however, the written and official law, related only to a small part of civil life. Alongside of it was still left ample room for the play of ancient consuetudinary law. It is much to be regretted that in the literature which has come down to us we have no codification of this consuetudinary law in the form into which it had developed at the time of the introduction of the Priestly Law, and in which it is presupposed by that law. For long afterwards it continued to be handed down only by oral tradition, and even amongst the scribes of a later epoch there was still strong reluctance to commit the *Hălāchāh* to writing.

7. Oral Law.

The further development of law was the main business of the scribes. The *tōrāh* continued to be the immovable foundation; the task that remained was, either by casuistical interpretation of the written law or by determination of the consuetudinary law, to fill up the blanks of the *tōrāh* and bring into existence new precepts. The law thus arrived at—which in authority soon came to rank alongside of the written *tōrāh*—was comprehensively termed *hălāchāh* (consuetudinary law). As it gained in authority the scribes, though not formally recognised as lawgivers, gradually came to be such in point of fact. The results of their legislative activity are embodied in the Mishna. This rests, however, on an older work of the period of R. 'Akiba b. Joseph (*circa* 110-135 A.D.), under whose influence it probably was that the *hălāchāh* hitherto only orally handed down first came to be codified. From what has been said it will be evident that the Mishna may very well contain many fragments of ancient legal custom, but that it would be hopeless to attempt with its help to reconstruct the old consuetudinary Hebrew law as this existed (say) in the Persian or in the Grecian period.[1] (Cp LAW LITERATURE, § 22 *f.*)

All jurisdiction was originally vested in the family. The father of a family had unlimited powers of punishment (Gen. 38 24, cp Dt. 21 18 *ff.*). With the coalescence of families into clans and tribes (see GOVERNMENT, § 4) a portion of the family jurisdiction necessarily also passed over to the larger group, and was thenceforth exercised by the heads of the clan or tribe. The old tradition in Israel was that the elders acted also as judges. All three variants of the story of the appointment of 'elders' as judges (Ex. 18 13 *ff.* Nu. 11 16 *ff.* Dt. 1 13 *f.*) have this feature in common that they place the elders alongside of Moses as his helpers in the government of the people—*i.e.*, in pronouncing judgments (in the gloss Dt. 1 15 the word is quite correctly given as 'heads of tribes'). The lighter cases come up before the elders, whilst Moses reserves the graver ones for himself. This judicial activity of

8. Judiciary system: Elders.

[1] On the Rabbis and the Mishna see Schür. *GVI* ii., § 25.

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the heads of tribes and clans we must, of course, regard, not as an innovation, but as an ancient usage. The tradition, however, is once more in accordance with the facts of the case when, as alongside of and overruling every human decision, the deity is regarded as the supreme king-judge. The weightiest matters, those namely with which human wisdom is unable to cope, come before God; for Moses dispenses law as the servant and the mouth of God—as a priest—upon the basis of divine decisions (see above, § 1). The people come to him to inquire of God and he is their representative before God, to whose judgment he submits the case (Ex. 18 15 19). The same conditions continued through the later period; alongside of the jurisdiction of the tribal heads and of the judiciary officers that of God as exercised through the priests was still maintained.

The entire position otherwise accorded to the elders shows that their judicial activity was not the consequence merely of an office with which they had been invested. Their authority as a whole, and in particular their judicial influence, was purely moral. In the main therefore we find the same conditions as are even now found to prevail among the Bedouins, and so far as the present subject is concerned we may safely venture to avail ourselves of what we know of these last to supplement the deficiencies of our information regarding ancient Israel.

Amongst the Bedouins, also, then, it is within the competency of the sheikh to settle differences; but his judgment has no compelling power: he cannot enforce it against the will of the parties and cannot order the slightest punishment upon any members of the tribe. The family alone can bring pressure to bear on the members. Further, many tribes have, in addition, a *ḳāḍī*, as a sort of judge of higher instance for graver cases; for this office men distinguished by their keenness of judgment, love of justice, and experience in the affairs and customs of the tribe, are chosen. As a rule the office of *ḳāḍī* continues within the same family; but even his judgment is not compulsory. There is no executive authority provided for carrying it out. If in the last resort a problem proves so involved that not even the *ḳāḍī* is able to solve it, nothing remains but to resort to the judgment of God (cp Burckhardt, *Bem.* 93 *ff.*)

As already remarked (§ 2), after the settlement these elders in their character as heads of the local communities (*ziḳnē hā'īr*, זקני העיר) gradually acquired the powers of a governing body (cp GOVERNMENT, § 16). So far as their jurisdiction was concerned, this meant that as judges they acquired a certain executive power for carrying out their judgments. How soon this development took place, and with what modifications in detail, we do not know. Stories like those of the wise woman of Tekoa (2 S. 14 4 *ff.*) and of the trial of Naboth (1 K. 21 8 *ff.*) prove the fact, at least for the period of the earlier monarchy. Dt. knows of the 'elders' as an organised judicial institution. From the manner in which the function of judging is assigned to them in certain cases, it is clearly evident that the elders also had executive powers (cp esp. Dt. 19 12 21 2 *ff.* 22 15 *ff.*). In this executive capacity they act as representing the entire body of the citizens; this finds expression, in the case of death-penalty, in the fact that it is for the entire community to carry out the sentence (Dt. 17 7). A solitary exception is made in the punishment of murder; even long after the unrestricted right of private revenge had been abolished, and trial of crimes against life had been brought within the competency of the regular courts, there survived a relic of the ancient deeply-rooted custom which gave the avenger of blood the right of personally carrying out the death sentence on the murderer (Dt. 19 12).

(*a*) *Elders.*—By inference from these facts we may safely conclude that the judges presupposed by the Book of the Covenant were in the first instance the elders of the different localities—all the more so as the judicial competency of these elders must in the earlier times have been still more extensive than when the Book of the Covenant was written. Singularly enough, the Book gives no sort of indication of the composition of the tribunal, the forms

9. Judges.

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of process, and so forth—in this case also merely taking for granted the continuance of long-established custom.

It may be permissible to hazard the conjecture that in connection with that dependent relation in which sometimes the rural districts stood to the larger or metropolitan cities, the jurisdiction of the city would extend also over its 'daughters' (EV 'suburbs'; cp Nu. 21 25 32 42 Josh. 13 23 28 17 11 Judg. 11 26).

As the passages cited above (§ 8) show, the jurisdiction of the elders continued to subsist under the monarchy.

(β) *The King.*—Alongside of the jurisdiction of the elders, however, and to some extent limiting it, there arose the jurisdiction of the king. The king was judge *par excellence* (cp GOVERNMENT, § 19). He constituted a kind of supreme tribunal to which appeal could be made where the judgment of the elders seemed faulty (2 S. 14 4 *ff.*). Moreover, it was also open to the litigant to resort to the king as first and only judge (2 S. 15 2 *ff.*, 2 K. 15 5), especially in difficult cases (1 K. 3 16 *ff.* Dt. 17 9, see below [γ]). Of this privilege of the king some portion passed over to his officers also, who administered the law in his name. Unfortunately we have nothing to show how the jurisdiction of these officers stood related to that of the elders in its details, and whether (or how far) its range was limited. The same has to be said of the judicial activity of the priests. That they continued to possess judicial attributes is implied both by the Book of the Covenant and by Deuteronomy. Still, on this point an important difference between the two books is unmistakable. In the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 22 8 [7]), as in the ancient consuetudinary law, what is contemplated in cases of special perplexity is a divine decision, a torah of God to be obtained at the sanctuary; God was the judge.

(γ) *The Priests.*—In Dt. on the other hand (17 9 *f.* 19 15 *ff.*) 'the priests, the levites,' as judicial officers constitute a sort of spiritual college of justice: the cause is not decided by means of an oracle or divine judgment; the priests carefully investigate the case just like other judges. The studious care with which the sanctity of their judicial decisions is emphasised (17 10 *ff.*) warrants the conjecture that the change is to be attributed to D, especially as, throughout, we are left with the impression that D has it in view to enlarge the jurisdiction of the priests as widely as possible, at the expense of that of the elders. The elders retain within their competency only a limited class of offences.

The offences in question are merely such matters as affect in the first instance only the family—a son's disobedience (21 18 *ff.*), slander spoken against a wife (22 13 *ff.*), declinature of a levirate marriage (25 7 *ff.*), manslaughter, and blood-revenge (19 11 *ff.*, 21 1 *ff.*). Into the last-cited passage (21 5) a later hand has introduced the priests as also taking part in the proceedings: 'for them Yahwè thy God has chosen to minister unto him, and to bless in the name of Yahwè; and according to their word shall every controversy and every stroke be'—an interpolation which clearly shows in what direction lay the tendency of this legislation and its subsequent development. That this studious effort on the one side was viewed on the other with little favour is shown by the fact that in the central ordinance relating to the judicial function of priests (17 8 *ff.*) 'the judge' is by an interpolation placed on a level with the priests. The simplest explanation is that it is the king who is intended here and that the object was to save his supreme judicial authority as against the pretensions of the Jerusalem priesthood (cp the quite analogous interpolation of the judges in 19 17 *f.*).

The Chronicler carries back to Jehoshaphat the establishment of a supreme court of justice in Jerusalem and the appointment of professional judges in all the cities (2 Ch. 19 4-11).

Though not absolutely incredible, the statement is rendered (to say the least) somewhat improbable by the fact that in this supreme court the high priest is represented as having the presidency in all spiritual, and the 'prince of the house of Judah' in all secular, causes (see Benzinger, *Comm.* on 2 Ch. 19 4 *ff.*). Apart from this, however, Dt. certainly seems to know of the existence of the professional judges in the various cities (16 18 *ff.*).

Ezekiel and P continue to advance logically along the line laid down in D. In Ezekiel's ideal future state, in which the king is but a shadowy figure almost entirely divested of royal functions, judicial attributes are wholly assigned to the priests (Ezek. 44 24). That P also assigns the administration of the law, not to the secular authority but to the priests, is clear from the representation of Chronicles according to which even David had appointed 6000 lèvites as judges (1 Ch. 23 4, 26 29). This theory, however, was never fully carried out.

In Ezra's time we meet, in the provincial towns, with professional judges who are drawn not from the priesthood but from the ranks of the city elders (Ezra 7 25, 10 14). There were similar local courts throughout the country during the Greek and Roman periods (Judith 6 16 etc.; Jos. *BJ* ii. 24 1; *Shĕbī'ith* 10 4, *Sōṭā* 1 3, *Sanh.* 11 4; in Mt. 5 22 10 17 Mk. 13 9, it is to these local synedria that reference is made). In localities of minor importance it was certainly by the council of the elders (cp Lk. 7 3), the βουλή, that judicial functions were exercised (cp Jos., *l.c.*); in the large towns no doubt there may also have been, over and above, special courts. In later times the rule was that the smallest local tribunal had seven members (cp GOVERNMENT, § 31; also Schürer, *GVI* 2 133 *f.*). In large centres there were courts with as many as twenty-three members; but in these, in certain cases (such as actions for debt, theft, bodily injury, etc.) three judges formed a quorum (*Sanh.* 1 1, 2, 3, 2 1). In certain cases priests had to be called in as judges (*Sanh.* 1 3). On the great Sanhedrin and its jurisdiction see GOVERNMENT, § 31.

10. Judicial procedure.

Judicial procedure was at all times exceedingly simple. In an open place (Judg. 4 5 1 S. 22 6), or under the shadow of the city gate, the judges took their seat (Dt. 21 19 22 15 25 7 Am. 5 12 15 Ru. 4 1, etc.). In Jerusalem Solomon erected a 'porch,' or hall, of judgment, for his own royal court of justice (אוּלָם הַכִּסֵּא, 1 K. 7 7). Plaintiff and defendant appeared personally, each for his own case (Dt. 17 5 21 20 25 1); on a charge being made the judge could call for the appearance of the accused (Dt. 25 8). Such an institution as that of a public prosecutor was unknown; the state or the community in no case overstepped its judicial functions. In every case it was for the aggrieved or injured person to bring forward his complaint if he desired satisfaction. He also had it in his choice, however, to resort to the method of private arrangement, and refrain from coming before the court; in this event, the matter was at an end, for no one else had an interest in bringing it into court. When there is no complainant there is no judge. The 'daysman' is mentioned only in Job 9 33 (מוֹכִיחַ).

The proceedings were as a rule by word of mouth, though in later times written accusations also seem to have been known (Job 31 35 *f.*). The chief method of proof was by the testimony of witnesses. The father, indeed, who brought a stubborn and rebellious son before the judge needed no such support (Dt. 21 18 *ff.*); but in all other cases the law invariably demanded the concurrent testimony of at least two persons; on the word of only one witness a crime could in no circumstances be held as proven, still less any death-sentence pronounced (Dt. 17 6 19 15 Nu. 35 30 Mk. 14 56 *ff.* Mt. 26 60). According to Talmudic law (*Shĕbū'ōth* 30*a*; *Bābā Ḳammā* 88*a*; cp Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 15) only free men of full age were capable of bearing witness; women and slaves were incapacitated—a rule, doubtless, in accordance with ancient custom, although the OT is silent on the subject. Whether the adjuration of witnesses which is alluded to in general terms in P (Lev. 5 1) was an ancient practice, we cannot say. A false witness was punished, according to the *jus talionis*, by the infliction of the precise kind of evil he had intended to bring upon his victim by his falsehood (Dt. 19 18 *ff.*). The warnings so frequently repeated (as in Ex. 23 1 20 16), such stories as that of Naboth (1 K. 21), and the remonstrances of the prophets, show that the evil of false testimony was by no means rare.

Where, from the nature of the case, witnesses were not to be had, the accused was put upon his oath (Ex. 22 6-11 [7-12]). In specially obscure cases God was looked to for the discovery of the guilty party (Ex. 22 8 [7] 1 S. 14 40 *f.* Josh. 7 14). The only trace remaining in the later law of a divine ordeal (see JEALOUSY, TRIAL OF) is in the case of a wife accused of adultery (Nu. 5 11 *ff.*). Torture, as a means of obtaining confessions, was not employed; the Herodian dynasty—by whom it was employed freely—seem to have been the first to bring it into use (Jos. *BJ* i. 30 2-5).

Judgment, in the earlier times pronounced orally, but

later occasionally given in writing (Job 13 26), was as a rule carried out forthwith in presence of the judge (Dt. 22 18 25 2); in case of a capital sentence the witnesses were required to be the first to set about its execution, and the whole community was expected to take an active part (Dt. 17 7).

Though in the paragraphs that follow, the various laws are arranged according to their substance, it must from the outset be clearly borne in mind that the ancient law of the Hebrews does not admit of close correlation with the Roman or with the modern systems based on the Roman, and in particular that the sharp distinction between penal and private law by which these last were characterised does not admit of being transferred to the former. One of the most striking illustrations of this is to be found in the manner in which theft is regarded by Hebrew law.

11. Penal law and Jus talionis.

In Hebrew law the dominant principle is the *jus talionis*—'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth' (Ex. 21 24). To understand this properly, it has to be borne in mind that, in the earliest stage of development which has been described above, a principle of this kind had its applicability not as a norm for penalties to be judicially inflicted, but only as regulative of private vengeance. It is for the individual himself to pursue his rights; by universal custom he is entitled to do to the aggressor exactly what the aggressor has done to him. In particular, in the most serious case of all, that of murder, the blood-relation not only has the right, but is under the sacred duty, to avenge the deed. In savage stages of society the demand for vengeance is held to be the most righteous and sacred of all feelings; the man who does not exact vengeance is devoid of honour.

An unqualified *jus talionis* makes endless every affair where it has once been introduced. This appears most clearly in blood-revenge. Naturally, therefore, in the early stage of legal development now under consideration, when the affair is held to concern private individuals only, the injured party has also the right to come to some other arrangement with the aggressor and accept compensation in the shape of money or its equivalent (cp the law of the Twelve Tables: *si membrum ruit, ni cum eo paicit talio esto*). It was a great forward step which the Israelites made—doubtless before they took possession of western Palestine—when compensation of this kind was allowed to take the place of revenge pure and simple. In doing so they took the most essential first step towards the substitution of public criminal law for private revenge. Compensation cannot for long withdraw itself from the control of general custom, and then there gradually comes into existence a certain definite scale in accordance with which such matters are adjusted (cp Ex. 21 22). At an early period Hebrew custom seems to have demanded such a mode of settlement for every kind of bodily injury (Ex. 21 18); but the earlier usage did not sanction the acceptance of blood-wit, except in the one case of accidental homicide (Ex. 21 30).

Penal law, in the strict sense of the expression, constitutes a third stage, its distinctive feature being that the duty of revenge is taken over from the individual by society at large. Revenge now becomes punishment, that which regulates it is the general interest of the community at large. Custom, and afterwards statute, determine the kind and measure of the penalty; the leaders of the society, the constituted authorities, take in hand the duty of seeing it carried out.

In the ancient Hebrew view of the matter, however, the object of punishment is not completely attained, even when the ideas of retribution and of compensation have found expression. Grave crimes, and specially murder, defile the land; the guilt lies upon the entire people (cp 2 S. 21 24). The blood of the slayer alone can appease the divine wrath and cleanse the land (Nu. 35 33; cp 2 S. 21). Evil has to be removed from the midst of the people by means of punishment (Dt. 19 19).

In close connection with the thought of the transmissibility of guilt, is the idea which makes children, in particular, specially liable for the crimes of their fathers. Even the regularly constituted courts of justice, in specially grave cases, punish capitally the children along with their fathers (2 K. 9 26 Josh. 7 24). In a special degree is blood-guiltiness hereditary; if the avenger of blood cannot lay hold on the murderer himself, he can lay hold on his family. The custom is the same among the Bedouins to this day. In legal practice it is not abolished till Dt. (24 16).

12. Methods of punishment.

In the law the only recognised form of capital punishment is by stoning. In such instances as we find in 2 S. 1 15 2 K. 10 7 25 Jer. 26 23, etc., we are not dealing with punishments awarded by a court of law. In the priestly law, and doubtless also by ancient custom, the death-penalty was enhanced in certain cases by the burning or 'hanging' (more correctly, impalement) of the body, by which the criminal was deprived of the privileges of burial (Lev. 20 14 21 9 Dt. 21 22; cp Josh. 7 25). Dt. here again has a mitigating tendency, enjoining, as it does, the burial of the body that has been 'hanged,' before sundown.

As to the manner in which stoning was carried out we have no details; it occurred without the city (Lev. 24 14 Nu. 15 36 1 K. 21 10 *ff.*, etc.); it fell to the witnesses to cast the first stone (Dt. 17 7). According to Gen. 38 24, execution of the death-penalty by burning seems also to have been customary in Israel. Crucifixion—'crudelissimum teterrimumque supplicium' (Cic. *Verr.* 5 64)—was first introduced into Palestine by the Romans; see, further, CROSS, and cp, generally, HANGING.

The first express mention of beating with rods or scourging as a punishment occurs in Dt. (25 1-3); but unfortunately we are not told what were the cases in which the judge was permitted or required to award it, except in the single instance described in Dt. 22 13 *ff.* (unjust charge against a newly-married bride). The manner of carrying it out is also described, 'the judge shall cause [the culprit] to lie down, and to be beaten before his face' (Dt. 25 2); not more than forty stripes may be given. The later interpreters of the law limited the number to 'forty save one' (2 Cor. 11 24, Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 21 23), doubtless so as to avoid a breach of the law by an accidental error in reckoning, but perhaps also because in the late period there was substituted for the rod a three-thonged scourge, with which thirteen strokes were given.

The money penalties known to the law are really of the nature of compensations, not strictly punishments (cp CONFISCATION). On the other hand, in 2 K. 12 16 [17], we read of trespass money and sin money which belonged to the priests; but for what offences these moneys were to be paid we do not know; probably they were fines for breaches of ritual.

Of penal restraints upon freedom neither ancient consuetudinary law nor written statute knows anything. On the other hand, however, we have in the historical books frequent mention of imprisonment, stocks and 'shackles,' or 'collars' (cp COLLAR, 3), as methods by which kings sought to discipline disobedient servants or dangerous persons like the prophets (Jer. 20 2 29 26 2 Ch. 16 10 18 25 *f.*); and imprisonment certainly appears in post-exilic times as a legal form of punishment to be awarded by the judge (Ezra 7 26). See PRISON.

From the modern point of view it is a striking fact that the Hebrew legislation regards no punishments as involving disgrace. In Dt. 25 3 the punishment by beating is expressly restrained within certain limits lest 'thy brother should seem vile unto thee.' The ancient Israelite, like the modern Oriental, differed entirely from us moderns in his conception of personal honour; murder and homicide, adultery and unchastity, falsehood and treachery are in his view matters which do not greatly affect a man's honour, even when they have been detected and punished.

13. Degrees of punishment.

In details the penal enactments which have been preserved are very meagre and defective. In cases of manslaughter, as we have seen, blood revenge was a sacred duty in the olden time. 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood,

by man shall his blood be shed' (Gen. 9 5 *f.*) was at all times regarded as a divine principle; the duty of blood revenge belongs to the nearest relation, the GOEL (*q.v.*). In principle the right to such revenge is everywhere recognised also by the law (Dt. 19 1-13 Nu. 35 16-21). Still, the transition to a more settled and orderly condition of society entailed the result (among others), that the superior authority, as soon as there began to be such an authority, took blood vengeance also into its own hand, and thus converted it into a death penalty (2 S. 14 4 *ff.*). It would appear, however, that in pre-exilic times it never succeeded in wholly suppressing private vengeance. The most important restriction of it lay in the distinction now made between murder and manslaughter. Even the Book of the Covenant distinguished the case in which a man 'came presumptuously upon his neighbour to slay him with guile,' and that in which he 'lay not in wait but God did deliver him (his adversary) into his hand' (Ex. 21 12 *ff.*). It also recognised within certain limits the rights of an owner in defending his property (Ex. 22 2 *f.* [1 *f.*]). Similarly, in Dt. (19 11-13), in a case of violent death a man's known hatred of his adversary is taken as evidence of murderous intention. P gives the distinctive features of murder with more precision and somewhat differently; murder is presumed not only where hatred and enmity, or lying in wait, can be proved, but also where a lethal weapon has been used with fatal effect. From the dangerous character of the weapon, murderous intention is inferred (Nu. 35 16 *ff.*). In the case of murder all forms of the law allow free course to blood-revenge, that is to say, the death-penalty is ordered, and that with the express injunction that a composition by payment of blood-wit is not to be permitted (Nu. 35 31). The manslayer, on the other hand, enjoys the right of asylum; see ASYLUM.

In ancient times the right of asylum prevailed at every sanctuary (Ex. 21 14). The abolition by D of the sanctuaries scattered over the country made necessary the setting apart of special cities of refuge, of which D names three for Judah, P three for E. Palestine and W. Palestine respectively (Nu. 35 11 *ff.* Dt. 4 41 *ff.*). In the earlier period the right of asylum belonging to the sanctuaries had doubtless been unlimited. Still, even the Book of the Covenant, and afterwards D, assume, what P expressly ordains (Ex. 21 14), that inquiry is to be made whether the case is one of murder or of manslaughter. If it is found to be murder, the city of refuge must relentlessly give up the murderer to the avenger (Ex. 21 14 Dt. 19 11 *ff.* Nu. 35 11 *ff.*). For manslaughter an amnesty at the death of the high priest was introduced in post-exilic times (Nu. 35 25). Formerly, according to P, there was no such relief; if ever the manslayer left the territory of the city of refuge, he was at the mercy of the avenger (Nu. 35 32 *f.*).

In the case of bodily injuries, also, the law permits the application of *talio* only where intention is to be presumed. In injuries inflicted in course of a quarrel, for example, the Book of the Covenant provides that the aggressor shall only defray the expenses incurred and compensate the injured person for his loss of time (Ex. 21 18 *ff.*). For another particular case of injury which may be met by a fine, see Ex. 21 22.

The enactments relating to certain gross offences against morality are characteristic (cp MARRIAGE, § 2). The penalty is death (Lev. 20 10 *ff.* Ex. 22 18 [20]) in each case, as also for the offence specified in Lev. 20 18. In cases of adultery the injured husband had at all times the right to slay the unfaithful spouse and take vengeance on her seducer. Dt. categorically demands on religious grounds the death of both. Only where violence can be presumed is the woman exempted (Dt. 22 25 *f.*).

On the other hand the seduction of an unbetrothed maid was regarded as a damage to property, affecting her family, and as such was dealt with on the principles of private law (Ex. 22 15 [16] Dt. 22 26 *f.*). That the father in such a case was at liberty to exercise very stringent legal rights is shown by Gen. 38. According to P (Lev. 21 9) only priests' daughters were liable to punishment—that of death—in these cases. (Cp MARRIAGE, §§ 4, 6).

That offences against religion came in the fullest sense under the cognisance of the law has been mentioned

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above (§ 1), also the reasons for that being so. Idolatry and witchcraft are already made punishable with death in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 22 18 20 [17 19]). In this respect Dt. is exceptionally strict; even solicitation to the worship of strange gods is a capital offence (13 7-16). Finally, P places every deliberate transgression of any religious ordinance, such as breach of the sabbath, or the like, on a level with the crime of blasphemy, which carries with it the penalty of being 'cut off' from one's people (Lev. 24 15).

To private law belong personal rights and the laws affecting property, bonds and obligations, inheritance and marriage. Inheritance and marriage are dealt with elsewhere (see MARRIAGE, §§ 1, 7, and cp below, § 18). In harmony with the unanimous view of the ancient world, only the adult free male member of the community—capable therefore of bearing arms and of carrying out blood revenge—was regarded as invested with full legal rights.

14. Personal rights.

(*a*) *Sons and daughters.*—The son not yet grown up and the unmarried daughter are completely under the power of the father, as also are the married woman and the slave. Lists of fully qualified citizens appear to have been drawn up from a tolerably early date; the image of the 'book of life,' already employed by J (Ex. 32 32; cp Is. 4 3), would seem to be derived from this practice, though express evidence regarding it is not forthcoming till later (Jer. 22 30 Ezek. 13 9 Neh. 7 5 64 12 22 *f.*). The fact that at a later period the twentieth year was taken as the age of majority and fitness to bear arms (Nu. 1 3 Lev. 27 3 *ff.*), affords some ground for inferring that a similar rule held good for the earlier times also; but it must not be forgotten that under the patriarchal tribal constitution the independence even of grown-up sons is only relative. The original significance of circumcision as an act denoting the attainment of the privileges of full age is treated of elsewhere (see CIRCUMCISION, § 5). Women appear to have been universally and in every respect regarded as minors so far as rights of property went; at least, apart from female slaves, they hold no property that they can deal with as they please. They are incapable of bearing testimony before a court of justice (see above, § 10). See further FAMILY, MARRIAGE, SLAVERY.

(*b*) *Strangers and foreigners.*—In the case of aliens distinction must be made between the *gēr* (גֵּר) and the *nokrī* (נָכְרִי). (See STRANGER AND SOJOURNER.) The word *nokrī* denotes the alien who stands in no relationship of protection towards any Israelite tribe. A person in this category would as a rule make but a brief sojourn in the land; in cases when a longer residence was contemplated application would naturally be made for tribal protection. The *nokrī* in any case of course enjoyed the ordinary rights of hospitality, which means a great deal, great sanctity attaching to the rights of guests. Apart from this, however, he simply has no rights at all (cp Gen. 31 15 Job 19 15); the very laws in the humane legislation of D which contemplate the case of the poor and the depressed in the social scale—the law of remission in the seventh year, the law against usury, and the like—never once have any application to him (Dt. 15 3 23 20 [21]). It is quite otherwise, however, with the *gēr*—*i.e.*, the alien to the people or to the tribe (for the older period what applies to the people applies to the tribe [1]) who has been received within the territory of one of the tribes or of the nation as a whole, has effected a settlement there, and acquired the status of a protected person. Such a *gēr* stood under the protection of the tribal god, and enjoyed, among the Hebrews, not indeed the full privileges of a citizen, yet, in comparison with what was obtainable among other peoples, a high degree of immunity and protection. In particular his position had this advantage, that it greatly prepared

[1] A non-Judahite Levite is within the tribe of Judah as much a *gēr* as is the Canaanite; cp Judg. 17 7.

the way for complete incorporation with the tribe. In the older time he had the right of connubium; it was in this way that the Canaanites were gradually absorbed (see MARRIAGE, § 2).

The children of a marriage between a *gēr* and an Israelitess were regarded as entitled to full Israelite privileges (cp 1 Ch. 2 17); in the case of the children of an Israelite by a foreign wife this was, as might be expected, a matter of course (cp for example Boaz and Ruth). It was otherwise, indeed, when the case was not that of an alien settling as *gēr* in the country or marrying into it, but of a foreigner who still maintained the tie with his own people and who was followed by his wife to his home: Hiram the artificer was regarded as a Tyrian although his mother was a Naphtalite; she had followed her husband to his native land and thereby had come under the protection of the Tyrians (1 K. 7 13 *f.*). The converse case is that of Samson's marriage, which, however, has an exceptional character (see KINSHIP, § 8); here the Philistine woman remains in her own home and is only visited from time to time by her husband; in such circumstances the children of the union would not have been regarded as Israelites (Judg. 14 15 1 *f.*).

From what has been said as to the meaning of circumcision (see CIRCUMCISION, § 5) it seems doubtful whether uncircumcised *gērīm* also had the right of connubium. In general, the Book of the Covenant enjoined that the *gēr* was not to be treated with violence (Ex. 22 21 [20] 23 9), and, as we gather from the context, was above all to be secured, without any partiality, in his full rights as a protected stranger before the courts of law. On the other hand the *gēr*—apart from the Canaanites, who naturally formed an exception here—was manifestly excluded from the right of acquiring heritable property within the territory of the tribes of Israel (cp Mic. 2 5 Is. 22 16 Ezek. 47 22, where the permission to do so is brought in as an innovation).

D renews in a great variety of forms the injunction to treat the stranger (who is placed upon a level with the Levite, the widow, and the orphan) humanely and kindly (10 18 14 29 24 14 19 *ff.*), to admit him to participation in the general gladness at festal times (5 14 16 11 *ff.*), and not to pervert his right (24 17 27 19). Just because the stranger, as such, occupies an inferior position he has a double need for love (10 19 26 1-11). On the other hand his position in D is altered for the worse in this respect that the right of connubium is taken away (Dt. 7 1 *ff.* 23 3 [4] *ff.* Ex. 34 15 *f.*), and undeniably for D the *gēr* and still more the *nokrī* occupy a lower position in the scale of humanity (cp Dt. 14 21). In all this it is regarded as a matter of course that the *gēr* shall in a certain sense at least accommodate himself to the religion of his protectors (Ex. 23 12 20 10 Dt. 5 14 16 11 *ff.* 26 11 31 12). Still, even in this respect the older times demanded but little; he might even keep up his own sacra (cp 1 K. 11 7 *f.* 16 31); moreover, he need not observe the rule with regard to clean and unclean meats (Dt. 14 21).

P carries its demands upon the *gēr* much farther; he is required to shun idolatry, the eating of blood or that which is torn, and in general everything that as an 'abomination' could defile the Israelite (Lev. 17 8 10 *ff.* 15 18 26 20 2 Nu. 19 10-12; cp Dt. 14 21).

Not only is he obliged to observe the sabbath and permitted to share in the feast of the ingathering, he is also under obligation to fast with the Israelites on the day of atonement (Lev. 16 29), may not eat any leaven in the passover week (Ex. 12 19; the feast itself he is precluded from joining in, unless he be circumcised), must make atonement for all transgressions of the law exactly as Israelites do (Nu. 15 14 26 29), and in general keep holy the name of Yahwè (Lev. 24 16)—all this in the interests of Israel, that there be no sin among the people.

On the other hand the *gēr* enjoys the fullest protection in the eye of the law; not only are the protective injunctions of D renewed (Lev. 19 9 *f.* cp 23 22 25 6), but also equal rights before the judgment seat are expressly secured to him (Lev. 24 22 Nu. 35 15), an essential advance on the mere appeal to humanity contained in the older laws. The points in which his privileges still fall short of those of the full citizen are mainly two: he is excluded from the worship properly so-called—*e.g.*, from the Passover (Ex. 12 47 *f.*), perhaps also from the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. 23 42)—and is denied the right of connubium (Ezra 9 1 *f.* 11 *ff.* 10 2 *ff.*).

Both privileges are obtainable only on condition that he receives circumcision, that is to say, becomes fully incorporated with the commonwealth of Israel (Ex. 12 47 *f.* Nu. 9 14 Gen. 34 14). Further, the acquisition of landed property is rendered impossible to him by the operation of the law of the year of jubilee (see below, § 15). Finally, no *gēr* can own an Israelite slave. Should it ever come about that an Israelite comes under the power of a *gēr* on account of debt, the latter is bound to treat him not as a slave, but as a free labourer, and the relations of the debtor retain at all times the right to redeem him (Lev. 25 47 *ff.*).

Thus the *gēr* is by no means treated as on a complete equality with the Israelite.

The laws concerning property, so far as they have come down to us, relate to the disposal of real and movable estate, borrowing and lending, bonds and obligations.

15. Buying and selling. *Buying and selling* in ancient Israel were transacted in very simple fashion, and the various questions arising out of error, fraud, or over-reaching seldom if ever arose. Israel was not at this period a commercial people.

Certain formalities in the more important transactions of buying and selling, especially in the transfer of land, became customary and obligatory from an early period. The simplest and most ancient of all, doubtless, was that which required that the purchase should take place in the presence of witnesses (cp Gen. 23 7-20). Transactions of this kind (as of every other kind) might be further ratified by oath and gift.

The first mention of a formal deed of sale occurs in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. 32 6 *ff.*); according to the simplest interpretation of the passage it was executed in duplicate, one copy being sealed and the other open, both copies being handed over for preservation to the custody of a third party (otherwise Stade in *ZATW* 5 176 [1885]). In the case of such a document witnesses and signatures would of course not be lacking. From Jer. 32 44 we can see that in the time of Jeremiah the execution of a written deed was usual where transfer of land was concerned.

Another ancient custom is met with in the Book of Ruth (4 7); the seller gave his shoe to the buyer in token of his divesting himself of his right of ownership over the object sold. In connection with this is to be interpreted the expression in Ps. 60 8 [10] (cp 108 9 [10]), where 'casting one's shoe' over a thing signifies the act of taking possession (see SHOES, § 4).

The same symbolical action came into use (Dt. 25 9) in cases where a levirate marriage was declined—a declinature practically equivalent to renunciation of right of inheritance. The original meaning of the ceremony is no longer clear to us; nor do we know whether it was regularly observed, or for how long a period; the writer of Ruth knows it only as an archæological fact.

A limit was set to the free disposal of property by the duties of piety which a person owed to his ancestors. To ancestral land the Israelite—like any other peasant proprietor — felt himself bound by the closest ties. The paternal property was sacred; there, often, the father was buried, and children and children's children were expected also to be laid there (1 K. 21 3). It is in this fact that we are to seek the explanation of the provisions regarding the right of redemption that acted as a check upon the right of free sale. Ancient custom from an early date had given the kinsman (lawful heir?) a right of pre-emption and also of buying back (Jer. 32 6 *ff.*). A legal enactment on this subject, it is true, does not occur earlier than in P (Lev. 25 25 *f.*). It is open to question whether the right of repurchase there conferred upon the proprietor himself rests upon ancient legal custom; the enactment in P stands most intimately connected with the year of jubilee. The right is unlimited as regards holdings or houses in the country; but in the case of houses in walled towns it lapses in the course of a year (Lev. 25 29 *ff.*). This also may well have been in accordance with the ancient practice. On the other hand, the regulation according to which all real property which has been sold (houses in towns alone excepted) shall revert again to the old proprietor at the year of jubilee occurring every fiftieth year (see JUBILEE), and without compensation (Lev. 25 13 *ff.*), belongs to the theory peculiar to P. The

effect of course is to convert every purchase into a lease merely, of fifty years at the longest.

Borrowing and lending.—Here also down to the post-exilic period the provisions of the law indicate

16. Borrowing and lending.

great simplicity in the relations of debtors and creditors. Even D contemplates only those cases in which indebtedness of one Israelite to another is the result of individual poverty; it knows nothing of any kind of credit system such as necessarily springs up with the development of commerce. This fact must never be lost sight of, if we are to understand the old laws, which do not admit of application to the circumstances of commerce and of which the manifest object is simply to protect the poor debtor against the oppression of a tyrannical creditor (cp PLEDGE).

The old consuetudinary law took for granted that the creditor would seek security by exacting a pledge. In this case he was prohibited by ancient custom from detaining the outer garment of the needy debtor after sundown, this garment being practically his only covering (Ex. 22 26 [25]). Moreover, propriety forbade the exaction of usury from a fellow Israelite (nothing, however, is said as to any distinction between legitimate and usurious interest [Ex. 22 25 (24)]; the clause, 'ye shall exact no usury of him' is a later gloss in the sense of D; cp We. *CH* 92). The debtor who was unable to meet his obligations was liable not only to the utmost limit of his property, but also in his own person and in the persons of his family; the creditor could sell them as slaves (2 K. 4 1 Neh. 5 5 6 Is. 50 1). In the Book of the Covenant, however, it is already provided that an enslaved debtor and his belongings shall be released in the seventh year of his enslavement—a provision that amounts to a remission of the remaining debt (Ex. 21 2 7).

That these humane regulations were unsuccessful in the attainment of their object is shown by the constant complaint of the prophets who, with one voice, reproach the rich for their hardness in dealing with their debtors. In full sympathy with the prophetic spirit, D accordingly made the regulations more stringent.

The prohibition against taking the mantle in pledge was extended with great practical judgment so as to include all indispensable necessaries (24 6 13 17). In no case is the creditor to make selection of the pledge that suits him in the house of the debtor; he must take the pledge the latter chooses (24 10 *f.*). The prohibition of usury is so extended as to forbid interest of any kind. So far as fellow-Israelites are concerned there is no distinction between usury and interest (Dt. 23 19 [20] *f.*, cp Ezek. 18 15 *ff.*). In the case of the foreigner, on the other hand, the taking of usury is allowed.

The law relating to releasing enslaved debtors was extended by D so as to enjoin the remission of every debt in the seventh year (Dt. 15 1 *ff.*; cp especially *v.* 9 which makes it impossible to interpret the law [with Di.] as meaning merely that repayment of the debt is postponed for a year). That the law was thoroughly unpractical indeed, and that, strictly carried out, it would put a speedy end to all lending whatever, the framer himself shows that he is more or less aware; hence his urgent appeal to the benevolence of his compatriots: Beware that there be not a base thought in thine heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou give him nought' (*v.* 9, cp the cold comfort of *v.* 11). With these exhortations Ezek. 18 5 *f.* may be compared. It is not to be wondered at that precepts so impracticable in many parts should have had no very great result (cp Jer. 34 8 *ff.*). The Jews of later times understood very well how to evade them; the famous Hillel is credited with the invention of the *prosbul*—viz., a proviso set forth in presence of the judge whereby the creditor secured the right of demanding repayment at any time irrespective of the occurrence of the year of remission.

The regulations of the Priestly code were, broadly speaking, as unpractical as those we have been considering.

The prohibition of usury remains in force (Lev. 25 35 *ff.*). The selling of the debtor into slavery is permitted, but mitigated by the injunction that his master must treat him as if he were a free labourer for wages. The emancipation is no longer fixed for the seventh year of slavery, but, in correspondence with the whole scheme of P, is postponed to the year of jubilee, recurring every fifty years. In this year also all real property that has been sold reverts to the family to whose inheritance it originally belonged. This on the one hand guards against the unfortunate possibility of the liberated slave finding himself in a state of destitution; but on the other hand the postponement to the fiftieth year makes the whole provision illusory so far as many of the enslaved are concerned. Another law, this, which never gained a permanent footing.

Of suretyship the law has nothing to say. That such a thing was known and that it had led to some disastrous experiences, is shown by certain of the proverbs, which are so pointedly directed against it (Prov. 6 1 *ff.* 22 26 *f.*).

Compensation for damage to property.—In the Book of the Covenant the ruling principle for this is that

17. Damages.

liability attaches only to the party whose culpability (whether intentional or unintentional) can be proved, or legally presumed. Such culpability attaches, to begin with, very clearly in cases of deliberate injury, especially in that of theft. If it is sought to apply to Hebrew law the distinction made in the Civil Law between private law and penal law, theft falls under the former category; this appears from the fact that it establishes a claim to compensation only, and is not liable to punishment as a crime. At most, the compensation exacted assumed a penal character only in so far as by ancient consuetudinary law its amount had to exceed the value of what had been stolen (double, for money; fourfold for sheep, fivefold for cattle; see Ex. 21 37 [22 1] 22 3 [2] 6 [5]).

If the thief cannot be detected with certainty the party found guilty (in cases where two Israelites are concerned) after appeal to God (*ĕlōhīm*) by the lot must pay double to the other (Ex. 22 8 [7] *ff.*). In cases of unintentional damage, however, compensation was also exigible wherever gross carelessness could be proved, as, for example, where a water-pit had been left open and a neighbour's beast had fallen into it (Ex. 21 33), or where cattle left at large had wrought havoc in a cultivated field (Ex. 22 5 [4]), or where a goring ox had done any mischief (Ex. 21 32 36), or when cattle had been stolen from a careless herdsman (Ex. 22 11 [10]); cp on the other hand *v.* 12 [11]; see DEPOSIT. Other instances are given in Ex. 22 6 [5] 14 [13]. On the other hand where no culpability can be made out, there is no obligation to compensate, as for example where moneys entrusted have been stolen from the custodian (Ex. 22 7 [6] *f.*), where a domestic animal has been torn by wild beasts (22 10 [9] *f.* 13 [12]); cp also 22 14 [13] with 22 15 [14] 21 35 with 21 36. On these points D has not any more definite enactments.

The occasional references in P are in agreement with the mildness of the ancient law. Whoever has embezzled, or stolen, or appropriated lost property is mildly dealt with if he voluntarily confesses his fault; he must restore what he has unlawfully appropriated and pay a fifth of the value, over and above, as a fine (Lev. 24 18 21 5 20-24 [6 1-5]).

The right of inheritance among the Israelites belonged only to agnates—the only relations in the strict sense

18. Inheritance.

of the word—the wife's relations belong to a different family or even to a different tribe. Only sons, not daughters, still less wives, can inherit. There are traces to show that in the earliest times the wives, as the property of the man, fell to his heir along with the rest of his estate—a custom which among the Arabs continued to hold even to Mohammed's time (cp 2 S. 16 21 *f.* 1 K. 2 13 *ff.* 2 S. 3 7 *f.*; also Gen. 49 3 *f.* cp 35 22; the whole institution of levirate marriages probably finds its explanation here); cp MARRIAGE, § 7, KINSHIP, § 10. The law of inheritance, as just stated, appears to have been common to all the Semites (WRS, *Kin.* 54, 264), in this respect differing in an important point from that of Rome, which otherwise was also one of agnates; in Roman law at least daughters still remaining under the paternal roof could inherit. Stade (*GVI* 1 390 *ff.*) deduces the custom, so far as Israel is concerned, from the ancestor-worship which anciently prevailed there; he alone could inherit who was capable of carrying on the cult of the

person from whom he inherited. It seems preferable, however, with Robertson Smith (*l.c.*) to seek the explanation in the connection between inheritance and the duty of blood revenge. Among other Semitic peoples all on whom this duty lay had also, originally, the right of inheritance. In Old German law likewise the two were intimately connected.

Among the sons, ancient custom gave to the firstborn (*i.e.*, to the eldest son of the father) a double portion (Dt. 21 17; cp FIRSTBORN). It was indeed always possible for the father to deprive the eldest son of this birthright and bestow it upon a younger son (cp Gen. 49 3 21 1 *ff.* 1 K. 1 11-13), and the favourite wife (as might be expected) seems frequently to have contrived this for the benefit of her own eldest son. Custom, however, did not approve of this passing by of the eldest son, and D, in agreement with the ancient usage, positively forbade it (21 15-17).

Whether the landed property also was divided we do not know; the more probable view is that it fell undivided to the firstborn, who had to make some kind of provision for the others. The privilege of the firstborn must have carried with it one obligation at least—that of maintaining the female members of the family who remained unmarried; by the death of the father the firstborn became at any rate head of the family.

The sons of concubines had also a right of inheritance (Gen. 21 10 *f.*), but whether on an equality with the other sons we do not know. It must be remembered that Hebrew antiquity did not recognise a distinction between legitimate and illegitimate unions in the sense of the Græco-Roman jurisprudence (see FAMILY, § 8). Much, however, depended, it would seem, on the goodwill of the father and of the brother, and no fixed legal custom established itself. By adoption of course full right of inheritance was conferred.

When a man died without leaving sons, the nearest agnate inherited; but along with the inheritance he took over the duty of marrying the widow of the deceased (see MARRIAGE, § 7 *f.*). If this was not done, the childless widow returned to her own father's house, whence she was free to marry a second time (Gen. 38 11 Lev. 22 13 Ruth 1 8 *f.*).

The later law exhibits a change only with respect to the inheritance of daughters, conferring upon these the right to inherit, in the absence of sons. It is still only by exceptional favour that the daughters inherit along with the sons (Job 42 15). The express object of the alteration of the law is stated to be to prevent a man's name being lost to his family (Nu. 27 4). At the same time, however, the inheriting daughters are enjoined to marry only within their father's tribe, so that the family estate may not pass to an outside family (Nu. 36 1-12). As has been pointed out by Stade (*GVI* 1 391), it is not improbable that in this we have a compromise with the older view according to which, strictly, the nearest agnate ought to inherit, undertaking at the same time the duty of levirate marriage (see FAMILY, § 8), just as was the case in old Athens, where the inheriting agnate had the duty either of marrying the daughter, or of making a provision for her suitable to her station. The later law made provision also for the case of there being no marriageable daughter, enacting that in that event the relations of the husband and not those of the wife were to inherit (Nu. 27 5-11).

19. Literature. J. D. Michaelis, *Mosaisches Recht*(2) (1775); J. L. Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht nebst den vervollständigenden Talmudisch-rabbinischen Bestimmungen* (2) (1853); Schnell, *Das israelit. Recht in seinen Grundzügen dargestellt* (1853); the Hebrew Archæologies of De Wette, Ewald, Keil, Schegg, Benzinger, Nowack; articles in the Dictionaries of Herzog, Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm; Kuenen, 'Over de Samenstelling van het Sanhedrin' in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der R. Acad. van Wetenschapen* 1 41 *ff.* (1866); Schürer, *GJV* 2 143 *ff.*; Klein, *Das Gesetz über das gerichtliche Beweisverfahren nach mosaisch-talmudisches Recht* (1885); Frenkel, *Der gerichtliche Beweis* (1846); Duschak, *Das Mosaische Strafrecht* (1869); Goitein, 'Vergeltungsprincip im bibl. u. talmud. Strafrecht' in *Magazin f. d. Wissenschaft d. Judenthums* (1892); Diestel, 'Die religiösen Delicte im israelit. Strafrecht' in *JPT* 5 297 *ff.*; A. P. Bissell, *The Law of Asylum in Israel* (1884); Wildeboer, 'De Pentateuchkritik en het Mozaische Strafrecht' in *Tijd. v. Strafrecht*, 4 205 *ff.*, 5 251 *ff.*, Selden, *De Successionibus ad leges Hebræorum in bona defunctorum*, 1631; A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. Juden zu den Fremden* (1896).

I. B.

LAW LITERATURE

In the present article we have to consider the origin, the history, and the general characteristics of those parts of the OT which are immediately connected with Hebrew law. In the main these are to be found in the Pentateuch; outside the Pentateuch the most important piece of Law Literature is the closing section of Ezekiel (40-48). The main elements in this literature consist of (*a*) actual laws or decisions in written form, (*b*) legal theory, including casuistical discussions which become prominent in post-biblical literature (*e.g.* the Mishna), ideal systems (see *e.g.*, Ezek. 40-48: see below, § 14) and theories of the origin of institutions (these especially in P: see below, § 17 *f.*), (*c*) exhortations to obey the laws (very characteristic of H and D: see §§ 13-15).

1. Jewish Theory. According to Hebrew or Jewish theory, Yahwè is the source of all law (LAW AND JUSTICE, § 1), Moses[1] the medium through whom it was revealed to Israel. Thus in connection with the various orders of law we find such formulæ as 'And Yahwè said unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel' (Ex. 20 22, cp 20 21, and also 34 27, concluding laws of 34 14-26 [cp *v.* 10] J); 'and Yahwè spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel' (Ex. 25 1, and so, or similarly, repeatedly in P); cp further Dt. 4 1 *f.* 5 33 4. At a later period the Jews formulated the theory that the oral law or tradition (subsequently written down in the Mishna and other halachic collections), as well as the written law or scripture, was in the first instance communicated to Moses—'Moses received the tōrāh from Sinai, and he delivered it[2] to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the great synagogue' (*Pirḳē Ābhōth*, 1 1).

From the Jewish point of view therefore Law Literature (both biblical and post-biblical) consists of laws originally communicated to Moses orally, and committed, gradually, and at various periods, to writing; for even the oral law—the παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων of the NT—was subsequently written down. It is always the origin of law, however, rather than of the *writing* down of the law that was of primary interest and importance to the Jews. Moses stands pre-eminent as the human medium through which the Law came to Israel; though in the writing down of the Law Ezra's part is, according to Jewish tradition, at least as important as that of Moses (CANON, § 17).

For present purposes it is unnecessary to discuss at further length the precise sense[3] in which the Jews traced their law and consequently, at least indirectly, their law-literature to Moses. We need only refer to (*a*) an exception and (*b*) a consequence.

(*a*) The prophets also were regarded as media of *tōrōth*—*i.e.*, instructions, laws—and the priests at various periods delivered 'instructions.'[4] The prophetic instructions, however, scarcely correspond to what we generally understand by law, and the priestly instructions are explanations of the law or laws of Yahwè with which the priests were entrusted (Hos. 4 6, Jer. 28 18 18) in reference to specific circumstances (*e.g.*, Hag. 2 11).[5]

1 Occasionally (Nu. 18 18 Lev. 10 8) Aaron is the medium. There is a tendency, especially among copyists, to associate Aaron with Moses in the reception of instructions.

2 *I.e.*, both written and oral law; the verb 'receive' (קִבֵּל) is specially used of the oral law.

3 The Rabbis differed on the point; for their views see Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Excursus I., and in (2) addit. note 1.

4 See BDB, *s.v.* תּוֹרָה, 1 *c*, *d*, *e*.

5 Much of the 'Book of the Covenant,' Ex. 21-23, may be so

LAW LITERATURE

(*b*) The consequence of this theory of the origin of law is that the Hebrew historians never directly and explicitly record the introduction of a new law. We are thus deprived of what might otherwise furnish us with simple and straightforward evidence with regard to the date of the various bodies of law preserved in the OT. The nearest approach that we possess to such direct evidence of the change of law at a definite date is furnished by Ezekiel in his ideal sketch of a future Jewish constitution (Ezek. 40-48); in this, old customs which had the sanction of earlier law are condemned and discarded, and new laws are enunciated, some of which subsequently gained validity. These changes are directly revealed by Yahwè to the prophet. In D also, the date of which has been determined by criticism within sufficiently narrow limits, older laws are abrogated in favour of new ones; but here the laws are traced to Moses, and are not, therefore, as in Ezekiel, directly represented as new, though indirectly the sense of novelty is here also clearly felt (cp below, § 13).

Before proceeding to a synthetic history of Hebrew Law Literature based on the criticism of the several bodies of law, we may notice the external evidence—unfortunately for the earlier period very scanty—of the existence and diffusion of such a literature among the Hebrews.

2. Written Laws.

Law, but not necessarily the individual written laws or the entire literature of law, was, as we have seen, attributed to Moses. In the main the first four books of the Pentateuch merely relate oral communications which were to be orally communicated to the people. Ex. 34 27 *f.* (J), however, records that Moses wrote the short body of laws (*vv.* 11-26) which constituted the terms of the covenant between Yahwè and Israel; a similar statement is found in 24 4, but the precise limits of the 'words of Yahwè' there said to have been written down and the source of the statement (whether J or E) are uncertain.[1] Traditions were also current among the Hebrews that the decalogue was written by the finger of God on stone tables (Ex. 31 18 32 16 E, Dt. 9 10). Again Hos. 8 12 implies the existence in the N. kingdom of written laws, which Ryle (*Canon*, 33), however, inclines to regard as prophetic teaching; if the text be sound (which is doubtful), the number of these written laws must have been large. We have, thus, altogether, sufficiently good and complete evidence that written laws existed at least as early as the eighth or ninth centuries B.C. in both kingdoms.[2] The context of the passage in Hosea (cp Jer. 7 22 *f.*) implies that these laws had regard rather to social and moral life than to cultus.[3] Such is the character of the major part of the laws in Ex. 21-23. On the other hand the laws of Ex. 34 11-26, said by J to have been written by Moses, are for the most part concerned with the cultus.

For whom, then, we may ask, were these laws written? Who were to read them? In what sense were they literature? These questions cannot be answered with certainty; but it seems likely that such collections of written laws were in the first instance intended for the priests whose duty it was to give decisions (cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 3, end).

3. Why written?

When (some of) the laws of Ex. 21-23 became incorporated (probably about the middle of the eighth century) in E, and those of Ex. 34 11-26 (somewhat earlier) in J (see EXODUS, §§ 3 vi.-ix. 4), they became the possession of a larger circle. To all appearance both these sets of laws codify existing practices, and do not introduce changes. There was no need, therefore, for their publication merely as laws. Their appearance in Hebrew literature is rather due to the growth of an historical literature (yet see Kue. *Hex.* § 15, ET 272).

The publication of Dt.[1] in the seventh century marks an important stage in the history of Law Literature. Dt. was the literary embodiment of a religious reformation, the principles of which affected many established customs.

4. Circulation.

Its publication therefore was necessary: it was essential that the people at large should know what was required of them by the new law. There are in the book passages which clearly imply that such publication was contemplated by its authors, and we learn from 2 K. 22 *f.* that they saw their designs carried out. Even so, however, we must not think of the book as having a large circulation among many classes of readers. Most of the people were to become acquainted with it by hearing it read to them periodically by the priests and elders[2] (Dt. 31 9-13, cp 2 K. 23 2), just as according to the theory of the book it was in the first instance read to them by Moses (28 58 61; cp 1 5 31 24 29 20 30 10); the only copies of which we actually hear, in addition to the original which was to be kept in the temple (31 26), are the copy which was to be made for the king (17 18) and the copy engraved on stones, referred to in Dt. 27 2 *f.* 8 (on which see Driver, and, on the text and tradition PLAISTER).

It is reasonable, however, to suppose that other copies were in the hands of instructors of the people. It has been inferred from Jer. 11 1-8 that Jeremiah went about explaining Deuteronomy (see, *e.g.*, Che. *Jer.: his life and times*, 55 *ff.*). Still, the very limited circulation even of Dt. is a fact to be borne in mind when we consider the likelihood of the original code having been modified or expanded.

In the early years of the exile (592-570) Ezekiel wrote his sketch of the future constitution. The same period and the later years of exile were probably marked by much legal study and literary production. This, however, rests on indirect and internal evidence which is discussed elsewhere (see also below, § 16 *f.*). The same may be said of the early post-exilic period.

Certainly, from the time of Dt. onwards, references to written law become frequent. Life is no longer ordered merely or even mainly by long-established and recognised custom, and in cases of doubt by the oral decisions of priests, but 'according to what is written in the (book of the) law of Moses'[3] (Ezra 3 2 6 18 Neh. 13 1 *ff.* Josh. 8 31 D [cp 1 8 D] 23 6 2 K. 14 6 D, 2 Ch. 23 18 25 4 35 12). Other references from this period to written law are Ezra 7 6 Neh. 8 1. Most significant also is the gradual omission of the words 'book of' before 'the law' when written law is implied. *Tōrāh*, originally denoting a decision orally delivered, becomes a term for a body of *written law* (LAW AND JUSTICE, § 1).

Of course long after written law had become a well-recognised institution, many still depended for their knowledge of it on hearing it read to them (see Neh. 8 1 3). The circulation of copies, however, must have become increasingly large; this is in part indicated by the existence of the class of scribes. The number of people who possessed and read the law was certainly considerable in the second century B.C. (1 Macc. 1 56 *f.*). Later the reading of the law was widely practised; it formed the staple of EDUCATION (*q.v.* § 3 *f.*; cp Schürer, *GJV*⁽²⁾, II 354, ET ii. 2 50).

It is true that the term 'law' was extended so as to cover all sacred literature (see CANON, § 26); but this is only a further proof of the influence gained by the specifically legal literature. It is unnecessary to dwell on a fact so well recognised as that the Jews in the first century were (what they certainly were not, if we are to be guided by our records, down to the time of

regarded. The code may not in its original form have been attributed to Moses (cp Nowack, *HA* 1 319); it rather appears to have been a collection of rules resting on long existing practice. See below, § 7 *f.*

[1] On the relation of these codes to the sources J and E, see EXODUS ii., §§ 3 vi. *f.*, 4.

[2] See further Kue. *Hex.* ET 175 *ff.*

[3] Cp 4 6 in the light of the context and see We. *Prol.*(4) pp. 58 *f.*, 403.

[1] For the extent of the book as first published and the date of its origin, see DEUTERONOMY (§§ 4 *ff.*).

[2] In Dt. 31 11 read הקראו with 𝔊 (of the priests and elders) instead of הקרא (MT) of Israel; cp Di. and Dr. *ad loc.*

[3] In this connection the absence of any reference in Hag. 2 10-12 to a written law (such as Nu. 19) on defilement by the dead, and the implication that oral instruction on the subject still needed to be obtained, is significant.

Josiah) the people of the law, the people of the book[1] (cp *e.g.* Jn. 5 39).

5. Six Periods. The history of Hebrew and Jewish Law Literature may be divided into six periods—viz. (1) the pre-Josianic (§§ 6-9); (2) the Josianic (§§ 10-13); (3) the exilic (§§ 14-16); (4) the earlier post-exilic (§§ 17-19); (5) the later post-exilic (§ 20 *f.*); and (6) the Rabbinic (§§ 22 *f.*). From what has been said already (§§ 2-4), it will be easy to understand that a *literature* of Law in any very precise sense of the term begins only with the second (Josianic) of these periods; in the first we have to do with the formulation and committal to writing of existing laws, but scarcely with the publication, for general perusal or recitation, of any legal work.

1. *Pre-Josianic Period.*—Written laws were, as we have seen (§ 2), known in Israel at least as early as the eighth century B.C. Some of these laws have survived, editorially modified indeed yet not in such a way as to render their essential features unrecognisable, in the Pentateuch—in particular in Ex. 20-24 34; see also Ex. 13 3-16. Others are probably incorporated without much greater editorial modifications in other masses of law, especially D and H; but the consideration of these latter can be left to later sections. We will confine our attention for the present to the laws which are closely connected with the prophetic narratives of the Hexateuch, and (on this ground and on others) may be regarded with greatest probability as representing early Hebrew collections of written law.

6. Before Josiah.

There can be no question that both Ex. 34 16 (12)-26, and chaps. 20 1-23 19 stand at present surrounded by prophetic narratives; but whether their present is the same as was their original position in the sources is very much open to question; and this is particularly the case with Ex. 21 1-23 19 (cp Kue. *Hex.* 13, n. 32). If this be the case, can we be sure that the laws in question ever stood in the sources? In other words, can we safely argue merely from their position in the Hexateuch that the codes had been collected *in written form* as early as J or E?

Certainty does not seem to be justifiable, and Baentsch (*Bundesbuch*, 122)[2] as a matter of fact is inclined to attribute the embodiment of Ex. 21 1-23 19 in the prophetic history-book to the compiler of JE—to the complex prophetic source the compilation of which must be placed at the close of the seventh century B.C. Yet two or three considerations render it probable that these laws occupied a place in one of the two main sources J or E. (1) If the compiler of JE had not been led by the previous existence of the code in one of his sources to retain it in his compilation, would he not rather have adopted the Deuteronomic code or some laws more in accordance with that code? (2) The code, whether incorporated in the earlier sources or not, is certainly much earlier in origin than JE.

On the whole then, we may conclude that we approximate to the written laws of Yahwè to which Hosea makes reference in the decalogue of Ex. 20, the older decalogue of Ex. 34 and the code of Ex. 20 24-23. At the same time a comparison of Ex. 20 and Dt. 5 warns us that those older laws were sometimes subject to much editorial expansion (see DECALOGUE), and this must be borne in mind in attempting to gain a more definite idea of the law literature of the earliest period; the presence of such expansions can for the most part merely be referred to here: details must be sought elsewhere. [The upward limit of date is determined by the one fact that the laws presuppose a settled agricultural society. See EXODUS ii.]

[1] 'The Introduction of the law, first of Deuteronomy, then of the entire Pentateuch, was in fact the decisive step by which the written word (*die Schrift*) took the place of the spoken word (*die Rede*) and the people of the word became a people of the book' (We. *Prol.*(4), 415). 'As the historical and prophetical books existed in part a long time before they became canonical, so, it is thought, was it the case also with the law (*das Gesetz*). Nevertheless, in the case of the law, there is an essential difference. The law is *meant* to have binding force, is meant to be the book of the community. A difference between Law and Canon there never was. It is therefore easy to understand that the Tōrāh, although as a literary product younger than the historical and prophetical books, is yet as law (*Gesetz*) older than those writings, which originally and essentially bore no legal character, but obtained the same accidentally in consequence of being attached to an already existing Law' (*ib.* 416).

[2] See now (1900) also his Comm. on Ex. Lev. in *HK*; he there admits (p. 188) that *some* laws stood at this point in E (cp 20 18-21 24 3-8) to be found in 20 22-26 22 27-29 23 10-16, and that the judgments (see § 7) stood elsewhere in E at a point not to be defined.

These remnants of pre-Josianic Hebrew law fall into different classes when regarded in respect of their form.

7. 'Words' and 'judgments.' We find (1) absolute commands in Ex. 20 3-17 (the Decalogue), Ex. 34 10-26[1] (the so-called 'older decalogue'), and Ex. 20 23-26[2] (21 15-17) 22 18-22 28-31 23 1-3 6-19; deuteronomic expansions often accompany these ancient commandments in their present setting—see especially Ex. 20 4-6 7*b* 9 *f.* 12*b* 17 22 22-24 27 23 10 12*b*; (2) hypothetical instructions based presumably on precedent—a codification of consuetudinary law—in Ex. 21 2-14 18-36 22 1-17 25 *f.* 23 4 *f.*

Laws of the former (absolute) type seem to have gone by the name of Words (דברים); so at least the commandments of the Decalogue (Ex. 20) were termed (Dt. 5 22 4 13 10 4), as also those of 'the older Decalogue' (Ex. 34 27); and some have supposed that the absolute commands of Ex. 21-23 are referred to by the same term in Ex. 24 3 4 8. On the other hand the hypothetical provisions of Ex. 21 2-24, etc., appear to have been specifically termed judgments (משפטים)—see Ex. 21 1 and perhaps 24 3; and cp Nu. 35 24 (referring to *vv.* 16-23).

Ultimately, it need not be doubted, these two distinct types of laws had different origins. The main religious

8. Their origin. duties may at a comparatively early date have been thrown into a scheme of ten commands; later, under the influence of the prophetic teaching, and perhaps as a set-off (cp the contrast between Mic. 6 6 *f.* and *v.* 8) to still earlier ritual decalogues, other schemes of ten words mainly inculcating moral duties may have been framed. An ancient ritual decalogue seems to underlie Ex. 34 12-26 (DECALOGUE, § 5); individual commands of this kind appear elsewhere—*e.g.*, in Ex. 23 18 (=34 25). A moral decalogue, scarcely earlier in origin than the prophets of the eighth century, clearly survives in Ex. 20.

The 'judgments,' on the other hand, will have originated in decisions given on particular cases by priest or other judicial authority (cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 4). These judgments, again, need not all have originated at the same time or place; they may very well as they stand represent a selection from the established precedents at different sanctuaries; and to this may be due the differences of form noticeable among them.

Whilst, however, such differences are certainly remarkable, and seem best accounted for by difference of origin, we have not sufficient data to enable us to determine in more than a quite general way what those differences of origin—whether of time or place—actually were. In particular it seems a fruitless task to attempt to reach an actual earlier form of the 'Book of the Covenant' by a series of transformations, such as Rothstein (*Bundesbuch*, 1887) has proposed.

So again we must be content with alternative possibilities when we come to consider the later literary

9. Literary history. history of both the 'words' and the 'judgments.' The decalogue of Ex. 34 certainly seems to have formed part of the main prophetic source J (EXODUS, § 3, vii.); the Decalogue, generally so-called (Ex. 20), part of the prophetic source E, though whether in an earlier (E_1) or a later (E_2) form is disputed. The 'Book of the Covenant,' again (Ex. 20 22-23 19), is also by most regarded as having formed part of E, though, as we have seen (§ 6), Baentsch thinks that it was first incorporated by JE. However that may be, further alternatives arise. Had the Book of the Covenant an independent existence in writing before it came to form part of E or JE, or was it the compiler of one of those works who first brought together from different written or oral sources the 'words' and the 'judgments'? These questions also must be left undecided.[3]

One point further only needs to be emphasised here. Neither J nor E nor JE came, by the incorporation of

[1] Yet note the conditional case in 34 20.

[2] Yet note *v.* 25.

[3] For a fuller discussion of these and references to literature see EXODUS ii., § 3 *f.*

these collections of law to be a law-book. The laws form but a small part of the whole and are incorporated not with a view to gain recognition for them; for they were based on long-established precedents, or (as in the case of the Decalogue of Ex. 20) they embodied some of the moral duties on which prophetic teaching naturally laid stress: they owe their place to a historical motive—they are specimens of those customs, enjoying the sanction of Yahwè's favour, which were observed in Israel.

2. *The Josianic Period.*—The second period brings us to the first specimen of Law Literature proper—*i.e.*, of works intended for publicity and having a legal as their leading motive.

10. Time of Josiah.

The historical cause of this new departure was the religious reformation carried out under Josiah, and the leading doctrinal motive of the reformation was the unity of Yahwè; the main reform aimed at in practice, the abolition of local sanctuaries and the centralisation of worship at Jerusalem. This one main reform, however, involved many important changes, especially in the sacrificial customs, the status of the priests, the right of asylum (see SACRIFICE; PRIEST, § 6; ASYLUM, § 3).

In Deuteronomy we find the programme of this reformation (see DEUTERONOMY). Not to repeat a discussion of the exact limits of the original book of Deuteronomy which will be found elsewhere (DEUTERONOMY, §§ 4 *ff.*) it will suffice to notice here, that, regarded from a literary point of view, the book consists of three elements: (*a*) previously existing laws, in some cases much, in others probably but little, if at all, modified (§ 12); (*b*) regulations for carrying into effect the contemplated reforms (§ 13); (*c*) exhortations, accompanied by threats and promises and illustrated by historical retrospects, to carry out the injunctions of the book (§ 13). The first element is common to Deuteronomy and the historical works of the preceding period which embody laws (§ 6). The second and third elements entirely differentiate the new from the older literary form. The purpose of the earlier historical works was to record and glorify the existing order of things: the purpose of Deuteronomy was to condemn and displace that order. In the earlier period laws owed their position in literature to an historical interest; henceforward history becomes an exponent of legal theory—at first (especially in the Books of Kings in their final form) of the deuteronomic theory, and later (as in Chronicles) of the priestly theory (§ 17).

11. Deuteronomy an innovation.

We turn now to a fuller survey of the various elements, and of the history (so far as it can be discovered or surmised) of the fusion of them as seen in the existing book of Deuteronomy.

(*a*) *Previously existing laws.*—It has long been recognised that Deuteronomy is in large part based on the laws now found embodied in the 'prophetic' narratives of our Hexateuch. The extent of this common matter may be seen at a glance by consulting the comparative table in Driver's *Deut.* (iv.-vii.); see also DEUTERONOMY, § 9; EXODUS ii., § 4. The close relation between the two bodies of legislation, often extending to '*verbal coincidences*,' is thus summed up by Driver (8): 'Nearly the whole ground covered by Ex. 20 22-23 33 is included in it [the deuteronomic legislation], almost the only exception being the special compensations to be paid for various injuries (Ex. 21 18-22 16), which would be less necessary in a manual intended for the people. In a few cases the law is repeated *verbatim*, or nearly so; elsewhere only particular clauses; in other cases the older law is expanded, fresh definitions being added, or its principle extended, or parenthetic comments attached, or the law is virtually recast in the deuteronomic phraseology.' (Yet see DEUTERONOMY, § 9.)

12. Laws not new.

In addition to this legal matter found in the extant earlier codes, we have much similar matter not found there. It is reasonable to suppose that this also was derived, though by no means always without editorial modification, from sources similar to those noticed above (§ 7), whether oral or written. Down to a period much later than that now under consideration the priests gave oral decisions, to which on many ritual points those in need of instruction were referred. From established and traditional decisions of this kind, as well as from written sources, the deuteronomic writers (like the compiler of H; below, § 15) may well have drawn. Particularly noticeable among this legal matter peculiar to Deuteronomy are the laws relative to unclean animals in chap. 14 (cp DEUTERONOMY, § 10) and the laws of chaps. 21 10-25 16 (of which only seven out of a total of thirty-five are found in the legislation of JE; DEUTERONOMY, § 9) which in their greater terseness contrast with the generally diffuse style of even the distinctly legal parts of Dt. and are on this account with probability regarded as drawn more directly and with less modification from existing collections of laws.[1]

The attempts to determine more precisely the exact literary character, if the sources were written, and the previous interrelations of this older matter not found in the legislation of JE have led to no convincing conclusions. Both Staerk and Steuernagel have attempted a resolution of the strictly legislative parts of D into sources, on the ground of the changing usage of the sing. and pl. for the persons addressed. Steuernagel (*Deut.* vi. *ff.*). also constitutes into sources various other groups of passages such as (16 21-17 1) 18 10-12*a* 22 5 23 19 25 13-16*a*, on the ground of the common clause 'For any one who does such things is abominable to Yahwè' (כי תעבת י׳ כל עשה אלה). Even, however, if we should grant that the criteria suffice to establish ultimate diversity of origin, they certainly do not establish any separate literary existence for such 'sources.' Steuernagel himself expressly discards the idea that such sources need ever have obtained public currency (*ib.* xiii.). We can scarcely assert with safety more than this—that these laws, so sharply distinguished in style from the more distinctively novel elements in Dt. (such for example as chaps. 12 *f.* 17 14 *ff.* 18 15 *ff.* 20 1-9), must have had previously some *fixed* form. The arguments adduced by Dillmann (*NDJ* 292 *f.* 340 604 *f.* 606; cp Kue. *Hex.* ET, 256; Graf, *Gesch. Bücher*, 25-27) to show that they must have been *written* really prove no more than such previous fixity of form whether oral or written.

But whatever conclusions we may draw in detail, there seems ample reason for the general conclusion that, with the single exception, to be noticed immediately, the legal material, even when it cannot be traced to still extant earlier codes, is not the novel element in Deuteronomy.

(*b*) and (*c*).—This single exception, this new legal element in Deuteronomy, is the law of the centralisation of worship with its various corollaries. But the influence of this one new legal element is powerful, clearly felt, and far-reaching. Take, for example, the law of sacrifice (chap. 12). Much is assumed as known, for instance the mode of sacrifice; but in respect to the place of sacrifice we find what was absent from the earlier legislation (cp § 9 end) is here present—a sense of change; immemorial practice no longer supports itself by the mere fact of being such: no longer 'as at this day' (12 8) is sacrifice to be offered wherever one pleases, but at one definite place only (12 13 *f.*). Worship must be centralised; the unity of Yahwè vindicated and outwardly symbolised. What has been legitimate ceases to be so, while some things that had been illegitimate now become legitimate (12 15).

13. New element in Dt.

If the law-book, instead of merely glorifying the existing order of things, aimed at changing it and thus seriously affecting the life of the people, it needed a means of commending the changes to the people and arousing enthusiasm to carry them into effect. Hence the change is represented as long overdue; it should have been made when Yahwè took up his abode in Jerusalem. Hence also the promises and threats with their appeal to the hopes and fears of the people; the

[1] See more fully Graf, *Gesch. Bücher*, 24 *f.*

insistence on prophetic principles; the didactic historical retrospects.

That the main elements just noted characterised 'the book found in the temple' (2 K. 22 8) is plainly indicated by the narrative of 2 K. 22 *f.* The legal element is clear from the title—'the book of the *tōrah*'—by which it is there referred to, and from the correspondence of the actions of Josiah to the demands of the law; the sense of change, the newness of the demands, is seen in the confession that immemorial customs did not conform to the demands of the law (2 K. 22 13); and the hortatory element must be presupposed to account for the alarm produced in the king on hearing the book read.

When this is said it still remains uncertain precisely how much of the present book constituted the book found in the temple. The critical study of Deuteronomy leads to the conclusion that the original book was amplified both in its legal and in its hortatory parts, and that the present work has resulted from the fusion of two different editions, so to speak, of the work distinguished from one another more particularly by different historical introductions (DEUTERONOMY, §§ 4-7): the limited circulation of books (above, § 4) rendered such growth of a book easy.

These processes of expansion in large part are to be placed in the period between the Reformation (621 B.C.) and the fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) and represent the continuous literary activity of the reforming party.

Two characteristics of this great product of the Josianic period must be referred to before we pass to the next period. (1) Deuteronomy is thoroughly practical; it is the work of men living amid the actual circumstances of the life which they wish to reform. The authors appreciate the effect of the contemplated changes; if their principle involved the centralisation of worship, they see the necessity and make provision for the desanctification of ordinary flesh meals; if they rob the local priests of their custom at the local shrines, they give them their share in the custom of the temple at Jerusalem; if they abolish with the local sanctuaries the numerous asyla offered by the altars there, they institute 'cities of refuge'—civil asyla. (2) This practical character of the work defines its limitations. It is an appeal to the people: prophetic principles are enforced and illustrated in detail by the recital of moral and civil laws and of ritual law so far as it affected the people. On the other hand, the details of ritual, the functions of the priests, receive no attention; these were sufficiently determined by the existing practice at Jerusalem.

3. *The Exilic Period.*—The literature of the exile bears the marks of the profound change in the external circumstances of the people. The national life has ceased; it is now merely the subject of memory, the subject of hope. Hence the literary activity of the period shows itself mainly in the production of theoretical works, the framing of a constitution for the restored nation; and in the preservation of the regulations of the life that has ceased to be.

14. Ezekiel.

The theoretical element is most markedly present in Ezekiel. In his sketch of the ideal constitution[1] of the new state he borrows, needless to say, largely from ancient practice; as a priest, he was familiar with the duties of the priest and the priestly ritual, and he draws on this knowledge. As contrasted with the Isaianic it is a priestly conception of holiness that dominates him, leading him to give the central significance which he does to the holy city and especially to the temple (Ezek. 40-43 17). This accounts for the almost exclusively ritual and priestly character of the laws which the prophet incorporates in his sketch.

Note the ritual for the consecration of the altar (43 18-27), the regulations regarding the persons who may approach the sanctuary (44 6-15), the duties of the priests (44 16-27), the priestly dues (44 28-31), the materials and fixed seasons of sacrifices (45 13-46 15), the treatment of the sacrificial flesh (46 19-24). As compared with the actual monarchs of pre-exilic times, Ezekiel's 'prince' is an insignificant person, and he comes before us mainly in connection with the sacrifices (45 12-17 46 1-15) and the distribution of the land (45 7 *f.*, 46 16-18). Beyond some general exhortations to the princes not to oppress (*e.g.*, 45 8), almost the only references to other than priestly and ritual matters are in the short section commending just weights and measures (45 9-11).

[1] Cp EZEKIEL ii., §§ 13, 23 *f.*

Doubtless it was not Ezekiel's purpose to set forth a full constitution for the new state. It is equally clear, however, that his ideal differs from the real state which had passed away in the position given to the priests, and in particular the Jerusalem priests. As compared with Deuteronomy, Ezekiel increases the priestly dues and by depriving the local priests—priests who were not descended from Zadok—of their priestly position, makes of the priests of his ideal constitution a compact and corporate body. In his priestly constitution Ezekiel, moreover, most clearly appears as an innovator. He is well aware that the priests of the future will not be as those of the past with which he had been familiar. In the past, which was the present of Dt., all Levites had exercised priestly functions; in the future all Levites not descended from Zadok, in other words all Levites who had not been connected with the Jerusalem temple, will be degraded into an inferior order: the Zadokites alone will remain genuine priests.

Ezekiel's remoteness from the actualities of life (contrast Deuteronomy) comes out particularly in his division of the country, which he regards as an exact parallelogram.

A particular value, historically and critically, attaches to the legal section of the book of Ezekiel. It shows us, on indisputable chronological evidence, how at least one mind in exile was working on Jewish law at a time when circumstances prevented its being put into force, and how the exile marks the transition from the literary activity, which had been mainly prophetic, to the literary activity of the post-exilic period, which became increasingly priestly and legal.

Criticism has shown that Ezekiel's was not the only mind working in the way just described, and that not to him alone do we owe legal literature of the exilic age.

15. 'Law of Holiness.'

The most important of the remaining legal works the exilic origin of which has been generally admitted (yet see LEVITICUS, § 28 *f.*) is the Law of Holiness (LEVITICUS, §§ 13-30). Though in its present form incomplete and frequently modified by the editor who incorporated it with the larger post-exilic priestly work, it is not difficult to see the general character and motive of the work of the exilic compiler or editor. Like Deuteronomy it is based on earlier legislation,[1] is parænetic in character (this feature being specially prominent in the closing section; Lev. 26), and is characterised by its humanity (cp, *e.g.*, Lev. 19 3 *f.*). Like Ezekiel (40-48) it has as its dominant note 'holiness,' and appears to have had as its aim the regulation of the restored community.

H has in addition to these general characteristics so much in common with Ezekiel that Graf, as is well known, concluded that Ezekiel must have been the author of H (*Gesch. Bücher*, 81-83). As has frequently been pointed out, however (*e.g.*, We. *Prol.*(4), 386: Dr. *Introd.*(6), 148 *f.*), whilst in some important respects H agrees with Ezekiel against D (*e.g.*, the 10th of the seventh month is the feast of the New Year in H [Lev. 25 9*a*] and Ezek. 40 1, not as in P [Lev. 16 29] the Day of Atonement) in others H agrees with P against Ezekiel; thus the priests are sons of Aaron, not of Zadok (as in Ezek. 44 15 *ff.*, 48 11). See, further, LEVITES.

If we may trust the present arrangement, this law-book (H) began, like the legislation in JE (Ex. 20 22-23 16), with the regulation of sacrifice (Lev. 17); it assumes (Lev. 17 4 26 11 19 30 20 3 21 12-20 26 2 31) rather than demands (like Dt.) that there must be but one place of sacrifice. Like Ezekiel, the Law of Holiness gives much attention to the priests and the ritual (chaps. 17

[1] Cp, *e.g.*, Lev. 19 15 with Ex 23 3, Lev. 22 27-29 with Ex. 22 29 23 18 *f.*, Lev. 25 1-7 with Ex. 23 10 *f.* See further We. *Prol.*(4), 384. It would be unreasonable, however, to limit the earlier legislation preserved in H to what is found in our extant earlier codes; see above, § 12.

20-24); but it regulates also with considerable fulness family and social life (esp. chaps. 18-20 25).[1]

For proof of the date and extent of H, and for various views as to details, reference must be made to LEVITICUS, § 13 *ff.*, and the literature there cited, but see, especially, Baentsch, *Heiligkeitsgesetz.* Baentsch's conclusions (on which cp Dr. *Introd.*(6) p. 149 n.) may be summarised as follows:—"Between the years 621 and 591, and probably within a year or two of the latter term, a writer (H) made a collection of previously existing laws, giving them a *parænetic* framework and the *historical* background of the wandering in the wilderness. This collection survives in Lev. 18 20 23 9-12 15-17 18*a* 19*b* 20 22 24 15-22 25 1-7 14 17 18-22 23 24 35-38 29 1 2. Some years later—later also than Ezekiel—another writer (H_2) also made a collection of previously existing laws. These are mainly concerned with the priests and the offerings, and are provided by their editor with a *dogmatic* framework. This collection survives in Lev. 21 *f.* Quite at the close of the captivity an exile, anxious that the restored community should be regulated aright, united H_1 and H_2, prefixed chap. 17 (H_3), and concluded the whole with a previously existing prophetic discourse (Lev. 26 3 *ff.*), to which he made various additions (*vv.* 10 17 [?], 34 35 39-43) appropriate to his immediate purpose." The details[2] of the foregoing theory and the analysis underlying it have varying degrees of probability; but the *complexity* of the code seems certain (if only on the ground of the presence of both chap. 18 and chap. 20), and that more than one exilic process is here represented is highly probable.

16. Other collections.

Possibly we should refer to the exile also the writing down and collection of much of the priestly teaching that lies at the basis of a large part of Leviticus and is indicated in Carpenter and Battersby's *Hexateuch* as Pt. For arguments as to the date of this Pt, see *ib.* I. pp. 152 *f.*, and Harford-Battersby in arts. 'Leviticus' and 'Numbers' in Hastings' *DB.*

We find then that in the exile legal study and especially the study of the temple ritual and priestly duties was zealously pursued though (or perhaps we should rather say, because), the temple being destroyed, both ritual and priestly duties were for the time being in suspense: just as after the second destruction of the temple and the permanent cessation of sacrifice in 70 A.D. the rabbinic study of matters connected with the temple continued with great if not increased ardour (see § 23).

4. *Early Post-Exilic Period.*—The activity of this period resulted in (*a*) the legal and quasi-historical work known as the Priestly Code (P), and (*b*) the fusion with that work of older histories (JE) and of the law-book D, producing a work substantially the same as our Pentateuch (on *b* see § 20 *f.*).

17. P: its character.

Towards the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., probably in Babylon,[3] a great work, historical in form, legal or institutional in motive, saw the light.[4] Its evident purpose is the vindication of the divine origin of Jewish institutions and ritual law. Terse to a degree in its treatment of history generally, reducing the biographies of the heroes of the past to little more than a genealogy and a table of ages, it expands into fulness where the origin or purpose of an institution can be illustrated, as for example in the history of creation leading up to the Sabbath, that of the Deluge closing with the command not to eat blood, the birth of Isaac and the institution of circumcision. What is chiefly dwelt on in connection with the Exodus is the institution of the Passover; the history of the transition from Egypt to Canaan deals fully only with the establishment of the central place of worship—the tabernacle—and of the sacred classes (the priests and Levites) to whose care and service it was confided. Ezekiel in the exile with prophetic freedom legislates afresh; and, with a full sense of the novelty of some features in the constitution which he draws up, presents it under the form of the ideal state of the future. The author of the great priestly history casts his ideal back into the past; what ought to be, was; what ought to be done now, was done by the true Jew of the past; earlier histories represented the patriarchs sacrificing in various spots; to P sacrifice apart from the tabernacle was profanity; hence in his history the patriarchs never sacrifice. P's tabernacle itself is anterior to the temple only in the imagination not in history. The entire work is legal or ritual fact and theory presented under the form of history.

Now, what is the literary inter-relation between the various parts of the work? P consists of two main elements; the history of Jewish institutions already described, and masses of laws mainly concerned with ritual matters.

18. P's two elements.

Were these two elements combined from the first? If not, when was the combination made? Are even the two main elements quite simple or to be resolved into yet further elements? Complete and conclusive answers to these questions are not obtainable. Certain points, however, are clear, and the complexity of P is certain.

(*a*) The masses of laws in P are in part earlier (for an example see § 15—the Law of Holiness), in part later (see below, § 21) than the priestly history. In large part, however, it is difficult to decide with certainty whether the laws had or had not a separate literary, as distinct from a fixed oral, existence before they were united with this history.

Two things, however, must be observed: (1) For the most part the masses of law have no organic connection with the priestly history. This is true, for example, of the great mass contained in Lev. 1-7 (LEVITICUS, § 7), and again such laws as those of the Nazirite (Nu. 6), of the ordeal of Jealousy (Nu. 5 11-31), and those contained in Nu. 15 19. (2) The laws are not homogeneous. Taking again as an example Lev. 1-7, we find the same subjects treated more than once and in a different manner; thus 6 8-7 38 covers the same ground as chaps. 1-5—viz. the ritual of the various forms of offerings—and the subscription in 7 35 *f.* refers only to 6 8-7 34;[1] instances of actually divergent laws on the same subject within the priestly code will be referred to in § 21.

(*b*) The several laws are worked inorganically into the historical framework though often in the vaguest manner.

The laws are delivered to Moses or to Moses and Aaron (cp § 1). Sometimes the place of delivery (*e.g.*, Lev. 1 1 7 38) or time (*ib.*) is defined. At times (*e.g.*, Lev. 8) a law is cast entirely in the form of a history of its first appearance; and generally what Aaron is bidden to do may be taken as a standing law—actual or ideal—for the priests of the writer's own day. Very frequently, however, the law is quite general in its terms and is only loosely connected with the history by the introductory formulæ (see, *e.g.*, Lev. 1-7 23—exclusive of the parts belonging to H).

(*c*) Whether or not the history and the various bodies of law in P had a separate literary career of their own before they became united, history and laws belong to the same general period. The force of critical tradition in favour of the early date of the priestly history led Graf, it is true, in the first instance to place the laws, the date of the origin of which was too obvious to be ignored, remote in time from the history. The impossibility of this, however, was quickly seen, not only by Graf's critics, but also by himself. The fundamental characteristics of the laws which point to the period in which they originated are in the history merely a little less explicit. They are there. Laws and history alike presuppose, for example, the single place of sacrifice, the distinction between priests and Levites. In subsidiary matters too, the tie is equally close; both alike, for example, use a number to define the month, and both are generally marked by the same striking linguistic peculiarities.

The production then of this complex work was one of the chief results of literary activity in the earlier post-exilic period. We may consider the possibilities and

[1] Exclusive of those parts of the chapters in question which are from the hand of later priestly writers. See LEVITICUS, § 14 *ff.*

[2] For a criticism of one or two of these see a review by the present writer in *JQR* 6 (1893), pp. 179-182, whence the above summary is cited.

[3] Cp Ezra 7 6 *ff.*, and Kue. *Hex.* 15, n. 27.

[4] This can most conveniently be read in Addis's *Documents of the Hexateuch*, vol. ii. See also Carpenter and Harford-Battersby. On the origin of P see HEXATEUCH, §§ 13-30; on its relation to Hebrew historical literature, see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 9.

[1] See further Driver, *Introd.*(7), pp. 44 *f.*

probabilities with regard to the stages in its growth in connection with the other achievement of the period—the union of this complex whole or of its various parts with JED.

Here we must consider the external evidence. Unfortunately that evidence is ambiguous; and scholars are much divided in their interpretation of it. The evidence consists of the account of the acceptance of 'the law of God which was given by Moses the servant of God' (Neh. 10 29) contained in Neh. 8-10—chapters derived from the memoirs of Ezra but worked over to some degree by the excerptor (see EZRA ii., § 5). Now the law to which the people bound themselves on the 24th day of the 7th month of the year 444 was, at least pre-eminently, the law of P.

19. The Tōrāh of Neh. 8-10.

It is quite clearly P's law of the feast of booths that is found written in the law (Neh. 8 14 *f.*); for the festival lasts eight days (Neh. 8 18) in accordance with Lev. 23 36 (cp 2 Ch. 7 9 *f.*), not seven as commanded in Dt. 16 13 (cp 1 K. 8 66 Ezek. 45 25 Lev. 23 41, H). Then compare further in detail the ordinances described in Neh. 10 32-39 with the relevant laws in P—for detailed references see the commentators: note especially the agreement, as to the dues demanded, of Neh. 10 36-40 with Nu. 18; on the relation of 10 32 to Ex. 30 13 *f.* cp below, § 21 (*a*).

Was, then, the 'law of God,' read by Ezra and interpreted by the priests and Levites to the people, simply the historico-legal work contained in P, or was it this work already combined with JED and therefore substantially the Pentateuch in its present form? The former alternative certainly seems more probable on the face of it. Would a self-contradictory work like the Pentateuch in its present form have produced the desired effect?

The view that Ezra's law consisted of P alone has been held and defended, *inter alios*, by Kayser (*Das vorexilische Buch*, pp. 195 *f.*), Reuss (*Gesch. d. heiligen Schriften des AT*[(2)], §§ 377 *ff.*), Kuenen (*Hex.* 303), Holzinger (*Einl.* 438 *f.*). In addition to the argument already suggested, it is urged that the time allowed in Neh. 8 for reading and interpreting would not have permitted of Lev. 23 being reached by the second day if the whole Pentateuch, not simply P, was the book read. The opposite view—that Ezra read P combined with JED—is adopted, almost of necessity, by adherents of the older critical school (*e.g.*, Di. *NDJ* 672 *f.*; Kit. 93 *f.*), but also by others (*e.g.*, We. *Prol.*[(4)], 415). Among the grounds adduced for this view is the fact that marriage with aliens (Neh. 10 30 [31]) is expressly forbidden not in P but only in other parts of the Pentateuch (Ex. 34 12 Dt. 7 2 *ff.*).

5. *Later Post-Exilic (post-Ezran) Period.*—On the answer to the questions raised at the end of the last section must largely turn our view of post-Ezran literary activity. Most of what will be here discussed must be thrown back before the period of Ezra, if the view that the law read by him was (substantially) the whole Pentateuch be adopted; and some of the processes may in any case have fallen rather in the previous period; a further preliminary remark needing to be made is this, that any strict chronological sequence of the processes now to be mentioned cannot be established. Various hypotheses may be made which nothing yet known serves either to invalidate or confirm. With these precautions we proceed to enumerate various editorial and supplementary labours to which criticism has drawn attention. In some cases it is tolerably certain that those who undertook them were successors of Ezra.

20. Later history of P.

(*a*) The union of P with JED. This must have occurred, if not before (see preceding section), within a generation or two after, Ezra; otherwise it would be difficult to account for the practical identity of the Jewish and Samaritan Pentateuchs (see CANON, § 24 *f.*). The result of the union was important; the pre-eminently historico-prophetic character of JED becomes in the whole complex work entirely subordinate to the legal and priestly character of the later work with which it is incorporated which now gives its dominant note to the whole.

The earlier fortunes of JE fall for consideration almost entirely under historical literature; later they are lost in those of the great legal work which henceforward is the normative influence alike over literature (cp CHRONICLES) and over life.

(*b*) Removal of Joshua.—The process just mentioned was doubtless associated with another. The history of P extended to the conquest of Canaan (cp JOSHUA ii., §§ 5, 12). This last part of the work, dealing with events subsequent to the death of Moses, no longer forms part of 'the law.' Whether this truncation of P took place at the actual time of the union with JED or subsequently may be left undecided; but the date of the process, like that of the union of P and JED, hangs on the date of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which does not contain the book of Joshua.

(*c*) Expansions of P (or of JEDP). The complexity of P has been briefly discussed already (§ 18). We must here draw more special attention to sections, related in style and spirit to P, which do not appear to have formed part of it originally and certainly may be of post-Ezran origin. The determination of the secondary or primary character of many particular sections of priestly character must often remain inconclusive, for it frequently turns on general considerations which will weigh differently with different minds.[1] If it is unlikely that the law Ezra read was encumbered with the irrelevant histories of J E and the irreconcilable laws of the earlier legislation and Dt., it is scarcely less unlikely that it contained the self-contradictory laws to be found within P or the different representations of the tabernacle and its appurtenances that underlie Ex. 25-31 as well as many of the laws. On the other hand some laws not immediately and conspicuously connected with the history (*e.g.*, those of Lev. 23) must already have been united with the priestly history (§ 18 *f*). Still, the account in Neh. 8-10 fails to carry us far in actually determining the extent of legal matter contained in Ezra's law-book. As illustrations of the type of expansions to which P was subject the following may be cited.

21. Additions to P.

(α) Laws representing and enforcing actual modifications of praxis. In one or two cases it is tolerably certain that these are not only secondary but also post-Ezran.

For example, the temple tax in the time of Ezra was one-third of a shekel (Neh. 10 32), and, apparently, a novelty; the law of Ex. 30 11-16 (cp 2 Ch. 24 6-10) demands half a shekel; this latter amount was actually paid in later times (Mt. 17 24; cp Schür. *GJV*[(2)], 2 206). The most natural conclusion is that the law of Ex. 30 11-16 is an expansion of P (which is further indicated by its presupposing Nu. 1) subsequent to the time of Ezra. Again, the tithe on cattle payable to the Levites according to Lev. 27 30-33 and referred to in 2 Ch. 31 6 seems to be as little recognised in Nu. 18 21 Neh. 10 36-38 [35-37] as in Dt. 14 22-29 26 12-15. Once again, the law in Lev. 27 30-33 seems to belong to the post-Ezran period; but in this case it must be placed earlier than the date of Chronicles. Many other similar cases of modifications within P give less clue to the date of their incorporation in the priestly work or the Pentateuch.

(β) Another type of expansions is perhaps to be found in laws embodying practice sufficiently ancient and even primitive, but sanctioned only as a concession to popular feeling by the scribal class.

For example, the ordeal of JEALOUSY (Nu. 5 11-31) and the cleansing by the ashes of the red heifer (Nu. 19) are certainly in some respects primitive. In their present form they betray the general stylistic characteristics of the priestly school; but they stand isolated and unrelated (so far as can be seen) to the main scheme of the priestly work. Cheyne accounts in a similar manner for the ritual of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16); see AZAZEL, § 4; *Jewish Rel. Life*, 75 *f.*

(γ) A third type of expansions consists of additions to the more historical or quasi-historical material. Most notable is the repetition (Ex. 35-40)—in the form of a detailed account of carrying these into effect—of the directions to build the tabernacle.

Here the relation of MT and 𝔊 renders it probable that we have to do with tolerably late expansions. Whether or not many other sections (*e.g.*, Nu. 7) are primary or secondary depends largely on the assurance with which we are prepared to judge the possibilities of the original writer's prolixity. For details see EXODUS, § 5, LEVITICUS, §§ 2 *ff.*, NUMBERS, § 17 *ff.*

(δ) Another set of expansions of the primary work

[1] For a discussion of many details see EXODUS, § 5, LEVITICUS, §§ 3 *ff.*, NUMBERS, §§ 10 *ff.* 21.

is indicated by references to the 'altar of incense' or the 'golden altar.' This is unknown to Ex. 25-29, and first appears in the supplemental section Ex. 30 1-10. The original priestly narrative knows only a single altar, termed simply 'the altar,' and distinguished by the later writers from 'the altar of incense' as the altar of burnt-offering. Cp further Wellhausen, *CH*(2), 139 *ff.*

Such are some of the leading instances of the expansion of the law after it had become fixed as to its main form. By degrees the reverence for the letter, which a few centuries later we know to have been intense, must have rendered it difficult to incorporate new matter, and especially new matter differing essentially from the written law. Glosses may have been made even later; such is the conclusion suggested by a comparison of MT with the versions, especially 𝔊.

6. *Rabbinic Period.*—As there had been laws before there was any legal literature (§ 7), so there was much legal activity after the legal literature collected in the Old Testament was complete. To some extent this later activity found a literary outlet in some of the Apocalyptic Literature (APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, §§ 2, 58).

22. Post-biblical period.

To a much larger extent it spent itself in the production of an oral tradition which had grown to great proportions by the first century A.D. But whereas the oral tradition that apparently lies behind the earliest collections of written law in the OT was a record based on actual practice and precedent, the later oral tradition (in its turn the source and indeed the contents of another great literature—the Rabbinic) was largely casuistical; it concerned cases that might arise at least as much as cases that had arisen. The law of God was no longer established custom; its principles were contained in the written law and were capable of being applied to the minutest circumstances of life. It is with this minute application, with this working out of the older law, that the 'traditions of the fathers' which constitute the Mishna are concerned.

23. Mishna, Talmud, etc.

As the first fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) gave a stimulus to the fixing of much of previously existing law and to the consideration of the law of the future (§§ 14-16), so the second fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), and the final dispersion of the Jews from their religious centre, added zest to the pursuit of the law and to the systematisation of the legal discussions of the Rabbis. It is the discussions of the Rabbis who lived between 70 A.D. and about 200 A.D. that chiefly constitute the Mishna. Earlier Rabbis are mentioned comparatively speaking with extreme rarity. But when was this traditional discussion written down? It is generally assumed that it was about 200 A.D. Still, it is not certain, either that none of it had been written earlier, or that all of it was written then; by that date it had in any case assumed a fixed shape or arrangement whether as oral tradition or in writing; and thenceforward it became the subject of further discussion both in the Palestinian and the Babylonian schools. This discussion is known as the Gĕmārā.[1] Mishna and Gĕmārā together constitute the Talmud or rather the Talmuds. The result of the Palestinian discussions on the Mishna was the Palestinian or Jerusalem Talmud, completed towards the end of the fourth century or during the fifth century A.D.; the result of similar discussions in Babylon was the Babylonian Talmud completed about 500 A.D.

The Talmud is the chief literary product of late Jewish legal discussion; but it is by no means our only one. For example, under the title of *Tōsephtā* we still possess a collection of discussions of the Mishnic age which resembles the Mishna in being arranged according to topics, but never gained the same authoritative position. Another branch of this literature consists of commentaries (*Midrāshīm*) on the sacred text. Here of course the arrangement is not according to subject; from the nature of the case it follows the arrangement of the biblical text. The earliest works of this kind, belonging in their original form to the second century A.D. and thus closely related in time as well as in contents with the Mishna, are *Mĕchiltā* (on part of Exodus), *Siphrā* (on Leviticus), and *Siphrē* (on Numbers and Deut.). Any discussion of the Talmud and the Mishnic literature falls outside the limits of this article and must be sought for elsewhere.[1] It has been necessary, however, to refer to it. The movement begun by Deuteronomy does not close within the period of the OT; its goal is the Talmud; its course covers more than a thousand years. Deuteronomy does much to crystallise principles into rules and thereby partly strangles the free prophetic life, to which it so largely owed its existence. Still the principles survive in it: the appeal to motive is constant. The subsequent history of law-literature, however, is the history of the increasing supremacy of rules based on the past over the living spirit of the present. Ezekiel indeed questions and displaces deuteronomic laws; the Priestly Code amends Ezekiel; but thenceforward law always professedly adheres to the norm of scripture, the written word; the Mishna is the interpretation of the written law: the Gemara the interpretation of the Mishna. G. B. G.

[1] In addition to the discussions of the Amōrāim or post-Mishnic doctors which constitute the main body of the Gĕmārā and are written in Aramaic, the Gĕmārā contains also sayings of older doctors not contained in the Mishna, but written like the Mishna in Hebrew. These are named Bārāithā (בָּרַיְתָא).

[1] Strack, *Einl. in den Talmud*(2), 1894; Schür. *GJV*(2) I 87-115, where further reference to the extensive literature will be found.

LAWYER (νομικος), Mt. 22 35, etc., Tit. 3 13. See LAW AND JUSTICE, and cp SCRIBES.

'Lawyer' is also given in RVmg. as a rendering of the obscure word חפתיא in Dan. 3 2. See SHERIFF.

LAZAR HOUSE (בֵּית הַחָפְשִׁית), 2 K. 15 5 RVmg., EV 'several house.' See LEPROSY, col. 2767, n. 1.

LAZARUS (λαζαρος [Ti. WH]). The name, which is a contraction of ELEAZAR[2] (*q.v.*)—*i.e.* 'God has helped'—was specially appropriate for the central figure in any story illustrating the help of God.

1. Name.

For OT examples see Ex. 18 4 2 S. 23 9 *f.* In the period of Judaism we may expect to find the divine help more distinctly recognised. Cp Ps. 46 1 [2] 'a very present *help* in trouble'; 70 6 [5] 'I am poor and needy; make haste unto me, O God: thou art my *help* and my deliverer.' When poverty and piety were synonymous it was natural to favour such names as Eleazar and Eliezer. Eleazar is the name given to (2 Macc. 6 18-31) the scribe called by Chrysostom (1258) 'the foundation of martyrdom,' a type of those who (4 Macc. 7 19) 'believe that, to God, *they do not die*' (and see 3 Macc. 6 1 *f.*).

2. Unique story in Lk.

In Lk. 16 19-31 Lazarus is introduced thus: '. . . and he that marries one that is put away . . commits adultery. *Now*[3] *there was a certain rich man . . . and a certain beggar named Lazarus was laid at his gate full of sores.*'[4] It is not surprising that the context, and the giving of a name to the central figure of the story, induced early commentators to suppose that this was a narrative of facts.[5] Certainly if the story is one

[2] *Hor. Hebr.* on Lk. 16 20 (and cp *ib.* on Jn. 11 1) quotes *Juchasin*: 'Every R. Eleazar is written without an א'—*i.e.*, R. Lazar.

[3] D and Syr. Sin. om. 'now.'

[4] The Arabic *Diatess.* (ed. Hogg) alters order and text thus (Lk. 16), '(15) Ye are they that justify yourselves . . . the thing that is lofty before men is base before God. (19) And he began to say, A [certain] man was rich . . .' This, besides indicating that a parable or discourse is commencing, gives it a logical connection with the charges just brought against the 'money-loving' Pharisees.

[5] Iren. iv. 2 4 (see Grabe's note on 'Græcorum et Latinorum Patrum mutuus consensus'). 'Non autem fabulam' might possibly mean 'not a mere tale but a tale with a lesson'; but see also the inferences deduced from the story in Iren. ii. 34 1, and Tertull. *De Anim.* 7. Tertullian, however, guards himself against the conclusion that nothing can be inferred from the story if it is imaginary.

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of Jesus' parables, it is difficult to see why, contrary to usage, the principal character in it receives a name. Taking this mention of a name together with other unique features of the story (the elaborate details about Hades, and the technical use of the phrase 'Abraham's bosom'), may we not conjecture that we have in Lk. 16 19-31, not the exact words of Jesus, but an evangelic discourse upon his words (placed just before it by the Arabic Diatessaron)—'that which is exalted among men is an abomination in the sight of God'? If so, the insertion of the name Lazarus (= Eliezer) will be parallel to the insertions of names (*e.g.*, Longinus) in the *Acta Pilati;* the typical character of the name has been indicated already (see above, § 1). The final words of the story ('neither will they be persuaded' etc.) seem more like an evangelic comment after Christ's resurrection than like a prediction of Christ before it.

3. Unique narrative in Jn.

The narrative in Jn. 11 opens thus, 'Now (δέ) there was a certain man sick, Lazarus of (ἀπό) Bethany from (ἐκ) the village of Mary and Martha her sister.[1] Now (δέ) Mary was she that anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair: and it was her brother that (ἧς ὁ ἀδελφός) was sick. The sisters, therefore, sent to him, saying, Lord, he whom thou lovest is sick.'[2] Lazarus is here referred to as one who required an introduction. This view is confirmed by the fact that his name is mentioned only in the unique narrative in Lk. 16 19-31, the historical character of which is very justly disputed. The sisters of Lazarus too are not named at all by the first two evangelists. Yet the name of this Lazarus, about whom the Synoptists are silent, is connected by Jn. with the greatest of the miracles; for it appears from Jn. 11 39 that Lazarus, when Jesus arrived, had been four days dead, a circumstance that differentiates this miracle from the parallel miracle at NAIN[3] (*q.v.*), and makes it the climax of Christ's wonderful works. The synoptic silence has never been explained.

To remark that for the Jews and for the evangelists alike 'it was one of "many signs" (11 47), and not essentially distinguished from them,'[4] is to ignore Jn.'s dramatic power in delineating character. For the blind Pharisees no doubt this stupendous wonder was but one of 'many signs'; but only in Jn. And this was because Jn. wishes to represent the Pharisees as being stupendously blind. It was plainly not one of 'many signs' for the multitudes in Jerusalem who flocked to meet Jesus (Jn. 12 18) 'because they heard that he had done *this sign.*' In the same way the Pharisees think nothing of the healing of a man born blind. The blind man, however, reminds them that such a sign was ***never worked* '*since the world began.*'** The *Acta Pilati* represents the Roman Governor as unmoved by all the other evidence of Jesus' miracles; but when he hears of the climax, the raising of Lazarus after he had been four days dead, he 'trembles.'[5]

The distinction drawn above between the Fourth Evangelist and the Synoptists unfairly discredits the latter. We must not maintain, without any evidence but their silence, that the Synoptists were as stupid or as perverse as Christ's most bigoted and vindictive adversaries.

The common-sense view of the Synoptic omission of this miracle is like the common-sense view of the omission in the book of Kings of the statement made in the parallel passages of Chronicles—that God answered David and Solomon by fire from heaven. The earlier author omitted the tradition because he did not accept it and probably had never heard it. It was a later development.[1]

4. On what traditions is the account based?

Is then the record of the Raising of Lazarus a fiction? Not a fiction, for it is a development. But it is non-historical, like the History of the Creation in Genesis, and like the records of the other miracles in the Fourth Gospel; all of which are poetic developments (attempts to summarise and symbolise the many 'mighty works' of Jesus recorded by the Synoptists in seven typical 'signs' expressing his work before the Resurrection). The words of Jesus the Fourth Evangelist has obviously not attempted to present in the form and style assigned to them by his predecessors, and the same statement applies to the Johannine account of the acts of Jesus. This, however, does not prevent us from discerning in many cases one original beneath the two differing representations. For example, we can see a connection between the healing of the man born blind and the Synoptic accounts of the healing of blindness; and in Jn.'s account of the miraculous draught of fishes after the Resurrection we perceive clear traces of Lk.'s account of a similar event placed at an early period. So in the present case, if we are to study the Raising of Lazarus, in which a very large part is assigned to the intercession of Martha and Mary, the first step must be to go back to traditions about the sisters, and to attempt to explain the origin of the belief that they had a brother called Lazarus and that he was raised from the dead.

5. Anointing in Bethany.

Before we proceed to this, however, it may be well to remind the reader of the influence exerted by names and sometimes by corruptions of names on the development of traditions.[2] The student of the evangelic traditions is repeatedly called upon to apply this key, and we shall have to do so in studying the parallel narratives of the anointing of Jesus in Bethany given by Mk., Mt., and Jn. respectively. Mk.'s preface is (Mk. 14 3) 'And while he was in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, while he was sitting down to meat' (*ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ κατακειμένου αὐτοῦ*). Mt. 26 6 has simply *τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γενομένου ἐν* B. *ἐν οἰκίᾳ* Σ. *τοῦ λεπροῦ*. Now, *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ* in Mk. 9 33, 10 10 means 'in the house,'—*i.e.*, 'indoors,' no name of owner being added. Hence Mk. is capable of being rendered, 'While he was in Bethany in the house, *Simon the leper himself* [*also*] *sitting down.*' The parallel in Jn. is (Jn. 12 1-2) 'Jesus therefore . . . came to Bethany where was (ὅπου ἦν) Lazarus . . . So they made him a supper there, and Martha was serving, but *Lazarus was one of them that sat at meat with him* (ὁ δὲ Λ. εἷς ἦν ἐκ *τῶν ἀνακειμένων σὺν αὐτῷ*),' which certainly suggests, though not definitely stating, that the house belonged to Lazarus. It has been pointed out elsewhere, however, (GOSPELS, § 10), that 'belonging to the leper' might easily have been confused with 'Lazarus,' so that the name may have sprung from a corruption of the phrase. As regards the dropping of the name 'Simon,' an analogy is afforded by Ecclus. 50 27*a*, where, according to the editors of the recovered Hebrew text,[3] it is prob-

[1] Cp the prepositions in Jn. 1 44 *f.* 46 7 42 52.

[2] Ἦν δὲ M. has an exact parallel in Jn. 18 14. Such 'clauses of characterisation' are frequent in Jn. (*e.g.*, 7 50, and cp 19 39 'he that came to him before, or, by night'). They keep before the reader the personality of the person described and prepare him for a new manifestation of the personality.

[3] See *Acta Pil.* 8 and cp *Hor. Hebr.* on Jn. 11 39. 'For three days the spirit wanders about the sepulchre expecting if it may return into the body. But when it sees that the form or aspect of the face is changed then it hovers no more but leaves the body to itself.' Cp JOHN, § 20.

[4] Westcott on *Jn.* 11 1. On the argument from the silence of the Synoptists see further GOSPELS, §§ 58 *f.*

[5] *Acta Pil.* 8. 'And others said, "He raised Lazarus . . ."' Why does not Lazarus himself testify before Pilate, like the man who (Jn. 5 1) had been diseased thirty-eight years, and Bartimæus (not mentioned by name, though) and the woman with the issue, and others, 'a multitude both of men and women'? Was he supposed to be in hiding, or dead? A Lazarus is mentioned (*ib.* 2) as one of twelve Jews who testify that Jesus was 'not born of fornication.'

[1] See the writer's *Diatessarica* (287-9) for an explanation of the possible confusion between 'answering a sacrifice-by-fire' and 'answering a sacrifice by-fire.' The Hebrew 'sacrifice-by-fire' is almost identical in form with the word meaning 'fire.'

[2] For OT instances see the author's *Diatessarica* (46-54).

[3] See their note *ad loc.* It seems worth while, however, to add that 𝔊, while dropping 'for Simon' (לשמעון), adds Ἱεροσολυμείτης (א* has *ἱερεὺς ὁ Σολυμείτης*). May not the latter be a confused representation of the former? Owing to its similarity to other common words and phrases, "Simon," in Hebrew, might easily be inserted or omitted in translating from Hebrew. See note on Lk. 7 36 below.

able that the 'son of Sirach' was originally called '*Simon* son of Jesus,' but that 'Simon son of' was dropped.

But at this point, if we are to understand the steps by which Jn. was led to his conclusions concerning Lazarus, it is necessary to realise the obscurity that he must have found hanging over the story of the anointing of Jesus in the house of 'Simon the Leper,' where Lazarus seemed to him to have been present.

6. 'The leper,' an error.

Such a surname as 'the leper' is antecedently improbable,[1] and it is omitted by Jn.; but its difficulty indicates that it was not an interpolation but a corruption, possibly a conflation of the name of the place commonly called Bethany. Jn. alone appears to call this (Jn. 11 1) 'a village'; and he places it (*ib.* 18) 15 furlongs, which is exactly two Talmudic miles[2]—*i.e.*, a Sabbath day's journey with return—from Jerusalem. This fixed the position, of course, for the first Christian pilgrims, and subsequently for the Church. But it did not succeed in imposing the name on the natives, who call the spot defined by Jn., not Bethany, but *el-'Āzarīyeh*. This fact, and Lk.'s comparative silence,[3] and the total silence of Josephus (even in the details of the siege), and the Talmudic variations of spelling and of statement (connecting it with 'unripe figs' and 'shops'), and Mk.'s description of Bethany as apparently nearer to Jerusalem than Bethphage (Mk. 11 1, 'to Bethphage and Bethany')—all indicate that Bethany was not really a village, but simply (like Bethphage) a precinct of the city, a part of the great northern suburb minutely described by Josephus.

7. 'Bethany,' perhaps 'Bezetha.'

This suburb is casually mentioned as (Jos. *BJ* ii. 19 4) 'what is familiarly-called both *Bezetha* and *The-New-City* (τήν τε Βεζεθὰν προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὴν Καινόπολιν).'[4] Then, describing its gradual growth, and its subsequent enclosure in a wall by Agrippa, the historian speaks of (*ib.* v. 4 2) 'the hill (λόφον) that is called (καλεῖται) *Bezethana* (so Big. and Voss., but Ruf. *Zebethana*, Huds. *Bezetha*)'; and he goes on to say (*ib.*) 'But by the people of the place the new-built portion was called *Bezetha* (ἐκλήθη δ' ἐπιχωρίως Βεζεθὰ τὸ νεόκτιστον μέρος),' perhaps meaning that the citizens contracted 'Bezethana' to 'Bezetha,' but more probably that the name, in both forms, was vernacular and difficult to represent exactly in Greek. He does not directly and straightforwardly say that 'Bezetha' *means* 'new city,' but that (*ib.*) 'being interpreted, *it would be called in the Greek tongue new city* (Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ καινὴ λέγοιτ' ἂν πόλις).' This may well mean that 'new city' would be the way to express in Greek a Jewish name not capable of being at once literally and briefly translated:[1] and this view is confirmed by the fact that he never introduces the name without a sort of apology ('the people call it,' etc.).

That there was such a vernacular name appears from four parallel versions of a Jewish tradition given by Grätz (*Gesch.* 774 *ff.*), to the effect that Jerusalem had as a suburb 'two Slices,'[2] a lower (no doubt corresponding to the 'lower Kainopolis' of Josephus) and a higher. The higher was considered by common people, the lower even by strict Pharisees, as part of the Holy City, for the purpose of eating the meat of sacrifices, and so forth. The word for 'Slice' is 'Betze' or 'Beze,' which, with the addition of the word 'lower,' might easily correspond to Josephus' 'Bezethana.'[3] And having regard to the many variations and abbreviations probable in a vernacular name, and to those actually existent in Josephus, we can well understand how such a name may have been confused by some with the Mt. of Olives, and by others called 'Bethany.'[4] It is also similar to the Hebrew for 'leper.'[5] Lastly, it may throw light on the parallel tradition in Lk. (7 36) about a Pharisee asking Jesus to eat (bread).[6]

1 In 1 K. 11 26, Jeroboam's mother is certainly called 'Zeruah,' but this is either a deliberate insult or a corruption (see col. 2404, n. 2). Cp Levy, *NHWB* (חרם), on the recognised impropriety of giving people nick-names from personal blemishes (a custom common among the Romans, but not among the Jews).

2 *Hor. Hebr.* 1 262.

3 Lk. only mentions the exact Synoptic name once (Lk. 24 50) 'as far as to(wards) (ἕως πρός) *Bethany*,' in connection with the Ascension, the return from which is described as (Acts 1 12) 'from the mountain called *the Place-of-Olives* (Ἐλαιῶνος), which is near Jerusalem, *a sabbath day's journey*.' Lk. 19 29 has Βηθανιά, not Βηθανίαν.

4 The article before Καινόπολιν may be explained as a blending of the notions 'New Town' and '*the* new town.' Strictly speaking, it ought to be τὴν Β. τε, not τὴν τε Β. But the irregularity might easily be paralleled from Thucydides. Moreover the text may be a condensation of τὴν τήν τε Β. καὶ τὴν Κ. προσαγ. 'which is called *the* Bezetha and *the* Kainopolis.' It seems clear from the next extract that Bezetha, or Bezethana, was the Jewish name for Kainopolis or New-town, and that the two names did not denote different places. If Josephus wrote in every case Βεζεθάν, it might easily be corrupted into Βεζεθά, being written Βεζεθᾶ. There is one previous mention, also casual, describing Roman soldiers forcing their way up to the temple (*BJ* ii. 15 5) 'through what is called Bezetha' διὰ τῆς Βεζεθὰ καλουμένης. As variants Niese's Index cites Βεζαθά, Βεζεθ., Βεθαζά, Βεθεζ., Ἀβισσάθη.

1 That Josephus never dreamed of identifying Bezetha with the Har-hazaithim—*i.e.*, (Zech. 14 4) Mt. of Olives—is clear from many passages and especially from *BJ* v. 12 2, 'He (Titus) built the wall to *the lower New-City* (τὴν κατωτέρω Καινόπολιν) . . . and thence passing through Kedron, to *the Mount of Olives*.' Levy (*Chald. Lex.*) does not mention 'Beth-zaithim, House of Olives,' as one of the names by which the Mt. of Olives was called. It seems to have been regularly called the Mt., or Hill, of Olives, or the Mt. of Oil.

2 'Slice' is intended to express the vernacular use of the word, and also the fact that the word is especially applied, in New Heb., to the 'breaking of *bread*'; cp Levy (*Chald. Lex.* 1 108 *b*) ביצועין, 'Brotstücke.' Grätz renders it here 'Parcellen,' 'Terrainstücke.'

3 That Josephus should transliterate the Heb. צ (*ṣ*) by the Gk. ζ (*z*) can excite no surprise: He regularly does this in the name 'Zoar,' for example. Also the interchange of ז and צ (as in צעיר) is frequent (Buhl, 209 *b*). 'Lower' is, in Grätz's extracts, תחתונה, *taḥtōnah*. Levy (*NHWB*) gives בצע as synonymous with בזע, and with בצר. 'Be(t)zertha' (בצירתא, Levy, *Chald. Lex.* 1 109 *a*) is the late Heb. for 'the separate place' (Ezek. 41 12-15) in the temple; but as regards בזאתא (suggested in Hastings, 2 594) the forms of the root given by Levy (*Chald. Lex.*) are said by him to mean only 'division of booty,' 'plunder.' It is perhaps worth adding that the only place-name in OT beginning with בזי, Josh. 15 28, 'Biziothiah (בזיותיה),' is read by 𝔊 בנותה, lit. 'her daughters'—*i.e.*, *suburbs*, and is conflated accordingly, αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ ἐπαύλεις αὐτῶν.

4 Cp Mk. 11 19, 'And when it was evening they used to go forth *outside the city*,' Mt. 21 17 'he came forth *outside the city to Bethany*,' Lk. 21 37 'coming forth he used to lodge in *the mount that is called* [*the mount*] *of Olives*.' The divergences can perhaps be best explained as springing from an original 'to Bezetha(na),' paraphrased by Mk., conflated by Mt. with Bethany, and taken by Lk. as 'Place of Olives.' It should be noted that two of the versions of Grätz's above-quoted tradition begin 'Two Slices were *on the Mount of Oil*,' the third has '*in* (ב) *Jerusalem*,' and the fourth '*there*.' The third seems likely to have preserved the original, which perhaps meant '*connected with* Jerusalem.' As the suburbs were *outside* Jerusalem proper, 'in' was naturally altered.

5 Reading בצעין as מצעין (a corruption very frequent in 𝔊) we have a word very similar to מצרע, 'leper.'

6 Not only is בצע, 'slice,' or 'fragment,' the regular N. Heb. word for 'breaking bread,' but also צבועין was a name given (Levy 4 143 *a-b*) to a class of hypocrites that aped the practices of the stricter Pharisees. Space fails to indicate all the traces of Hebrew influence on the narratives of the Anointing of Jesus. But one may be given. Lk., without introducing the host by name, represents Jesus as addressing him by name, thus (Lk. 7 40) '*Simon*, I have somewhat to say unto thee.' This is unexampled in the gospels. Yet it is most improbable that Lk. inserted—in this extraordinary place instead of at the commencement—what was not in his original, merely because a Simon the Leper had been mentioned in the Synoptic narrative. More probably the original had '*Hearken* (שמע־נא) or *hearken-to me* (שמעני),' and Lk. mistook this for שמעון, 'Simon.' It may also be of use to point out that in Jn. 12 1 '*where was* Lazarus, whom Jesus *raised* from the dead,' Delitzsch expresses 'where was' by the Heb. 'place' or 'home,' מקום. But this differs so little from מקים, 'raise up,' that the two are repeatedly confused by the LXX, Nah. 1 8 'the *place* thereof,' 𝔊 'they that are *raised up*,' Jer. 10 20 'and to *set up*,' 𝔊 '*place*' (and see 2 S. 22 49,

It is essential for the reader to keep steadily in view the traces of obscurity in the earliest Christian traditions in order that he may understand Jn.'s attitude towards them. Jn. is to be regarded neither as a fallacious historian nor as a poet putting aside history, but as a believer, so penetrated with the sense of the power of Christ's spirit, and at the same time so conscious of the obscurity, uncertainty, and inadequacy of the extant historical records of Christ, that he felt impelled towards a new representation both of his words and of his deeds. To describe the latter, he remoulded the gospel, fusing old traditions and new, written and oral, inferring, amplifying, spiritualising, but not inventing.

8. First inferences.

If, therefore, Jn. was led to believe that a man named Lazarus owned the house in which the anointing occurred, what inferences would he naturally make in accordance with his principle of blending scattered traditions? He found in Lk. (10 40) an account of a supper made for Jesus where Martha 'was cumbered about much serving,' while Mary sat at his feet and heard his discourse; and this he might identify with the meal at which the anointing took place. Martha, however (without name of husband or father of the house), was mentioned by Lk. as the hostess.[1] It followed that the house must have belonged in some sense to her as well as to Lazarus, and consequently that Lazarus must have been a younger brother. Hence would arise Jn.'s description of Lazarus as the brother of Mary and Martha; for indeed it was in this inferential way that Jn. had reasoned out the existence of a Lazarus.

The next step was to connect the name with Lk.'s Lazarus who was raised from the dead. The last words of Lk.'s Lazarus-narrative are, 'Neither *will they believe though one went to them from the dead*,' which might become the basis of a tradition that 'the Lord said concerning a man named Lazarus, who died and was buried, that *the Jews would not believe* (i.e., *refused to believe*) *though one went to them from the dead*.' But if this Lazarus who sat at meat when Martha served and Mary anointed Jesus' feet, had been raised from the dead by Jesus,—and that, too, after he had been buried—it followed that such a sign was the climax of all the 'signs' and would naturally come last of all. It must have been wrought at Bethany, since Lazarus's house was there. Yet Jesus could not have been at Bethany when Lazarus died—so the Evangelist would argue—for how could he remain and look on, and permit the death and burial? Jesus must therefore have been at a distance. In that case, Martha and Mary must surely have sent to him. Yet he must have known even at a distance what was happening; and if he knew, why did he not come? And how would the sisters endure his not coming? Upon the basis of all these inferences and questions the Evangelist proceeds to describe how the two sisters sent, and what they said when Jesus came, and how he answered their intercession—the result being the raising of Lazarus, the climax of Jesus' 'signs.'

9. Developments.

Some commentators maintain that the graphic style of the evangelist proves that he had seen or heard the scenes or discourses he describes. Among his most graphic passages, however, are the dialogues with Nicodemus and with the Samaritan woman, at neither of which was he present.

10. The motive.

'*rise up* against me,' 𝔊 [L] 'my *place*'). By themselves, these facts would have no weight; but taken in conjunction with the instances of apparent Hebrew influence (see *Diatessarica*, ii. 334, containing Index to passages from Jn.) they suggest the possibility of a conflation in Jn.; and they are worth mentioning here in order to help the reader to realise that Jn., as well as Lk. (though in a manner different from Lk.'s), may have attempted to correct existing histories, not by inventing, but by giving shape and order to vague and floating traditions.

1 'Martha' in New Heb. means sometimes 'mistress' (Levy, *NHWB* 3 234 *b*), '*the mistress* (מרתה) of the house who received us.'

LAZARUS

The fact is, that Jn. writes as a mystical poet, imbued with Jewish traditions from Egypt as well as from Palestine, with a keen eye for human characteristics, but with a still deeper insight into the unfathomable love and spiritual power of Jesus, and with a desire to subordinate every word of his Gospel to the purpose of manifesting that love and that power to mankind.[1]

(i.) The book called Sohar, *Zôhar* (Schöttgen on Mt. 2 18), represents the Messiah as weeping when Rachel wept for her children. By Justin Martyr (*Tryph.* 134) and Irenæus (4 21) Rachel was recognised as the type of the Christian Church, and Justin saw in Leah the type of the Synagogue. (ii.) The Apostolic Constitutions (7 8) mention Lazarus with Job, apparently recognising in the raising of Lazarus a fulfilment of the famous prediction found in the received text of Job 19 26.[2] Traditions about Rachel and Job, as well as the Philonian explanation of Eliezer,[3] may very well have been in the evangelist's mind when he described the intercession of the two sisters and put into the mouth of Martha the words 'by this time he stinketh.' Nor is it farfetched to see a contrast between Lazarus—leaving the tomb still bound with grave-clothes and with the napkin round his head—and Jesus who, when he rose, left 'the linen cloths lying' and 'the napkin . . . rolled up in a place by itself.'

11. Symbolical Allusions.

The Greek allusions are of a different kind.

(i.) 11 33, 'He *rebuked* in his spirit' (ἐνεβριμήσατο τῷ πνεύματι); cp 11 38, 'again *rebuking* in himself.' In Mk. 1 43 Mt. 9 30 the word ἐμβριμάομαι is applied to Jesus addressing, severally, a leper and two blind men. Probably Jn. wishes to dispel the impression that the half-suppressed exclamation of anger that sometimes accompanied Jesus' acts of healing was directed against the sufferer, whereas it was directed against the suffering regarded as Evil.[4]

12. Greek allusions.

(ii.) 11 33, 'he troubled himself.' This is probably an allusion both to (*a*) the refrain in Ps. 42 (41) and 43 (42) (𝔊) 'Why art thou *exceeding-sorrowful*, my soul (περίλυπος, RV 'cast down'), and why dost thou *trouble-me-with*' [? myself] (συνταράσσεις, RV 'disquieted within me'), and (*b*) to the synoptic use of the passage. The Greek 'exceeding-sorrowful' (περίλυπος) is rare in the LXX (see *Concord.*). In NT the word occurs in four passages, including Mk. 14 34 Mt. 26 38, 'My *soul* is *exceeding-sorrowful* even unto death.' These words are not in Lk. But an early interpolation in Lk., or edition of Lk., substituted (Lk. 22 44) an account of Christ 'engaged in *a conflict* (or, *agony*).' The problem of avoiding a word that might be a stumbling block, because it signified 'grief to *excess*,' and yet of inserting a fulfilment of scripture, corresponding to that in Mk., is solved here by Jn.'s using the other half of the Psalmist's sentence, namely, '*trouble me* with myself' in the form 'he troubled himself.' By this extraordinary expression he indirectly meets an objection that must have occurred to the many thousands of Greeks and Romans who were familiar with the fundamental doctrine of Epictetus, 'Be free from trouble.' Jn. teaches that the Father himself wills that his children, including the eternal Son, should be 'troubled'—for one another. But what he wills, he does; and what he does, the Logos does. Therefore the Logos, here, 'troubled *himself*.' Later the Logos will be (12 27) 'troubled *in soul*,' and last of all, by the treachery of Judas (13 21), 'troubled *in spirit*.'

1 Regarded as a narrative of fact this story, like others in Jn., is defective. Even such commentators as Lightfoot and Westcott have severally inferred that the journey from beyond Jordan to Bethany occupied 'three days' (*Bibl. Essays*), 'about a day' (Westc. *ad loc.*).

2 Orig. Comm. on Jn. 1 5 (ed. Huet, vol. ii., p. 4 E) ὀδωδότα νεκρὸν ἀνέστησεν, Anaphor. Pilat. 'he raised up one that had been dead four days. . . . when the dead man had his blood corrupted and when his body was destroyed by the worms produced in it and when it had the stink of a dog.'

3 'Being interpreted, Eliezer is God my Help. For the mass [of flesh] imbued with blood is by itself liable to speedy dissolution, being indeed a corpse; but it is kept compact and quickened with a vital spark by the providence of God' (*Op.* 1 481).

4 In a passage quoted by Eusebius (*HE* v. 1 60) from a letter from the churches of Lyons, ἐμβρ. seems to mean 'loudly cursing' (not '*muttering* curses'). Lucian uses it to express the deep angry 'bellowing' of Hecate (vol. i., p. 484, *Necyom.* 20, ἐνεβριμήσατο ἡ Βριμώ). Cp Ecclus. 13 3, 'The rich man wrongs you and *bellows at you* besides (προσενεβριμήσατο).' Celsus (Orig. *Cels.* 2 76) complains that Jesus 'threatens and reviles' on light occasions, and complains of Jesus' saying 'woe unto you.' Jn. never uses the word 'woe.' It is hardly likely that the difficulty of Mk. 1 43 Mt. 9 30 would have escaped educated assailants of the Gospels at the beginning of the second century.

To enter fully into the allusions with which this narrative teems would be to write a commentary on it. Without some insight into a few of them, however, no reader can dispassionately judge what is meant by the Johannine name 'Lazarus' or the poem of which it is the centre. E. A. A.

LEACH. See HORSELEECH, LILITH.

LEAD (עֹפֶרֶת, *'ōphéreth* [see note below]; μολιβος, μολυβος [μολιβδος, μολυβδος]; *plumbum*). Though lead was doubtless well-known to the Hebrews from an early period, its applications were comparatively unimportant, and the OT references to it are not many.

(*a*) Its weight is alluded to in Ex. 15 10 (cp Acts 27 28), and the mason's and carpenter's plummet was no doubt as often made of lead as of tin, though the latter happens to be the material mentioned in Zech. 4 10. Indeed, the distinction between lead and tin (see TIN) was in early days but imperfectly realised.

(*b*) Before the use of quicksilver became known, lead was employed for the purpose of purifying silver, and separating it from other mineral substances (Plin. *HN* 32 31). To this Jeremiah alludes where he figuratively describes the corrupt condition of the people: 'In their fire the lead is consumed (in the crucible); the smelting is in vain, for the evil is not separated' (Jer. 6 29). Ezekiel (22 18-22) refers to the same fact, and for the same purpose, but amplifies it with greater minuteness of detail. Compare also Mal. 3 2 *f.*

(*c*) On Job 19 23 *f.* see WRITING. For the use of leaden tablets as writing material cp Paus. ix. 31 4 (leaden tablet, very time-worn, with the *Works* of Hesiod engraved on it) and Plin. *H.N.* 13 11.

(*d*) Although the Hebrew weights were usually of stone, and are indeed called 'stones,' a leaden weight denominated *ănāk*[1] (אנך; cp the Arabic word for lead) occurs in Amos 7 7 *f.* See PLUMBLINE.

(*e*) The employment of lead for the conveyance of water—known to the Greeks (Paus. iv. 35 12) and very familiar to the Romans—may perhaps have been resorted to by the Israelites, but does not seem to be alluded to in OT.

LEAH (לֵאָה; λ[ε]ια [BADEFL]); some scholars compare Ar. *la'y*, 'wild cow'; so Del. *Prol.* 80, WRS *Kin.* 195, 219, and doubtfully Nö. *ZDMG* 40 167 [1886]; P. Haupt compares Ass. *li'at*, 'mistress'; but on the possible analogy of Rachel [see JACOB, § 3] we may still more plausibly suspect Leah [Leaḥ?] to be a fragment of Jeraḥme'el [Che.]). The mother of the non-Josephite tribes of Israel. It was in the house of Joseph that the truest stock of Israel historically lay; in fact it was, according to E, only by underhand dealings on the part of the Aramæan Laban that the Leah tribes ever really became Israelite. Still, even the Ephraimite traditions made the Leah tribe of Reuben Israel's firstborn, and did not even deny him a place in its account of the origin of Joseph (Gen. 30 14). See also RACHEL, TRIBE.

LEANNOTH (לְעַנּוֹת; του αποκριθηναι [BNA]) Ps. 88 title, RV^mg. 'for singing' (so Baethgen). Haupt (*JBL*, 1900, p. 70) explains, 'to cause to respond'—*i.e.*, to cause God to grant the prayer—which is at any rate not unsuitable to the contents. The analogy of the corrupt לְהַזְכִּיר and לְלַמֵּד, however (38 70 60, in titles), suggests a different solution. לענות is an easy corruption of עלמת, which the scribe wrote as a correction of the corrupt מחלת. On 'Alamoth' see PSALMS, § 26 [1].

LEATHER. Although the word 'leather' (or 'leathern') occurs only three times in EV, once of the girdle of Elijah (2 K. 1 8 אֵזוֹר עוֹר, ζώνη δερματίνη) and twice of that of John the Baptist (Mk. 1 6 RV, AV 'a girdle of a skin'; Mt. 3 4), on both which see GIRDLE, 1, and the word 'tanner' is met with only in Acts 9 43 10 6 32, there can be no doubt that the Hebrews were familiar with the use of leather and the art of preparing it from the earliest times. Cp SKIN, PARCHMENT.

The 'leathern vessels' (כְּלֵי הָעוֹר), frequently referred to in Leviticus, may be supposed to have included shields and the like as well as belts and straps, 'bottles,' quivers and chariot-fittings, sandals and shoes (cp SHOES). The Egyptian monuments illustrate very graphically various stages in the working of leather (see, *e.g.*, Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1 232 2 187 *f.*), though it would be hazardous to use this as an argument for the acquaintance of the Israelites with the higher branches of the art in the 'Mosaic age' (Ex. 25 5, P), of which we have no contemporary records.

[1] The Heb. words *ănāk* and *'ōphéreth* find their analogies in the Ass. *anaku* and *abāru*, both of which are variously rendered 'lead' or 'tin' (see Muss-Arnolt who cites also 'antimony' for *abāru*). Both words are not unfrequently mentioned on Ass. inscriptions among articles of tribute, *abāru* in particular being sent from such districts as Commagene, Ḳue, Byblos, Melitene and Tabal; cp Del. *Ass. HWB* 9 *b* and reff.

LEAVEN is a general term for whatever is capable of generating the process of fermentation in a mass of dough (panary fermentation). Various substances were known in ancient times to possess this property.[1] The locus classicus for the leavens of NT times is Pliny, *HN* 18 26, according to which the most highly prized leaven was made in the vintage season by kneading millet or fine bran of wheat with must. In most cases, however, according to the same authority, the leaven employed was the same as that which alone is mentioned in OT or NT (see BREAD, § 1), namely a piece of fully fermented dough retained for the purpose from the previous day's baking ('tantum pridie adservata materie utuntur'). Such a piece might either be broken down in water in a basin before the fresh flour was added (*Mĕnāḥōth* 5 1 end) or it might be 'hid' in the flour (Mt. 13 33), and kneaded along with it. The Hebrews named this piece of fermented dough שְׂאֹר, *ś'ōr*—so always in MT, in the Mishna שְׂאוֹר, סְאוֹר, שִׂיאוֹר and סִיאוֹר—LXX and NT ζύμη (Ex. 12 15 19 13 7 Lev. 2 11 Dt. 16 4 Mt. 13 33, etc.).

1. Leaven explained.

שְׂאֹר is derived from an unused root שׂאר akin (according to Ges. *Thes.* 1318 *b*) to סִיר, and Arab. *thāra* (*efferbuit*); cp ζύμη from ζέω, and *fermentum* from *ferveo*; also leaven (mid. Lat. *levamen*) from *levare*. In RV *ś'ōr* is now consistently rendered throughout by leaven, AV having in Dt. 16 4 'leavened bread' (see below).

The mass of flour, water, and salt, in the kneading-trough, *miš'éreth* (מִשְׁאֶרֶת)[2]—with or without leaven—after being kneaded was termed *bāṣēḳ* (בָּצֵק), dough or 'sponge' (Ex. 12 34 39 2 S. 13 8 Hos. 7 4 Jer. 7 18); 𝔊 σταῖς, στέας, or στέαρ, NT φύραμα; in the Mishna most frequently עִיסָּה (from עסס to squeeze, knead [not as Levy from עֲרִיסָה]). If the dough contained no leaven and was baked before spontaneous fermentation had set in, the result was מַצָּה, *maṣṣāh* (for etymology see Ges.-Bu.(13), *s.v.* מצץ),—more fully לֶחֶם מַצָּה, unleavened bread (ἄζυμος [ἄρτος]), but most frequently in OT in the plur. מַצּוֹת, *maṣṣōth*, unleavened cakes. Dough that had thoroughly risen under the action of leaven or by spontaneous fermentation (*Mĕnāḥōth* 5 1) was termed חָמֵץ, *ḥāmēṣ*, 'leavened' (from חָמֵץ, Arab. *ḥamuḍa*, to be sharp or sour; cp Ger. 'Sauerteig,' Eng. 'sour dough'), and bread made therefrom, לֶחֶם חָמֵץ, leavened bread (Lev. 7 13). In all other passages, however, חָמֵץ is used substantively, as synonymous with מַחְמֶצֶת[3] (Ex. 12 19 *f.*), that which is leavened.[4] For the two words *ś'ōr* and *ḥāmēṣ* are not synonymous, as has been asserted, but related as

[1] See Blümner, *Technologie*, etc., *der Gewerbe bei Griechen und Römern*, 1 58 *f.*

[2] This word should probably be pointed *miś'éreth* (מִשְׂאֶרֶת), from the same root שׂאר (see above), to 'rise,' that in which the dough rises. In Ex. 7 28 12 34 𝔊, followed by Vg. (*conspersam farinam*), has taken the word in an active sense, 'that which rises,' viz. dough (φύραμα).

[3] Mr. James Death has devoted a book, *The Beer of the Bible, one of the unknown leavens of Exodus* (1887), to an abortive attempt to prove that מחמצת is to be identified with an ancient Egyptian beer, similar to the modern *būza*.

[4] In half the passages *ḥāmēṣ* is correctly rendered by 𝔊 as ζυμωτόν (Ex. 13 7 Lev. 2 11), [ἄρτοι] ζυμῖται (Lev. 7 13 [3]), ἄ. ἐζυμωμένοι (Lev. 23 17), in the rest (Ex. 12 15 [cod. 72, ζυμωτόν] 13 3 23 18 34 25 Dt. 16 3) incorrectly by ζύμη.

cause and effect (cp the Vg. renderings *fermentum* and *fermentatum*). In the OT at least *śᵉ'ōr* is always leaven; the verb אָכַל, to eat, is never applied to it, but to *ḥāmēṣ* (hence we read, Talm. *Pĕsāḥīm* 5*a*, שאור שאינו ראוי לאכילה, leaven which is not fit for eating).

In the later Hebrew of the Mishna, however, this distinction is not always observed; hence we find *śᵉ'ōr* applied not only to leaven proper, but also to the dough in the process of leavening (usually עִסָּה). Thus, in the interesting passage, *Pĕsāḥ.* 3 5, in answer to the question how the beginning of the process of fermentation is to be recognised in the dough (שִׂיאוּר), two replies are given: 'When the surface of the dough shows small cracks, like the antennæ of locusts, running in different directions,' and again: 'When the surface has become pale, like (the face of) one whose hair stands on end (through fear)'!

The leaven of OT and NT, then, is exclusively a piece of sour dough. In the warm climate of Palestine, fermentation is more rapid than with us, and it is said that if flour is mixed with water, spontaneous fermentation will set in and be completed in twenty-four hours. It is often stated, and is not improbable, that the Jews also used the lees of wine as yeast; but the passages cited by Hamburger (viz., *Pĕsāḥīm* 3 1 and *Ḥallah* 1 7) do not bear this out.

The use of leaven being a later refinement in the preparation of bread (see BREAD, § 1), it may be regarded as certain that offerings of bread to the deity were from the first unleavened. The cakes of the shewbread, according to the unanimous testimony of Philo, Josephus, Talmud, and Midrash (see reff. under SHEWBREAD), remained unleavened to the end. In all cereal offerings, any portion of which was destined to be burnt on the altar, the use of leaven, as of honey, was excluded (Lev. 24 11 7 12 8 2 Nu. 6 15);[1] though where the offering was not to be placed upon the altar, but to be eaten by the priests, it might contain bread that was leavened (Lev. 7 13 23 17 [Pentecostal loaves]; cp Am. 4 5 [cakes of thank-offering],[2] also *Mĕnāḥōth* 5 1 *ff.*). The antiquity of this exclusion of ferment from the cultus of Yahwè is vouched for by the early enactment Ex. 34 25*a* (from J's decalogue), and its parallel 23 18 (Book of the Covenant). It is possible, however, that the former passage may refer only to the Passover, for which, as for the accompanying festival of *Maṣṣōth*, unleavened cakes (as the name denotes), elsewhere named the 'bread of affliction' (Dt. 16 3), were alone permitted. According to later enactment, still scrupulously and joyfully observed in Jewish households, search had to be made in every nook and cranny of the house with a lighted candle on the eve of the Passover for leaven, which when found was destroyed by burning (*Pĕsāḥ.* 1 1; for details see PASSOVER). It is important to note the precise ritual definition of the leaven (*śᵉ'ōr*) to be destroyed. Under *śᵉ'ōr*, for the purpose of this enactment, were included (1) pieces of leavened or sour dough of the meal of any one of the five cereals, wheat, barley, and the less common spelt, 'fox-ear' and *shīphōn* (see FOOD, § 3) which had been kneaded with cold water, and (2) certain articles of commerce, composed, in part at least, of the fermented grain of the above cereals. Such were Median spirits, Egyptian beer, Roman honey, paste, etc. Not included, on the other hand, were (1) the same cereals when mixed with any other liquid than cold water, as, *e.g.*, the juice of the grape or other fruit (מֵי פֵּירוֹת; cp the passage from *Geop.* 2 33 quoted by Blümner, *Technologie*, etc., 1 59, n. 5, on the use of grape juice as a

2. Leaven in the cultus.

[1] The forms which such gifts of unleavened dough (*maṣṣāh*) might take were various. Besides the ordinary *maṣṣōth* or unleavened cakes kneaded with water, we find cakes of fine flour kneaded with oil, and wafers spread with oil, for which see BAKEMEATS, § 2 *f.*

[2] Some recent scholars of note have maintained, chiefly on the strength of this passage of Amos, which shows that leaven was admitted in the cultus of the Northern Kingdom, that the exclusion of leaven from the altar is not of great antiquity (see Now. *HA* 2 207 *f.*); but the view taken above certainly represents the better tradition of the cultus of the South.

leaven), milk, wine, and even hot water, since these liquids were not held capable of setting up the prohibited fermentation, and (2) the meal of other plants, such as beans, lentils, millet, even when kneaded with cold water (see *Pĕsāḥīm* 3 1 *ff.*, with the commentaries; Maimonides, הלכות חמץ ומצה).

The *raison d'être* of this exclusion of leaven from the cultus is not far to seek. In the view of all antiquity, Semitic and non-Semitic, panary fermentation represented a process of corruption and putrefaction in the mass of the dough. The fact that Ezekiel makes no provision for wine in his programme of the restored cultus (40 *ff.*) is probably due to his extending this conception to alcoholic fermentation as well. Plutarch's words (*Quæst. Rom.* 109) show very clearly this association of ideas: 'Now leaven is itself the offspring of corruption and corrupts the mass of dough with which it has been mixed' (ἡ δὲ ζύμη καὶ γέγονεν ἐκ φθορᾶς αὐτὴ καὶ φθείρει τὸ φύραμα μιγνυμένη). Further, as has been pointed out by Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.* (1)203, (2)220), the prohibition of leaven is closely associated with the rule that the fat and the flesh must not remain over till the morning (Ex. 23 18 34 25). He points also to certain Saracenic sacrifices, akin to the Passover, that had to be entirely consumed before the sun rose. The idea was that the efficacy lay in the living flesh and blood of the victim; everything of the nature of putrefaction was therefore to be avoided. The 'flamen dialis,' or chief priest of Jupiter at Rome, was forbidden the use of leaven (*fermentata farina*, Aul. Gell., 10 15) on the grounds suggested, no doubt rightly, by Plutarch (*l.c.*). At certain religious ceremonies of the phratria of the Lalyadæ, according to an inscription recently unearthed at Delphi, δαράται (unleavened cakes, according to Athenæus and Hesychius) played an important part.[1] The Roman satirist Persius, finally, employs the word *fermentum* (leaven) in the sense of moral corruption (1 24).

In the NT leaven supplies two sets of figures, one taken from the mode, the other from the result, of the process of fermentation. Thus Jesus likened the silent but effective growth of the 'kingdom' in the mass of humanity to the hidden but pervasive action of leaven in the midst of the dough (Mt. 13 33). The second figure, however, is the more frequent, and is based on the association, above elucidated, of panary fermentation with material and moral corruption (cp Bähr, *Symbolik d. mos. Kultus*, 2 322). Thus the disciples are warned against the leaven of the Pharisees (Mt. 16 6 *ff.* Mk. 8 15 Lk. 12 1 *ff.*), of the Sadducees (Mt. *ib.*), and of Herod (Mk. *ib.*). See HERODIANS. Paul, again, twice quotes the popular saying, 'a little leaven leavens the whole lump' (1 Cor. 5 6 Gal. 5 9), as a warning against moral corruption. The true followers of Christ are already 'unleavened' (ἄζυμοι 1 Cor. 5 7), and must therefore 'keep the feast,' that is, must live the Christian life 'in the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth' (5 8).

3. Figurative use of leaven.

In late Jewish literature, finally, we also meet with the figurative designation of the inherent corruption of human nature as leaven. Thus in Talm. *Bĕrākhōth* 17*a* it is said: 'Rabbi Alexander, when he had finished his prayers, said: Lord of the universe, it is clearly manifest before thee that it is our will to do thy will; what hinders that we do not thy will? The leaven which is in the dough' (שְׂאוֹר שֶׁבָּעִיסָּה, cp *Gen. Rabba*, § 34, cited by Levy, *s.v.* שְׂאוֹר), explained by a gloss as 'the evil impulse (יֵצֶר הָרַע) which is in the heart.' (For this Talmudic doctrine of 'original sin' see Hamburger, *Realencycl.* 2 1230 *ff.*; and in general the works of Lightfoot [on Mt. 16 6], Schoettgen [on 1 Cor. 5 6] and Meuschen.) A. R. S. K.

LEBANA (לְבָנָא, § 69; λαβανα [BℵA], λοβνα [L]), a family of NETHINIM (*q.v.*) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Neh. 7 48 = Ezra 2 45

[1] MS note by Dr. J. G. Frazer.

Lebanah (לְבָנָה,[1] 'white'? ΛΑΒΑΝΩ [BA]) = 1 Esd. 5 29, LABANA.

LEBANON. The name (לְבָנוֹן, ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ; once [Dt. 3 25] לְבָנֹן, ΑΝΤΙΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ [also in Deut. 1 7 3 25 11 24 Jos. 14 9 1, cp Judith 1 7]; Phœn. לבנן; Ass. *labnāna*. In prose the article is prefixed, except in 2 Ch. 2 7*b* [8*b*]; in poetry the usage varies), which comes from the Semitic root *laban*, 'to be white, or whitish,' probably refers, not to the perpetual snow, but to the bare white walls of chalk or limestone which form the characteristic feature of the whole range. Syria is traversed by a branch thrown off almost at right angles from Mt. Taurus in Asia Minor, and Lebanon is the name of the central mountain mass of Syria, extending for about 100 m. from NNE. to SSW. It is bounded W. by the sea, N. by the plain Jūn 'Akkār, beyond which rise the mountains of the Nuṣairīyeh, and E. by the inland plateau of Syria, mainly steppe-land. To the S. Lebanon ends about the point where the river Līṭānī bends westward, and at Bāniās. A valley narrowing towards its southern end, now called el-Buḳā', divides the mountainous mass into two great parts. That lying to the W. is still called Jebel Libnān; the greater part of the eastern mass now bears the name of the Eastern Mountain (el-Jebel esh-Sharḳi). In Greek the western range was called Libanos, the eastern Antilibanos. The southern extension of Antilibanus, Mt. Hermon, may be treated as a separate mountain (see HERMON, SENIR). For map see PHŒNICIA.

1. Name and position.

Lebanon and Antilibanus have many features in common; in both the southern portion is less arid and barren than the northern, the western valleys better wooded and more fertile than the eastern. In general the main elevations of the two ranges form pairs lying opposite one another; the forms of both ranges are monotonous, but the colouring splendid, especially when viewed from a distance; when seen close at hand, indeed, only a few valleys with perennial streams offer pictures of landscape beauty, their rich green contrasting pleasantly with the bare brown and yellow mountain sides.

2. Description.

The Lebanon strata are generally inclined, bent, and twisted, often vertical, seldom quite horizontal. Like all the rest of Syria, the Lebanon region also is traversed by faults, at which the different tracts of country have pressed against and crumpled one another. The *buḳā'* between Lebanon and Antilibanus came into existence in the place of a former trough or synclinal between two anticlinals, by a tearing up of the earth's crust and a stairlike subsidence of a succession of layers. The principal ranges of the Lebanon and Antilibanus along with the valley of the Buḳā' have the same trend as the faults, folds, and strata—viz., from SSW. to NNE.

3. Geology.

The range is made up of upper oolite, upper cretaceous, eocene, miocene, and diluvium.

The oldest strata in Lebanon itself, forming the deepest part of some of the valleys (Salīma, Ṣalīb), are of Glandaria limestone, 600 ft. in thickness, containing sponges, corals, echinoderms, etc. (the best-known fossils being *Cidaris glandaria* and *Terebratula* [diverse species], found in the Salīma valley near Beyrout). By its fossils this limestone belongs to the Oxford group. Under this limestone still older strata of the Kelloway are found only in the Antilibanus, on Mt. Hermon.

Above the upper oolite follow, in concordant order, strata of upper cretaceous. First, there is the Nubian sandstone of Cenomanian age, a yellow or brown sandstone distinguished by the presence of coal, dysodile, amberlike resin, and samoit (?), with impressions of plant leaves. To the period of the formation of this member of the system belong volcanic eruptions of basaltic rock and also copious eruptions of ashes, which are now met with as tufa in the neighbourhood of the igneous rocks. These eruptive rocks are everywhere again overlaid by the thick sandstone. The sandstone stratum (1300 to 1600 ft. thick) has a great influence upon the superficial aspect of the country, having become the centre of its life and fertility, inasmuch as here alone water can gather. In its upper beds the sandstone alternates with layers of limestone and contains (at the village of 'Abēh) many shells of gasteropods and bivalves and especially of *Trigonia syriaca* as typical fossils. The second subdivision of the cretaceous formation consists of beds of marl and limestone with numerous echinoderms, oysters, and ammonites (*Buchiceras syriacum*, von Buch), which show that these strata belong to the chalk marl (Cenomanian). The third subdivision is the 'Lebanon limestone'—a gray or white limestone, marble, or dolomite, about 3000 ft. in thickness, of which the great mass of the mountains of Lebanon is composed. Here is the zone of the Rudistes (Radiolites, Sphærulites). At several localities are also found thin limestone beds with fine fish remains. The last member of the cretaceous formation is the chalk, a white or yellowish-white soft chalky clay, which in its lower half shows the famous fish-bed of Sahel 'Almā, and in its upper half alternates with beds of flint. These most recent strata of all are met with only at the western and eastern foot of Lebanon (baths in the western half of the town of Beyrout) and in Antilibanus. On the Jebel eḍ-Ḍahr between the Līṭānī and Jordan valleys they contain many bitumen beds, and also asphalt.

The eocene (nummulitic formation) occurs only very sporadically in Lebanon, especially in the Buḳā', but predominates in the eastern offshoots of Antilibanus. It consists of nummulitic limestones and unstratified coral limestones. The miocene is represented in the form of marine limestone of upper miocene age, which is the material of which two mountains on the coast line are composed—the St. Dmitri hill at Beyrout, and the Jebel Ṭerbol near Ṭarābulus.

Of pliocene formation there are a few comparatively unimportant patches (near Zaḥleh) of fresh-water limestone, deposited from small lake basins and containing fresh-water snails (Hydrobia, Bithynia). To this pliocene period belong also considerable eruptions of basalt in the N. of Lebanon, near Homs. Not till after these terrestrial pliocenes had been deposited did the great movements to which the country owes its present configuration occur. The diluvial period was marked by no very noteworthy occurrences. On an old moraine stands the well-known cedar grove of Ḍahr el-Ḳaḍib.

The western versant has the common characteristics of the flora of the Mediterranean coast; but the eastern portion belongs to the poorer region of the steppes, and the Mediterranean species are met with only sporadically along the watercourses. Forest and pasture-land in our sense of the word are not found: the place of the forest is for the most part taken by a low brushwood; grass is not plentiful, and the higher ridges maintain a growth of alpine plants only so long as patches of snow continue to lie. The rock walls harbour some rock plants; but there are many absolutely barren wildernesses of stone.

4. Vegetation.

(1) On the western versant, as we ascend, we have first, to a height of 1600 ft., the coast region, similar to that of Syria in general and of the south of Asia Minor.

Characteristic trees are the locust tree and the stone pine; in *Melia Azedarach* and *Ficus Sycomorus* (Beyrout) we have an admixture of foreign and partially subtropical elements. The great mass of the vegetation, however, is of the low-growing type (*maquis* or *garrigue* of the western Mediterranean), with small and stiff leaves, frequently thorny and aromatic, as for example the ilex (*Quercus coccifera*), *Smilax*, *Cistus*, *Lentiscus*, *Calycotome*, etc.

(2) Next comes, from 1600 to 6500 ft., the mountain region, which may also be called the forest region, still exhibiting sparse woods and isolated trees wherever shelter, moisture, and the bad husbandry of the inhabitants have permitted their growth.

From 1600 to 3200 ft. is a zone of dwarf hard-leaved oaks, amongst which occur the Oriental forms *Fontanesia phillyræoides*, *Acer syriacum*, and the beautiful red-stemmed *Arbutus Andrachne*. Higher up, between 3700 ft. and 4200 ft., a tall pine, *Pinus Brutia*, Ten., is characteristic. Between 4200 and 6200 ft. is the region of the two most interesting forest trees of Lebanon, the cypress and the cedar. The cypress still grows thickly, especially in the valley of the Ḳadīsha; the horizontal is the prevailing variety. In the upper Ḳadīsha valley there is a cedar grove of about three hundred trees, amongst which five are of gigantic size; it is alleged that other specimens occur elsewhere in Lebanon. The *Cedrus Libani* is intermediate between the *Cedrus Deodara* and the *C. atlantica* (see CEDAR). The cypress and cedar zone exhibits a variety of other leaf-bearing and coniferous trees; of the first may be mentioned several oaks—*Quercus Mellul*, *Q. subalpina* (Kotschy), *Q. Cerris*, and the hop-hornbeam (*Ostrya*); of the second class the rare Cilician silver fir (*Abies cilicica*) may be noticed. Next come the junipers, sometimes attaining the size of trees (*Juniperus excelsa*, *J. rufescens*, and, with fruit as large as plums, *J. drupacea*). The chief ornament of Lebanon, however, is the *Rhododendron ponticum*, with its brilliant purple flower clusters; a peculiar evergreen, *Vinca libanotica*, also adds beauty to this zone.

[1] So with ה־ in Neh. acc. to Baer, Gi.

(3) Into the alpine region (6200 to 10,400 ft.) penetrate a few very stunted oaks (*Quercus subalpina*, Kotschy), the junipers already mentioned, and a barberry (*Berberis cretica*), which sometimes spreads into close thickets. Then follow the low, dense, prone, pillow-like dwarf bushes, thorny and gray, common to the Oriental highlands—*Astragalus* and the peculiar *Acantholimon*. They are found up to within 300 ft. of the highest summits. Upon the exposed mountain slopes rhubarb (*Rheum Ribes*) is noticeable, and also a vetch (*Vicia canescens*, Lab.) excellent for sheep. The spring vegetation, which lasts until July, appears to be rich, especially as regards corolla-bearing plants, such as *Corydalis*, *Gagea*, *Bulbillaria*, *Colchicum*, *Puschkinia*, *Geranium*, *Ornithogalum*, etc.

The alpine flora of Lebanon connects itself directly with the Oriental flora of lower altitudes, and is unrelated to the glacial flora of Europe and northern Asia.

The flora of the highest ridges, along the edges of the snow patches, exhibits no forms related to our northern alpine flora; but suggestions of such a flora are found in a *Draba*, an *Androsace*, an *Alsine*, and a violet, occurring, however, only in local species. Upon the highest summits are found *Saponaria Pumilio* (resembling our *Silene acaulis*) and varieties of *Galium*, *Euphorbia*, *Astragalus*, *Veronica*, *Jurinea*, *Festuca*, *Scrophularia*, *Geranium*, *Asphodeline*, *Allium*, *Asperula*; and, on the margins of the snow-fields, a *Taraxacum* and *Ranunculus demissus*.

5. Zoology. There is nothing of special interest about the fauna of Lebanon. Bears are no longer abundant; the panther and the ounce are met with; the wild hog, hyæna, wolf, and fox are by no means rare; jackals and gazelles are very common. The polecat and the hedgehog also occur. As a rule there are not many birds; but the eagle and the vulture may occasionally be seen; of eatable kinds partridges and wild pigeons are the most abundant. In some places the bat occasionally multiplies so as actually to become a plague.

6. Geography of Lebanon. The district to the W. of Lebanon, averaging about six hours in breadth, slopes in an intricate series of plateaus and terraces to the Mediterranean. The coast is for the most part abrupt and rocky, often leaving room for only a narrow path along the shore, and when viewed from the sea it does not lead one to have the least suspicion of the extent of country lying between its cliffs and the lofty summits behind. Most of the mountain spurs run from E. to W.; but in northern Lebanon the prevailing direction of the valleys is north-westerly, and in the S. some ridges also run parallel with the principal chain. The valleys have for the most part been deeply excavated by the rapid mountain streams which traverse them; the apparently inaccessible heights are crowned by villages, castles, or cloisters embosomed among trees.

Of the streams which are perennial, the most worthy of note, beginning from the N., are the Nahr 'Akkār, N. 'Arḳā, N. el-Bārid, N. Ḳadīsha, 'the holy river' (the valley of which begins far up in the immediate neighbourhood of the highest summits, and rapidly descends in a series of great bends till the river reaches the sea at Tripoli), Wādy el-Jōz (falling into the sea at Batrūn), Wādy Fidār, Nahr Ibrāhīm (the ancient Adonis, having its source in a recess of the great mountain amphitheatre where the famous sanctuary Apheca, the modern Afḳa, lay), Nahr el-Kelb (the ancient Lycus), Nahr Beirūt (the ancient Magoras, entering the sea at Beyrout), Nahr Dāmūr (ancient Tamyras), Nahr el-'Auwaly (the ancient Bostrenus, which in the upper part of its course is joined by the Nahr el-Bārūk). The 'Auwaly and the Nahr ez-Zaherāni, the only other streams that fall to be mentioned before we reach the Līṭānī, flow NE. to SW., in consequence of the interposition of a ridge subordinate and parallel to the central chain.

On the N., where the mountain bears the special name of Jebel 'Akkār, the main ridge of Lebanon rises gradually from the plain. Valleys run to the N. and NE., among which must be mentioned that of the Nahr el-Kebīr, the Eleutherus of the ancients, which takes its rise in the Jebel el-Abyaḍ on the eastern slope of Lebanon, and afterwards, skirting the district, flows westward to the sea. To the S. of Jebel el-Abyaḍ, beneath the main ridge, which as a rule falls away suddenly towards the E., occur several small elevated terraces having a southward slope; among these the Wādi en-Nusūr ('vale of eagles'), and the basin of the lake Yammūna, with its intermittent spring Neb' el-Arba'īn, deserve special mention. Of the streams which descend into the Buḳā', only the Berdōnī need be named; it rises in Jebel Ṣunnīn, and enters the plain by a deep and picturesque mountain cleft at Zaḥleh.

The most elevated summits occur in the N.; but even these are of very gentle gradient, and are ascended quite easily. The names and the elevations of the several peaks, which even in summer are covered with snow, have been very variously given by different explorers; according to the most accurate accounts the 'Cedar block' consists of a double line of four and three summits respectively, ranged from N. to S., with a deviation of about 35°. Those to the E. are 'Uyūn Urghush, Makmal, Muskīyā (or Neb' esh-Shemaila), and Rās Ḍahr el-Ḳaḍīb; fronting the sea are Ḳarn Saudā, Fumm el-Mīzāb, and Ḍahr el-Ḳandīl. The height of Makmal by the most recent barometric measurement is 10,207 ft.; that of the others is somewhat less. S. from them is the pass (8831 ft.) which leads from Ba'albek to Tripoli; the great mountain amphitheatre on the W. side of its summit is remarkable. Farther to the S. is a second group of lofty summits.

Chief among them is the snow-capped Ṣannīn, visible from Beyrout; its height is 8554 ft., or, according to other accounts, 8895 ft. Between this group and the more southerly Jebel Kuneiseh (about 6700 ft.) lies the pass (4700 ft.) now traversed by the French post road between Beyrout and Damascus. Among the other bare summits still farther S. are the long ridge of Jebel el-Bārūk (about 7000 ft.), the Jebel Nīḥā, with the Tōmāt Nīḥā (about 6100 ft.), near which is a pass to Sidon, and the Jebel Rīḥān (about 5400 ft.).

The Buḳā', the broad valley which separates Lebanon from Antilibanus, is watered by two rivers having their watershed near Ba'albek (at an elevation of about 3600 ft.) and their sources separated only by a short mile. The river flowing northwards, El-'Āṣy, is the ancient Orontes; the other is the Līṭānī. In the lower part of its course the Līṭānī has scooped out for itself a deep and narrow rocky bed; at Burghuz it is spanned by a great natural bridge. Not far from the point where it suddenly trends to the W. lie, immediately above the romantic valley, at an elevation of 1500 ft., the imposing ruins of the old castle Ḳal'at esh-Shaḳīf, near one of the passes to Sidon. In its lower part the Līṭānī bears the name of Nahr el-Ḳāsimīyeh. Neither the Orontes nor the Līṭāni has any important affluent.

The Buḳā' used to be known as CŒLESYRIA (*q.v.*); but that word as employed by the ancients had a much more extensive application.

At present the full name is Buḳā' el-'Azīz (the dear Buḳā'), and its northern portion is known as Sahlet Ba'albek (the plain of Baalbek). The valley is from 4 to 6 m. broad, with an undulating surface. It is said to contain a hundred and thirty-seven hamlets or settlements, the larger of which skirt the hills, whilst the smaller, consisting of mud hovels, stand upon dwarf mounds, the debris of ages. The whole valley could be much more richly cultivated than it is at present; but fever is frequent.

7. Geography of the Antilibanus. Antilibanus is mentioned only once, in Judith 1 7 (*αντιλιβανος*), where 'Libanus and Antilibanus' means the land between the parallel ranges—*i.e.*, Cœlesyria. The Antilibanus chain has in many respects been much less fully explored than that of Lebanon. Apart from its southern offshoots it is 67 m. long, whilst its width varies from 16 to 13½ m. It rises from the plain of Ḥoms, and in its northern portion is very arid and barren. The range has not so many offshoots as occur on the W. side of Lebanon; under its precipitous slopes stretch table-lands and broad plateaus, which, especially on the E. side looking towards the steppe, steadily increase in width. Along the western side of northern Antilibanus stretches the Khashā'a, a rough red region lined with juniper trees—a succession of the hardest limestone crests and ridges, bristling with bare

rock and crag that shelter tufts of vegetation, and are divided by a succession of grassy ravines. On the eastern side the parallel valley of 'Asāl el-Ward deserves special mention; the descent towards the plain eastwards, as seen for example at Ma'lūlā, is singular,—first a spacious amphitheatre and then two deep very narrow gorges. The perennial streams that take their rise in Antilibanus are not many.

One of the finest and best watered valleys is that of Ḥelbūn (see HELBON). The highest points of the range, reckoned from the N., are Ḥalimat el-Ḳabū (8247 ft.), which has a splendid view; the Fatly block, including Ṭal'at Mūsā (8755 ft.) and the adjoining Jebel Nebi Bārūḥ (7900 ft. [?]); and a third group near Blūdān, in which the most prominent names are Shuḳīf Akhyār, and Abu'l-Hīn (8330 ft. [?]).

Of the valleys descending westward the first to claim mention is the Wādy Yaḥfūfa; a little farther to the S., lying N. and S., is the rich upland valley of Zebedāni, where the Baradā has its highest sources. Pursuing an easterly course of several hours, this stream receives the waters of the romantic 'Ain Fijeh (which doubles its volume), and bursts out by a rocky gateway upon the plain of Damascus. It is the Amanah (RV^mg.) of 2 K. 5 12; the portion of Antilibanus traversed by it was also called by the same name (Cant. 4 8). See AMANA. The French post road after leaving the Buḳā' first enters a little valley running N. and S., where a projecting ridge of Antilibanus bears the ruins of the ancient cities Chalcis and Gerrha. It next traverses the gorge of Wādy el-Harīr, the level upland Sahlet Judeideh, the ravine of Wādy el-Ḳarn, the ridge of 'Aḳabat et-Tīn, the descent Daurat el-Billān, and finally the unpeopled plain of Dimās, from which it enters the valley of Baradā. This route marks the southern boundary of Antilibanus proper, where the Hermon group begins. From the point where this continuation of Antilibanus begins to take a more westerly direction, a low ridge shoots out towards the SW., trending farther and farther away from the eastern chain and narrowing the Buḳā'; upon the eastern side of this ridge lies the elevated valley or hilly stretch known as Wādy et-Teim. In the N., beside 'Ain Fālūj, it is connected by a low watershed with the Buḳā'; from the gorge of the Līṭānī it is separated by the ridge of Jebel eḍ-Ḍahr. At its southern end it contracts and merges into the plain of Bāniās, thus enclosing Mount Hermon on its NW. and W. sides; eastward from the Ḥāsbāny branch of the Jordan lies the meadow-land Merj 'Ayūn (see IJON).

The inhabitants of Lebanon have at no time played a conspicuous part in history. There are remains of prehistoric occupation; but we do not even know what races dwelt there in the historical period of antiquity. Probably they belonged partly to the Canaanite but chiefly to the Aramæan group of nationalities; editorial notices in the narrative books of the OT mention Ḥivites (Judg. 3 3, where, however, we should probably read 'Hittites') and Giblites (Josh. 13 5; see, however, GEBAL, 1). A portion of the western coast land was always, it may be assumed, in the hands of the Phœnician states, and it is possible that once and again their sovereignty may have extended even into the Buḳā'. Lebanon was also included within the ideal boundaries of the land of Israel (Josh. 13 5 [D₂]), and the whole region was well known to the Hebrews, by whose poets its many excellencies are often praised—see, *e.g.*, Is. 37 24 60 13 Hos. 14 5-7 Ps. 72 16 Cant. 4 11; but note that the phrase 'the wine of Lebanon' (Hos. 14 8) is doubtful: see WINE. Jeremiah finds no better image for the honour put by Yahwè on the house of David than 'the top of Lebanon' (Jer. 22 6). The cedars of Lebanon supplied timber for Solomon's temple and palace (1 K. 5 6 2 Ch. 2 8), and at the rebuilding of the temple cedar timber was again brought from the Lebanon (Ezra 3 7; cp JOPPA). These noble trees were not less valued by the Assyrians; the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings repeatedly mention the felling of trees in Lebanon and Amanus. Cp CEDAR; also EGYPT, § 33.

8. Political history and population.

In the Roman period the district of Phœnice extended into Lebanon; in the second century Phœnice, along with the inland districts pertaining to it, constituted a subdivision of the province of Syria, having Emesa (Ḥoms) for its capital; from the time of Diocletian there was a Phœnice ad Libanum, with Emesa as capital, as well as a Phœnice Maritima of which Tyre was the chief city. Remains of the Roman period occur throughout Lebanon, and more especially in Hermon, in the shape of small temples in more or less perfect preservation; the splendid ruins of Baalbec are world-famous. Although Christianity early obtained a footing in Lebanon, the pagan worship, and even human sacrifice, survived for a long time, especially in remote valleys such as Afḳa. The present inhabitants are for the most part of Syrian (Aramæan) descent; Islam and the Arabs have at no time penetrated very deep into the mountain land.

9. Literature. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien; Die Sinai-Halbinsel, Palästina, u. Syrien*(2) (1848-1855); Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions* (1856), and *Physical Geography of the Holy Land* (London, 1865); R. F. Burton and C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, *Unexplored Syria* (1872); O. Fraas, *Drei Monate im Lebanon* (1876); Porter, *Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine* (1858,(2) 1875); Socin-Benzinger, *Palestine and Syria*(3) in Baedeker's series of handbooks for travellers (ET, 1898); GASm. *HG* 45 *ff.* (1894; additions, 1896). For maps see Burton and Socin-Baedeker, also Van de Velde's *Map of the Holy Land* (Gotha, 1858; Germ. ed., 1866), and the *Carte du Liban d'après les reconnaissances de la brigade topographique du corps expéditionnaire de Syrie en* 1860-61, prepared at the French War Office (1862). A. S.

LEBAOTH (לְבָאוֹת), Josh. 15 32. See BETH-LEBAOTH, and note that 'Lebaoth' and 'Bealoth' (Josh. 15 24) are probably the same name. Cp BAALATH-BEER.

LEBBÆUS (λεββαιος or λεβαιος [ℵL]) occurs in AV (cp TR) of Mt. 10 3 as the name of the apostle who was 'surnamed' (ο επικληθεις) THADDÆUS [*q.v.*]. The conflate reading of TR is from the 'Syrian' text; λεββ. is a strongly but insufficiently supported Western reading, adopted by Tischendorf in Mt. 10 3, but not in Mk. 3 18. If λεββαιος = לִבַּי, we may with Dalman (*Pal. Gram.* 142, n. 1; cp *Worte Jesu*, 40) compare the Phœn. לבא and Sin. לבאי. It is possible, however, according to WH, that the reading λεββ. is due to an early attempt to bring Levi (λευεις) the publican (Lk. 5 27) within the number of the Twelve. Cp LEVI. Older views (see Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, 2 310; ET 3 380) are very improbable.

LEB-KAMAI (לֵב־קָמָי, 'the heart [*i.e.*, centre] of my adversaries'; cp Aq. AV), usually taken to be a cypher-form of Kasdim (כַּשְׂדִּים), 'Chaldæa'; 𝔊^BℵAQ, however, has χαλδαιους or -δεους (Jer. 51 1), and Giesebrecht and Cornill place כשדים in the text. Certainly, Leb-kamai might be the trifling of a very late scribe, a specimen of the so-called Athbash-writing (on which see SHESHACH). It is possible, however, that it is a corruption of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel), and that Jer. 50 51 is directed against the much-hated Edomites or Jerahmeelites, as well as against the Chaldæans. So Cheyne in *Crit. Bib.* See MERATHAIM, PEKOD.

Other cyphers were known as אט'בח and אל'בם, on which see Buxt. *de Abbrev. Heb.* and *Lexic. Chald. s.v.*; (for an alleged example of the אל'בם species, see TABEEL).

LEBONAH (לְבֹנָה; της λεβωνα [B], του λιβανου της λεβ. [AL]), or (since *lĕbōnah*, 'frankincense,' was not a Jewish product) Lebanah or Libnah, a place to the N. of Shiloh (Judg. 21 19), identified by Maundrell (1697) with the modern *el-Lubban*, a poor village on the slope of a hill 3 m. WNW. from *Seilūn* (Shiloh), with many old rock tombs in the neighbourhood. The story in Judges mentions Lebonah in connection with a vintage-festival at Shiloh. This suggests to Neubauer (*Géogr.* 83) that 'Beth-laban in the mountains' (cp NAZARETH) from which wine of the second quality was brought for the drink offerings in the temple (*Mĕnāḥōth* 9 7) may be our Lebanah (Lebonah).

LECAH (לֵכָה; ληχα [B], -αδ [A], λαιχα [L]), apparently the name of a place in the territory of Judah, descended from Er b. Shelah, 1 Ch. 4 21. If so, it is perhaps an error for Lachish (Meyer, *Entst.* 164). More probably, however, אבי לכה ולעדה is a corruption (with some dittography) of ירחמאל, and the meaning is that MARESHAH (*q.v.*) was of mixed Judahite and Jerahmeelite origin. T. K. C.

LEDGES. For שְׁלַבִּים, *šĕlabbīm* (from שלב; cp Syr., of the rungs of a ladder; τῶν ἐξεχομένων) 1 K. 7 28 *f.*†; see LAVER.

For יָדוֹת, *yādōth* (ἀρχὴ χειρῶν [BA], RV 'stays'), 1 K. 7 35 *f.*, see LAVER. For כַּרְכֹּב, *karkōb* (ἐσχάρα *bis* [BAF] in Ex. 27 5), *arula*, Ex. 27 5 38 4†, RV (AV 'compass'), see ALTAR, § 9 *a*.

For עֲזָרָה, *'ăzārāh*, Ezek. 43 14 17 20 (ἱλαστήριον) 45 19 (ἱερόν), RVmg. 'ledge,' EV 'settle,' cp ALTAR, § 4; also MERCY SEAT.

LEEKS. The word חָצִיר, *ḥāṣīr*, which usually means 'grass' (see GRASS), is in Nu. 11 5 rendered 'leeks' by all the ancient versions. Although the correctness of this interpretation cannot be exactly proved, it has all tradition in its favour and harmonises well with the context. The leeks of ancient Egypt were renowned (Plin. *HN*, xix. 33 110); and חציר is used in this sense at least once in the Talmud (Löw, 228). The garden leek (*Allium Porrum*) is only a cultivated form of *Allium Ampeloprasum*, L., which is a native of Syria and Egypt. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

LEGION (λεγιων [Ti. WH]), Mk. 5 9 15 Lk. 8 30. See ARMY, § 10; GOSPELS, § 16.

LEHABIM (לְהָבִים), one of the 'sons' of Mizraim, Gen. 10 13 (λαβιειμ [AEL]) = 1 Ch. 1 11† (λαβειν [A], λαβιειμ [L]), either a by-form or a corruption of LUBIM (*q.v.*).

Another possible view is that להבים comes from בַּעֲלָ[ת]ִים = בַּלְהָ[ת]ִים. Baalah was in the S. of Judah towards Edom (Josh. 15 29). This stands in connection with a hypothesis respecting the name commonly read Mizraim which explains a group of difficult problems, but deals freely with MT. See MIZRAIM; *Crit. Bib.*

LEHI (לְחִי, *i.e.*, 'jawbone'; in Judg. 15 9 λεχ[ε]ι [BA], λεχει [L], and in Judg. 15 19 εν τη σιαγονι [B], της σιαγονος [AL], in Judg. 15 14, σιαγονος [BAL]) or, more fully (*v.* 17), RAMATH-LEHI (רָמַת לְחִי, *i.e.*, 'the hill of the jawbone,' 𝔊BAL, αναιρεσις σιαγονος; רמת is surely not an explanatory gloss [Doorninck]), the scene of one of Samson's exploits (Judg. 15 9 14 17 19). According to most scholars the place derived its name from something in its shape which resembled a jawbone (cp the peninsula Onugnathus in Laconia), upon which resemblance the popular wit based a legend. The explanation of Beer-lahai-roi proposed elsewhere (JERAHMEEL, § 4 [*c*]), however, suggests the conjecture that Lehi and Ramath-lehi are early corruptions of Jerahmeel. There were probably many places of this name. If so, the place derived its name from some ancient written source, the text of which had become corrupted.

Most scholars since Bochart (to Driver's list add now Bu. and H. P. Smith) have found a reference to the same place in 2 S. 23 11 (reading 'were gathered together to Lehi,' לֶחְיָה [ἐπὶ σιαγόνα, L; εἰς τόπον σιαγόνα, Jos. *Ant.* vii. 12 3] instead of לַחַיָּה [εἰς θηρία, BA]). The omission, however, in 1 Ch. 11 13 shows that the same words 'and the Philistines were gathered together to battle' occurred in the Chronicler's text of the narrative of 2 Sam., both in *v.* 9 and in *v.* 11. לחיה, therefore, must be a fragment of לַמִּלְחָמָה, 'to battle' (Klo.). The scene of the exploit was probably the valley of Rephaim (read with Chr. נֶאֶסְפוּ שָׁם, 'were gathered together there,' referring back to *v.* 9 [see PAS-DAMMIM]).

As to the site of the Lehi of Judges, we know from Judg. 15 8-13, that it lay above ETAM (*q.v.*), and Schick[1] identifies it with a hill (with ruins) called *eṣ-Ṣiyyāgh* (from σιαγών?), at the mouth of the *Wādy en-Najīl*, and mentions a fountain called 'Ain Naḳūra to the east. Conder (*Tentwork*, 1 276), has a still more far-fetched identification. See EN-HAKKORE, and, on the legend and its explanation, see, further, JAWBONE, ASS'S. T. K. C.

1 *ZDPV* 10 152 *ff.* The name Ṣiāghah is attached to the shoulder of the mountain above 'Ayūn Mūsa, called Jebel Nebā (*PEFQ*, Oct. 1888, p. 184). Cp PISGAH.

LEMECH (לֶמֶךְ), Gen. 4 18 5 25 AVmg., EV LAMECH.

LEMUEL (לְמוּאֵל, לְמוֹאֵל, '[belonging] to God'? see NAMES, §§ 22, 37) the name of a youthful king, mentioned, if the text is correct, in Prov. 31 1 4.[1] The form, however, though possible, is improbable (see LAEL); if a name is intended, the present writer thinks it is probably Jerahmeel; we might with much probability read *mélek yĕraḥmĕ'ēl*, 'a king of Jerahmeel.' The following word *maśśā* can mean neither 'poem' nor a supposed Arabian kingdom; it should rather be *māšāl* (Grätz, Bickell). Bickell, however, thinks that למאל, in *v.* 4, has arisen out of למל in למלכים (written למלאכים, as in 2 S. 11 1).[2] למואל was then supposed to be a personal name, hence the repetition of אל־מלכים after it. From *v.* 4 'ל was copied into *v.* 1. This would require the rendering, 'The words of a [nameless] king, a wise poem which his mother taught him.' The former view seems preferable. Cp AGUR, PROVERBS, also Bickell (*ZKM* 5 297); Del. and Toy, *ad loc.*; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 154, 171. T. K. C.

LEND (הִלְוָה, Ex. 22 24 [25]; δανιζειν Lk. 6 34), and BORROW (שָׁאַל, Ex. 3 22; δανισασθαι, Mt. 5 42). See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16; TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LENTILES, RV 'lentils'—*i.e.*, *Ervum lens*, L. (עֲדָשִׁים, *'ădāšīm*; φακος; Gen. 25 34 2 S. 17 28 23 11 Ezek. 4 9†; cp also Mish. *Shabb.* 7 4 often), rightly so rendered by all the ancient versions, as is shown by the use of the Ar. *'adas* for the same plant to this day (*BR* 1 246). The pottage [נָזִיד] which Esau obtained from Jacob he called *'dm* (אדם). As lentil-pottage, which is one of the commonest among simple people at the present day, is of a peculiar brownish green,[3] MT must be wrong in vocalising *'dm* in *v.* 30, *ādōm*, 'red.' Read *ĕdōm* = Arab. idām, 'a by-dish' (cp col. 1333, n. 2): 'Feed me with some of the *ĕdōm*, that *ĕdōm*.' The nutritive properties of lentils are well known. According to De Candolle (*Origine*, 257 *f.*) W. Asia was probably the earliest home of the lentil, and it has been cultivated in that region since the dawn of history. Cp FOOD, § 4, 1, col. 1541, and for another conjectured reference to lentils (2 S. 6 19 1 Ch. 16 3) see FRUIT, § 5, 2.

LEOPARD (נָמֵר, Aram. נְמַר; παρδαλις; Is. 11 6 Hos. 13 7 Jer. 5 6 13 23 Hab. 1 8 Cant. 4 8 Dan. 7 6 Ecclus. 28 23 Rev. 13 2†). A wild beast, noted for its fierceness, its swiftness (Hab. 1 8), and its spotted skin (Jer. 13 23). Its name (*nāmēr*) also occurs in place-names (BETH-NIMRAH, NIMRIM [*qq.v.*]), which suggests an interesting enquiry (see below). On the expression 'the mountains of the leopards' (Cant. 4 8 ‖ 'the lions' dens') see CANTICLES, § 15, col. 693, *top*. Apart from the textual phenomena, it is true, we should not be suspicious at the mention of leopards in Lebanon and Hermon.

Felis pardus may be less common now than it probably was in OT times; but it is still found, according to Tristram, round the Dead Sea, in Gilead and Bashan, and in the wooded districts of the West. Bloodthirsty and ferocious in the

1 𝔊BNA has in *v.* 1 for דִּבְרֵי לְמוּאֵל מֶלֶךְ, οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγοι εἴρηνται ὑπὸ θεοῦ βασιλέως; and in *v.* 4 for אַל לַמְּלָכִים לְמוֹאֵל, μετὰ βουλῆς πάντα ποίει.

2 The scribe began to write למלאכים, but wrote by accident למאל. As usual, he left the error uncancelled and wrote straight on correctly. This is no doubt the meaning of Bickell's condensed statement.

3 This green colour is the colour of the pottage. The raw husks are brown and the raw grain, stripped of its covering, red.

extreme, it will even kill more victims than it requires, simply to satisfy its craving for blood. It is in the habit of concealing itself at wells and at the entrances of villages (Jer. 5 6), lying in wait for its prey, upon which it will spring from a great distance; it has an appetite for dogs, but men are seldom attacked. *F. pardus* has a wide distribution, extending almost throughout Africa, and from Palestine to China in S. Asia; it is also found in many of the larger East Indian islands. *F. jubatus* (the Cheeta) is scarcer; it can be found in the wooded hills of Galilee, and in the neighbourhood of Tabor. In disposition it is much less fierce than *F. pardus* and is comparatively easily tamed; in India it is trained for hunting antelopes, etc. (cp Thomson's statement respecting the panther in Palestine, *LB* [1860], p. 444). It has almost as wide a distribution as its congener; but does not reach so far E.

The Sinaitic Arabs relate that the leopard was once a man, but that afterwards he washed in milk and became a panther and an enemy of mankind (WRS, *Kin.* 204). The occurrence in Arabic of the tribal names *namir*, dimin. *nomair*, pl. *anmar*, and also the Sab. אנמרם, taken in connection with the above story, seems to point to a primitive belief in a supposed kinship with the panther, and it is probable that the clan which first called itself after the 'leopard' believed itself to be of one kin with it (cp also the leopard-skin worn, as is well known, by a certain class of priests in their official duties).[1] We may further compare the occurrence of the place-names BETH-NIMRAH, NIMRIM (*qq.v.*), and the fact that four similarly formed names are said to be found in the Ḥaurān (cp *ZDMG* 29 437). A place-name נמרן also occurs in Sabæan inscriptions. Finally, Jacob of Serūgh mentions *bar nemrē*, 'son of panthers,' as the name of a false deity of Haran (*ZDMG* 29 110; cp WRS, *J. Phil.* 9 93; *Kin.* 201).[2]

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

LEPROSY, LEPER. The word צָרַעַת, *ṣārá'ath*, occurs some twenty-eight times in Lev. 13 *f.*, also in Dt. 24 8 2 K. 5 3 6 *f.* 27 2 Ch. 26 19, and is invariably translated λέπρα in 𝔊, *lepra* in Vg. The root is צרע, meaning originally (probably) 'to smite'; the participle צָרוּעַ, *ṣārūa'*, is met with in Lev. 13 44 *f.* 14 3 22 4 Nu. 5 2 (λεπρός; *leprosus*), and מְצֹרָע, מְצוֹרָע, *mĕṣōrā'*, in Ex. 4 6 Lev. 14 2 Nu. 12 10 2 S. 3 29 2 K. 5 1 11 27 7 3 8 15 5 2 Ch. 26 20 *f.* 23. NT has λέπρα in Mk. 1 42 Lk. 5 12 *f.*, λεπρός in Mt. 8 2 10 8 11 5 26 6 Mk. 1 40 14 3 Lk. 4 27 7 22 17 12. In Is. 53 4 Vg. has 'et nos putavimus eum quasi leprosum,' where AV has 'stricken.'

1. Meaning in Greek and Latin.

The word λέπρα, in Hippocrates and others, meant some scaly disease of the skin, quite different from ἐλέφας or ἐλεφαντίασις; of the two *lepra* corresponds on the whole with *psoriasis* (scaliness), *elepha(ntiasi)s* with common or tubercular leprosy. It is probable that in 𝔊 the word *lepra* was meant to be generic, or to include more than the λέπρα of medical Greek; if so, it would have been a correct rendering of the generic Heb.[3] (= 'stroke,' *plaga*, plague). The *lepra* of the Vg., however, became specially joined in mediæval medical writings to what is technically known as leprosy, so that *lepra Arabum* meant exactly the same as *elephantiasis Græcorum*. Thenceforward, consequently, all that was said in the OT of *ṣārá'ath* was taken as said of leprosy, which thus derived its qualities, and more especially its contagiousness, not so much from clinical observation as from verbal interpretation. This confusion belongs not to the Hebrew text, but to translations and to mediæval and modern glosses.

2. Leprosy of (*a*) houses, (*b*) garments.

So generically is the Hebrew word used, that two of the varieties of *ṣārá'ath* are in inanimate things—viz., clothes or leather work (Lev. 13 47-59), and the walls of houses (14 33-53). The conjecture of some, that the leprosy of the garment was a defilement of garments worn by the leprous, is against the sense of the text, to say nothing of the silence of the context on so essential a point. Again, the suggestion of Michaelis that the leprosy of the walls of a house was the peculiar nitrous exudation or crust that sometimes appears, like a scabby state of the skin, on newly plastered walls, would imply that means of a very drastic kind were used against walls merely because they looked leprous, just as if one were to root out trees because of bolls and leprous-looking excrescences on their bark. The 'leprosies' of walls and garments were real troubles in those things, which required skill and energy to surmount; and the obvious meaning is that they were parasitic invasions of vegetable moulds or of the eggs of insects.

(*a*) The description of the house-leprosy (greenish or reddish patches, lower than, or penetrating beneath the surface of, the inner wall, Lev. 14 37) does not exactly identify the condition; but the steps taken to get rid of it—the removal of a part of the wall, the scraping of adjoining parts, the carrying of the dust so scraped off to an unclean place, the rebuilding, the replastering, and the resort to still more thorough demolition if the first means had not been radical enough and the plague had come again—are very much in the manner of dealing with dry rot; whoever has had occasion to eradicate that spreading fungus from some wall or partition, will see the general fitness of the steps to be taken, particularly of the precautions against leaving any spores lurking in the dust of neighbouring parts.

The *mycelium* of the dry-rot fungus (*Polyporus destructor*, or *Merulius vastator*, or *M. lachrymans*) not only eats into woodwork, but may form between the lath and plaster and the stone or brick, large sheets of felt-like texture, half an inch or more thick, the fresh broken surface of which will look greenish yellow or red. It is most apt to come in damp structures shut out from the circulation of air. Without contending that the plague, or the fretting leprosy (13 51, צרעת מַמְאֶרֶת, perhaps rather a malignant leprosy) of the walls of a house was precisely the dry-rot of northern countries, one must conclude that it was a parasitic mould of the same kind.

(*b*) The leprosy of the garment (Lev. 13 47-59) was in woollen, or linen, or in any work that is made of skin. This excludes the suggestion of Michaelis that it may have been a contagion of the sheep clinging to its wool. A greenish or reddish colour, and a tendency to spread, are the chief indications given as to its nature. If it changed colour with washing, it might be cured by rending out the affected piece; otherwise the garment or article made of skin was to be burned. Such marks are perhaps too general for scientific identification; but there are various moulds and mildews (such as *Mucor* and *Penicillium*), as well as deposits of the eggs of moths, which would produce the appearances and effects, and would call for the remedial measures of the text.

3. Leprosy in Lev. 13 *f.*

Such being the probable nature of two of the varieties of *ṣārá'ath*—namely, parasitic spreading moulds or fretting insects upon inanimate substances—we shall probably not err in discovering the same parasitic character in some, if not in the whole, of the human maladies in the same context. The most clearly identified of the parasitic skin-diseases are the plague upon the head or the beard, or the scall[1] (נֶתֶק, Lev. 13 29-37), and the leprosy causing baldness (*v.* 42). These are almost certainly the contagious and often inveterate ringworm, or scald-head, mentagra, or sycosis, of the hairy scalp and beard. To them also the name of 'leprosy' is given; and indeed the most striking part in the ritual of the leper, the rending of the clothes, the covering the lip, and the crying out 'unclean, unclean,' follows in the text immediately upon the description of an affection of the head which was probably *tinea decalvans* (ringworm), or *favus*, *tinea favosa* (scald-head), which are still comparatively common among poor Jews as well as Moslems (this, says Hirsch, is perhaps to be explained by their

[1] See Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1 184, fig. 12, and cp DRESS, § 8; ESAU. The origin of the hanging of the leopard's skin in the house of Antenor (*Paus.* x. 27 3) is obscure.

[2] Among the idolatrous objects destroyed by Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31 1) and Josiah (*ib.*, 34 34), the Pesh. enumerates *nemrē* (MT, אֲשֵׁרִים, פְּסִילִים). To the translators of the Pesh., at any rate, images of leopards were apparently not unknown.

[3] In Ar. the cognate word is used especially of epileptic fits or the falling sickness.

[1] An eruption of the skin. The word is connected with 'scale'; cp Chaucer, 'under thy locks thou mayst have the scall' [so Mr. Scrivener].

religious practice of always keeping the head covered). *Pityriasis versicolor*, which affects the trunk especially, and produces spots of brownish or reddish discoloration, is another parasitic skin disease common among the same classes [cp Schamberg[1] (commenting medically on Lev. 13)]. The white spots often referred to probably included leucoderma or vitiligo.

Vitiligo is a disease not uncommon in the darker-skinned races, being characterised by white spots, bounded by dusky red, especially on the face, neck, and hands, and on hairy parts such as the scalp, armpits, and pubes. The disease begins as white dots, which spread slowly and may become large patches. In the negro they produce a piebald effect; they occur also in the horse and the elephant. The chief reason for discovering vitiligo among the varieties of ṣārá'ath is that the reiterated symptom of patchy whitening of the hair in Lev. 13 is more distinctive of that disease than of any other. On the other hand, vitiligo is not contagious, is not attended by rawness of the flesh, and admits of no cure. If it be the disease in which patches of hair turned white (as Kapori and other dermatologists suppose), the prominence given to it must have been superstitious (elephants with vitiligo are sacred). As a matter of practical concern, scabies or itch ought to have found a place; its best sign is the sinuous white line marking the track of the female *acarus* through the epidermis, but none of the references to a white spot is precise enough for that; however, scabies may have been diagnosed by its attendant eruptions (various) which would be included under 'rising' or 'eruption.'

The disease of 13 12-17, which was placed in the 'clean' class because it concerned all the body, may have been psoriasis ('English leprosy'), a scaly disease in which the characters of 'brightness' and 'whiteness' of the spots are most marked; when complicated with eczema, as it often is, the element of 'raw flesh' would come in, and therewith perhaps the priestly diagnosis of uncleanness. On the other hand, the dull white 'tetter' of *vv.* 38 and 39 is 'clean.' For none of these diseases are the written diagnostics at all clear; but within the meagre outline there may well have been a more minute knowledge preserved by tradition in the priesthood. It is only in P that the subject is handled at all; JE make no provision whatever for the diagnosis, isolation, etc., of diseases.

The chief question remains, whether true leprosy is anywhere pointed at by the diagnostics.

It may be doubted if any one would ever have discovered true leprosy in these chapters but for the translation of *ṣārá'ath* in 𝔊 and Vg. Even those (Hensler and others) who identify white or anæsthetic leprosy with the white spots, bright spots, white risings, or the like, do not profess to find any traces of tubercular leprosy, which is the kind that lends itself most obviously to popular superficial description, and is the most likely form of the disease to have received notice. The strongest argument of those who discover true leprosy in Lev. 13 is that it would have been important to detect the disease in its earliest stage, and that the beginnings of all cases of leprosy are dusky spots of the skin, or erythematous patches, which come and go at first, and then remain permanently, becoming the white anæsthetic spots of one form of the developed disease, and the seats of nodules (of the face, hands, and feet) in the other. This line of argument assumes, however, a scientific analysis of the stages of leprosy such as has been attained only in recent times (19th cent.).

It will be convenient to set forth briefly some characters of leprosy, as they are uniformly found at the present time in many parts of the globe.

4. True leprosy.

A case of leprosy that would be obvious to a passer-by is marked by a thickened or nodulated state of the features, especially of the eyebrows, the wings of the nose, the cheeks, the chin, and the lobes of the ears, giving the face sometimes a leonine look (*leontiasis*), or a hideous appearance (*satyriasis*). The same nodules occur, also, on the hands and the feet, or other exposed parts of the limbs, making a thickened, lumpy state of the skin, whence the name *elephantiasis*.[2] In some cases the nodules on the fingers or toes eat into the joints, so that portions of the digits fall off, the stump healing readily as in an amputation (*lepra mutilans*).[1] Nodules in exposed situations, or subject to friction and hurts, are very apt to become sores, yielding a foul sanies which may make a sordid crust. Besides the skin, certain mucous membranes become the seat of nodules or thickenings—the front of the eyeball (*pannus leprosus*), the tongue and mouth, and the larynx, the thickened and roughened state of which reduces the voice to a hoarse tone or husky whisper. These are the most superficially obvious of all the signs of leprosy, forming together an unmistakable picture.

A large part of all leprosy, however, perhaps the half, wants these more obvious characters. A person may be truly leprous, and have nothing to show for it in the face, or on the hands and feet—perhaps only a nodule here and there along the course of the nerves of the arms or other part. Many cases, again, have only a number of blanched or discoloured patches of the skin, in the same situations where other lepers have nodules or tubercles; these correspond to the variety of white leprosy, or macular leprosy (*lepra albicans, maculosa*, etc.). The macular and nodular characters may concur in the same person.

Underlying all these external marks, whether nodules or spots, is the most significant of all the morbid changes of leprosy—the loss of function in the nerves of the skin. Based upon that was one of the mediæval tests—to prick the skin along the course of the posterior tibial nerve behind the ankle on the inner side. In the modern pathology of the disease, the disorganisation or degeneration of the nerves is recognised as fundamental; it leads to loss of sensibility, to loss of structural integrity or of tissue-nutrition, and to a profound lowering of the whole vitality and efficiency of the organism, whereby leprosy becomes a much more serious affection than a mere chronic skin-disease. These more profound characters of the disease, it need hardly be said, are nowhere reflected in the biblical references.

The causes of this great and incurable constitutional disorder are believed by many to be something corrupt in the staple food. One of the most probable dietetic errors, known to prevail in many, if not in all, parts of the world where leprosy is now met with, is the eating of fish in a semi-putrid state—very often the more insipid and worthless kinds of fresh-water or salt-water fish which are preferred in a half-corrupt state of cure on account of the greater relish. The dietetic theory of the cause of leprosy does not exclude, of course, other corrupt articles of food besides fish, the mediæval writers enumerating several such. Also it is probable that various unwholesome conditions of living must work together with corrupt diet, and that there must be a certain susceptibility in the individual constitution or temperament, which would be handed down and intensified by descent and intermarriage. It should be said that the dietetic theory is not received by all, and is apt to be resisted by those bacteriologists who make the *bacillus lepræ* the sufficient cause. A primary dietetic cause does not conflict with a certain possibility of transmitting leprosy by infection. An acquired or inherited constitutional malady may develop an infective property; the one character does not necessarily exclude the other; but in experience it appears that leprosy is seldom produced by any other means than habitual errors of nutrition (or other endemic conditions) in the individual or his ancestry.

5. History of leprosy.

i. In antiquity this disease was specially, and indeed exclusively, associated with Egypt—'circum flumina Nili . . . neque præterea usquam,' says Lucretius (6 1113 *f.*). Perhaps the limitation was only because other countries were less familiar ground. Herodotus does not mention leprosy in Egypt; but he says enough (2 77) on the use of uncooked fish and on the ways of curing fish, fowl, and other animal food, to make leprosy probable according to the etiological theory. On the other hand, he mentions (1 138) a certain skin-disease of the Persians, λεύκη, sufferers from which were obliged to live outside the towns. In a passage of Hippocrates (*Progn.* 114) this white malady is one of a group of three skin-diseases —λειχῆνες καὶ λέπραι καὶ λεῦκαι. A high antiquity is assigned to leprosy in Egypt by certain legends of the Exodus, which are preserved by late Greek writers (especially the Egyptian priest Manetho) known to us from Josephus's elaborate reply to them in his apology for Judaism (*Contr. Ap.* 1 26 34; cp *Ant.* iii. 11 4). Cp EXODUS, § 7.

One form of the legend is that leprous and other impure persons, to the number of 80,000, were separated out and sent to work in the mines or quarries E. of the Nile, that they were afterwards assigned a city, and that Moses became their leader. Another form of it is that the Jews in Egypt were 'leprous and scabby and subject to certain other kinds of distempers,' that they begged at the temples in such numbers as to become a nuisance, and that they were eventually got rid of—the leprous by drowning, the others by being driven into the desert.

Behind these legends there is the probability that the

[1] Jay F. Schamberg, M.D., 'The nature of the Leprosy of the Bible,' reprinted from the *Philadelphia Polychrome*, vol. vii., nos. 47 *f.* (19th and 26th Nov., 1898).

[2] Especially associated by the ancients with Egypt; cp Pliny, xxvi. 1 5, Lucret. 6 1114 *f.*

[1] This appears to be alluded to in Dt. 28 35 where the smiting in the knees and legs is specifically mentioned.

enslaved population of Egypt, occupied with forced labour in the Delta, would have been specially subject to those endemic influences (including the dietetic) which gave the country an ancient repute for leprosy. Still, if one person in a hundred, whether of the enslaved foreign, or the free native, labourers, was leprous, it would have been a rather larger ratio than is found anywhere at present in the most wretched circumstances. Whilst it is thus probable that there were cases of true leprosy in the early history of Israel, no extra-biblical reference to it in Palestine occurs until the first century B.C. The army of Pompey was said to have brought leprosy to Italy, for the first time, on returning from the Syrian campaign of 63 B.C. (cp Plut. *Symp.* 7 9); which should mean, at least, that the disease was then prevalent in Syria, as it has probably so remained continuously to the present time (communities of lepers at Jerusalem, Nāblus, and other places).

ii. The individual cases of 'leprosy' in the OT, however, are not all clearly the true disease. Miriam's leprosy, Nu. 12 10 *f.*, appears to have been, in the mind of the narrator, a transient thing. The four leprous men outside the gate of Samaria during the siege by Benhadad (2 K. 7 3) are sufficiently like the groups of lepers under a ban in mediæval and modern times. On the other hand, the leprosy ascribed to Naaman (2 K. 5), who had perfect freedom of intercourse with his people, looks like some more tractable skin-disease. Nor is it perhaps unlikely that the curative direction of the prophet, if we assume a generic truth in it, was dictated, not merely by a belief in the sanctity of the river Jordan, but also by an acquaintance with the medicinal properties of some spring in the Jordan valley. At any rate, the prophet's method of healing has strong pagan affinities. Thus Pausanias (v. 5 11, Frazer) tells us that 'in Samicum, not far from the river, there is a cave called the cave of the Anigrian nymphs. When a leper enters the cave he first prays to the nymphs and promises them a sacrifice, whatever it may be. Then he wipes the diseased parts of his body, and swimming through the river leaves his old uncleanness in the water and comes out whole and of one colour.' The other OT case is that of king Uzziah (or Azariah), who was a leper unto the day of his death, dwelling in a 'several house'[1] (2 K. 15 5 *f.*); he was stricken because he encroached upon the prerogative of the priesthood (2 Ch. 26 16-23). As regards Job's disease, the allusions to the symptoms may be illustrated by the authentic statements of careful Arabian physicians translated by Stickel in his *Buch Hiob* (1842), p. 169 *f.* One of these may help to justify the references to bad dreams and (perhaps) suffocation in Job 7 14 *f.* 'During sleep,' says Ibn Sina (Avicenna), 'frequent atrabilious dreams appear. Breathing becomes so difficult that asthma sets in, and the highest degree of hoarseness is reached. It is often necessary to open the jugular vein, if the hoarseness and the dread of suffocation increases.'

iii. In the NT there are only a few notices of leprosy; but from Mt. 10 8 it would seem that the cleansing of lepers was regarded as specially a work of Jesus' disciples. There is a striking description of the cleansing of a leper by Jesus himself in Mk. 1 40-44 (cp Mt. 8 2-4 Lk. 5 12-14). There he is said to have touched the leper, and to have spoken a word of power. The cleansed man is then told to fulfil the Levitical law of the leper (Lev. 14 4-10). There is no touch recorded in Lk. 17 12-19, however, where the ten lepers are told to show themselves to the priests, and are cleansed on the way. The Lazarus of Lk. 16 20 is only called εἱλκωμένος—*i.e.*, 'ulcerated.' It became usual, however, to regard him as the representative of lepers; and in the mediæval church the 'parabolic' Lazarus of Lk. and the 'real' Lazarus of Jn. 11 were both alike (or perhaps conjointly) associated with leprosy. Hence lepers were called lazars, and the

[1] So AV and RV (with marg., 'or lazar-house'). The meaning of the Heb. בית החפשית (in Chr. Ktb. ב' החפשות) is uncertain, and the correctness of the text disputed. See UZZIAH.

Lazarus of Jn. became a patron saint of leper-houses (as in the dedication of the great leper hospital at Sherburn, near Durham, in which Lazarus is joined with his sisters Mary and Martha). It was perhaps with reference to the Lazarus whom Jesus loved that *lazares* or *leprosi* were otherwise called *pauperes Christi* (12th and 13th cent.). C. C.

LESHEM (לֶשֶׁם; λεσεμ and λεσεν (δαν) [A], λαχεις and λασεnn (δακ) [B], λεσεν (δαν) [L]), the name of the northern city Dan, according to Josh. 19 47.

Probably it should rather be Lēshām, another form of LAISH (*q.v.*); for the formation cp עֵיטָם from עַיִט. So Wellh. *de Gentibus*, 37; *CH* 15.

LESSAU (λεσσαου [A]), 2 Macc. 14 16 RV, AV DESSAU (*q.v.*).

LETHECH (לֶתֶךְ), Hos. 3 2 EV$^{mg.}$, EV HALF HOMER. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

LETTER (סֵפֶר, 2 S. 11 14, etc.; επιστολη, Acts 23 25). See EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, WRITING.

LETTUS (αττους [A]), 1 Esd. 8 29, RV ATTUS = Ezra 8 2, HATTUSH (1).

LETUSHIM (לְטוּשִׁם; λατουσιειμ [AEL], -ριειμ [*D*], and **Leummim** (לְאֻמִּים; λοωμειμ [A], -μειν [DE], -μιειμ [L]), sons of DEDAN (Gen. 25 3), the third in MT being ASSHURIM. In 𝔊 five sons are assigned to Dedan: *ραγουηλ* ([AEL]—*i.e.*, רְעוּאֵל, see REUEL; *ρασου* [ηλ] [D]), *ναβδεηλ* ([ADEL], *i.e.*, אַדְבְּאֵל—ADBEEL), *ασουριμ*, *λατουσιειμ*, *λοωμειμ*. In 1 Ch. 1 32 the sons of Dedan are omitted in MT and 𝔊, except by 𝔊^{A} which enumerates five, as above. Criticism has not yet led to definite results as to any one of the three sons of Dedan. If, however, we are right in restoring the doubtful text of Gen. 10 6 thus:[1]—'And the sons of Jerahmeel; Cush, and Mizrim, and Zarephath, and Ḳain,' and if יָקְשָׁן, 'Jokshan' in Gen. 25 2 *f.* is miswritten for כּוּשָׁן, 'Cushan' = כּוּשׁ, Cush' (the N. Arabian Kuš), we may conjecture that אשורם is an expansion of שורם (Šūrām or Šūrīm)—*i.e.*, גשורם (Gešūrām or Gešūrīm)—that לטושם comes from פלשתם, and ultimately from צרפתם = צלפתם (Ṣārephāthām or Ṣārephathīm), and that לאמ[י]ם comes from ירחמאלם (Jeraḥme'ēlām or Jeraḥme'ēlīm). Thus the main difficulties of the two Dedanite genealogies are removed. For another possible occurrence of the (corrupt) ethnic לְטֻשִׁ[י], see TUBAL-CAIN.

The Tgg. and Jer. (*Quæst.* and *Onom.*) assume the three names to be appellatives, indicating the occupations or modes of life of different branches of the Dedanites (similarly Hitz. and Steiner, see articles in *BL*, and cp Margoliouth, in Hastings, *DB* 3 99*b*). For other guesses see Dillmann on Gen. 25 3, and cp ASSHURIM. T. K. C.

LEVI (לֵוִי; λευ[ε]ι, also λευ[ε]ις [AE], accus. λευειν, 4 Macc. 2 19), 1. Jacob's third son by Leah, Gen. 29 34 (J). The story in Genesis (*l.c.*) records a popular etymology connecting Levi with לָוָה, *lāvāh*, 'to be joined' (cp Eccles. 8 15); see also Nu. 18 2 4 (P), where it is said that the tribe of Levi will 'join itself' to Aaron. Some modern critics too support this connexion. Thus Lagarde (*Or.* 2 20; *Mitth.* 1 54 *ff.*) explains 'Levi' as 'one that attaches himself.' If so, the Levites were either 'those who attached themselves to the Semites who migrated back from the Delta, therefore Egyptians,' or perhaps 'those who escorted the ark'; the latter meaning is virtually adopted by Baudissin[2] (*Priesterthum*, 72, n. 1). Land, however (*De Gids*, Nov. 1871, p. 244, n.), explains *bĕnē Levi* as 'sons of conversion'—*i.e.*, the party of a reaction to primitive nomad religion. But it appears impossible to treat לוי (Levi) as an adjective, against the analogy of all the other names of Israelitish tribes, and especially against that

[1] See CUSH, PUT, and *Crit. Bib.*

[2] לֵוִי, a servant of the sanctuary, from לָוָה = לוּ, with abstract or collective signification, 'Begleitung, Folge, Gefolgschaft.'

of Simeon and Reuben, and Gesenius's old-fashioned rendering of 'Levi' ('associatio') can hardly now be quoted in support of Land's theory. If 'Levi' is original it may be best regarded as the gentilic of Leah (so We. *Prol.* (3), 146; St. *ZATW* 1 116 [1881]); NAPHTALI (cp *Crit. Bib.*), if an ethnic, may be adduced as a parallel.

The present writer, however, thinks that 'Levi' is a corruption, and conjectures that LEAH [*q.v.*] and some at least of her sons, derived their names, not from animal totems, but from their ethnic affinities—*i.e.*, that Levi comes from Jerahmeel (ירחמאל=רמאל=למין=לבין=לוין). See *Crit. Bib.* For other views see We. *Heid.* (1), 114, n. ((2)om.); Hommel, *AHT* 278*f.*; *Aufsätze*, 1 30 *f.* On the Levi-traditions see also MOSES, SHECHEM.

2. A name occurring twice in the genealogy of Jesus (Lk. 3 24 29†). See generally GENEALOGIES ii., § 3 *f.*

3. A disciple of Jesus, 'called' when at the toll-office (τελώνιον), son of Alphæus [Mk.], Mk. 2 14 Lk. 5 27† (λευειν, accus. [Ti. WH]; cp Mt. 9 9 [call of Matthew]). Three courses are open to us.

(1) We may suppose that this disciple had two names, one of which (Matthew) was given him by Jesus after he entered the apostolic circle, and consequently displaced the earlier name, as Peter superseded Simon. The supposition that he had two names might pass; but the view that one of them was bestowed by Jesus appears hazardous. There is no evidence that the name Matthew, the meaning of which is still disputed, was regarded in the evangelic traditions as having any special appropriateness to its bearer. It might be better to conjecture with Delitzsch (Riehm, *HWB* (2), 919 *b*) that the full name of the disciple who was called from the toll-office was Matthew, son of Alphæus, the Levite (הַלֵּוִי); cp Acts 4 36, 'Joses who was surnamed Barnabas, a Levite.' It is at any rate in favour of the identification of Levi and Matthew that the circumstances of the call of Levi agree exactly with those of the call of Matthew; 'Levi' and 'Matthew' are both in the Capernaum toll-office when the thrilling speech 'Follow me' is addressed to them. Must not the same person be intended? May not 'Levi' be an earlier name of 'Matthew'? So, among moderns, Meyer, Olshausen, Holtzmann.

(2) We may suppose that whilst the same fact is related both by Mk. and Lk., and by Mt., the name of the man who was called by Jesus was given by Mt. as Matthew by mistake, the author or redactor of our first gospel having identified the little-known Levi with the well-known apostle Matthew, who may very possibly have been a τελώνης (EV 'publican'), and was at any rate regarded by the evangelist as such (so Sieffert, Ew., Keim [*Jesu von Nazara*, 2 217]). We know how much the τελῶναι were attracted to Jesus (note Mt. 9 10 Mk. 2 15 Lk. 15 1 19 2 *f.*); it is very possible that more than one may have been found worthy to be admitted into his inner circle.

It has been pointed out by Lipsius (*Apokr. Apostelgeschichten*) that the fusion of Levi and Matthew is characteristic of later writers. In the *Menologia* Matthew is called a son of Alphæus and a brother of James, and in the *Breviarium Apostolorum* it is said of Matthew, 'Hic etiam ex tribu sua Levi sumpsit cognomentum.' On the other hand, Lipsius (1 24) mentions a Paris MS of the gospels (Cotelier, *Patres Apost.* 1 271) which identifies the Levi of Mk. with Thaddæus and *Lebbæus*, and Lk.'s Judas of James. In the Syriac *Book of the Bee* (*Anecdota Oxon.*, Sem. ser., i., part ii., ed. and transl. by Budge) it is said (chap. 48, p. 112) that Levi was slain by Charmus while teaching in Paneas.

(3) It would be difficult to form a decided opinion if we could not regard the subject from another and a somewhat neglected point of view. It will be admitted that transcribers and translators of Hebrew or Aramaic names were liable to many mistakes. Now Ἀλφαῖος (cp ALPHÆUS and HELEPH) represents most probably אילפי (a derivative of אילפא, 'ship'?). Surely it is very possible that the initial letters אי may have become illegible in the document upon which Mt. 9 9 *ff.* is based. There remains לפי, which in Aramaic Hebrew characters might easily be mistaken for לוי—*i.e.*, Levi. The original narrative very possibly had 'Ilphai the son of Ilphai' by a scribe's error for 'Mattai the son of Ilphai'; and it is open to us to hold that λεββαῖος = Sin. לבאי (Dalman) has also arisen by corruption out of אילפי. Cp LEBBÆUS.

That 'Levi' appears in the Talmud as a name of Rabbis does not make 'Levi' a probable name for a common man of Capernaum. The occurrences in Lk. 3 24 29 are also precarious supports for the 'Levi' in our text of Mk. and Lk.

T. K. C.

LEVIATHAN. Leviāthān (see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN; CROCODILE) is described in Job 41 [40 25-41]. The last two verses of the description (41 33 [25]) have been misread (cp LION) and therefore misunderstood.[1] 'Who is made without fear' is a very questionable rendering; read '. . . to be lord of the beasts,' changing לבלי־חת into לְבַעַל חַיּת. There is an exact parallel to this in Job 40 19, where Behemoth, if we adopt a necessary critical emendation, is described as 'he that was made to be a ruler of his fellows' (הֶעָשׂוּי לְנֹגֵשׂ חֲבֵרָיו). Among the other passages which refer to Leviathan is Ps. 104 26, where 'there go the ships' is unsuitable to the context. אניות, 'ships' should certainly be תנינים, 'dragons' (Ps. 74 13 148 7; א and ת confounded; cp Judg. 9 31), and at the close of the verse לשחק־בו should probably be לְנֹגֵשׂ־בּוֹ. The psalmist found this reading in his copy of Job (at 40 19), unless indeed we suppose that he read there יְשַׂחֶק־בּוֹ, and copied the phrase which the Hebrew text (MT and 𝔊) now gives in Ps. 104 26. The verse becomes 'There dragons move along; (yea), Leviathan whom thou didst appoint ruler therein'; בו refers to הַיָּם (v. 25). T. K. C.

LEVIRATE. See MARRIAGE, § 8.

LEVIS. (ΛΕΥΙC [A]), 1 Esd. 9 14 = Ezra 10 15, 'Levite.' See SHABBETHAI, 1.

LEVITES. The Levites (לְוִיִּם; ΛΕΥ[Ε]ΙΤΑΙ) are defined according to the usual methods of Hebrew genealogical history as the descendants of Levi (Gen. 29 34); hence their other name 'b'ne Levi' (בְּנֵי לֵוִי). In Hebrew genealogies, however, we are not necessarily entitled to look upon the eponym of a tribe as more than an ideal personality. Indeed, the only narrative in which, on a literal interpretation, Levi appears as a person (Gen. 34), bears internal evidence of the intention of the author to delineate under the form of personification events in the history of the tribes of Levi and Simeon which must have occurred after the arrival of Israel in Canaan.[2] The same events are alluded to in Gen. 49 5-7, where Simeon and Levi are plainly spoken of as communities with a communal assembly (*Ḳāhāl*, קָהָל); see ASSEMBLY, col. 345.

1. Secular tribe.

Simeon and Levi were allied tribes or 'brothers'; their onslaught on the Shechemites was condemned by the rest of Israel; and its results were disastrous to the actors, when their cause was disavowed by their brethren. The b'ne Hamor regained possession of Shechem, as we know from Judg. 9, and both the assailing tribes were scattered through Israel, and failed to secure an independent territorial position. Cp SHECHEM.

The details of this curious portion of the earliest Hebrew history must remain obscure (cp DINAH, SIMEON); Gen. 34 does not really place them in so clear a light as the briefer reference in Gen. 49; for the former chapter has been recast and largely added to by a late writer, who looks upon the action of the brethren in the light of the priestly legislation, and judges it much more favourably than is done in Gen. 49. In post-canonical Judaism the favourable view of the zeal of Levi and

[1] The critical emendations are due to Gunkel, Giesebrecht, and Cheyne.

[2] Jacob in 34 30 is not a personal, but a collective idea, for he says, 'I am a few men,' and the capture and total destruction of a considerable city is in the nature of things the work of two tribes rather than of two individuals.

Simeon becomes still more dominant (Judith, 9 2 *f.*; Bk. of Jubilees, chap. 30, and especially Theodotus, *ap.* Polyhistor, in Müller's *Fragm.* 3 217 *f.*), and the curse of Jacob on the ferocity of his sons is quite forgotten.[1] In the oldest history, however, the treachery of Levi and Simeon towards a community which had received the right of *connubium* with Israel is represented as a crime, which imperilled the position of the Hebrews and was fatal to the future of the tribes directly involved.

2. Priestly tribe. Whilst, however, the Levites were scattered throughout Israel, their name does not disappear from the roll of the tribes (cp Dt. 27 12). In the blessing of Moses (Dt. 33), where Simeon is passed over, Levi still appears, not as a territorial tribe, but as the collective name for the priesthood. The priesthood meant is that of the northern kingdom under the dynasty of Jehu (on the date of the chapter, see Deuteronomy, § 26); and in fact we know that the priests of the important northern sanctuary of Dan traced their origin to a Levite (Judg. 17 9), Jonathan the son of Gershom, the son of Moses (Judg. 18 30).[2] That the Judæan priesthood were also known as Levites in the later times of the kingdom appears from the book of Deuteronomy, especially from 10 8 *f.* 18 1 *f.*; and we learn from Ezek. 44 10 *f.* that the Judæan Levites were not confined to the service of the temple, but included the priests of the local high places abolished by Josiah.

It may even be conjectured, with some probability, that the Levites (like the remnants of the closely-related tribe of Simeon) had originally settled in Judah and only gradually afterwards spread themselves northwards. Micah's Levite, as we know, was from Bethlehem-Judah (Judg. 17 7).[3] But cp MICAH i., 2.

Alike in Judah and in the N. the priestly prerogative of Levi was traced back to the days of Moses (Dt. 10 8 33 8);[4] but in later times at least the Judæan priesthood did not acknowledge the Levitical status of their northern colleagues (1 K. 12 31). It must, however, be observed that the prophets Amos and Hosea never speak of the northern priesthood as illegitimate, and Hos. 4 certainly implies the opposite. Presumably it was only after the fall of Samaria, and the introduction of large foreign elements into the population of the N., that the southern priests began to disavow the ministers of the sanctuaries of Samaria, most of whom can no longer have been representatives of the old priesthood as it was before the northern captivity (2 K. 17 28 Judg. 18 30 2 K. 23 20, in contrast with *v.* 8 *f.*).

3. Levites and priests. In the most developed form of the hierarchical system the ministers of the sanctuary are divided into two grades. All are regarded as Levites by descent (cp, *e.g.*, Ex. 6 25); but the mass of the Levites are mere subordinate ministers not entitled to approach the altar or perform any strictly priestly function, and the true priesthood is confined to the descendants of Aaron. In the documents which reveal to us the actual state of the priesthood in the northern and southern kingdoms before the exile, there is no trace of this distinction.

Perhaps, indeed, it must be conceded to Van Hoonacker (195 *f.*) and Baudissin (*TLZ*, 18[illegible], p. 362; cp also his *Gesch. d. Alt. Priestertums*, 113) that Ezekiel has taken over from the phraseology of the temple of Jerusalem the distinction between 'the priests, the keepers of the charge of the house,' and 'the priests, the keepers of the charge of the altar,' which he refers to as already existing; but as against Van Hoonacker, Baudissin observes with justice that we are not entitled to infer from this that Ezekiel is aware of a distinction between priests (sons of Zadok, or of Aaron) and Levites; on the contrary, in 40 45 he uses the designation 'priests' for those whom he elsewhere calls 'Levites' (44 10 *f.* 14 45 5). It is better to say that every Levite is a priest, or at least is qualified to become such (Dt. 10 8 18 7).

The subordinate and menial offices of the tabernacle are not assigned to members of a holy guild; in Jerusalem, at least, they were mainly discharged by members of the royal bodyguard (the Carians and footmen, 2 K. 11 4 RV; see CARITES, but also PELETHITES), or by bond slaves, the ancestors of the later Něthinim—in either case by men who might even be uncircumcised foreigners (Ezek. 44 7 *f.*). A Levitical priest was a legitimate priest. When the author of 1 K. 12 31 wishes to represent Jeroboam's priests as illegal he contents himself with saying that they were not taken from the sons of Levi. The first historical trace of a modification of this state of things is found in connection with the suppression of the local high places by Josiah, when their priests were brought to Jerusalem and received their support from the temple offerings, but were not permitted to minister at the altar (2 K. 23 9).[1]

4. Country priests. The priests of the temple, the sons of Zadok, were not prepared to concede to their provincial brethren all the privileges which Dt. 18 had proposed in compensation for the loss of their local ministry. Ezekiel, after the fall of the temple, in planning a scheme of ritual for the new temple, raises the practical exclusion from the altar to the rank of a principle. In the new temple the Levites who had ministered before the local altars shall be punished by exclusion from proper priestly work, and shall fill the subordinate offices of the sanctuary, in place of the foreigners who had hitherto occupied them, but shall not be permitted to pollute Yahwè's house in future by their presence (Ezek. 44 7 *ff.*). In the post-exilic period this principle was actually carried out; priests and Levites are distinguished in the list in Ezra 2, Neh. 7, 1 Esd. 5; but the priests, that is, the descendants of the pre-exilic priests of the royal temple, greatly outnumber the Levites or descendants of the priests of the high places (cp Ezra 8 15 *ff.*). Nor is this at all surprising, if it be remembered that the duties falling to Levites in the temple had little that was attractive about them, whilst as long as they remained in exile the inferiority of their position would be much less apparent.

5. Singers, etc. At this time other classes of temple servants, the singers, the porters, the NETHINIM and other slaves of the sanctuary (but cp SOLOMON'S SERVANTS, CHILDREN OF), whose hereditary service would, on Eastern principles, give them a pre-eminence over other slaves of the sanctuary, are also still distinguished from the Levites; but these distinctions lost their significance when the word Levite itself came to mean a subordinate minister. In the time of Nehemiah, Levites and singers, Levites and porters, are very much run into one (Neh. 11 *ff.*, see PORTERS), and the absorption of the other classes of subordinate ministers into the hereditary guild of Levites is at last expressed in the shape of genealogies, deriving the singers, and even families whose heathenish and foreign names show them to have originally belonged to the Nethinim, from the ancient stock of Levi. Cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (ii.).

6. Priestly legislation. The new hierarchical system found its legal basis in the priestly legislation, first publicly accepted as an integral part of the Tōrāh under Ezra and Nehemiah (ISRAEL, § 59). Here the exclusion of the Levites from all share in the proper priesthood of the sons of Aaron is precisely formulated (Nu. 3 *f.*); their service is regulated from the point of view that they are essentially the servants and hereditary serfs of the priests (3 9), whilst, on the other hand, as has already found vivid expression in the arrangement of the camp in Nu. 2, they are recognised as possessing a higher

[1] According to Wellhausen's analysis (*JDT* 21 435 *f.*), the old narrative consisted of Gen. 34 3 7* 11 *f.* 19 25 *f.** 30 *f.*, the asterisk denoting that only parts of the verses marked by it are ancient. The most satisfactory discussion is that of Kuenen (*Th.T* 14 257 *ff.*=*Abhandlungen* [translated by Budde], 255 *ff.*), in which the opposite view of Dillmann (*Genesis*, *ad loc.*) is fully refuted. Cp also Cornill, *ZATW*, 1891, pp. 1-15, and Holzinger's and Gunkel's commentaries, *ad loc.*

[2] Read not 'Manasseh' but 'Moses'; see JONATHAN, 2.

[3] Cp Budde, *Comm. zu Ri.* 113 118. See also GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [v.].

[4] [For the difficult חֲסִידֶךָ read with Ball, *PSBA*, 1896, p. 123, חֲסָדֶיךָ, thy lovingkindnesses.]

[1] Baudissin's essentially different view of this verse (223-6) has been successfully disposed of by Kuenen (*Abh.* 487 *f.*).

grade of holiness than the mass of the people. This superiority of position finds its justification in the artificial theory that they are a surrogate for the male first-born of Israel, who, belonging of right to Yahwè, are handed over by the nation to the priests (cp FIRST-BORN, col. 1526).

The Levites are endowed with the tithes, of which in turn they pay a tithe to the priests (Nu. 18 21 *ff.*). These regulations as to tithes were enforced by Nehemiah; but the subordinate position of the Levites was hardly consistent with their permanent enjoyment of revenues of such importance, and we learn from the Talmud that these were finally transferred to the priests. Cp TAXATION AND TRIBUTE.[1]

Another provision of the law—*i.e.*, the assignment to the Levites of certain cities with a definite measure of inalienable pasture-ground (Nu. 35 Lev. 25 34)—was apparently never put in force after the exile. It cannot be reconciled with the prohibition against the holding of property in virtue of which the Levites in common with the other needy classes are commended to the compassion of the charitable.

This prohibition is clearly expressed in the same priestly legislation (Nu. 18 20 26 62), and particularly in D. See *e.g.*, Dt. 10 9, 'Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren'; 18 1. From Dt. 18 6 we gather that the Levites were dispersed as sojourners in various Israelitish cities—*i.e.*, they had no territorial possession (cp Gen. 49 7). In accordance with this *Ezekiel propounds an idealistic reform according to which the* Levites were to have a domain apportioned to them, where they were to live together. Josh. 21 (P), 1 Ch. 13 2 cannot of course be quoted in support of the prohibition. It should be observed too that many of the so-called Levitical cities did not become Israelitish till quite late, and that some of them were so near each other that the pasture-land assigned to one city would have overlapped that assigned to its neighbour (*e.g.*, Hebron and Holon, Anathoth and Almon), whilst the pasture-land of Hammoth-dor would have included part of the Sea of Galilee. See Di. *Num.-Deut.*; Now. *HA* 2 129; Addis. *Hex.* 2 448 *f.*

As the priestly legislation carried its ordinances back into the time of Moses, so the later developments of the Levitical service as known in the time of the Chronicler (on the date, see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 157) are referred by that author to David (1 Ch. 15 16 23) or to Hezekiah (2 Ch. 29) and Josiah (2 Ch. 35); and by a similar projection of post-exilic conditions into pre-exilic times, we find, among other modifications of the original text (such as 1 S. 6 15 2 S. 15 24 1 K. 8 4), various individuals who had been prominent in connection with matters of worship invested with the character of Levites; this has been done not only in the case of Samuel (comp. 1 S. 1 1 with 1 Ch. 6 12 *f.* 18 *ff.*), but even in that of a foreigner like Obed-edom of Gath.[2] The chief point is the development of the musical service of the temple, which has no place in the Pentateuch, but afterwards came to be of the first importance (as we see from the Psalter) and attracted the special attention of Greek observers (Theophrastus, *ap.* Porph. *De Abstin.* ii. 26).

7. Post-exilic development.

For the reconstruction of the post-exilic history of the relation of Levites to priests, we are thrown for the most part on pure conjecture, which, accordingly, Vogelstein has used with conspicuous acuteness. He supposes that the period of prosperity enjoyed by the Levites under Ezra and Nehemiah was followed by one of threatening collapse against which they sought—and with success—to defend themselves by alliance with the singers and doorkeepers. The excessive pretensions of the party thus reinforced, however, led to renewed adversity (Nu. 16), after which they were ultimately able, by peaceful means (cp the work of the Chronicler), to establish a tolerable *modus vivendi*. Vogelstein's attempt is to be accepted at least to this extent: it has conclusively shown that the post-exilic history of the Levites did not proceed in a straight line, either upwards or—as Van Hoonacker has tried to make out—downwards.

The Levites appear, it is true, to have sunk to a position of complete insignificance at the close of the history, that is to say at the close of the OT period; to this Van Hoonacker has very appropriately called attention. In the NT they are mentioned only in Lk. 10 32 Jn. 1 19 and Acts 4 36. If, on the other hand, their position in Ezra-Nehemiah is only relatively a favourable one, that is far from justifying Hoonacker's conclusion that Chronicles, in which they are represented as enjoying a more favourable position (for the most part comparable to that of the priests), must be taken as representing the conditions of pre-exilic times. Baudissin (*Rel.-gesch.* 45) has shown *that even within the priestly legislation it is possible to trace* a growing respect for the Levites. In his judgment, accordingly, we cannot say that in the post-exilic time any considerable vicissitudes in the condition of the Levites are to be observed, and he adds the suggestion, well worthy of attention, that this fact, coupled with the ultimate subordination of the Levites to the singers and porters, points to the conclusion that the Levites strictly so-called were merely an artificial creation—a creation of the prophet Ezekiel.[1]

8. Traditional view. Secular and priestly tribe.

Whilst it is not difficult to trace the history of the Levites from the time of the blessing of Moses and Deuteronomy downwards, the links connecting the priestly tribe with the earlier fortunes of the tribe of Levi are hardly to be determined with any certainty.

According to the traditional view, the scheme of the Levitical legislation, with its double hierarchy of priests and Levites, was of Mosaic ordinance. There is too much evidence, however, that in the Pentateuch, as we possess it, divergent ordinances, dating from very different ages, are all carried back by means of a legal convention to the time of the wilderness journey (cp HEXATEUCH). If, too, the complete hierarchical theory as held in post-exilic times was really ancient, it is inexplicable that all trace of it was so completely lost in the time of the monarchy, that Ezekiel speaks of the degradation of the non-Zadokite Levites as a new thing and as a punishment for their share in the sin of the high places, and that no clear evidence of the existence of a distinction between priests and Levites has been found in any of the Hebrew writings that are demonstrably earlier than the exile.[2] It has indeed been argued that (1) the list of Levitical cities in Josh. 21, and (2) the narrative of the rebellion of Korah imply that the precepts of the post-exilic law were practically already recognized; but (1) it is certain that there was no such distribution as that spoken of in Josh. 21 at the time of the settlement, because many of the cities named were either not occupied by Israelites till long afterwards, or, if occupied, were not held by Levites.

The Levitical cities of Joshua are indeed largely identical with ancient holy cities (Hebron, Shechem, Mahanaim, etc.); but in ancient Israel a holy city was one which possessed a noted sanctuary (often of Canaanite origin), not one the inhabitants of which belonged to the holy tribe. These sanctuaries had, of course, their local priesthoods, which in the time of the monarchy were all called Levitical; and it is only in this sense, not in that of the priestly legislation, that a town like Shechem can ever have been Levitical.

(2) So again, the narrative of Korah has proved on critical examination to be of composite origin; the parts of it which represent Korah as a common Levite in rebellion against the priesthood of Aaron belong to a late date, and the original form of the history knows nothing of the later hierarchical system (see KORAH ii).

[1] See Mishna, *Ma'ăsēr Shēnī*, 5 15, and the *Jerusalem Gemara* (3 259 of Schwab's translation); *Yĕbāmōth f.* 86*a*, *Kĕthūbōth*, *f.* 26*a*; *Sōṭā*, 9 10, Carpzov, *Apparatus hist.-crit.*, 1748, p. 624; and Hottinger, *De Decimis Jud.*, 1713, 6 8 9 17; cp v. Hoonacker, 60 *f.* 400 *f.*, who, on the authority of some passages in the Talmud, considers the Levites' tithe to have been exacted as early as in Ezra's time.

[2] [If the text is correct; on this, see OBED-EDOM: cp also GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [v.] end.]

[1] *TLZ*, 1899, p. 361.

[2] Defenders of the traditional view, the latest being Van Hoonacker, 92 *f.*, have sought such evidence in 1 K. 8 4. There are many indications, however, that the text of this part of Kings has undergone considerable editing at a pretty late date. The LXX translators, 𝔊[BL], did not read the clause which speaks of 'priests and Levites,' and the Chronicler read 'the Levite priests' (but 𝔊 *οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευεῖται*)—the phrase characteristic of the deuteronomic identification of priestly and Levitical ministry.

It has thus become impossible to entertain the idea of carrying back the distinction of Levites and Aaronites in the later sense to an early date. We cannot use the priestly parts of the Pentateuch and Joshua as a source for the earliest history. It is probable, however (note the case of Micah's Levite in Judg. 17 *f.*),[1] that the kin of Moses had a certain hereditary prerogative in connection with the worship of Yahwè (cp Dt. 10 8). In the earliest times the ritual of Yahwè's sanctuary had not attained such a development as to occupy a whole tribe; but if, as appears probable, the mass of the tribe of Levi was almost annihilated at an early date, the name of Levite might very well continue to be known only in connection with those of the tribe who traced kin with Moses or remained by the sanctuary. Cp MOSES, § 5. The multiplication of Hebrew holy places was effected partly by syncretism with the Canaanites, partly in other ways that had nothing to do with a central sanctuary, and so arose a variety of priestly guilds which certainly cannot have been all of Levitical descent.

9. Alternative theory.

It is possible, perhaps, that in some cases where Canaanite sanctuaries were taken over by the Israelites certain Canaanite priestly families may have contrived to retain possession of the priestly office. Whether even Zadok himself, the ancestor of the Jerusalem priesthood, was of Levitical origin must remain an open question, the answer of Chronicles not being trustworthy enough to be decisive (see ZADOK, 1).

As the nation was consolidated and a uniform system of sacred law (referred to Moses as its originator) came to be administered all over the land, in the hands of the ministers of the greater sanctuaries, the various guilds may have been drawn together and have aimed at forming such a united body as we find described in Dt. 33.[2] This unity would find a natural expression in the extension of the name of Levites to all priesthoods recognized by the State—in Ex. 4 14 'Levite' is simply equivalent to a professional designation. If this was the course of things we can hardly suppose that the term came into large use till the Israelites were consolidated under the monarchy, and in fact the integrity of the text in 1 S. 6 15, 2 S. 15 24, as well as in 1 K. 8 4, is open to question (cp ARK). Down to the time of David and Jeroboam, as appears from the cases of Samuel, Zadok, Eleazer (1 S. 7 1), as well as from 1 K. 12 31, the priesthood was not essentially hereditary; but, like all occupations that required traditional knowledge, it must have tended to become so more and more, and thus all priests would appear as Levites by adoption if not by descent.

Thus also, doubtless, the great number of the priests at Nob, who are reckoned as of the family of Ahimelech, but can hardly all of them have been personally related to him, is to be taken as evidence of the effort to maintain the fiction of a priestly family as deriving its coherence from common descent.[3] The interesting parallel case of the Rechabites shows us how easy to the thinking of those early times was the transition from the idea of official relationship to that of relationship by blood.

Wellhausen (*Prol.* (5), 139 *ff.*) has argued from Dt. 33 9 that the northern priesthood was not an hereditary guild, but involved the surrender of all family connection; the words, however, are more naturally understood as praise of the judicial impartiality which refused to be influenced by family ties. Our data are too scanty to clear up the details of this interesting piece of history; but it can hardly be doubted that the development of a consolidated and hereditary priestly corporation in all the sanctuaries was closely bound up with the unification of the state and the absorption of tribal organisation in the monarchy. The reaction of

[1] See MICAH, 2. Add also that of the family of Eli, 1 S. 2 27 *f.*; cp ELI, JERAHMEEL, § 3 (end).

[2] Cp Ex. 32 25-29, a related passage, doubtless secondary, which reads like a commentary to Dt. 33 9. In it the choice of Levi to the priesthood is carried back to a reminiscence of a (possibly historical) action of vigorous faith on the part of the fellow-tribesmen of Moses [cp MASSAH AND MERIBAH].

[3] Cp Benzinger, *HA* 409.

tribal feeling against the central Government, of which there are many traces in the history of Ephraim, has perhaps its counterpart in the opposition to the unified priesthood which is alluded to in Dt. 33 11.[1]

There have been many attempts on the part of recent writers from the time of Vatke downwards to deny that Levi was one of the original tribes of Israel; but they all break down before the testimony of Gen. 49. And with them break down the attempts at an appellative interpretation of the name Levi. See LEVI, and cp Kuenen's refutation of the theory of Land, *Theol. Tijdschr.* 5, 1872, pp. 628-670: *De Stam Levi*, and Kautzsch, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1890, p. 771 *f.*

Graf, 'Zur Geschichte des Stammes Levi,' in Merx's *Archiv*, 1 (1869) 68-106; 208-236; Stade, *GVI* 1 152 *ff.* See further the literature cited under PRIESTS.

W. R. S.—A. B.

LEVITICAL CITIES. See LEVITES, §§ 6, 8.

LEVITICUS.

1. Name and contents.

The name comes through the Latin *Leviticus* (sc. *liber*) from the title in the Greek Bible, (τὸ) λευ[ε]ιτικόν (sc. βιβλίον),[2] 'the Levitical book'—*i.e.*, the part of the Pentateuch treating of the functions of the Levites. 'Levitical' is here equivalent to 'sacerdotal,'—of the Levites in the narrower sense the book has nothing to say—and the name thus corresponds to the Hebrew *tōrath kōhănīm* (תּוֹרַת כֹּהֲנִים), 'the priests' law,' in the Talmud and Massorah.[3] In Jewish writings the book is more frequently cited by its first word, *Wayyiḳrā* (וַיִּקְרָא).[4]

The contents of the book are almost exclusively legislative; 8, 9, 10 in part, and 24 10 *ff.*, though narrative in form, are to be regarded as precedents to which the ritual practice is to conform or on which the rule is founded. In the chronology of the Pentateuch the laws were revealed to Moses and the events narrated occurred at Sinai in the first month of the second year of the exodus (between the first of the first month, Ex. 40 2 17, and the first of the second month, Nu. 1 1); in Lev. itself there are no dates.

The book begins with the ritual for the several species of sacrifice, and defines cases in which certain sacrifices are prescribed (1-7); then follow: the consecration of Aaron and his sons; the punishment of Nadab and Abihu for a violation of ritual, with some consequent regulations (8-10); definition of various kinds and causes of uncleanness (11-15); ritual for the Day of Atonement (16); a collection of laws of more varied character, religious, moral, and ceremonial, closing with a hortatory address (17-26; see § 14); provisions for the commutation of vows and tithes (27). For more detailed analysis, see Driver, *Introd.* (6), 42 *ff.*; Kalisch, *Leviticus*, 1 12 *ff.*

2. Sources.

The immediate continuation of JE in Ex. 32-34 is found in Nu. 10 29-12,[5] nor are any displaced fragments of JE found in Leviticus. The book belongs as a whole to the priestly stratum of the Hexateuch. It is not, however, a unit. Chaps. 17-26 come from an originally independent body of laws having a very distinct character of its own; they

[1] The attempt which has repeatedly been made to attach this verse to the blessing of Judah may safely be regarded as unjustified (cp Bertholet *ad loc.*).

[2] Philo, *Leg. Alleg.* 2, § 26; *Quis rer. div. heres*, § 51; cp ἐν Λευιτικῇ βίβλῳ, *De plant. Noe*, § 6. See Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, 22 *f.*

[3] *M. Mĕnāchōth*, 4 3, *Ḳiddūshīn*, 33*a*; *Massorah Magna*, 1 K. 11 1, etc.

[4] Origen in Euseb. *HE* 6 25; Jerome, *Prol. Gal.* See GENESIS, § 1.

[5] See EXODUS, § 3, vii., NUMBERS, § 2.

have been redacted—probably by more than one hand—in the spirit of the priestly scribes, but not wholly conformed to P, much less made an integral part of it.[1] Nor is the remainder homogeneous: 8-10 belong to the history of the sacred institutions;[2] 8 is the fulfilment of the command to Moses in Ex. 40 12-14, and should immediately follow Ex. 40 17-38, from which it is now separated by the collection of sacrificial laws in Lev. 1-7; 16 is in like manner separated from its antecedents in 10 by the laws on uncleanness and purification in 11-15. Neither of these groups of laws is—even artificially—connected with the narrative; both give internal evidence of compilation from independent collections of *tōrōth* and of extensive and repeated supplementation and redaction. The critical problems in Leviticus are, therefore, not less difficult nor less important than those presented by other books of the Hexateuch.

We may best begin our investigation with 8-10. In Ex. 40 Moses is bidden to set up and dedicate the Tabernacle (1-11) and to consecrate Aaron and his sons to the priesthood (12-15).

3. P in Lev. 8-10.

The execution of the former part of this command is related in Ex. 40 17-38; of the latter in Lev. 8. It can scarcely be doubted that the author of Ex. 40 17 *ff.* meant Lev. 8 to follow immediately, and, consequently, that Lev. 1-7, which now interrupt this connection, were inserted here by a subsequent redactor. Lev. 8 describes the performance of the rites for the consecration and installation of priests prescribed in Ex. 29 1-35, and is related to that chapter exactly as Ex. 35 *ff.* to 25 *ff.* Ex. 35 *ff.* have been found, however, to be a later expansion of the—probably very brief—account of the execution of the directions given to Moses in 25 *ff.*[3] It follows that Lev. 8, also, belongs to the secondary stratum, and this inference is confirmed by internal evidence;[4] but, since Lev. 8 knows only one altar, it seems to represent one of the earlier stages in the formation of this stratum.[5] *Vv.* 10*b* 11 and 30 are perhaps later glosses.

Chap. 9, the inaugural sacrifices, is the original sequel of Ex. 25-29 in the history of Israel's sacred institutions. It was probably separated from those chapters only by a short statement that, after receiving these instructions (and the tables of the testimony), Moses descended from the mount and did as Yahwè had bidden him; this was superseded by the elaborate secondary narrative in Ex. 35-40 Lev. 8.[6] The hand of a redactor may be recognised in *v.* 1 ('the eighth day,' 'the elders of Israel') and in the last verses (23 *f.*); some minor glosses may also be suspected.

The death of Nadab and Abihu, 10 1-5, is the continuation of 9 and from the same source. The injunction forbidding Aaron and his surviving sons to defile themselves by mourning (6 *f.*) is appropriately introduced in this place, and such a prohibition may have originally stood here; but the present form of the verses is late (cp 21 10-12). Verses 8 *f.* (cp Ezek. 44 21) and 10 *f.* (cp 11 47 20 25 Ezek. 44 23 *f.*) have no connection with their present surroundings; the former would properly have its place in 21; the latter is a fragment, the beginning of which has been lost. Verses 12-15 are a supplement to 9 17*a* 21, and would naturally stand after 9 22; 16-20 is a very late passage of midrashic character,[7] suggested by the conflict between the procedure in 9 15 and the rule in 6 24-30.

The chapters which precede the above (1-7) contain a collection of laws on the subject of sacrifice.

[1] On 17-26 (H) see below, §§ 13 *ff.*; on the relation of H to P, § 30.
[2] See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 9.
[3] See EXODUS ii., § 5, ii.
[4] Popper, *Stiftshütte*, 94 *ff.*
[5] We. *CH*(2) 144 *ff.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 6, n. 15, 16, 18.
[6] We. *CH*(2) 146; Kue. *Hex.* § 6, n. 15, 20.
[7] We. *CH*(2) 149; Kue. *Hex.* § 6, n. 21; Dillm. *Exod. Levit.*(3) 518; Driver, *Introd.*(6) 45.

LEVITICUS

These comprise: burnt offering (1); meal offering (2); peace offering (3); sin offering (4); sin (trespass) offering (5 1-13); trespass offering (5 14-6 7 [5 14-26]).

4. Chaps. 1-7: Sacrificial laws.[1]

Tōrāh of burnt offering (6 8-13 [1-6]); meal offering (6 14-18 [7-11]); priests' meal offering (6 19-23 [12-16]); sin offering (6 24-30 [17-23]); trespass offering (7 1-7); certain perquisites of the priests (8 9 *f.*); peace offering (7 11-15); prohibition of eating fat or blood (7 22-27); the priests' portion of peace offering (7 28-34); subscriptions, 35 *f.* 37 *f.*

In this collection of laws it will be observed that 1-6 7 [1-5] are addressed to the people; 6 8 [1]-7 21 to the priests. To this difference in the titles corresponds in general the character of the laws: 1-6 7 [1-5] prescribe what sacrifices and offerings the Israelite may bring, or under certain circumstances *must* bring; 6 8 *ff.* [1 *ff.*] deal with the same classes of sacrifice, but with more reference to the priests' functions and perquisites. Chaps. 1-7 are not, however, a unitary code of sacrificial laws in two parts containing directions for the worshippers and the priests respectively. The different order of the laws (the peace offering in the first part precedes, in the second follows, the sin and trespass offering), consistent differences in formulation (note in the second 'This is the law of,' etc.), and, finally, the subscription, 7 37, which belongs to the second part only, show that 6 8 [1]-7 21 formed a collection by themselves.

Further examination shows that neither part of 1-7 is entirely homogeneous. Chaps. 1 (burnt offerings) and 3 (peace offerings) are substantially intact, and are good examples of relatively old sacrificial *tōrōth*.

5. Chap. 1-6 7.

Slight changes have been made to adjust the laws to the historical theory of P: for 'the priest,' which seems to have been originally used throughout (cp 1 9 12 *f.* 15 17 3 11 16), the redactor has sometimes substituted 'the sons of Aaron' (3 5 8), more frequently 'Aaron's sons, the priests' (1 5 8 11 8 2; cp 1 7); the reference to the 'tent of meeting' (1 3 5 3 2 8 13) is also editorial, 1 14-17 is a supplement (cp 2).

Chap. 2 1-3 (meal offering) has some resemblance to 1 3, but is at least out of place where it stands—3 should immediately follow 1 (cp 1 2 *f.* 3 1); the rest of the chapter is differently formulated (2nd sing.; note also 'Aaron and his sons') and must be ascribed to a different hand.

Chap. 4 (sin offering),[2] with its scale of victims and rites graduated according to the rank of the offerer, belongs to a class of laws which seems to be the product of artificial elaboration in priestly schools rather than to represent the natural development of the ceremonial. The altar of incense (7, cp 18) is a late addition to the furniture of the tabernacle;[3] the ritual of the high priests' sin offering (3-12) is much more solemn than that of Ex. 29 10-14 Lev. 9 8-11 (cp also 8 14-17); the sin offering of the congregation, which is elsewhere a goat (9 15 Nu. 15 24, and even Lev. 16), is here a bullock;[4] the same heightening of the propitiatory rites is noticed here as in the offering of the high priest.

Although 5 1-13 has no title, it is not the continuation of 4; it knows nothing of the distinction of persons which is characteristic of 4, and differs both in formulation and in terminology—the very precise author of 4 would not have spoken of the victim as an *'āšām* (5 6 *f.*; cp 14 *ff.*). The same reasons prevent us from regarding 5 1-13 as an appendix to 4 by a still later hand.[5] In 5 1-6 much difficulty is created by the apparent confusion of *ḥaṭṭāth* and *'āšām* ('sin offering' and 'trespass offering'), two species of sacrifice which are elsewhere quite distinct.[6] The verses seem also not to be a unit; 2 *f.* is not an analogous case to 1 4, with which 5 *f.* are

[1] See Bertheau, *Sieben Gruppen*, etc., 145 *ff.*; Merx, *ZWT* 6 41-84 164-181 (1863); Kuenen, *Th. T* 4 492 *ff.* (1870); Hoffmann, *Abhandlungen*, 1 84 *ff.* (from *MJGL*, 1874).
[2] See We. *CH*(2) 138 *f.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 6, n. 17; Dr. *Introd.*(6) 43.
[3] See EXODUS, § 5, i., LAW LITERATURE, § 21 δ.
[4] On the relation of Lev. 4 to Nu. 15 22 *ff.*, see NUMBERS, § 19.
[5] Kue. *Hex.* § 6, n. 17 *a*. We. now (*CH*(3) 335 *f.*) regards 4 5 1-13 14 *ff* as independent products of the same school.
[6] See SACRIFICE, § 27 *f.*

connected. Verses 1 4 5 *f.* are in matter and form cognate to 15 *f.* 6 2-7 [5 21-26].

The most probable explanation is that in 5 1 *ff.* a law prescribing a 'trespass offering' has been altered so as to require a 'sin offering' (5*b*). The insertion of 2 *f.* is more difficult to account for; for these defilements no sacrifice is elsewhere prescribed (see 11 24 *ff.* 15 5 *ff.* etc. Nu. 19 11 *ff.*). If 2 *f.* are derived from an old *tōrāh*, it must be supposed that a specific case, like that in Nu. 6 12 or in Lev. 7 20 *f.*, was originally contemplated.[1]

The mitigations in 5 7-10, 11-13 are later, and perhaps successive, additions (cp 1 14-17). The laws in 5 15 *f.* 6 2-7 [5 22-26] are from a group defining the cases in which a 'trespass offering' is required (cp 5 1 4-6), and make clear the true character of this sacrifice; if 17-19 is of the same origin, the general phrases of 17*a* (cp 4 2 13 22 27) have probably supplanted a more specific 'trespass.'

These laws, though probably introduced here at a comparatively late stage in the redaction and not without some alteration, are substantially genuine priestly *tōrōth*; certain resemblances, especially in 6 2-7 [5 22-26], to H in Lev. 17-26 point to proximity, if not to identity of origin (see below, § 25).

6. Chaps. 6 8-7.[2]

Chaps. 6 8 [1]-7 21 contain a series of rules, chiefly for the guidance of the priests, and, in the introductions prefixed by the redactor (6 8 *f.* [1 *f.*] 24 *f.* [17 *f.*]), addressed to 'Aaron and his sons.' Each paragraph begins, 'This is the *tōrāh* of' [the burnt offering, etc.); and the resumptive subscription, 7 37, is in corresponding form.

Here, as in 1 3, 'Aaron and his sons' or 'the sons of Aaron' has sometimes been substituted in the text for the original 'the priest'; 'the court of the tent of meeting' (6 16 26 [9 19]) is editorial, as in 1 3 5 etc., and other glosses may be noted, especially in 6 17 *f.* [10 *f.*].

The rule for the priests' meal offering, 6 20-23 [13-16], has a different superscription, and is clearly secondary; the exegetical difficulties are due to subsequent glosses; 6 30 [23] depends upon 4 (cp 10 16-20); 7 8-10, perquisites of the officiating priest (cp 29-34), are introduced here in connection with 7; 10 is perhaps later than 9, as the offering of uncooked flour is later than that of bread and cakes.

The priestly *tōrōth* in these chapters, also, are relatively old,[3] and there is no reason to doubt that they represent actual practice; they have been preserved with little material change.[4]

Chap. 7 22-27, prohibition to the Israelites (2nd pl.) to eat the fat of sacrifices and the blood of animals (cp 3 16*b* 17 17 10-14), stands not inappropriately after 11-21, but is not from the same source. Substantially the same thing may be said of 28-34, which, again, are formulated differently from 22-27. A later hand may be recognised in 32 (2nd pl.), which is a doublet to 33; 34 (1st sing.) is added by the redactor; 35 *f.* (cp Nu. 18 8) is the subscription to an enumeration of the priests' dues (35*b* doublet to 36*a*), and undoubtedly late; observe the anointing of all the priests, 36*a* (see EXODUS ii., § 5, i.); 37 is the original subscription to the *tōrōth* in 6 8 [1]-7 21 (the 'installation' is a gloss referring to 6 19-23 [12-16]); 38 is added by a redactor.

7. Chaps. 11-15: Clean and unclean.[5]

Chaps. 11-15 are naturally connected by their dealing with the subject of cleanness and uncleanness (*a*), and by certain phraseological characteristics (*b*).

(*a*) The chapters deal with: clean and unclean animals—*i.e.*, kinds allowed or forbidden for food (11 1-23); defilement by contact with unclean animals, alive or dead, and the necessary purifications (24-38); defilement by contact with the carcasses of clean animals (39 *f.*); unclean reptiles and vermin (41-44); subscriptions (44 *f.* 46 *f.*). Uncleanness and purification after childbirth (12). Skin diseases; discrimination of 'unclean' kinds from innocent eruptions; precautions to be taken in suspected cases; the isolation of the 'leper' (13 1-46); similar appearances in cloth and leather (47-59); purification of the leper, offerings (14 1-32); 'leprous' spots on the walls of houses and their treatment (33-53); general subscription (54-57). Uncleanness from sexual secretions and discharges in health and disease, in man (15 1-18) and woman (19-31); general subscription (32 *f.*).

(*b*) A unity of redaction is indicated also by the recurrence of the phrase, 'This is the *tōrāh* of,' etc., in the subscriptions (11 46 12 7 13 59 14 32 54 57 15 32 *f.*; cp Nu. 5 29); in 14 2 the words appear in a title, as they do repeatedly in 6 8 [1]-7 21 (see above, § 6).

The distinctions embodied in these laws originate in a low stage of culture and are there of fundamental importance.[1] A high degree of elaboration, even of a kind which appears to us artificial, is not of itself proof of late development; savage taboos frequently form a most complicated system. We have no reason to doubt that the *tōrōth* in Lev. 11-15 are based upon ancient Israelite, and even prehistoric, custom. As they lie before us, however, the chapters give evidence of having been formulated in different schools, and of repeated literary supplementation and redaction.

8. Chap. 11: Unclean animals.

The close of chap. 11 (45, cp 44*a*) exhibits the characteristic phraseology and motive of H ('I am Yahwè,' 'ye shall be holy for I am holy');[2] the *tōrōth*, especially in 2*b*-8 9-11* 20 *f.** 41 *f.*, are similar to many which are embodied in H (see, *e.g.*, Lev. 18). It is inferred with much probability that the food laws in Lev. 11 were included in the 'holiness' code;[3] Lev. 20 25 implies that H contained such rules. Laws on the same subject in closely similar form are found in Dt. 14,[4] probably taken from the same priestly collection from which H derived them.[5] The food laws of H have been preserved, however, only with many additions and alterations; 11 1 2*a* 8 10*aβ b* 11 (except לא תאכלו), 12 13-19 in their present form, and much in 20-23 41-42 and 46 *f.*, are to be ascribed to successive, and in part very late, redactors. Laws on a different subject—viz., defilement by contact with unclean animals (24-38) or the carcasses of clean animals (39 *f.*)—have also been introduced,[6] and these again are apparently not all of the same age; 32-38, in particular, seems to be more recent than the rest.

9. Chap. 12: Childbirth.[7]

The rules defining uncleanness after the birth of a male (12 2*b*-4) or female (5) child, and the requisite purifications in the two cases respectively (6-8), are formulated in the same way as the rules in chap. 15 (cp 15 2*b* 16 19 25), with which chapter they are closely connected by their subject; 12 2 fixes the duration of uncleanness by a reference to 15 19. There can be little doubt that 12 1-7 originally stood after 15 30; what led the redactor to transpose the chapter it is difficult to imagine. The title (1 2*a*) is editorial; 'the door of the tent of meeting' (6, contrast 'the sanctuary,' 4) is also secondary; 8, which follows the subscription, like the corresponding mitigations in other cases, is a later modification of the law.

10. Chap. 13 *f.*: 'Leprosy.'

The marks by which the priest is to distinguish the skin diseases which render the subject unclean, from innocent eruptions (13 2-44) are carefully defined, and are manifestly the result of close observation.[8] The subject was an important part of the *tōrāh* of the priests (Dt. 24 8), and one which from its nature is likely to

[1] The latter is the Jewish explanation; *Shĕbū'ōth*, 14 *a b*.
[2] On the relation of these chapters to 1-6 7 [1-5] see above, § 4.
[3] Chap. 6 9 [2] has been understood to speak of the daily evening burnt offering, and it is hence inferred that the rule is very late (after Ezra); but the text—which is manifestly corrupt—does not warrant so large a conclusion.
[4] In addition to the verses mentioned above, 7 12 may reasonably be suspected.
[5] Bertheau, *Sieben Gruppen*, etc., 169 *ff.*

[1] See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.
[2] See below, § 26.
[3] Horst, *Lev. xvii.-xxvi. u. Hezekiel*, 34; Wurster, *ZATW* 4 123 *f.* (1884); Kue. *Hex.* § 15, n. 5; Dr. *Introd.*(6) 59; cp also Dillmann.
[4] See the comparative table in Dr. *Deut.* 157 *ff.*
[5] See DEUTERONOMY, § 10.
[6] Kayser, *Vorexilisches Buch*, 180 *f.*; Kalisch, 2 124 *ff.*
[7] Cp FAMILY, §§ 9 *ff.*
[8] Some scholars have thought that 13 *f.* are in great part from H; see below, § 24.

have been relatively early fixed in writing; the minute discrimination of symptoms is not to be taken as evidence of recent origin, whilst the rites of purification in 14 2-8*a* are of a strikingly primitive character.[1] The chapters are not, however, entirely of the same age. The original law contained only 13 2-46*a* 14 2-8*aa*, with the subscription 14 57*b*. The ritual of purification in 14 10-20 is obviously a later substitute for 2-8*a*.

In 8*a* the leper is already clean, in 10 he is still to be cleansed (cp 20*b*); the connection in 8*b* (9) is manifestly artificial. The ceremonies in 10 *ff.* are patterned after the consecration of priests in Lev. 8 (cp 14 14-18 with 8 23 *f.* 30 Ex. 29 20 *f.*); the extravagant number of sacrifices, the exact prescription of the quantity of flour, etc., are other marks of late date and probably of the factitious character of the whole law (see above, on chap. 4 [§ 5]).

The reduction of the number and costliness of the victims in the case of the poor (14 21-31), with its independent subscription (32), is presumably still more recent. The purification of the leper (14 2-8) is separated from the law for his seclusion (13 45 *f.*) by a passage of some length on spots of mould in stuffs and leather (13 47-58) having its own subscription (59), which would stand more properly in connection with the rules concerning patches of mould on the walls of houses (14 33-53). The association of these fungus growths with eruptive skin diseases ('leprosy') is not unnatural, and would lead to similar regulations for inspection by a priest, and for the destruction or purification of the materials affected. Chap. 13 47-59 closely follows the formulation of 13 2 *ff.*, and may be a comparatively early supplement to the law on 'leprosy,' if not of approximately the same age. Chap. 14 33-53 is not improbably younger.

The introduction (34), with its reference to the future settlement in Canaan, is unlike that of any other of the laws in this group:[2] and the adaptation of the ritual for the purification of the leper to the cleansing of the house (49-53) seems artificial; these verses may, however, be a still later addition, since in 48 the house is already pronounced clean (cp 13 58, where no further ceremony is prescribed). The subscription, 54-57, has been expanded in successive stages.

11. Chap. 15: Issues.

In chap. 15 a basis of old *tōrāh* in characteristic formulation is recognisable, most readily at the beginning and the end of the several paragraphs; this basis seems to have been enlarged, especially by the multiplication of cases of derivative pollution, and some of these additions seem to be very late. It is not possible, however, to discriminate sharply between the original rules and the subsequent accretions. Verse 31, seemingly addressed to the priests (read 'warn' [והזהרתם] for 'separate'), is an appropriate close to a collection of laws on various forms of uncleanness, and does not suggest the priestly editor; the subscription, 32-34, has grown by repeated glosses, 32*a* only is by the first hand.

12. Chap. 16: Day of Atonement.[3]

The beginning of chap. 16 is connected with 10 1-5 not only by *v.* 1 (R_P) but also by its contents. Nadab and Abihu lost their lives by presumptuously intruding into the presence of Yahwè carrying unhallowed fire (cp 16 12 *f.*) in their censers; the fate of these priests is the occasion of a revelation setting forth the rites with which Aaron may enter the sanctuary without incurring the like destruction.[4] In the history of the sacred institutions, 16 2 *ff.* must, therefore, have immediately followed the death of Nadab and Abihu in 10 1 *ff.* Not all of 16, however, is from this source; in 2-28 a singular piacular ritual, including the bringing of the blood of the victim into the inner sanctuary and the sending away into the wilderness of a scape-goat laden with the sins of the people (see AZAZEL), has been united with the prescriptions for Aaron's entering the holy place; in 29-34*a* is ordained an annual general fast day (cp 23 26-32), on which the priest performs rites—not further specified—for the purification of the people and the sanctuary (cp Ezek. 45 18-20). Benzinger, in his analysis of the chapter,[1] ascribes the last-named law to the author of 2-4 6 12 *f.*; it stood in close connection with 9. The elaborate expiatory ceremonies in 16 5 7-10 14-28 represent a much later development (ATONEMENT, DAY OF, § 2); the fusion of the two elements had its basis in the praxis itself; the younger ritual probably never had an independent literary existence (*ZATW* 9 88 *f.*).

As regards the last point, various indications in the text (*e.g.*, the repetition of 6 in 11) seem to point to the union of two written sources by a redactor, whilst the complex ritual itself, with its repeated entrances and exits,[2] is explained more easily as the result of such a combination than as an evolution in praxis. It is comparatively easy to separate the expiatory ceremonies of the Day of Atonement (disregarding some minor glosses—5*aβ* 7-10 15*abβ* 16*a* 18-22*a* 26-29*a**).

The introduction, which doubtless directed that these rites should be performed annually on a certain day, is missing; remnants of it may perhaps be preserved in 29*b*-34*a*, which verses are not an old law of P (Benzinger), but give evidence of contamination from Lev. 23 26-32, and of various glosses. It is more difficult to determine just what was contained in the original directions for Aaron's entrance into the holy place; for in converting this act into a periodical ceremony and incorporating it in the ritual of the Day of Atonement the redactor has made much greater changes in this part of his material. The essential features appear to be: the ablution, the vestments (4), the sacrifice of a young bullock as a sin offering (6), the incense burnt in a censer on coals taken from the altar (12-14); a more detailed restoration cannot be attempted here.

13. Chap. 17-26: The Holiness Law-Book.[3]

Chap. 26 3-45 is a solemn address of Yahwè (1 pers.) to the Israelites (pl.), setting before them the blessings he will bestow upon them if they walk in his statutes and observe his commandments, and the calamities with which he will visit them if they will not hearken unto him and keep these commandments. Even apart from the subscription (46)—'these are the statutes and the judgments and the laws (*ḥuḳḳīm, mišpāṭīm, tōrōth*) which Yahwè made between him and the Israelites at Mt. Sinai through Moses'—the character of the discourse and its resemblance to Dt. 28 conclusively prove that Lev. 26 originally stood at the end of a body of legislation. The distinctive motives and phraseology of 26 recur in the preceding chapters in numerous exhortations to observe the statutes and judgments therein contained (cp 18 1-5 24-30 19 2 36*b* 37 20 7 *f.* 22-26 22 31-33); briefer words of similar tenor are interspersed in other places; note also the occurrence of the characteristic phrase, 'I am Yahwè' (with various complements), throughout these chapters from 18 2 to 26 45.

It is plain, therefore, that 18-25, or at least considerable parts of these chapters, come from the law-book of which 26 is the conclusion. From the prominence given in it to the motive of holiness, this book has been called the Holiness Law;[4] it is usually designated by the symbol H.[5] The characteristic formulas of H appear first in the introduction to 18 (2*b*-5), and earlier critics regarded this as the beginning of the extracts from that book.[6] More recent scholars are generally of the opinion that 17 is derived from the same source.[7]

[1] See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 447, cp 422, 428 n.; Wellh. *Heid.*(1) 156.
[2] Frequent in H; see § 26.
[3] See Reuss, *Gesch. d. AT's*, § 387; Kue. *Hex.* § 15, n. 32; Dillm. *Exod. Levit.*(3), 571 *ff.*; Che. *ZATW* 15 153 *ff.* (1895); Now. *Hebr. Arch.* 2 187 *ff.* On the analysis: Oort. *Th.T* 10 142 *ff.* (1877); Stade, *GVI* 2 258 n.; Benzinger, *ZATW* 9 65 *ff.* (1889); Addis, *Hex.* 2 330; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hex.* 2 164 *f.* See also ATONEMENT, DAY OF.
[4] Note the absence of the incense altar.

[1] *ZATW* 9 65 *ff.* (1889); see ATONEMENT, DAY OF, § 1.
[2] See ATONEMENT, DAY OF, § 7.
[3] For literature see below, § 33.
[4] See 19 2 20 7 26 21 8 etc. The name was given by Klost. *ZLT* 38 416 (1877)=*Pentateuch*, 385.
[5] Kuenen employs P_1, others P_H.
[6] So Ewald, Nöldeke, Schrader, Graf, Colenso, Klostermann.
[7] So Knobel; Kayser. *Vorexilisches Buch*, 176 *ff.*, cp 64 *f.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 6, n. 27; Wellh. *CH*(2) 151 *ff.*; Horst, *Lev. xvii.*

A reading of Lev. 17-25 discloses a twofold aspect: on the one hand unmistakable affinity, in parts, to the priestly legislation; on the other hand, much that is at variance with the usual manner of that legislation, or lies outside the circle of its predominant interests. Both in contents and in form 19, for example, resembles Ex. 20-23 and Dt. (cp especially Dt. 23 *ff.*) much more closely than P; the hortatory setting of the laws and the emphasis on the motives to obedience, not only in 26 but also in the preceding chapters, has no parallel in P, in which the divine imperative is its own all-sufficient motive; the phraseology of H is peculiar, and strikingly different from that of P;[1] finally, there are actual conflicts between the laws in H and those of P, particularly in regard to the feasts.[2] The priestly element appears in many cases to be superimposed, or to supplement the other. The hypothesis which first suggested itself was, therefore, that older laws were revised and incorporated by P,[3] sometimes, as in 18-20, in large masses having a coherence of their own; the hypothesis was subsequently extended to 17-26 (or 18-26) as a whole (see below § 30).

The parænetic framework in which the laws are set (see, *e.g.*, 18) is of the same character throughout, and is somewhat sharply distinguished in style from the laws themselves, as the example just cited shows. Hence it seems, further, that the author of the collection H, whom we may designate as R_H, embodied in his work, without radical change, older titles of *tōrāh* which had already acquired a fixed formulation. A comparison of 18 20, on the same subject, is peculiarly instructive in this regard. The result of this preliminary examination is, therefore, that in Lev. 17-26 we have a collection of laws, not all of the same origin, which have been subjected to at least two successive redactions, first by R_H, and second by R_P.[4]

14. Contents of chaps. 17-26.

The subjects dealt with in Lev. 17-26 are the following:—domestic animals slaughtered to be offered to Yahwè; blood not to be eaten (17); incest defined and prohibited (18); various short commandments, chiefly moral and social (19); Molech worship; another law against incest (20); rules for priests: restrictions on mourning and marriage; priests to be physically perfect; regulations concerning the eating of consecrated food; victims to be without blemish; other rules about victims (21 *f.*); calendar of sacred seasons (23); the oil for the lamps in the tabernacle, and the shew-bread; blasphemy; manslaughter and torts (24); Sabbatical year and Jubilee (25); hortatory discourse (26).

The order of these chapters is in general a natural one;[5] difficulty is made only by the position of 19, by the repetition of the same subject in 18 and 20, and by 24, which in both its parts seems to be foreign to its present surroundings. It is clear that Lev. 17-25 do not contain a complete law-book, such as H presumably was; many topics which would have a necessary place in such a code are lacking. These subjects may have been omitted by the redactor because they were sufficiently treated elsewhere, or may have been transposed to other connections; some such displaced fragments may be recognised in Ex.-Num. (see below, § 24).

Chap. 17 contains a nucleus of old *tōrōth* in brief and consistent formulation, which has been much expanded and altered by later hands. A considerable part of this expansion is plainly the work of R_P (*e.g.*, 11 *f.* 14); but there is a lower stratum of editor's work which is recognised as R_H (*e.g.*, 5*aa b* 7*a* 10 *b*). The most interesting case of this double redaction is found in 3-7.

15. Chap. 17: Slaughter of Animals.[1]

The original law seems to have run: 'Any Israelite who slaughters a bullock or a sheep or a goat and does not bring it into the presence of Yahwè, blood shall be imputed to that person' (*i.e.*, he shall be regarded as having eaten flesh with the blood; cp 1 S. 14 32-34); a redactor introduced the words 'the dwelling of' (*miškan*) before 'Yahwè';[2] the references to the camp and 'the door of the tent of meeting' are additions of R_P, adapting the situation to P's tabernacle; similar additions are 'to offer it as an offering to Yahwè,' and 'he has shed blood; that person shall be cut off from his people' (4); cp the variations of Sam. and 𝔊, as indications of continued and late manipulation of the text. Verse 8 *f.* may be a fragment of a law, corresponding to Ex. 22 20 [19], sacrifice shall be offered to Yahwè only; 9 is R_P. With 15 *f.* cp 11 40 and 22 8 (Ezek. 44 31); for a stricter rule see Ex. 22 31 Dt. 14 21.

Chap. 18 contains laws on incest and some kindred subjects (6-23), preceded by an introduction (2*b*-5), and concluding with admonitions and warnings (24-30). This setting is in the main the work of R_H.

16. Chap. 18: Incest.

Verse 5 is a doublet to 4; 29 is from R_P; 24-28 30, are probably amplified by later scribes imitating R_H, or by contamination from 20 22-24. Verse 6 is the general rule (perhaps editorial), the cases follow in a stereotyped scheme (7-17*a*); 17*b*-24 are differently formulated, probably a supplement from another collection of *tōrōth* on the same subject; 21 (Molech) is introduced through a merely verbal association by R_H who wrote 21*b*. A few glosses mar the symmetry of 7 *ff.*

Chap. 19 contains a brief manual of moral instruction, perhaps the best representative of the ethics of ancient Israel, opening and closing with the formulas of R_H (2*b* 36*b* 37); observe also the frequent recurrence of the phrase 'I am Yahwè,' or 'I am Yahwè your God,' after groups of commandments (3 4 10 12 14 16, etc.). Two passages are obviously out of place in this chapter: 5-8, by its subject and formulation is plainly connected with 22 29 *f.*; 20, also, is foreign to the context; it has been thought that its appropriate place would be after 20 10 (Dillm.), but the case is clearly one of tort, and the formulation corresponds rather to 24 15-21—another misplaced fragment; 21 *f.* is a late addition to 20 (cp 6 6 *f.*). The rest of the chapter is made up of old *tōrōth*, probably compiled, or at least supplemented, from more than one source, with occasional clauses introduced by R_H (9*aa* 10*b* 12*b* 18*b* 23*aa* 29 30 [=26 2] 31*b* 32*b* 33 *f.*), and probably the repeated 'I am Yahwè'—though in this R_H may have been anticipated by the *tōrōth* themselves.

17. Chap. 19: Moral precepts.

The first group of commandments (3 *f.*) is in some sort a counterpart to the first table of the decalogue; 11-18 similarly remind us of the second table.[3] In general the chapter is to be compared with Ex. 20 2 *ff.* 22 18-22 28 *ff.* 23 1-19, and parts of Dt. 22-25, in which many parallels will be found. These do not justify us, however, in regarding Lev. 19 as based upon the Decalogue, the Covenant Book, and Deuteronomy;[4] actual coincidences in formulation or in order are singularly few, and appear to be sometimes the result of textual contamination. Rather Lev. 19 is another of the epitomes of good morals, of which there were doubtless many in ancient Israel.

The original law against the sacrifice of children in the Molech cult (20 2*a*)[5] has received repeated additions, 3 disclosing the hand of R_H (additions of R_P in 3*b*), 2*b* a gloss, and 4 *f.* a variation on 2*b* 3 intended to supplant 3.

18 Chap. 20: Incest, etc.

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xxvi. u. Hezekiel; Baentsch, *Heiligkeitsgesetz;* Holz.; Dr., etc. See below, § 15.

[1] On the vocabulary of H see Dillm. *Num. Deut. Jos.* 637 *f.*; Dr. *Introd.*(6) 49 *f.*; Holz. *Hex.* 411 *f.*; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hex.* 1 220 *f.* See also Baentsch, *Heiligkeitsgesetz*, and the works cited in § 29, n. 9.

[2] Chap. 23. The conflict was noticed by George, *Feste*, 120 *ff.* (1835) and Hupfeld (1851 *ff.*).

[3] 'Book of Origins'; Ewald.

[4] In the following sections R_P will be used to designate simply the priestly editor or editors of Lev. 17-26, without anticipating the question of the relation of this redaction to the composition of P or of the Hexateuch, on which see below, § 32.

[5] On the arrangement see Horst, 47 *ff.* The attempt has been made in H also (see EXODUS ii., § 4, iii. end) to show that the laws were originally grouped in decads. So Bertheau, *Sieben Gruppen*, etc.; and Paton in a series of articles in *JBL* (see § 33, 2).

[1] Kayser, *Vorexilisches Buch*, 69 *ff.*; *JPT* 7 541 *ff.* (1881); Wellh. *CH*(2) 152 *ff.*; Horst, 14 *ff.*, cp 42 *ff.*; Dillm.(3) 584 *ff.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 15, n. 5; Baentsch, 13 *ff.* See below, § 28.

[2] On the question whether this redactor was R_H, see § 28.

[3] Bertheau, *Sieben Gruppen*, 205; We. *CH*(2) 155 *f.*; Baentsch, 81.

[4] So Kayser, Baentsch, and others.

[5] See MOLECH.

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The law against witchcraft (6) seems to have displaced the more original *tōrāh* which is preserved in 27.

Verses 7 *f.* belong to the parænetic framework of R_H, perhaps only accidentally brought together in subsequent redaction; the corresponding close is 22-24.

Verse 9 has nothing to do with the subject of the following laws; it seems rather to be connected with 24 15-22 (cp 20 9 with 24 15); it is not improbable that 24 15-22, which are altogether out of place where they stand, with 20 9 (? 10) 27, and perhaps 2, are scattered fragments of a chapter on capital offences the greater part of which was omitted by the final redactor.

In 11-21 follow laws against incest, sodomy, and commerce with a woman during menstruation, against all of which the death penalty is denounced. These laws are from a collection independent of 18 (Graf, Wellh., Dillm. etc.).[1] There has been some contamination from 18 (sec, *e.g.*, 20 19), and the clauses prescribing the penalty have been glossed and recast.

22-24 is the work of R_H. Verses 25 *f.* deal not with the subject of 20 but with clean and unclean animals (11), and 25*ba* 26*a* are actually found in 11 43*aa* 45*b*. It is possible that fragments of the missing introduction to 11 are also preserved in 20 25 *f.*, and that the latter verses mark the place where 11 once stood in H (see § 24).

Chaps. 21 *f.* present the same phenomena which we have observed in 17 *ff.*; old *tōrōth* concerning the priesthood have been glossed, revised, and supplemented by successive editors. Some of the glosses were probably made upon the *tōrōth* themselves before they were incorporated in H; many additions were made by R_H or by later editors in imitation of him; others, finally, by R_P and scribes of that school. It is not possible in all cases exactly to distinguish these various hands; but in considerable part it can be done.

19. Chaps. 21 f.: Rules for priests.

In 21 1-9 the original rules are found in 1*bβ* (beginning lost), 2*a* (2*b* 3 have more exact definition), 5 7*a*;[2] R_H in 6 7*b* 8; R_P 'the fire-offerings of Yahwè,' in 6; 9 is not strictly in place. In 10-15 the old law is 10*aa* ('the priest who is greater than his brethren'), *b* 11 13 14*; R_H 12 15; R_P 1*aβ*. In 16-24 part of the *tōrāh* is repeated in slightly variant forms (17 21) with glosses by R_P; to the old rule belong, further, 22*b* 23*a* (also glossed by R_P); 18*b*-20 is an (? old) specification of blemishes (cp 22 22-24); R_H in 23*b*; 24 (R_P) is a fragment.

The beginning of 22 1-16 is in disorder: 2*aβb* is R_H, but lacking its antecedents, showing traces of more than one hand, and separating the first words of 1 (R_P) from their sequel (3); 4*a* is the old rule ('of the seed of Aaron,' R_P), and fragments of a following rule may be recognised in parts of 6 *f.*, the rest being supplanted by R_P, to whom most of 4*b*-7 are to be ascribed; 8 may have been included in H, though it is not in a very appropriate place; 9 is R_H, perhaps more than one hand (cp 19 30 and 21 8); 10-13 are substantially old *tōrōth* with some glosses; 14 (cp 5 15) may be a later addition; 15 *f.* R_H. In 17-25 the old rules in 18*b* 19 21 have received many glosses (R_P), as also the following catalogue of defects (22-24, cp 21 17-20); 25 is R_H ('because their corruption is in them,' R_P). Verses 27-30, again, are old laws, followed by the closing exhortations of R_H (31-33), in which 32 seems to intrude between 31 and 33.

Chap. 23 contains the annual round of sacred seasons, derived in part from a priestly calendar, in part from H. The former element is easily recognised by its rigid scheme (see, *e.g.*, 5-8 34*b*-36), the exact regulation of the date and duration of the festival, the days of 'holy convocation' (Nu. 28 *f.*) observed as the strictest of sabbaths, and the 'fire-offerings' to Yahwè. The characteristics of H are equally unmistakable in other parts of the chapter, though, as elsewhere, the original text of H has been heavily glossed by priestly editors and scribes. To the calendar of P belong 4-8 (Passover and Unleavened Bread; 2 *f.*, R_P), 21 (fragment of the law for Pentecost), 24 *f.* (Feast of Trumpets), 27-32 (Day of Atonement), 34*b*-36 (Tabernacles); 37 *f.*, is the subscription, which 44 was meant to follow. The law for the Day of Atonement shows some repetitions, and has perhaps been amplified by later editors; cp 16 29-34.

20. Chap. 23: Feasts.[3]

P's law for Pentecost has been supplanted by a long passage from H (9-20), in which the old *tōrāh*, the setting of R_H, and the additions of R_P, may be distinguished. It begins with the waving of the first sheaf of barley from the new harvest. The introduction is by R_H (10*a*); the law probably began, 'When ye reap your harvest.' To the original law belong 10*b* 11*a** 14*a**; the various offerings come from R_P (not all from one hand). This is followed by the prescription of two wave loaves at Pentecost (15-20), 15*a*, 'fifty days' in 16*b*, in 17 'Ye shall bring as wave loaves two cakes; ye shall bake it leavened as first fruits for Yahwè,' 20*; the rest is R_P. V. 22 is out of place here; cp 19 9 *f.*

The laws from H for the observance of Tabernacles stand in 39-43, as a supplement to those of P in 34*b*-36, with a brief introduction by R_P (39*aa*); 39*aβ* and 42*a* unquestionably belong to the original *tōrāh*; perhaps 40*a** also (cp Neh. 8 14 *ff.*); the rest must be attributed to various stages of the redaction (42*b* 43 ?40*b*, R_H).

Chap. 24, *vv.* 1-4, on the lamps in the tabernacle, and 5-9, on the shew-bread, are supplements respectively to Ex. 25 31-40 (cp 27 20 *f.* Nu. 8 1-4), and Ex. 25 30, and belong to the secondary stratum of P; how they got into this place it is not easy to guess.[2] The rest of the chapter deals with the punishment of blasphemy, and with manslaughter, mayhem, and killing or maiming cattle. The nucleus is a group of old *tōrōth*, with a closing formula of R_H (15*b*-22), and glosses by R_P, especially in 16; on the original position of these laws see above, § 17 (on 20 9). The punishment of blasphemy is illustrated by an example, 10-14 23, by a late priestly hand; cp. Nu. 15 32-36.

21. Chap. 24.[1]

In chap. 25 the law of the sabbatical year (1-7) is from H. 3-5*a* is the old *tōrāh* (with glosses emphasising the sabbatical character of the year); cp Ex. 23 10 *f.*; the introduction (2) and 6* 7 are the work of R_H. The sequel to this appears to be 18 *f.* 20-22, also R_H. Verses 8-17 23-34 have to do with the reversion of alienated land to its owners in the fiftieth year and with the right of redemption in land and houses.[3] The greater part of 8-17 is from H; 11-13 is an addition of R_P conforming the jubilee year to the septennial land sabbath; 9 also seems to be late; clauses from an older law are incorporated in 10*a* ('ye shall proclaim an emancipation'; cp Ezek. 46 16 *f.*) and *b* ('and shall return, every man to his estate'); 14*a* 15 are of the same origin; 16 *f.*, of which 23 is the sequel, together with the introduction (8 10*aa*) and several clauses in the intervening verses, are by R_P. The following 24-34 is all from the school of P, but probably not all of the same age; 24-28 is an addition of R_P to the preceding law; 29-31 apparently a novel to 24-28; the exception in favour of the Levites (32-34)[4] depends on Nu. 35 1-8, itself among the youngest additions to P; the language of 24-34 is late.

22. Chap. 25: Sabbatical year and Jubilee.

The prohibition of usury (35-38) is from H; cp Ezek. 18 8 13 17 22 12. In the following laws on the treatment of slaves (39-46) the charitable motives of H have probably been amplified by imitative hands, and there are extensive interpolations by R_P, especially in 44-46 (perhaps all R_P) and in 49-52.

Chap. 26 1 *f.*, laws forbidding various species of idolatry and commanding the observance of the sabbath, set in phrases of R_H, are strangely out of place here; 1 is parallel to 19 4, 2 identical with 19 30 (cp 19 3), and the verses are fragments from a collection similar to 19.

Chap. 26 contains promises of prosperity to obedience

1 Not from the same source, affixing the penalty to the offences defined in 18 (Keil, Knobel, etc.); nor an editorial commentary (R_H), Paton, *Hebraica*, 10 111-121.

2 Verse 4 is a corrupt fragment.

3 George, *Feste*, 120 *ff.*; Kayser, *Vorexilisches Buch*, 73 *ff.*; We. *CH*(2) 161 *ff.*; Horst. 24 *ff.*; Baentsch, 44 *ff.*

1 Popper, *Stiftshütte*, 209 *f.*

2 See We. *CH*(2) 166; Baentsch, 51.

3 On the law of the Jubilee Year see We. *CH*(2) 167 *ff.*, (3) 164 *ff.*; Hoffmann, *Abhandlungen*, 1 75 *ff.*; Horst, 27 *ff.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 15, n. 4*g*, 18; Baentsch, 53 *ff.*; Dr. *Introd.*(6) 56 *f.*; Dillm. *Ex. Lev.*(3), 658 *ff.* See also JUBILEE, YEAR OF.

4 Levites are nowhere mentioned in H.

(3-13) and threatened judgments on disobedience (14-45), with a subscription to the Holiness Law-Book (46). The whole is spoken in the person of Yahwè to the Israelites (plural, throughout), and corresponds in character and in its relation to the preceding laws to Ex. 23 20 *ff.* and Dt. 28. To the last mentioned chapter Lev. 26 has much resemblance, not only in its general tenor but also in particular turns of thought and expression; but these coincidences are not of such a nature as to imply literary dependence; the total impression, on the contrary, is distinctly of originality on both sides.

23. Chap. 26 3-46: Promise and warning.

The disposition is different: Dt. 28 has an antithetic series of blessings and curses (2-14 15 *ff.*) to which there is no counterpart in Lev. 26; Lev. 26 is climactic (14-17 18-20 21 *f.* 23-26 27 *ff.*); note also that in Lev. Yahwè himself speaks (1), in Dt. the divine promises and warnings are in the third person (Yahwè); in Lev. the address to the Israelites is plural (ye, you), in Dt. singular (thou, thee).

Innumerable threads connect Lev. 26 with those parts of the foregoing chapters which are ascribed to RH;[1] there is every reason to believe that it is by the same author who compiled the law-book H and attached to the *tōrōth* which he incorporated his characteristic motives.[2] The difference in situation, which Baentsch urges as the strongest argument for attributing 26 to a different author, is easily exaggerated (in 18-25 the entrance into Canaan is still future—18 3 24 19 23 20 22-24, cp 23 10 25 2—whilst in 26 it is an accomplished fact); it would be more just to say that the situation is not consistently maintained (see on the one hand 18 25 27, on the other 26 11). The relation is in this respect the same as that of Dt. 28 to Dt. 12-26; in the prophetic peroration the author's real present almost inevitably shows through.

Dillmann and Baentsch have rightly observed that Lev. 26, like Ex. 23 20 *ff.* and Dt. 28, has not escaped additions and glosses by later hands, which the resemblance of some parts to Ezekiel peculiarly invited: 8 is a later doublet to 7; 10 is perhaps a gloss to 4 *f.*; 17 would be in place rather with 23-26; 30 is probably a gloss to 31 derived from Ezek. 6 3-5; 34 *f.* a late interpolation (RP) cognate to 2 Ch. 36 21; 37 is also questioned; 39-43 is a late addition, 39 sets in at the same point as 36, the phraseology reminds us of Ezek. (cp 4 17 24 23 33 10); the following verses (40-43, 3rd pers. throughout) are very clumsily written; 44 *f.*, also, are secondary.

It has been observed above (§ 14) that Lev. 17-26 is not a complete law-book; some laws may have been omitted by the redactor because the subject was treated elsewhere; others may have been removed to a new connection. The question thus arises whether any portions of H can be recognised in other parts of the Pentateuch. One such has been noticed above (§ 8), the food laws in Lev. 11, with the characteristic colophon of RH (45); cp 20 25 (§ 17 end). A considerable number of other passages in Ex., Lev., Nu. have been thought by different critics to be derived from H—some in their present form, others much altered by later redaction.[4] It is obvious that the characteristic expressions and motives of RH are the only criterion by which we can recognise fragments of H; resemblance in the subject or formulation of laws to *tōrōth* incorporated in H may point to a relation to the *sources* of H, but is not evidence that these laws were ever included in that collection.[5] Further, the test of diction must not be applied mechanically; not all the sections in which the words 'I am Yahwè' occur are, on that ground alone, to be ascribed to H: familiarity with H and Ezekiel

24. Other remains of H.[3]

[1] See Baentsch, 44 *f.*

[2] Not an independent prophetic sermon (Ew., Nöld.; cp Baentsch), nor the close of a different collection of laws (Maybaum, *Priesterthum*, 74 *ff.*).

[3] See Klostermann, *ZLT* 38 409 *f.* ('77)=*Pentateuch*, 377 *f.*; Del. *ZKW* 1 622; Kayser, *JPT* 7 650 ('81); Horst, 35 *f.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 15, n. 5; Dillm. *Num. Deut. Jos.* 640; Wurster, *ZATW* 4 123 *ff.* ('84); Holzinger, *Hex.* 410; Baentsch, 6 *ff.*; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, 2 145.

[4] The list includes Ex. 6 6-8 12 12 *f.* 29 38-46 31 13 *f.* Lev. 5 1-6 21-24*a* [6 2-5*a*] 10 10 *f.* 11 (in part), 12 13 1-46 14 1-8*a* 15 Nu. 8 11-13 5 11-31 6 2-8 10 9 *f.* 15 38-41 19 11 *f.*

[5] See below, § 25.

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may have suggested the formula to later authors or editors; or, on the other hand, it may have been used by others before RH. In the greater part of the passages which have been claimed for H, the evidence is for one or the other of the reasons indicated insufficient; Nu. 15 37-41 is perhaps the only one about which there is no dispute, though in some other cases a probability may be admitted.

The analysis of Lev. 17-26 shows that the laws in H were not conceived and expressed by the author of that book, but were taken by him from preceding collections in a form already fixed; even where the share of RH is largest, as in the provisions for the jubilee year (25 8 *ff.*), there is a basis of older law. It would be too much to affirm that RH made no material changes in these laws; but in general his work was selection and redaction, putting the existing laws under his own point of view and attaching to them certain distinctive motives. The differences of formulation in the laws themselves, especially in the laws on the same or kindred subjects (as in 18 and 20), prove that they are not all of the same origin; the presumption is that they were taken from more than one collection, made at different times or places, or in different priestly families or guilds. In other parts of Lev. and Num. we find groups of laws, not belonging to the main stem of P, which are cognate in subject and formulation to those in H, but show no traces of the hand of RH; it is probable that these are derived from the same collections on which RH drew.[1] The laws in these collections, like those in H, bear, in general, all the marks of genuine *tōrōth*, representing and regulating the actual practice of the period of the kingdom.[2] They know nothing of a central sanctuary or of a sacerdotal caste; the priest is simply 'the priest,' Levites are not mentioned, 'the priest who is greater than his brethren,' upon whom greater restrictions are laid (21 10), is a very different thing from the Aaronite high priest of P (see § 30); the occasional references to Aaron and his sons, the tabernacle, and the camp are demonstrably interpolations by a redactor (RP), who thus superficially accommodated the old laws to the History of the Sacred Institutions (HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 9).

25. Sources of H.

The representation of the author (RH) of the history agrees with that of the older historians and the prophets: the Israelites dwelt in Egypt (18 3); thence Yahwè has brought them out to give them the land of Canaan (25 38); he is going to expel the peoples of the land before Israel (18 24 20 22 *f.*);[4] the laws are given to the Israelites before their entrance into the land;[5] they are to go into operation after the settlement (18 3 24 19 23 20 22-24 23 10 25 2). There is no archaistic attempt to simulate the situation in the desert (the camp, etc.); the place of worship is not the Tent of Meeting, but simply the Sanctuary (*miḳdāš*, 'holy place,' 20 3 21 12)[6] or the abode of Yahwè (*miškān*, 'dwelling-place,' 17 4—if the word is really from RH—26 11, cp Ezek. 37 27).[7]

26. Character of H.[3]

The readers are repeatedly exhorted to observe (*šāmar*, 18 4 5 26 30 19 19 37 20 8 22 22 31 25 18 26 3, etc.) the laws of Yahwè (*ḥuḳḳōth ūmišpāṭīm*, 'statutes and judgments,' 18 5 26 19 37 20 22 25 18; *miṣwōth*, 'commandments,' 22 31 26 3 14 15, etc.; never *tōrāh*); they shall not conform to the customs or rites of the Egyptians or Canaanites (18 3 20 23); Yahwè has sepa-

[1] See § 24, and below, § 32.

[2] See further below, § 30.

[3] See Baentsch, 131 *ff.*

[4] The verses in which it appears that this has already been accomplished (18 25 27 *f.*), if not simply a lapse of the writer, may be secondary.

[5] The subscription, 26 46, according to which the laws were revealed on Mt. Sinai, is probably not by RH; 25 1 certainly is not.

[6] In 19 30 26 2 read 'my holiness.'

[7] In the *tōrōth* neither word occurs; the rites take place 'in the presence of Yahwè.'

rated Israel from the nations (20 24 26*b*). Many offences are condemned as defilement (*ṭāmê*, *ṭom'āh*, 18 20 23 *f.* 19 31 22 8 21 1, etc.; cp 18 25 27 20 3);[1] the synonymous expressions in 18 20 are in part, at least, from later hands.

Israelites are warned not to profane (*ḥillēl*) holy things, such as the name of God (18 21 19 12 21 6 20 3 22 2 32), sacrifices (19 8 22 2 *f.* 15), the sanctuary (21 12 23), priesthood (22 9 19 29 21 15). The people of Yahwè must hallow themselves, and be holy, because he is holy (19 2 20 7 26, cp 11 44 *f.*); his holiness is to be revered (19 30 26 2); Yahwè hallows his people (20 8 22 32); priests, particularly, are holy (21 6, cp 8); the sacrifices of the Israelites are their 'holy things' (22 2 15, cp 19 8).

Holiness is thus the dominant element in the author's idea of religion; sin is profanation and pollution, loathsome and abominable; and he uses these conceptions as religious motives.

Besides the explicit appeals to this motive, we find an implicit appeal in the recurring 'I am Yahwè,' or 'I am Yahwè your God,' often strengthened by a reminder of the great deliverance, 'who brought you forth out of the land of Egypt' (19 36, cp 25 38 42 55 26 13), 'to be a God to you' (22 33 26 45, cp 25 38). The Israelites shall fear Yahwè their God (19 32 25 17), or his holiness—*i.e.*, his Godhead (19 30 26 2—read so!).

Motives of humanity and charity are represented not only by particular injunctions such as 19 16 *f.* 19 10 (= 23 22), 25 6, but also by such institutions as the sabbatical and jubilee years, and the mitigation of slavery, on which the author lays especial emphasis. These precepts of humanity include the foreign resident (*gēr*), who is not to be oppressed (19 33), but to share the charity shown the Israelite poor (19 10 = 23 22 25 6), and to be treated like a native—'thou shalt love him as thyself' (19 34); he is subject to the same civil law (24 22), and worships at the same altars (17 8 10 13).[2] Part of these commandments come from the old laws; but R_H has emphasised them strongly.

In some places the admonitory motives of R_H seem to be overloaded (see 20 7 *f.* 22 31 33); in a few

27. Unity of redaction.

there is an apparent conflict (esp. 18 24 with 25-28). It would be strange if these exhortations had not, like those of the deuteronomistic writers, been expanded and heightened by succeeding editors; in other cases contamination of parallel passages is probable. These phenomena do not overcome the impression of unity which the redaction of the whole produces,[3] nor sustain the hypothesis of Baentsch that the chapters come from three or more different hands.[4]

The question has to do, not with the age of the *tōrōth*,[5] but with the date of the redaction of the Holi-

28. Age of H: H and Dt.

ness Law-Book. The whole character of this work discloses affinity to the literature of the close of the seventh and the sixth century—Deuteronomy,[6] Jeremiah, and especially Ezekiel. The first question that is likely to be asked about a writing of this period is its relation to the deuteronomic reform suppressing sacrifice at all altars save that in Jerusalem (621 B.C.).[7] The only passage in H which appears to restrict sacrifice to a single sanctuary is 17 4;[8] any Israelite who slaughters a bullock, sheep, or goat, and does not bring it before the abode (*miškān*) of Yahwè, shall be regarded as having eaten blood. It is generally agreed that the word

[1] The term was probably used in the laws themselves.
[2] See Bertholet, *Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, 110 *f.* 152 *f.* (1896).
[3] On Dillmann's hypothesis of old 'Sinai' laws in two recensions by P and J respectively (*Exod. Lev.*(3) 583 *f.*; cp *NDJ* 637 *ff.*), see Horst, 36 *ff.*; Kayser, *JPT* 7 648 *ff.* (1881); Kue. *Hex.* § 15, n. 6; Holzinger, *Hex.* 408.
[4] *Heiligkeitsgesetz*, 34 *ff.*; cp 69 *ff.*
[5] See above, § 25.
[6] With Dt. compare the emphasis on love to the fellow-Israelite and the stranger (19 17 *f.* 33 *f.*; cp DEUTERONOMY, § 32), and the laws—in part Utopian—in the interest of the poor (25, cp Dt. 15).
[7] Dt. 12 2 K. 22 *f.*
[8] If we eliminate additions of R_P. See § 15.

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miškān was inserted by a redactor; the old law said merely 'before Yahwè'—*i.e.*, to a local altar or standing stone.

If this redactor was R_H, then H would appear to represent the extreme consequence of the deuteronomic reform,[1] leaving no place for the slaughter of animals for food without sacrificial rites, for which Dt. makes express provision (12 15 *f.* 20-25).[2] It is possible, however, that the word was introduced by a priestly editor later than R_H (of course not the same as the editor who brought in the 'tent of meeting');[3] cp Nu. 3 38. It may reasonably be urged that if R_H adopted the principle of centralisation here so uncompromisingly, he would hardly have failed to show elsewhere some symptom of zeal for the reform or hostility to the local cults—contrast Dt., Jer., Ezek.[4]

It is unsafe, therefore, to use 17 4 to fix the date of H.

It has been argued that H is younger than Dt. because some of its laws indicate a more advanced development, especially those relating to the priesthood (Lev. 21), the feasts (23 9-20 39-43), and the sabbatical year (25 1-7 18-22; cp Dt. 15 1-6), also Lev. 18 16 20 21 as compared with Dt. 25 5-10 (levirate marriage);[5] but the argument is not conclusive. Even less convincing is Baentsch's effort to prove that H abounds in reminiscences and even direct borrowings from Dt.[6]

In H and Dt., both of which drew their material largely from older collections of *tōrōth*, there are many laws on the same subject, in which the same terms naturally occur; but such coincidences cannot prove the dependence of H on Dt. The mutual independence of the two is rather to be argued from the absence of laws identically formulated, the lack of agreement in order either in the whole or in smaller portions, and the fact that of the peculiar motives and phrases of R_D there is no trace in H (Lev. 23 40 is almost solitary).[7] It is an unwarranted assumption that all the fragments of Israelite legislation which have been preserved lie in one serial development.

If a literary connection between H and Dt. is not demonstrable, the case is otherwise with Ezekiel. The

29. H and Ezekiel.[8]

coincidences are here so many and so striking as to have led some critics to regard the prophet as the author of H;[9] and although even more decisive differences make this hypothesis untenable,[10] a direct connection between the two is indubitable. In the chapters in which Ezekiel writes the indictment of his people, reciting the sins which brought calamity upon it, he judges it by the standard of a law similar in contents to H and having in common with H many peculiar words and phrases.[11] Of greater weight than these coincidences with the laws in H—which might of themselves prove only that Ezekiel was familiar with some of the older collections from which H was compiled—is the agreement in the distinctive point of view: 'holiness' is in Ezek. as in H the signature of religion; 'defilement' and 'profanation' is the prevailing thought of sin;[12] characteristic phrases such as 'I am Yahwè that sanctify them (you),' also link them together (Lev. 20 8 21 8 15 23 22 9 16 32 Ezek. 20 12 37 28).[13]

[1] See Dr. *Introd.*(6) 51, where the different views are recorded.
[2] These provisions in Dt. are regarded by some critics as an afterthought.
[3] It may be observed that the phrases לפני המשכן (Nu. 7 3) and לפני פתח המשכן (Ex. 35 15 40 6) occur only in later strata of P, and that משכן יהוה is also late.
[4] Baentsch, indeed, argues from this that the conflict was long since over; H assumes the unity of sanctuary as uncontested (76 103 116 *f.*).
[5] See Kue. *Hex.* § 14, n. 6, § 15, n. 8; Baentsch 78 *ff.* 103 116 *f.*
[6] *L.c.* 76 *ff.* Kayser (*JPT* 7 656 *ff.*) sets out the parallels to H in the Covenant Book and Dt. in tabular form; he thinks no other sources need be assumed (660); cp Horst 53.
[7] See DEUTERONOMY, § 9 *f.*
[8] For 'literature,' see § 33, 2, and the next note below.
[9] So Graf, *Gesch. Bücher*, 81 *ff.*; Bertheau, *JDT* 11 155 (1866); Kayser, *Vorexilisches Buch*, 176 *ff.* (1874); *JPT* 7 548 *ff.* (1881); Horst, *Lev. xvii.-xxvi. u. Hezekiel*, 69 *ff.* (1881), etc.
[10] Nöldeke, *Untersuch.* 67 *ff.*; Kuenen, *Godsdienst*, 2 95 *ff.*; *Hex.* § 15, n. 10; Klost. *Pentateuch*, 379 *ff.*, esp. 404 *ff.*; Smend, *Ezech.*, p. xxvii.
[11] Cp especially Ezek. 18 20 22 33 with Lev. 18-20.
[12] See above, § 26.
[13] See Smend, *Ezech.* xxv *f.*; Horst, 72 *ff.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 15, n. 10; Dr. *Introd.*(6) 49 *f.* 145 *ff.*; Baentsch, 81 *ff.*; Paton, *Pres. Ref. Rev.* 7 98 *ff.* (1896); Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hex.* 1 147 *f.* 150 *f.*

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The question thus arises: Was Ezekiel acquainted with H,[1] or did the author of H (R_H) write under the influence of the thought and language of Ezekiel? The grounds on which the acquaintance of R_H with Ezekiel has been held by many critics[2] are not conclusive. The strongest argument is the fact that Lev. 26 supposes full experience of exile and dispersion, and closes with promises of restoration. We have seen above (§ 23), however, that, like Dt. 28, Lev. 26 has been interpolated, especially towards the end; and all the passages which assume the situation in the exile are on other grounds ascribed to later hands (30 34 *f.* 39-45).[3]

In the remainder of Lev. 26 there is nothing which goes beyond the prophets of the last generation before the fall of Judah. The striking parallels to Ezek.[4] in this prophetic discourse are, as usual in such cases, susceptible of two interpretations; but on the whole Lev. 26 by its terseness and vigour makes an impression of originality which a cento of reminiscences picked up from all parts of Ezek. could hardly produce.[5]

The parallels in Ezek. to Lev. 17-25 are found in masses in certain chapters (above, col. 2790, n. 11), and include not only the laws in H, but also their parænetic setting; the most natural hypothesis is that Ezek. derived both from the same source.

This presumption is confirmed by the fact that the common hortatory motives sometimes appear in Ezek. with a rhetorical amplification. The alternative, that R_H selected from the greater variety in Ezek. precisely these motives with which to enforce the laws, is extremely improbable.[6]

For the posteriority of H to Ezek. it has been thought decisive that H prescribes certain stricter rules for the 'priest who is greater than his brethren' (21 10), whilst in Ezekiel's restoration programme (40 *ff.*) no such distinction is made. But as there was a chief priest under the kings (2 K. 11 9 *ff.* 16 10 *f.* 22 10 *ff.* 25 18; cp Am. 7 10 *ff.*), to whose station stricter taboos would almost necessarily attach, it cannot reasonably be inferred that H here represents a stage of development beyond Ezek. On the other hand, the distinction between priests and Levites in Ezek. (44 9 *ff.*) is an avowed innovation unknown to H; we may note also in Ezek. 40 *ff.* the fixed date of the feasts and their less close connection with agriculture, and the minuter classification of sacrifices, in which, as in many other points, Ezekiel stands nearer to the later priestly law.[7]

We may, therefore, with some confidence ascribe H to the half-century before Ezekiel. Many other questions which suggest themselves, as to the more exact time, the place, and the circumstances, in which the Holiness Law-Book was written, we have no means of answering.

30. H and P.

It is commonly said that H belongs to the priestly stratum of the Hexateuch, representing an earlier stage in the labours of the priestly schools from which P as a whole proceeded;[8] and it is, accordingly, sometimes designated by the symbol P_1, in distinction from P_2 (the main stem of P), and later additions (P_3, etc.). But when those passages, especially in 23 and 24, which manifestly belong to late strata of P, together with the many interpolations and glosses of R_P, have been set aside, neither the laws in H nor their setting (R_H) disclose any marked resemblance to the priestly history and legislation; their affinities are altogether with JE and Dt. The parænetic character of H is foreign to all ages and stages of P; the language is quite distinct, as the facility with which the additions of R_P can be stripped off shows; the fictitious elements in P's representation of the Mosaic age—the camp, the tabernacle of the wilderness, Aaron and his sons, the Levite ministers—are conspicuously absent; the calendar conflicts with P's; the refined distinction between 'holy' and 'most holy' things is unknown.

Doubtless the laws in H represent and regulate priestly praxis, and were formulated and codified by local priesthoods or priestly guilds; the priests were the custodians and expositors of the *tōrāh*. The parts of H which have been preserved,[1] moreover, deal largely with subjects in which the priesthood had a peculiar interest,—the physical qualifications of priests, restrictions on mourning and on marriage, conditions which prevent their eating sacrificial food, the examination of animals for sacrifice, the celebration of the feasts,—but it was not first in the priestly schools of Babylonia that these things became of importance and were regulated by fixed rules, or even by written *tōrōth* (Hos. 8 12 Jer. 8 8).

31. Chap. 27.

Chaps. 17-26 are followed by a chapter on the commutation of vows and tithes; a late chapter of priestly law, introduced here, perhaps, through association with the laws on the jubilee year and rights of redemption in 25 8 *ff.* The tithe of cattle is not elsewhere mentioned in the Pentateuch.

32. Composition of Leviticus.

In conclusion, the Book of Leviticus is the work not of the author of the History of the Sacred Institutions, usually regarded as the main stem of P, but of a later redactor R_P. In particular, H was not incorporated in that History, as was formerly maintained.[2] The redactor's sources were the history above-named, from which he took 9 10 1-5 16 2-4 6 12 *f.*; H (in 11 17-26); and collections of laws on sacrifices (in 1-7), and on clean and unclean (in 12-15);[3] a priestly calendar of feasts (in 23); an account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons (8); and some other materials of less obvious provenience, such as the fragments in 24. The sacrificial rules are introduced, not inappropriately, before the description of the first sacrifices at the tabernacle (8 *f.*), though they interrupt the immediate connection of 8 with Ex. 29 (40); the laws of clean and unclean (including 11) stand before H, which deals in part with similar subjects; the calendar of feasts from P is combined with that of H in 23, both being mutilated; a motive for the position of 27 has been suggested above (§ 31). Of the position of 24 no satisfactory explanation has been given. The analysis has shown that many changes in the text of the sources, and many more or less considerable additions and interpolations, were made by the editor, or by subsequent redactors and scribes, before the book attained its present form; perhaps the scape-goat ritual in 16 is one of these later additions.

That the constructive redactor of Leviticus was the same who edited Ex. and Nu. there is no reason to doubt.

33. Literature.

1. *Commentaries.*—J. S. Vater, *Pent.* 2, 1802; M. Baumgarten, 1844; C. F. Keil, 1862; (2), 1870; ET, 1866; A. Knobel, 1857; (2) by E. Dillmann, 1880; (3) edited by Ryssel, 1897; M. M. Kalisch, 2 vols. 1867, 1872; S. Clark, 1871 (Speaker's Bible); E. Reuss, *La Bible*, P. 3, 2 vols., 1879; *Das AT* 3, 1893; H. L. Strack, 1894; Driver and White, 1894 (*SBOT*, Heb.), 1900 (*SBOT*, Eng.); B. Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus*, 1900 (*HK*); A. Bertholet, 1901 (*KHC*).

2. *Criticism.*—(For the history of criticism, see HEXATEUCH.) E. Bertheau, *Die sieben Gruppen mosaischen Gesetze in den drei mittleren Büchern des Pentateuchs*, 1840; Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 1866; Th. Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments*, 1869;

[1] Nöldeke, *Untersuch.* 67 *ff.*; Klost. *ZLT* 38 444 (1877)=*Pentateuch*, 416 *f.*; Del. *ZKW* 1 619 (1880); Dillmann, *Nu. Dt. Jos.* 644 *ff.*; Dr. *Introd.*(6) 145 *ff.*; Paton, *l.c.* 109 *ff.*; so, for Lev. 18-20, Baentsch, 84.

[2] Kuenen, *Godsdienst*, 2 96 (1870)=*Religion of Israel*, 2 191; *Hex.* § 15, n. 10; We. *CH*(2) 170 *ff.*,(3) 168 *ff.*; Smend, *Ezech.* xxv. *f.* 314; Addis, *Hex.* 2 180 *ff.* 367; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hex.* 1 152.

[3] The phrases also which We. ((2) 172,(3) 169 *f.*) signalises as evidence of dependence on Jer. and Ezek. are confined to the same passages.

[4] See Baentsch, 121 *ff.*, where they are set out verse by verse.

[5] Dr. *Introd.*(6) 150.

[6] See on these points Baentsch, 86 *ff.*; Paton, *Pres. Ref. Rev.* 7 110 *ff.* (1896).

[7] See Kue. *Hex.* § 15, n. 10 4; Baentsch, 89 *ff.*

[8] We. *CH*(2) 152; Kue. *Hex.* § 6, and n. 25-28; Holz. *Hex.* 407 413.

[1] It is not safe to assume that there was the same preponderance in the unmutilated work.

[2] We. Kue., etc. See against this view Kayser, *JPT* 7 540 *ff.*, esp. 552 *f.*

[3] How much more was comprised in these sources than R_P has preserved we cannot know; H, at least, he seriously curtailed.

J. W. Colenso, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua*, 6, 1872; A. Kayser, *Das vorexilisches Buch der Urgeschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen*, 1874; *JPT* 7 (1881) 326 *ff.*, esp. 539 *ff.*; J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des AT*, 1889 (3) 1899 (=*JPT*, 1876, 1877); P. Wurster, 'Zur Charakteristik und Geschichte des Priestercodex und Heiligkeits-Gesetzes,' *ZATW* 4 112 *ff.* (1884); B. W. Bacon, *The Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, 1894; W. E. Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, 2, 1898; J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, 2 vols. 1900 (see col. 2057, n. 1).

On Lev. 1-7: A. Merx, *ZWT* 6 41-84, 164-181 (1863). On 16, see above § 12, n. 1. On 17 (18-)26: A. Klostermann, *ZLT* 38 401 *ff.* (1877)=*Pentateuch*, 368 *ff.* (1893); F. Delitzsch, *ZKW* 1 617 *ff.* (1880); L. Horst, *Leviticus xvii.-xxvi. und Hezekiel*, 1881; Maybaum, *Entwickelung des altisraelitischen Priesterthums*, 74 *ff.* (1880); B. Baentsch, *Das Heiligkeits-gesetz*, Lev. 17-26, 1893; L. B. Paton, 'The Relation of Lev. 20 to Lev. 17-19,' *Hebraica*, 11 111-121 (1894); 'The Original Form of Leviticus, 17-19,' *JBL* 16 31 *ff.* (1897); 'The Original Form of Leviticus, 21 22,' *JBL* 17 149 *ff.* (1898); 'The Holiness Code and Ezekiel,' *Pres. Ref. Rev.* 7 98-115 (1896).

On the Feast Laws see also J. F. L. George, *Die älteren jüdischen Feste*, 1838; Hupfeld, *Commentatio de . . . temporum festorum . . . apud Hebræos ratione*, 1851, 1852, 1858; W. H. Green, *The Hebrew Feasts*, 1885.

See also the works on Introduction to the Old Testament, especially those of Kuenen, Holzinger, Driver, Cornill, König; on the History of Israel, especially Ewald, Stade, Wellhausen, and Kittel (1 98-100 113-116): and on Hebrew Archæology—Nowack, Benzinger. Titles of most of these works in DEUTERONOMY, § 33.

G. F. M.

LEVY (מַס), 1 K. 5 13 *f.* 9 15 21. See TAXATION.

LIBANUS (λιβανος [BℵA]), 1 Esd. 4 48 Judith 1 7. See LEBANON.

LIBATION (σπονδ[ε]ιον), Ecclus. 50 15 RV^mg. See SACRIFICE.

LIBERTINES. 'Certain of the synagogue, which is called (the synagogue) of the *Libertines* (λιβερτινων [Ti.WH], λειβερτεινων [D]), and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians' (so AV), are mentioned in Acts 6 9. There has been much diversity in the interpretation of this word. If 'Libertines' is the right reading, it can only mean 'freedmen.' The Jewish population in Rome consisted largely of the descendants of freedmen (cp. Tac. *Ann.* 2 85, 'quatuor millia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta'; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 1014, *οἱ πλεῖους ἀπελευθερωθέντες*). It is plain, however, that the synagogue referred to belonged equally to the Libertini, the Cyrenians, and the Alexandrians. It is difficult, therefore, to avoid supposing that the first of the three names, as well as the other two, denotes the inhabitants of some city or district.

Hence 'Libertini' has been connected with Libertum, the name of a town whose existence is inferred from the title 'Episcopus Libertinensis' which occurs in connection with the Synod of Carthage, A.D. 411. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this obscure town would have sent up to Jerusalem Jews enough to justify the prominent place given to the Libertini in Acts. Blass in 1895 (*Acta ap.*, ed. philologica) tried to justify disjoining the words καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων from Λιβερτινων, and bringing them into connection with καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας. There is no probability, however, in this solution.

It is best, therefore, to follow certain Armenian versions and Syriac commentaries recently brought to light, which presuppose either *Λιβύων* or *Λιβυστίνων*. Several scholars, not knowing of these authorities, had already tried conjectural emendation. Schulthess proposed Λιβύων τῶν κατὰ Κυρήνην (cp Acts 2 10); Beza, Clericus, and Valckenär *Λιβυστίνων*. *Λιβυστίνων* involves the least amount of change, and was adopted, with cognizance of the new authorities, in 1898 by Blass (*Philology of the Gospels*, 69 *f.*), who is of opinion that the Greek towns lying westward of Cyrene would quite appropriately be designated Libyan (cp LIBYA).

That Λιβυστῖνοι was a current form of the adjective from Λίβυς is plain from the *montibus Libystinis* of Catullus (60 1), and from the geographical lexicon of Stephanus Byzantinus. Josephus (*c. Ap.* 2 4) tells us that many Jews were removed by Ptolemy Lagi and placed in the cities of Libya. This statement, however, is of doubtful authority (see Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, 31).

Among the older literature cp Gerdes, *De Synag. Libertinorum*, 1736; Scherer, *De Synag. Lib.*, 1754.

LIBNAH. 1. (לִבְנָה, 'pavement' [Ex. 24 10], 'foundation,' cp Ass. *libittu*, *libnatu*, 'a compact foundation of blocks of stone, etc.' [Del. *Ass. HWB s.v.*], unless connected with LABAN [*q.v.*].)

λεβνα [BAL]; but λοβνα [L] in 2 K. 8 22 19 8 2 Ch. 21 10; λεβμνα [A] in Josh. 10 29 39 12 15; λεμνα in Josh. 15 42 21 13 [B] and 10 39 [F]; λομνα in 2 K. 8 22 [A], 19 8 [B], 24 18 [A], 2 Ch. 21 10 [B], Is. 37 8 [ℵOQ]; σεννα in 2 K. 8 22 [B], note that σεν precedes. Add λοβνα also in 2 K. 19 8 [A], 1 Ch. 6 57 [42] [BA], 2 Ch. 21 10 [A], Is. 37 8 [ABΓ]; λημνα in 2 K. 23 31 [B]; λοβενα in 2 K. 23 31 [A], Jer. 52 1 [BℵAQ]; λοβεννα [L] in 2 K. 23 31 24 18; λαβηνα [A] in Josh. 10 31 *f.*

A town in the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15 42), originally Canaanite (Josh. 10 29 *f.* 12 15), afterwards a priestly city (Josh. 21 13 [P]; 1 Ch. 6 57 [42] must be incorrect). It joined the Edomites in a revolt against Joram (2 K. 8 22 2 Ch. 21 10; cp 2 Ch. 21 16), and was besieged by Sennacherib in the reign of Hezekiah (2 K. 19 8 Is. 37 8). Josiah's wife came from Libnah (2 K. 23 31 24 18). Sayce finds it mentioned in the list of Rameses III. before Aphekah (*RP*(2) 6 39; *Pat. Pal.* 239); but this is disputable (see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 160). Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 274 13 135 28) describe it as a village in the region of Eleutheropolis, called in their day *Lobana* or *Lobna*. Hence Stanley identified it with *Tell es-Ṣāfiyeh*, which is only two hours from Eleutheropolis; but see MIZPEH (in Judah). Libnah must, at any rate, have lain not very far from Lachish, on the SW. border of Judah, and on the edge of the Philistian plain.

Conder's identification of Libnah with *el-Benāwy* ('a possible corruption of Libnah')—a ruin about 10 m. SE. of Tell el-Ḥesy or Lachish—(*PEF Qu. St.*, 1897, p. 69) will hardly stand.

2. (לִבְנָה, but Sam. לבונה, with which agree λεμωνα [B], λεβ. [AFL]), Num. 33 20 (κεβωνα [AF]) 21. The LABAN (*q.v.*) of Dt. 1 1 is perhaps the same name. See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.

LIBNI (לִבְנִי, perhaps a gentilic from LIBNAH 2, cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7, v., col. 1665; see also LABAN, λοβεν[ε]ι [BAL]).

1. A Gershonite Levitical name; Nu. 3 18 1 Ch. 6 17 20 [2 5] (λοβεννι [L]); gentilic **Libnite**, Nu. 3 21 26 58 (הַלִּבְנִי; λοβεν[ε]ι [BAL]). The name occurs elsewhere as LADAN [*q.v.* 2].

2. A Merarite name; 1 Ch. 6 29 [14]. On the relation between (1) and (2) cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7, col. 1663. Cp C. Niebuhr, *Gesch. d. Ebr. Zeit.* 1 246 [combines Leah, Levi, Libni, and Libnah].

LIBRARY. A library (βιβλιοθηκη) founded by Nehemiah is referred to in 2 Macc. 2 13. On the supposed 'book-town' in the hill-country of Judah, see KIRJATH-SEPHER (col. 2681).

The word βιβλ. also occurs in Ezra 6 1, 𝔊 (ἐν βιβλιοθήκαις [BL], ἐν ταῖς β. [A] = בית ספריא), and in Esth. 2 23, 𝔊 (ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ = בספר דברי הימים).

LIBYA (ἡ λιβυη, Acts 2 10, λιβυες in 𝔊 [cp Vg. *Libyes*]; AV **Libyans**, as translation of LUBIM in 2 Ch. 12 3 16 8 Nah. 3 9 Dan. 11 43), the name applied by the Greeks to Africa generally, the portion first known and most familiar to them being that on which Dorian colonists settled and founded Cyrene.

On the unique NT reference to 'Libya' (Acts 2 10) see CYRENE, and on the doubtful 'Libertines' of Acts 6 9 see LIBERTINES. The name 'Libya' also occurs in AV of Ezek. 30 5 and 38 5 (mg. 'Phut') and 'Libyans' in Jer. 46 9 (mg. 'Put'). See RV.

The ancients underestimated the size of Libya: Strabo (p. 824) surmised that it was less than Europe, and that Europe and Libya together would not be equal to Asia. Libya did not properly include Egypt—*i.e.*, the Nile valley (Herod. 2 15 *f.*):[1] Ptolemy (ii. 1 6 iv. 5 1) first assigned Egypt to Africa, making the Red Sea and the Isthmus of Suez the boundary between Africa and Asia. Only the northern littoral of the continent enters into view during Greek and Roman times. Under the Empire, North Africa fell into three sections.

(1) The Original Province of Africa, constituted by the remnant of the possessions of Carthage after the destruction of that city in 146 B.C. (Sallust, *BJ* 19): to this, in 25 B.C., Augustus added Numidia, which first

[1] See A. Wiedemann, *Herod. Zweites Buch*, ad loc.

became a province, under the name *Africa Nova*, in 46 B.C. (Pliny, *HN* 5 25 Dio Cass. 43 9). This central portion constituted the senatorial Province of Africa, which, like the Province of Asia, was governed by a proconsul of consular rank.

(2) The western portion of North Africa, Mauretania, was made a province by Claudius in 40 A.D.

(3) The eastern section, the Cyrenaica, was combined with Crete in 27 B.C. to form a single province. The old name Libya was officially revived by Diocletian, who separated Crete from Cyrene, and divided the latter into an eastern part (*Libya Inferior*), and a western part including the old Cyrenaic Pentapolis (*Libya Superior*). W. J. W.

LICE (כִּנִּים and כִּנָּם;[1] σκνιφες, σκνιπες). Mentioned in EV in connection with the plagues of Egypt (Ex. 8 16-18 [12 *ff.*], Ps. 105 31 †), where RVmg. suggests the alternatives of FLEA (*Pulex*) or sand-fly (*Simulium*). If we lay stress on the usage of the Mishna (כנא, כינא, 'louse,' but also 'vermin'; cp Tg. Pesh., and see below, n. 2), we may be inclined to defend the explanation of Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 14 13), Bochart, and EV 'lice.'[2] On a point like this, however, the Egyptian-Greek version (𝔊) has a claim to be deferred to. Its rendering is *σκνίφες* (cp Wisd. 19 10), and this is in truth a very appropriate rendering (see GNATS). Lice are no doubt common in Egypt, though there are but two or possibly three species of louse which attack man. Mosquitoes (Egypt, *ḫnmś;* cp Heb. *kinnim?*) and other worse kinds of flies, however, are still more to be dreaded there. Besides, the enormous quantities of lice of which EV speaks must soon have perished when exposed to the dry heat of Egypt.

The singular כֵּן has been thought to occur in Is. 51 6, where 'in like manner' can hardly be correct. It is less improbable to suppose that the plural ending dropped out (the next word begins with ים, which would facilitate this; so first Weir). This gives the sense 'shall die like gnats.' As Muhammad says, God may 'set forth a parable (even) of a gnat' (Koran, *Sur.* 13 24), and in the Babylonian Deluge-Story the gods 'gather like flies about the sacrificer' (cp Del. *Ass. HWB, s.v.* 'Zumbu'). This, however, is not a full solution. Nor is the conjecture offered in Che. *Proph. Is.* (on Is. 51 6), that כִּנִּים should be read in Nu. 13 33 more than plausible. On both passages see LOCUST, § 2 (4). T. K. C.—A. E. S.

LICTORS (ραβδουχοι [Ti. WH]), RVmg., Acts 16 35 38, † EV SERJEANTS, the official designation of the attendants assigned to certain Roman magistrates. Cp Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Ant.*(3) *s.v.* 'Lictor.'

LIDEBIR (לִדְבִר), Josh. 13 26 RVmg., AV DEBIR, a place in Gad, probably the same as LO-DEBAR [*q.v.*] (δαιβων [B], δαβειρ [A], δεβηρ [L]).

LIEUTENANTS. 1. RV SATRAPS (אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים), Ezra 8 36 etc. See SATRAPS, PERSIA.

2. (פַּחוֹת), Jer. 51 23 RVmg. EV GOVERNOR (*q.v.*, 1).

LIGHT. The true God says, according to the great prophetic teacher of the Exile, 'I am Yahwè—and there is none else—who formed light, and created darkness' (Is. 45 6 *f.*). So the Word of God, in the Fourth Gospel, says, 'I am the light of the world: he that follows me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life' (Jn. 8 12). Between these two sayings lies the development of a new conception of life, the germs of which, however, are partly to be found in the work of the exilic teacher. The statement that Yahwè produced light is no part of the traditional Hebrew cosmogony.

1. Early conceptions.

[1] The theory that כִּנָּם is a collective is needless; we should doubtless read כִּנִּים (with Sam.).

[2] Sir S. Baker (*Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, 1868) supposed a reference to the ticks or mites (*Acarina*) which abound in the sand and dust, and fix themselves on the host, whose blood they suck by means of powerful mouth organs. It is a most improbable view; but the Talmudic use of כנא for 'vermin' may perhaps justify it.

Indeed, it was too much a matter of course to need express statement that light was of prior existence to the creative works; for how should life come into being without light, and how could God be conceived except as an intensely luminous form (see Ex. 3 2 13 21 19 18 24 17; 1 K. 19 12; Ezek. 1 27 8 2; and cp FIRE)? Hence in Is. 10 17 (in a probably late passage) Yahwè is called the 'Light of Israel' (‖ 'his Holy One'). When he reveals himself, created light must fail (Is. 24 23 60 19; cp Rev. 21 23 22 5); according to a late writing (*The Secrets of Enoch*, 14) the sun is without his crown for seven full hours of the night, during which he appears before God.

To the Babylonians, too, the divine Creator (Marduk) was the god of light; creation indeed is mythically represented as a battle between the Light Being and the Dark (Tiāmat). See CREATION, § 3. It is the Priestly Writer's reflective turn of mind that leads him to prefix to his adaptation of the old cosmogony the statement, 'God said, Let there be light' (Gen. 1 3). To the not less reflective minds of Egyptian priests a different idea presented itself. Hidden in the dark bosom of Chaos the eternal light was impelled by longing to give itself existence; manifold and sometimes grotesque imagery was employed to describe the process of emergence. Creation itself is described thus,—'He hath made all that the world contains and hath *given it light*, when all was darkness, and there was as yet no sun.'[1] So too a hymn in the Rig Veda represents creation as a ray entering the realm of darkness from the realm of light,[2] and similar ideas are presupposed in the theological statements of the Avesta. In the Book of Job, which preserves so many mythical forms of expression, we find light described as a mysterious physical essence, dwelling in a secret place (Job 38 19 *f.*). That God is robed in light, is said in Ps. 104 2 (cp Ex. 3 2 etc., cited above), and just as in the Avesta the heaven where Ahura Mazda dwells is called 'Endless Lights,' so God in James 1 17 is called 'the father of the lights'—*i.e.*, the father who dwells in perfect and never darkened light (though the view that *τὰ φῶτα* = 'the stars' is also possible; cp Ps. 136 7, Jer. 4 23). Hence the 'light' of God's 'countenance' is a symbol of God's favour (Nu. 6 25 *f.*).

Those who are in trouble feel themselves to be in darkness. The return of prosperity is the return of the divine light (cp Is. 8 22 9 2 60 1-3). The Psalms are full of this idea (Ps. 4 6 [7] 27 1 36 10 [9] 97 11 112 4). In Ps. 43 3 we find the further development that God's 'light' is the companion of his 'faithfulness,' and that these two, like guardian angels, lead the true Israelite (or rather the true Israel). God's revelation is, like himself, essential light (Ps. 119 105, 130), and in Is. 49 6 the Israel within Israel (the servant of Yahwè) is said to be 'a light to the nations,' as being the bearer to them of God's law. In Enoch 48 4 the same phrase is applied to the Messiah.

It was natural that the vague expressions of the Psalter relative to 'light' should be interpreted by later Jews under the influence of the prevalent eschatology. 'Light' and 'life' were virtually synonymous, and these profound expressions received a fuller content through the developed belief in a kingdom of light and life to be supernaturally set up on the earth. The Fourth Gospel, however, and kindred NT writings (with which we may to some extent group the Wisdom of Solomon; cp § 3) fill the word 'light' with a larger meaning than any of the Jewish writings, and give a more special prominence to the antithesis between the kingdoms of light and of darkness, not perhaps uninfluenced by Oriental and especially Zoroastrian dualism (as the great Herder long ago pointed out), and not without a connection with Gnosticism. The aim of Christian disciples is 'to become sons of light' (Jn. 12 36; cp Eph. 5 8 1 Thess. 5 5) = 'to become sons of God' (Jn. 1 12), through 'faith' in Christ (cp FAITH), who is the 'light of the world' (Jn. 8 12 9 5, cp 1 4 12 46), and to be ever 'coming to the light' (Jn. 3 21) to expose themselves to this beneficial test of their inward 'truth' or reality (see TRUTH). The expression 'the generation of light' (Enoch 108 11) gives merely an external point of contact; the fourth evangelist himself is, we

2. Later development.

[1] Cp Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. der alten Aegypter*, 160 *ff.*

[2] Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskr. Lit.* 562.

may presume, the virtual originator of those beautiful symbolic phrases, relative to light, into which he condenses the essence of the mind of Jesus as known to him.

Next to the Fourth Gospel the Epistle to the Ephesians is a storehouse of references to the symbolic light. The satellites of the 'ruler of this world' (Jn. 12 31 14 30 16 11) or the 'ruler of the power of the air' (Eph. 2 2) are called 'the world-rulers of this darkness' (Eph. 6 12, RV).[1] Those who 'walk in the light' (Eph. 5 8; cp Jn. 12 35) are under a moral obligation to bring to light the works of darkness, and to 'convict' those who do them (Eph. 5 11 13;[2] cp Jn. 3 20 *f.*). In Colossians we have the classical passage, Col. 1 12 *f.* ('the inheritance of the saints in light,' and 'the power of darkness'), with which a striking passage in 1 Peter (2 9 *f.*) may be compared. The designation of Christ in Heb. 1 3 as 'the effulgence of his (God's) glory' is a development of the more elaborate description in Wisd. 7 26, 'an effulgence from everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the working of God' (cp MIRROR). The symbolism of 1 Thess. 5 4 *f.*, Rev. 21 11 23 is too simple to need any subtle explanation.

3. References in Col., Eph., etc.

A hard passage in Is. 26 19 may be here referred to. 'Dew of lights' (few now defend 'dew of herbs') is evidently wrong; the true reading is preserved by 𝔊, 'thy dew is a healing to them' (אֲרֻכָתָם, for אוֹרֹת); cp Ecclus. 43 22, 'a mist (|| dew) coming speedily is the healing of all things.' See HERBS.

T. K. C.

LIGHTNING. See THUNDER.

LIGN-ALOES (אֲהָלִים), Nu. 24 6.† See ALOES.

LIGURE (לֶשֶׁם), Ex. 28 19, RV$^{mg.}$ 'amber'; 39 12,† RV JACINTH [*q.v.*].

LIKHI (לִקְחִי), a Manassite, descendant of SHEMIDA (*q.v.*); 1 Ch. 7 19† (λακεια [A], -κεειμ [B], λοκ. [L]).

Possibly another form of חֶלְקִי; see HELEK.

LILITH (RV$^{mg.}$), or NIGHT-MONSTER (RV; AV$^{mg.}$), or (AV wrongly) SCREECH-OWL (לִילִית; ονοκενταυροι [BℵAQΓ]; λιλιθ [Aq. in Q$^{mg.}$]; λιλιτ [Aq.]; λαμια [Symm.]; ܠܠܝܬܐ [Pesh.]; *lamia*); and **Vampire** (RV$^{mg.}$), or HORSELEACH (so EV) (עֲלוּקָה; see HORSELEECH). Apparently two demons of similar characteristics, both mentioned in post-exilic passages (cp ISAIAH ii., § 14; PROVERBS, § 8).

1. Lilith. Desolated Edom, according to Is. 34 14, will be haunted by the SATYRS (*q.v.*) and by Lilith.

The name, as Schrader long ago pointed out, is connected with the Bab.-Ass. *lilu*, fem. *lilitu*, the designation of two demons, who, together with *ardat lilē* ('the handmaid of *lilu*'), form a triad of demons often mentioned in Babylonian spells (Del., *Ass. HWB* 377; *Calwer Bib.-Lex.*(2) 532; Sayce, *Hibb. Lects.* 502; Hommel, *Die sem. Völker*, 1 367).

Lilu, Lilitu, and *ardat* Lilē were not specially demons of the night—a view which is peculiar to the related Jewish superstition. The darkness which they loved was that of the storms which raged in the wilderness. Potent charms were used to keep them from the haunts of men, where they would otherwise enter, bringing fell disease into the human organism. A corrupted form of the myth of Lilith, strengthened by Persian elements, spread widely among the Jews in post-exilic times as a part of the popular demonology.

The details of this myth can only be glanced at here. Lilith was a hairy night-monster (the name being perhaps popularly derived from *layil*, 'night'), and specially dangerous to infants (cp the Greek Lamia). Under her was a large class of similar monsters called Lilin (plur. of Lilith; cp Apoc. Bar. 10 8), of whom not only children but also men had to beware. Hence, in Talm. Bab. (*Shabbāth*, 151 *b*), a man is warned not to sleep alone in a house, and in Targ. Jer., Nu. 6 25, a passage in the priestly blessing becomes 'The Lord bless thee in all thy business, and guard thee from the Lilin.'

See the Walpurgis-night scene in Faust (a proof of Goethe's learning), and cp Bacher in *MGWJ*, 1870, p. 188; F. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 255; Grünbaum, *ZDMG* 31 250 *f.*; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, 2 413 *ff.*

2. The Vampire. The vampire is, according to some, another of the *mazzikin*, or harmful beings, of which the world is full (see DEMONS, and cp *Pirḳē Ābōth*, 5 9). The *'Alūḳāh* (mentioned in Prov. 30 15) is properly 'the horseleech' (see HORSELEECH), but surely not the ordinary horseleech, if it was the mother of Shĕōl and the womb.

The most satisfying view of Prov., *l.c.*, is perhaps that given at the end of this article; but a less bold explanation is that of Bickell, who arranges thus (הַב being omitted as a gloss):—

The 'Alūḳāh's two daughters,
Give, Give—Shĕōl and the Womb,

and the passage, which is an expression of wonder at the mysteries of death and birth, means that the underworld and the maternal womb (cp the commentators on Ps. 139 13 15) are as insatiable ('Give, Give' expresses their character) as the 'Alūḳāh—a mythological demon, which the people and its poets imagined as resembling a leech, and which is possibly referred to in the Targum of Ps. 12 8[9]; see HORSELEECH. The Arabic *'alūḳ* is explained in the Ḳāmūs by *ġūl*, 'a female blood-sucking monster' (Ges. *Thes.* 1038), the ghoul of the *Arabian Nights*, and Sayce finds 'the vampire' in Babylonian spells (see § 1).

In fact, according to Babylonian animism, wasting disease could not but be accounted for by terrible spiritual agencies such as 'vampires' (cp Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* 1 175). For an Iranian parallel, cp the sleep-demon called Būshyanṣta (Spiegel, *Eran. Alt.* 2 137; cp Kohut, *Jüd. Angelologie*, 86).

Most probably, however, לעלוקה is miswritten for לְקֹהֶלֶת, which is a title ascribing the following saying to Haḳḳōhéleth (see KOHELETH). The words rendered 'two daughters, Give, give,' have sprung out of תשבענה הנה, which were written in the wrong place. See Che. *PSBA*, June 1901.

LILY (שׁוּשַׁן, 1 K. 7 19, שׁוֹשַׁנָּה, 2 Ch. 4 5 Cant. 2 1 *f.*[1] Hos. 14 5[6]; pl. שׁוֹשַׁנִּים, Cant. 2 16 4 5 5 13 6 2 *f.* 7 2[3] Ecclus. 39 14 50 8 Mt. 6 28 Lk. 12 27; 𝔊^{BNA}, κρίνον and κρίνα).

The Hebrew word *šūšan*, like its Greek[2] and English equivalents, seems to have applied to a large number of different species. Its origin is most probably Egyptian, from a word whose consonants were *s-sh-n*, denoting the lotus flower, *Nymphæa Lotus*, L., blue or white (see Lagarde, *Mitth.* 2 15 *ff.*, who quotes a description of the flower from Burckhardt's *Arabic Proverbs*, 267 *f.*); and as Lagarde points out, it is not improbably the lotus flower that was present to the mind of the writer of 1 K. 7 19 22 26, as this was frequently used in Egyptian decoration and would best provide forms for the capitals of the pillars and for the rim of the sea in Solomon's temple. The references in Canticles and Hosea, however, show that the name must have been used for flowers quite different from the lotus. From Cant. 5 13 it is usually inferred that the 'lilies' mentioned were not white, but red or purple; and this view is supported by the implied comparison with royal robes in Mt. 6 28 Lk. 12 27. These and the other references suggest a fragrant flower of bright hue which gave colour to the fields of Palestine. According to Boissier, the only lilium occurring in Palestine is *L. album*; so that Heb. *šūšan* has almost certainly a wider application. Tristram (*NHB* 462 *ff.*) discusses the different possibilities. The most plausible claimant for the name is the scarlet anemone, *Anemone coronaria*, L. Wetzstein again (in *Zt. f. allgem. Erdk.* [1859] 7 148) speaks of a dusky violet plant somewhat like a crocus as exceedingly

[1] Cp Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- u. Colosserbriefe*, 270.

[2] According to Irenæus (i. 28 2), Eph. 5 13 was a passage to which the Valentinian Gnostics were wont to appeal.

[1] According to a recent emendation, 'lilies' (שׁוֹשַׁנּוֹת) and 'apples' are parallel in the well-known passage, Cant. 2 5. See FRUIT, § 5 [2].

[2] The κρίνον of the Greeks was probably both *Lilium chalcedonicum* and *L. bulbiferum*.

plentiful in the fields of Haurān—most probably *Gladiolus atroviolaceus*, Boiss. If, as Tristram reports, the Arab peasantry now apply the name *sūsan* 'to any brilliantly coloured flower at all resembling a lily, as to the tulip, anemone, ranunculus,' it seems reasonable to conclude that the biblical name had an equally wide application. See also SHOSHANNIM.

[See H. Christ, 'Nochmals d. Lilie d. Bibel' in *ZDPV* 25 65-80 (1899), who remarks that there is not sufficient evidence to decide what kind of lily is meant, and that the flower intended in Mt. 6 28 Lk. 12 27 is most probably the iris; see also L. Fonck, 'Streifzüge durch die Biblische Flora' in *Biblische Studien*, Bd. v. Hft. i. 53-76 (Freiburg i. B., 1900). Post (in Hastings, *DB* 3 123 *a*) remarks that the irises are plants of pasture-grounds and swamps, seldom found in grain-fields. But the point of this is not clear. 'Lilies of the field' simply means 'wild lilies.']

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

LIME. Assyrians and Babylonians alike were familiar with the use of lime (carbonate of lime) and gypsum (sulphate of lime), whether as a plaster or a wash, alike for preservative and for decorative purposes; and the same remark applies to the Egyptians, by whom this form of mural decoration was carried to a high pitch of excellence, and from whom it was taken by the Etruscans, the Greeks, and other ancient peoples. See Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1 362, cp pl. viii.; also *EB*(9), *s.v.* 'Mural Decoration'; and, for biblical references, see PLAISTER, and cp MORTAR. According to Rev. W. Carslaw of Beirūt, mortar made with lime is used now more often than formerly (Hastings, *DB* 3 438 *a*).

The phenomena of lime-pounding and of calcination seem to be referred to (*a*) in Is. 27 9 and also (*b*) in Am. 2 1 Is. 33 12; and in the last two instances it is the burning of bones (phosphate of lime) that is spoken of. But all these passages may be greatly improved by methodical emendation.

The words are (*a*) גִּר *gir* (√גיר, to boil, boil up?[1] cp Aram. גִּיר, 'wave,' NH גִּיר, 'foam,' Arab. *ǵayyārun*, 'quicklime'), used in the obscure passage (see *Crit. Bib.*), בְּשׂוּמוֹ כָּל־אַבְנֵי מִזְבֵּחַ כְּאַבְנֵי־גִר מְנֻפָּצוֹת, Is. 27 9, ὅταν θῶσιν (θῶ, A) πάντας τοὺς λίθους τῶν βωμῶν κατακεκομμένους ὡς κονίαν λεπτήν [BℵAQΓ], *cum posuerit omnes lapides altaris sicut lapides cineris allisos*; EV 'when he maketh all the stones of the altar as chalkstones that are beaten in sunder'; Pesh. renders גִּר by *kelšā*—*i.e.*, χάλιξ, *calx*. (*b*) שִׂיד, *śīd*, in the expressions שָׂרַף לַשִּׂיד, κατέκαυσαν εἰς κονίαν, *ad cinerem* (Am. 2 1), and מִשְׂרְפוֹת שִׂיד κατακεκαυμένα ὡς ἄκανθα (*i.e.*, שַׂיִת), *de incendio cinis* (Is. 33 12).

LINE. (1) שֶׂרֶד, *śéred*, Is. 44 13† AV, wrongly. See PENCIL. (2) קַו, *ḳaw*, Is. 44 13 RV (AV 'rule,' μέτρον). Cp תִּקְוָה, *tiḳwāh*, Josh. 2 18 21. The wood-carver stretched a line or cord over the block of wood to lay out the course which his work would have to take. The builder used it too for his first measurements (Job 38 5 Zech. 1 16 [Kre]). In Ps. 19 4(5) read קוֹלָם, *ḳōlām*, with Ols., Ges., We. *SBOT*, etc.

For (3) חוּט, *ḥūṭ*, 1 K. 7 15: (4) חֶבֶל, *ḥébel*, Is. 33 20; (5) פְּתִיל, *pāthīl*, Ezek. 40 3, see CORD.

(6) κανών, 2 Cor. 10 16 AV, AVmg. 'rule,' RV 'province,' RVmg. 'limit.' Cp CANON, § 1.

LINEN, FINE LINEN, and **LINEN GARMENTS** occur as renderings of the following words:—

1. *'ēṭūn*, אֵטוּן, Prov. 7 16† (defining חֲטֻבוֹת, dark-hued stuffs)—taken for a verb in 𝔊 and strangely rendered ζωγραφία by Theod.—occurs in Tgg. in the sense of 'rope.' If MT is correct (see below) it is probably the same as Gr. ὀθόνη, 'fine linen cloth,' and may denote either linen 'yarn' (as RV) or 'woven linen cloth.' No satisfactory etymology of the word has been found in the Semitic languages (against Del. *ad loc.*). [Frankenb. and Che., however, think the text very doubtful. The latter reads thus: 'I have stretched cords on my bedstead; I have spread carpets on my couch.'][2]

2. *bad*, בַּד (Ex. 28 42 39 28 [not in 𝔊] Lev. 6 10 [3] 16 4 23 32 1 S. 2 18 22 18 2 S. 6 14 1 Ch. 15 27; plur. Ezek. 9 2 *f.* 11 10 2 6 *f.* Dan. 10 5 12 6 *f.*†), is rendered by 𝔊 in the Pentateuch λίνεος, but elsewhere variously.[3]

[1] Cp חֹמֶר, from חמר, to ferment, boil, or foam up (see BDB).

[2] See *Crit. Bib.* (חטבות אטון, a corruption of הִטֵּיתִי בְּעַבֹתַ[ים]; מצרים, read מַצָּעַי).

[3] 1 S. 2 18 βαρ L om.; 22 18 BL om., and A has λίνον (which elsewhere represents פִּשְׁתָּה [flax], see below); 2 S. 6 14, ἔξαλλος; 1 Ch. 15 27, βυσσίνη. The plural is rendered in Ezek. 9, ποδήρης; in Ezek. 10 στολή and στολὴ ἁγία; in Dan. βύσσινα (Aq. ἐξαίρετα, Symm. λινᾶ, Th. βαδδ[ε]ιν). The usual rendering of Tg. and Pesh. is בוּצָא, 'byssus.'

The etymology of the word *bad* is unknown; but there is no reason for rejecting the unanimous tradition which declares it to mean 'linen.'

Whilst on the one hand we learn from Ex. 39 28 that שֵׁשׁ (*i.e.*, byssus, see below, 3) is either the same as *bad*, or a particular species of it, on the other hand it is pretty certain from Ezek. 44 17 *f.* that linen would be the clothing prescribed for the priests in the Levitical law. Still, it is just possible, as Dillmann suggests (on Ex. 28 42), that *bad* in itself meant only 'white stuff,' whether linen or cotton.

3. *būṣ*, בּוּץ (βύσσος or βύσσινος, EV 'fine linen,' 1 Ch. 4 21 [αβακ, B; αββους, A; αβους, L] 15 27 2 Ch. 2 14 [13] 3 14 5 12 Esth. 1 6 8 15 Ezek. 27 16†), is a late word in Hebrew, as, apart from the highly doubtful mention in Ezekiel,[1] it is found only in Ch. and Esth. *Būṣ* is almost certainly equivalent to the older term *šēš* (שֵׁשׁ, cp 1 Ch. 15 27 with Gen. 41 42; and especially 2 Ch. 2 14 [13] 3 14 5 12 with Ex. 28 42 etc.), and both denote the substance which the Greeks called βύσσος, as to the exact nature of which there has been enormous controversy. As *šēš* is probably an Egyptian word, being mentioned in connection with Egypt (Gen. 41 42 and esp. Ezek. 27 7), and as according to Ex. 39 28 it is either identical with or a species of *bad* (see above), the evidence favours the view that βύσσος was a sort of linen, that being a particularly Egyptian product.

The etymology of the word *būṣ* is quite unknown; a possible connection with Syr. *būṣīnā* (the plant 'verbascum'), which may be an Indo-European word (Lag. *Sem.* 1 52 *ff.*) throws no light upon its meaning; nor is anything gained by comparing Ar. *baz* = βύσσος.

Philology being of no assistance, we are thrown back upon the statements of Greek and Latin writers about byssus; and from a careful examination of these, Braun (*De vestitu sacerdotum Hebr.* I., chap. 6), Celsius (*Hierob.* II., 169 *ff.*), and more recently Yates (*Textrinum antiquorum*, Lond., 1843, I., 252 *ff.*), have deduced with fair certainty the conclusion that byssus was 'fine linen.' On the other hand, Forster (*De bysso antiquorum* (Lond., 1776) argued that byssus was cotton, and has been followed by many modern scholars. On the one main point, however, his argument is now entirely overthrown. The statement of Herodotus (2 86) that the embalmed bodies of the dead were swathed in cloths of byssus (σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι) was taken to prove that byssus meant cotton, because it was long held that cotton was the material of the mummy cloths. However, the microscopic examination by Thomson (whose results were first published in the *Phil. Mag.*, Nov. 1834) and later investigations have clearly shown that these wrappings are linen, at least in the vast majority of cases.[2] Indeed, linen is often spoken of by ancient writers as a characteristic product of Egypt, and their statements are confirmed by such monuments as the pictures of the flax-workers in the grotto of el-Kāb (cp also Budge, *Mummy*, 189 *ff.*).

It is true that at least two late Greek writers, Philostratus (71) and Pollux (7 76) appear to have extended the term βύσσος to cotton; but such confusions are natural with unscientific authors, and a far larger number of quotations can be given where a flaxen product is plainly meant (see Yates, *op. cit.* 267-273).

There is reason for distinguishing βύσσος as a finer sort of linen from λίνον; thus Pausanias and others speak of them as distinct; and Pliny (xix. 1 4. of the byssus of Elis, *quaternis denariis scripula eius permutata quondam ut auri reperio*) and many others refer to byssus as among the most costly of materials. We may therefore be satisfied with the EV rendering of

[1] See Cornill, *ad loc.* The word is absent in 𝔊, unless Θαρσεις represents it; it may have been dragged into MT on account of its association with אַרְגָּמָן.

[2] Of the remains of ancient Egyptian linen and the representations of linen manufacture on the monuments, an interesting account is given by Wilkinson (*Anc. Eg.* chap. 9; cp Schegg, *Bibl. Arch.* 1 162 *ff.*).

'fine linen.' The mention of 'the families of the house of those that wrought fine linen' (הַבֻּץ) in 1 Ch. 4 21 (if correct) reminds us of other references to the growth and spinning of flax in Palestine (Josh. 2 6 Prov. 31 13 Hos. 2 5 9 [7 11]). See also FLAX.

4. *miḳwēh*, מִקְוֵה, in 1 K. 10 28 and מִקְוֵא twice in 2 Ch. 1 16 ('linen yarn' AV), is considered under CHARIOT and MIZRAIM.

5. *sādīn*, סָדִין, 'fine linen' (Prov. 31 24 AV, Is. 3 23 EV), 'linen garments' (Judg. 14 12 RV;[1] AV 'sheets,' mg. 'shirts'), an article of domestic manufacture (Pr. *l.c.*), which was considered a luxury (Is. *l.c.*). According to Jer. *Kil.* 24 13 there were three varieties (a sleeping-cloth, a garden-dress, and a sampler), and in *Mĕnāch.* 37 *b* it is spoken of as a summer garment as opposed to the סרבלא for winter use. In *Yōmā* 3 4 it is used of a curtain, and in *Kil.* 19 32*b* of a shroud. From these passages it may be concluded that *sādīn* denotes either in general a piece of linen cloth, such as a sheet, or more specifically a linen shirt worn next the skin (cp Moore, *Judg.*, *ad loc.*).

The identification of *sādīn* with Syr. *seddōna* and Gr. *σινδών* (by which it is rendered in 𝔊—save in Is. 3 23, where the rendering is loose) has been doubted (cp Fränkel, 48); it may, however, be connected with the Ass. *sudinnu* (Am. Tab. *satinnu*), 'garment' (cp Del. *Ass. HWB*; Wi. *Am. Thontaf.* 'Glossar').

6. *pištīm*, פִּשְׁתִּים, is rendered 'linen' in Lev. 13 47 *f.* 52 59 Dt. 22 11 Ezek. 44 17 *f.* Jer. 13 1; see FLAX.

7. *šēš*, שֵׁשׁ (Gen. 41 42 Ex. 25 4 26 1 31 36 27 9 [𝔊ᴮ om.] 16 18 28 5 *f.* 8 15 39 35 6 23 25 35 36 8 35 37 38 9 16 18 23 39 2 *f.* 5 8 27-29 Prov. 31 22 Ezek. 16 10 27 7; once שֶׁשִׁי [Kt., י follows], Ezek. 16 13†), rendered *βύσσος* or *βύσσινος* in 𝔊, is, as we have seen above (3), the older equivalent of *būṣ*. *Šēš* is not improbably of Egyptian origin, being identical with Coptic *shens* = byssus, and so apparently connected with Coptic *shent*, 'to weave.' Like the *βύσσινοι πέπλοι* of Greek writers, robes of *šēš* formed an honourable dress (Gen. 41 42). It was a chief constituent in the more ornamental of the tabernacle hangings and of the priestly robes, along with dyed stuffs[2]—blue, purple, and scarlet. The 'fine twined linen' (שֵׁשׁ מָשְׁזָר) of Ex. 26-28 36-39 was probably woven of threads spun from a still finer flax than that which produced the ordinary *šēš*; we may compare what Pliny (19 1, § 2) says of the specially fine Cuman flax: *nec id maxime mirum, singula earum stamina centeno quinquageno filo constare*, adding that in the still more wonderful case of the famous linen cuirass of Amasis each thread was made up of 365 minute threads. We know from existing remains to what perfection the arts of spinning and weaving were carried in ancient Egypt.

8. *ḥōrāi*, חוֹרָי (Is. 19 9,† 𝔊 *βύσσος*, AV NET-WORKS, mg. WHITE WORKS, RV WHITE CLOTH, mg. cotton), which is a peculiar form[3] from חוּר, Esth. 1 6 8 15, and is most naturally referred to the byssus or 'fine linen' for which Egypt was famous. We need not emend the word to חֻוָּר or יֶחֱוָרוּ (Koppe, etc.).

9. *βύσσος*, Lk. 16 19 Rev. 18 12†, cp *βύσσινος*, Rev. 18 12 16 19 8 14†. See (3). 10. *λίνον*, used for 'flax' in Mt. 12 20, and, according to some MSS, for 'linen clothing' in Rev. 15 6—where, however, WH followed by RV read *λίθον*. For the '*linen* frock' in Ecclus. 40 4 (𝔊 *ὠμολίνον*) see FROCK. 11. *ὀθόνια*, 'linen clothes' (Lk. 24 12 Jn. 19 40 20 5 *ff.*†), plur. dimin. of *ὀθόνη* (rendered 'sheet,' Acts 10 11 11 5†), on which see (1). So far as we can gather from classical references 9-11 refer to the finer sort of linen cloth, as opposed to the coarser *φώσων* or 'canvas' (see Yates, *op. cit.* 265).

12. *σινδών* (Mt. 27 59 Mk. 14 51 *f.* 15 46 Lk. 23 53†; RV 'linen cloth' consistently); cp Egypt. *shent* (see 7) is synonymous with *ὀθόνιον*; cp Mt. 27 59 Mk. 15 46 Lk. 24 12 Jn. 20 5 *f.*, and, in 𝔊, Judg. 14 13, *ὀθόνια* [BL], *σινδόνας* [A].

N. M.

[1] So, too, RV in Prov. 31 24.

[2] According to Jewish tradition (Mishna, *Kil.* 9 1) the garments of the priests were woollen—being an exception to the law against *ša'aṭnēz*, שַׁעַטְנֵז, Lev. 19 19 ('garment of linen and woollen,' AV), Dt. 22 11 (. . . 'woollen and linen together,' AV). Dillmann (on Ex. 25 4), however, thinks they may have been cotton. 'שׁ is explained from the Coptic to mean 'false cloth,' *saht*, 'woven,' and *nudj*, 'false' (cp Kn. *ad loc.*). 𝔊's word *κίβδηλος* occurs again in Wisd. 2 16 (AV 'counterfeit,' RV 'base metal') and 15 9 ('counterfeit[s],' EV). Cp DRESS, § 7, col. 1140.

[3] Cp גּוֹבַי in Am. 7 1 Nah. 3 17 (Stade, *Gr.*, § 301 *a*).

LINTEL. On the sacredness of the lintel see THRESHOLD. The only true Hebrew word for 'lintel' is מַשְׁקוֹף, *mašḳōph* (cp Ass. *askuppu*), Ex. 12 7 22 *f.*

For אַיִל, *'áyil* (1 K. 6 31) RVmg. gives 'posts'; and for כַּפְתּוֹר, *kaphtōr* (Am. 9 1), AVmg. and RV give 'chapiter(s).' See CHAPITER (4).

LINUS (ΛΙΝΟϹ [Ti. WH]) unites with Eubulus and others in a greeting to Timothy (2 Tim. 4 21). According to Irenæus (*Adv. haer.*, iii. 3 3) Linus received the bishopric of Rome, not from Peter as first bishop, but from 'the apostles' (cp Eus. *HE* 3 2; and the lists of the seventy disciples compiled by Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus).

In the Syriac *Teaching of Simon Cephas*, where he is called Ansus or Isus (the *l* of his name having been taken as the sign of the accusative, which might be omitted), he is a disciple of Peter, a deacon, whom the apostle makes bishop in his stead, with the injunction that nothing else besides the NT and the OT be read before the people; he is also represented as taking up the bodies of Peter and Paul by night and burying them. One of the three recensions of the *Acts of Peter and Paul* is traditionally attributed to Linus. He is commemorated in the Roman Church on 23rd Sept. According to the Roman Breviary he was an Etrurian, native of Volaterræ, and was bishop of Rome in succession to Peter for eleven years, two months, twenty-three days, and is buried in the Vatican. Schultze (*Arch. Stud.* 228), however, has shown that there was no Christian burying-place in the Vatican before the reign of Constantine. Harnack dates the episcopate of Linus A.D. 64-76. See his *Chronologie der alt-christl. Lit.*, and cp Lightfoot, *St. Clement of Rome*, Zahn, *Einleit.* 2 23.

LION. Few animals are mentioned more frequently in the OT than the lion (*Felis leo*), and familiar acquaintance with its habits is shown by the many similes employed. There are five Hebrew words for lion, which, it so happens, are collected together in a single passage (Job 4 10 *f.*).

1. Terms.

1. *'ărī*, *'aryēh*, אֲרִי, אַרְיֵה, the common word for a full-grown lion. The cognate word in Eth. is applied to any wild beast, and in Arab. *arwā* denotes mountain-goats.

2. *lābi*, לָבִיא (√'to eat,' cp Ar. *labiya*, but see Hommel, *Säugeth.* 288 *f.*), used especially of the lioness, Gen. 49 9 Nu. 23 24 Joel 1 6 (‖ ארי, אריה), and *lĕbiyyā*, לְבִיָּא, Ezek. 19 2, and cp also the place-name BETH-LEBAOTH (לְבָאוֹת [בֵּית]). [In Ps. 22 17*a* [16*a*] 21*b* [20*b*] the *lābī* or 'greedy lion' takes the place of the dog in Che.'s text; cp DOG, § 3, begin.]

3. *kĕphīr*, כְּפִיר ('covered'—*i.e.*, with hair?), a young and strong lion; cp Ezek. 19 2 *f.* 5 Ps. 17 12 (‖ אריה), Ezek. 38 13 etc. The place-name כְּפִירָה *may* have the same meaning; see CHEPHIRAH.

4. *láyiš*, לַיִשׁ (√'to be strong'), Job 4 11 Is. 30 6 (‖ לביא), Prov. 30 30; cp perhaps the place-name LAISH.

5. *šáḥal*, שַׁחַל (√'to cry out'), Job 4 10 10 16 (‖ ארי) 28 8*b* Hos. 5 14 and Ps. 91 13 (‖ כפיר). Identified by Boch. with the black Syrian lion (cp Pliny 8 17). On Ps. 91 13 see SERPENT.

AV in Job 28 8 renders בְּנֵי שַׁחַץ, 'lion's whelps,' RV, however, 'the proud beasts' (cp Talm. שַׁחַץ, 'pride'); cp RV's rendering of 41 34 [26]; Vg. *filii superbiæ*; Ges.-Buhl, 'noble beasts of prey'—*e.g.*, 'the lion.' *Šáḥaṣ*, however, seems to be insufficiently attested. In Job 28 the context shows that some definite animal is meant. See OSSIFRAGE. In Job 41 34 שחץ should probably be שֶׁרֶץ (𝔊 *v.* 25 [26] *τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν*, so Pesh., Michaelis, etc.).

A study of the parallelism in the different passages will show that the above words for lion were more or less interchangeable. The Rabbinical writers did not see this; they sought to assign each name to a particular part of the lion's life. For instance, most unreasonably, לַיִשׁ (no. 4) was said to mean an old, decrepit lion. In reality ליש means the precise opposite—a lion 'which turneth not away for any' (Prov. 30 30)—*i.e.*, one in its full strength.

It is plain enough that lions were a source of danger in ancient Palestine. The reedy swamps of the Jordan (Jer. 49 19 50 44 Zech. 11 3, cp Rel. *Pal.* 274), the recesses of Mts. Hermon and Senir (Cant. 4 8), and the desert S. of Judah (Is. 30 6),

2. Haunts.

were their favourite haunts. They are no longer found in Palestine, though they are mentioned as late as the twelfth century (Reland), but are still met with in the jungles of the Euphrates and the Tigris. They have probably disappeared from Arabia,[1] but abound, according to Layard,[2] in Khuzistan. In a few parts of India they are not unknown ;[3] but everywhere, even in Africa, they show a tendency to disappear before the encroachments of man. In historical times the lion ranged over Syria, Arabia, Asia Minor, and the country S. of the Balkans, besides the whole of Africa and the greater part of northern and central Hindustan.

3. Habits.

In its habits the lion is monogamous. The number of young produced at a birth varies from two to four, but is commonly three ; the male helps to rear the whelps by providing food for them, and he also takes part in teaching them to provide for themselves (cp Ezek. 19 2 *ff.* Nah. 2 12 [13]). Lions do not entirely depend on the food they kill, but will eat dead bodies even in an advanced state of decomposition. As a rule they are nocturnal in their habits, though occasionally seen by daylight, and their habit of lurking in secret places is often referred to by the OT writers (Ps. 10 9 17 12 Job 38 39 *f.* Lam. 3 10 Jer. 4 7 and Dt. 33 22). The lion was the shepherd's terror (cp Mic. 5 8 [7]) ; more than once, as David told Saul, he had to rescue a lamb from a lion's jaws[4] (1 S. 17 34 RV ; cp Am. 3 12). Ordinary shepherds had to band themselves together to drive off the enemy (Is. 31 4, and see Am. 3 12). Not unfrequently men were attacked (1 K. 13 24 *ff.* 20 36).

It seems as if the diminished population of Samaria after the captivity were much plagued by lions (2 K. 17 24 *ff.*). This is represented as a judgment ; a similar story is told of Decius (see Rel. *Pal.* 96 *f.*). Generally 'man-eaters' are the old lions who, with diminished activity and broken teeth, find it difficult to capture big game. On Benaiah's exploit (2 S. 23 20) see SNOW.

4. Poetical allusions.

The lion's roar is a favourite figure applied to enemies (Ps. 22 13 [14] Prov. 28 15 Zeph. 3 3), to false prophets (Ezek. 22 25), to the wrath of an earthly monarch (Prov. 19 12 20 2), to the wrath of God (Jer. 25 30 Joel 3 [4] 16), and to the fury of the devil (1 Pet. 5 8). Other references are made to his open mouth ready to rend the helpless (Ps. 22 21 [22] 2 Tim. 4 17), to his chasing his victims (Ps. 7 2 [3] Job 10 16), and to his powerful teeth, symbols of strength (Joel 1 6 Ecclus. 21 2 Rev. 9 8). In Gen. 49 9 the tribe of Judah is compared to a lion ; hence the Messianic title in Rev. 5 5. The same title is given to Dan in Dt. 33 22, and to all Israel in Nu. 23 24 24 9 ; also to Saul and Jonathan in 2 S. 1 23, and to Judas the Maccabee in 1 Macc. 3 4 2 Macc. 11 11. David's Gadite guard are called 'lion-faced' (1 Ch. 12 8) ; see also ARIEL.

5. Lion-hunting.

To hunt lions was the sport of kings.[5] Amenḥotep III. boasts of having slain 102 lions during the first ten years of his reign ; 'two *sōss* of lions (*i.e.*, 120) I slew,' says Tiglath-pileser. Ašur-bāni-pal claims to have attacked a lion single-handed, and this exploit was not uncommon among his predecessors. Under the later kings lions were sought out in jungles, caught in snares, and preserved for the royal sport. Bow and arrows, or a sword, daggers, and spears were the weapons of the hunters.[6] In Palestine, as we gather from Ezek. 19 4 8, a pit would be dug, or a net prepared, by which the lion might be caught and then confined in a cage (סוּגַר, *v.* 9†, AV 'ward,' *κημός*).

1 Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 459.
2 *Nineveh and its Remains*, 2 48.
3 Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajah*, 202, 464, 468.
4 In the ideal future, however, the lion would lie down with the calf ; cp Is. 11 6 *f.* 65 25.
5 For the lion as represented upon Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Ancient Egypt*, 2 281 323 ; *Art in Chald. and Ass.* 2 154 *ff.* ; Houghton, *TSBA* 5 325.
6 Houghton, *l.c.*

6. In mythology, etc.

The great brazen laver of Solomon's temple was adorned with lions (1 K. 7 29), as well as with oxen and cherubim. All these figures were of Babylonian and Phœnician origin, and represented the strength of the victorious and terrible God of heaven. In Babylonian mythology the lion is the symbol of summer-heat. NERGAL [*q.v.*], the god of summer-heat, is represented as a lion-god. It is not, however, a probable view that the opening exploit in the career of Samson (Judg. 14 5) is to be directly explained by this symbolism (Steinthal). More probably, like Gilgameš[1] and the Phœnician god Melkart,[2] the hero Samson was represented as freeing his land from dangerous animals, which in turn may have been suggested by the conflict of the solar god Marduk with the dragon Tiāmat. In Egypt the lion-headed goddess (Sekhet) was the patron of Bubastis, Leontopolis, and other cities ; and at Baalbek, according to Damascius (*Vit. Isid.* 203), the protecting deity was worshipped under the form of a lion.

More famous, however, is the great Arabian lion-god Yaghūth, *i.e.*, 'protector' (cp Kor. *Sur.* 71 23). Such names as 'Abd- and 'Obaid-Yaghūth among the Ḳoreish suggest that he was worshipped by Mohammed's own tribe. Yaghūth[3] is of Yemenite origin, and the name has been identified by Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 43 ; cp Wellhausen, *Heid.*(2) 22) with the Edomite JEUSH (*q.v.*). Labwān (cp לביא) and Laith (cp ליש) occur as tribal names, and *asad*, the common word for a lion in Arabic, is frequently found not only in Arabia but also in the Sinaitic inscriptions. For evidence of an apparent connection between a lion-god and lion-clans, cp *Kin.* 192-194 ; *Rel. Sem.*(2) 43 ; We. *Heid.*(2) 19 *ff.* A. E. S.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

LITTER. That litters were in use in Palestine before the Greek period is clear, not only from the pathetic allusion in Dt. 28 56, but also from Gen. 31 34 (E), where Rachel is said to have hidden her teraphim in the 'camel's furniture,' which should probably rather be 'camel's litter.'

In the phrase כַּר הַגָּמָל (𝔊 *τὰ σάγματα τῆς καμήλου*) כַּר is so called from the round shape of the litter. In Is. 66 20 𝔊 renders כרכרות by *σκιάδια*, thinking of כַּר (see, however, DROMEDARY). The camel-litters are, in fact, 'shaded' by an awning stretched on the wooden framework.

Usually, one may suppose, the litters were not borne by men, but were of a size to swing on the back of a mule. 'The Damascus litter,' says Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 61), 'is commonly a cradle-like frame with its tilt for one person, two such being laid in balance upon a mule's back ; others are pairs housed in together like a bedstead under one gay canvass awning.' The Arabian litters, which were 'charged as a houdah on a camel's back,' seemed to this traveller (2 484) more comfortable. Burckhardt describes these as sometimes five feet long (see Knobel-Dillm., on Gen. 31 34). A representation of an old Egyptian litter is given by Wilkinson (*Anc. Eg.* 1 421, no. 199) ; on the Greek *φορεῖον* and the Roman *lectica*, Smith's *Dict. Class. Ant.* (*s.v.* 'Lectica') may be consulted.

The word *φορεῖον* has been supposed by many to occur in a Hebraised form in Cant. 3 7. If true, this has an obvious bearing on the important question whether there are any books in the OT belonging to the Greek period, and directly influenced by the Greek language and even Greek ideas. No word for 'litter' occurs in Ecclesiastes, but in Cant. 3 7 RV rightly renders מִטָּה (*miṭṭah* ; see BED, § 2) 'litter,'—'Behold it is the litter of Solomon' (*κλίνη*, *lectulus*). The bridegroom (honoured by the extravagant title 'Solomon') is supposed to be borne in the centre of a procession, sitting in a litter or palanquin (cp 2 S. 3 31, where the same word means 'bier'—*κλίνη*, *feretrum*). According to the generally received view, this 'litter' or 'palanquin' is

1 See Smith-Sayce, *Chaldæan Genesis*, illustration opp. p. 175.
2 See Peters, *Nippur*, 2 303 (with illustration).
3 The proper name *ιεγουθος* has been found on an inscription from Memphis (We.).

called in *v.* 9 by another term[1] (אַפִּרְיוֹן; 𝔊 φορ[ε]ῖον), which Robertson Smith inclined to explain from Sanskrit (see PALANQUIN), but most scholars (so *e.g.*, Bu. and Siegfr., but not Del.) regard as a Greek loan-word = φορεῖον. (In the Midrash on Cant. אפריון is explained by פריוכא = φόρημα). The Greek derivation is supported by a partial parallelism between the account of Solomon's litter in Cant. 3 10 and that of the φορεῖα in a festal procession of Antiochus Epiphanes (Athen. 5 5; cp CANTICLES, § 15). To this view three objections may be raised. (1) The φορεῖον was borrowed by the Greeks from Asia. (2) If a Greek (or Sanskrit) loan-word were used at all, it would be in *v.* 7, not in *v.* 9. The native word *miṭṭah* would be appropriately used to explain the foreign word; but after the litter has been brought before us as a *miṭṭah*, we do not expect to be told that 'king Solomon made himself a φορεῖον.'

The surrounding context is full of difficulties which suggest corruption of the text. We cannot, therefore, consider *appiryōn* apart from the rest of the passage. We may suppose that אפריון is a dittogram of לבנון, and as the result of a series of critical emendations (notably that of המלאכה for המלך, אלמגים for ארגמן [see PURPLE], and הבנים for אהבה [see EBONY]), the description of the bridegroom's litter in Cant. 3 6-11 assumes this form (see Che. *JQR* 11 562 *ff.* [1899]),—

What is it that comes up from the wilderness
  Like pillars of smoke;
Perfumed with myrrh and frankincense,
  With all spices of the merchant?

See, it is Solomon's litter,
  Surrounded by warriors;
They are all wearers of swords,
  Expert in war.
Every one has his sword on his thigh
  For fear of lions.

Solomon made himself this artful work
  Of timber of Lebanon;
Its pillars he made of silver,
  Its back of gold,
Its seat—almug-wood in the centre,
  Inlaid with ebony.

Come forth, ye maidens of Zion,
  And behold the king,
In the crown with which his mother crowned him
  On the day of his marriage,
And in the day of the joy of his heart,
* * * * *

Thus, besides כַּר הַגָּמָל, (*a*) מִטָּה, *miṭṭah*, but not *appiryōn* (which is really non-existent, except in *MH*), means litter. So also (*b*) does צָב, *ṣāb*, in Is. 66 20, unless 'cars (for mules)' be preferred as a rendering. See WAGON. (*c*) φορεῖον (see above) occurs in 2 Macc. 3 27 (Heliodorus; *sella gestatoria*), and 9 8 (Antiochus; *gestatorium*); RV 'litter,' AV 'horselitter.' (*d*) δίφραξ [A], or δίφρος [V], 2 Macc. 14 21; RV 'and a litter was brought forward from each army' (προῆλθεν παρ' ἑκάστου δίφραξ). Hence the denom. διφρεύω, properly 'to drive a chariot'; Bar. 6 31 [30] οἱ ἱερεῖς διφρεύουσι ([B]; but οἱ ἱ. διαφθείρουσιν [A], καθίζουσιν οἱ ἱ. [Q]). RVmg. by a doubtful extension of the sense, 'the priests bear the litter' (RV 'sit on seats'; AV 'sit in their temples'). The Greek text seems to be corrupt. T. K. C.

LITTLE ONES (Jer. 14 3). See NOBLES.

LITTLE OWL (כּוֹס), Lev. 11 17. See OWL.

LITURGY. See PSALMS, HYMNS, SACRIFICE.

LIVER (כָּבֵד, 'heavy,' with reference to the weight of the liver; ΗΠΑΡ). It is important to begin by noticing the sacredness of the liver. Repeatedly in P 'the *yōthéreth* of (or, upon) the liver' is directed to be burned upon the sacrificial altar.

The Heb. phrases are יֹתֶרֶת הַכָּבֵד,[2] Ex. 29 22 Lev. 8 16 25 9 19; הַיֹּתֶ׳ עַל־הַכָּבֵד, Lev. 3 4 10 15 4 9 7 4; and הַיֹּתֶ׳ מִן־הַכָּבֵד, Lev. 9 10. 𝔊BAFL also reads one of these phrases in Lev. 7 30. According to Driver-White (*SBOT* on Lev. 3 4), *yōthéreth* denotes probably the fatty mass at the opening of the liver which reaches the kidneys and becomes visible upon the removal of the 'lesser omentum.' This latter is only a thin transparent sheet and cannot well be reckoned among the fat parts of the animal. At all events the old interpretation 'lobe of the liver' (𝔊, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 9 2, etc.) has nothing in its favour.

[1] Cp Mishna, *Sōṭā* 9 4 (49 *a*), for the late use of אפריון for the bridal palanquin.

[2] Pesh. *ḥĕṣār kabdā*, lit. 'the court (?) of the liver,' cp Levy, *Targ. HWB*, *s.v* חֲצָרָא. The same term in MH, *e.g.*, *Yōmā* 8 6, where it is prohibited on the day of Atonement to give to a man who has been bitten by a mad dog the animal's חצר כבד. This homœopathic mode of treatment was evidently customary.

In Tob. 6 4-16 8 2, there is a reference to the use of the liver of a fish in exorcisms; its employment in divination has been already referred to in connection with Ezek. 21 21 [26]. See DIVINATION, § 2 (3),[1] and cp Oefele, *ZATW* 20 [1900], 311 *ff.*

But why was this part of the viscera so especially sacred? Because the liver contested with the heart the honour of being the central organ of life. Wounds in the liver were therefore thought to be mortal[2]; *e.g.*, Prov. 7 23, 'a dart through his liver,' and Lam. 2 11, 'my liver' (‖ 'my bowels,' but 𝔊 and Pesh. כְּבֹדִי) is poured out upon the earth,' are each of them a periphrasis for death. Being therefore so sacred, the liver was not to be eaten, but to be returned to the giver of life (see REINS).

We can now understand the Assyrian usage by which *kabittu* (= כָּבֵד) became equivalent to *libbu*, 'heart,'[3] and are not surprised to find a group of passages in OT, in which כָּבֵד has to be restored for the faulty כָּבֹד (כָּבוֹד) of MT. In Ps. 7 6 [5] the keen-witted Oratorian Houbigant long ago read 'and pour out my liver on the dust' (וּכְבֵדִי לֶעָפָר יִשְׁפֹּךְ; cp Lam. 2 11), and in Ps. 16 9 [8], 'Therefore my heart is glad, my mind exults' (וַיָּגֶל כְּבֵדִי), remarking that 'in the Scriptures the liver is the seat of joy and sorrow'; and in Gen. 49 6 he follows 𝔊 (τὰ ἥπατά μου) in reading כְּבֵדִי 'my liver' for כְּבֹדִי 'my glory.' In Ps. 30 13 [12] 57 9 [8] 108 2 [1] similar corrections are necessary; perhaps also in Is. 16 11 (כבדי for קרבי; cp Lam. 2 11).[4] T. K. C.—S. A. C.

LIVING CREATURES. See CHERUB i., § 1.

LIZARD. Tristram has described forty-four species and twenty-eight genera of the group Lacertilia found at the present day in Palestine. They live in great numbers in the sandy desert and generally in the wilderness, and are among the commonest animals the traveller meets with. Amongst those most frequently found he mentions the *Lacerta viridis* and *L. lævis* and the wall lizards belonging to the genus *Zootoca*. Another not unimportant species, called the *Monitor niloticus*, was held in high esteem by the ancient Egyptians as destroying the eggs and the young of the crocodile. Although the lizard is mentioned only once in AV, there can be but little doubt that this is the animal referred to in the following Heb. words:—

1. צָב, *ṣāb* (Lev. 11 29,[5] AV TORTOISE, RV GREAT LIZARD). Its Ar. equivalent *ḍabb* denotes a non-poisonous lizard which is eaten by some Arabian Bedouins.[6] It is identified with the *Uromastix spinipes*—a lizard with a powerful tail covered with strong spines. It is mentioned among the unclean creeping things (Lev. *l.c.*), and since it is followed by לְמִינֵהוּ ('after its kind') is probably a generic term, in which case the following names in *v.* 30 are, as RVmg. suggests, those of different kinds of lizards.

2. אֲנָקָה, *'ănāḳāh* (Lev. 11 30, RV GECKO), AV FERRET [*q.v.*].

[1] Cp Frazer, *Paus.* 4 5; Wellh. *Heid.*(2) 133 *f.*; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 379, n. 4.

[2] Cp Æsch. *Agam.* 432, θιγγάνει πρὸς ἧπαρ, of a heart-wound.

[3] For the parallelism of these words see Del. *Ass. HWB* 317. Del. renders *kabittu* only 'Gemüth.' But Jensen (*Kosmol.* 11 n.) gives (1) liver (2) inward part = centre; and Muss-Arnolt (1) liver, (2) disposition.

[4] One may hope that, as Schleusner suggests (*Lex.*, *s.v.*) the ἧπαρ of 𝔊 in 1 S. 19 13 16 *a* is a corruption of a Greek transliteration of כביר. Theod. has χοβερ; but Aq. τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος; cp 2 K. 8 15 𝔊 (Klo.). See BED, §§ 3, 4 (*d*).

[5] Hitzig on Nah. 2 7 reads הַצָּב, 'the lizard' (*i.e.*, Nineveh) for הֻצַּב; against this cp Hi.-Steiner(4), *ad loc.*

[6] According to Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 70) the *ṭhób* [*i.e.*, *ḍabb*] is an edible sprawling lizard, fullest length a yard with tail, and is considered a delicacy. The colour is blackish and green-specked above the pale yellowish and dull belly, and its skin is used for the nomad's milk-bottles.

3. כֹּחַ, *kōăḥ* (*ib.*, RV LAND-CROCODILE), AV CHAMELEON [*q.v.*].

4. לְטָאָה, *lĕṭāʾāh* (*ib.*, EV LIZARD; καλαβώτης; *stellio*), in the Talmud is the general term for a lizard; cp Lewysohn, *Zool.* 221.

5. חֹמֶט, *ḥōmeṭ* (*ib.*, AV SNAIL; σαῦρα, *lacerta*; cp Sam. Rashi, Kim.), RV SAND-LIZARD, so Boch., who identifies it with the Ar. *ḥulasa*. Probably a sand-lizard of which there are many species to be found in the Sinaitic peninsula, and which, from the fact that its feet are almost invisible, is often called by the Arabs the 'Sand-fish.'

6. תִּנְשֶׁמֶת, *tinšĕmeth* (*ib.*, from נשם, 'to breathe, blow,' AV MOLE; [α]σπαλαξ; *talpa*), explained as the 'mole' (which ill accords with the description in *v.* 29, see Di.), or as the 'centipede' (cp Pesh.). It is very commonly taken to be the CHAMELEON (*q.v.*); but the genuineness of the word is open to question; see MOLE 2, OWL.

7. שְׂמָמִית,[1] *śĕmāmīth*, reckoned among the 'little things which are clever' (Prov. 30 28, AV SPIDER; καλαβώτης; *stellio*; ܣܡܡܐ [Pesh.]),[2] is rather the lizard (so RV), the reference being to the fact that a harmless lizard may be held in the hands with impunity. שממית is the rendering of the Targ. Jer., for לְטָאָה (above), and that of the Sam. for אֲנָקָה. The mod. Gr. σαμιάμινθος is probably derived from it (cp Del. *Prov.*, *ad loc.*).

The lizard, though eaten sometimes by Arabian tribes, was forbidden among the Jews; and a curious old tradition relates that Mohammed forbade it as food, because he thought the lizard was the offspring of an Israelite clan which had been transformed into reptiles (*RS* 88; Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 326). This has a suggestion of totemism, and that the lizard was a sacred animal seems to be borne out by the occurrence of the Ar. *ḍabb* (צב) as the eponym of a widespread tribe (*Kin.* 198), and also by the recollection of the important part the flesh, bones, and skin of the lizard have played in magical and medicinal preparations.[3]

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

LOAF (כִּכָּר, Ex. 29 23 etc.; לֶחֶם, 1 K. 14 3 etc.; ἄρτος, Mk. 8 14). See BREAD.

LO-AMMI (לֹא עַמִּי), Hos. 1 9. See LO-RUHAMAH.

LOAN (שְׁאֵלָה), 1 S. 2 20. The sense is unique; see 1 28. Cp SAUL, § 1.

LOCK (מַנְעוּל), RV Cant. 5 5 etc. See DOOR.

LOCKS. Five Hebrew words correspond to 'lock' (once) or 'locks' (of hair) in AV; but one of these (*ṣammāh*, צַמָּה) is more correctly rendered 'veil' in RV; see VEIL.

1. פֶּרַע, *péraʿ*, the full hair of the head = Ass. *pirtu*, Nu. 6 5 Ezek. 44 20. On a supposed case of the fem. plur. in Judg. 5 2, see HAIR, § 3 (with note 3), and cp Wellh. *Ar. Heid.*(2) 123.

2. צִיצִת, *ṣīṣith*, a forelock, Ezek. 8 3†. Aq. Theod. κράσπεδον ('fringe,' cp FRINGES, n. 2). The mention of the forelock in connection with ecstatic experiences is unique. Cp HAIR, § 2.

3. קְוֻצּוֹת, *ḳĕwuṣṣōth* (common in MH and Syr.), Cant. 5 2 11†. Cp CANTICLES, § 15 (*e*), and on the form see Kö. 2 1, p. 199.

4. מַחְלְפוֹת, *maḥlĕphōth*, properly 'plaits,' in connection with the long hair of Samson, Judg. 16 13 19. Cp HAIR, § 2.

LOCUST. The biblical references to the locust are of much interest, though the Hebrew text may perhaps sometimes invite criticism. The species that is intended is usually supposed to be the *Schistocerca peregrina*, formerly known as *Acridium peregrinum*. This species, like all the locusts of ordinary language, belongs to the *Orthoptera* and to the family *Acridiidæ*, not to the *Locustidæ*, a name which has produced much confusion. The species at the present day extends from North-West India to the west coast of Northern Africa; it is the only Old-World species of the genus, all other forms being American.

1. Species and habits.

[1] With שׂ cp Del. *ad loc.*, and see Lag. *Sym.* 1 156.

[2] The Pesh. reading is another form of אֲנָקָה; see FERRET.

[3] Cp the Witches scene in Macbeth, Act iv. Sc. 1.

To illustrate the great distances that can be traversed by these insects it may be mentioned that in 1865 a vessel bound from Bordeaux to Boston was invaded by *S. peregrina* when 1200 miles from the nearest land, after which for two days the air was full of locusts which settled all over the ship. In 1889 there passed over the Red Sea a swarm which was estimated to extend over 2000 square miles, and, each locust being assumed to weigh 1/16 oz., the weight of the swarm was calculated to be 42,850 millions of tons; a second and even larger swarm passed on the following day. That these numbers are no exaggeration is shown by the Government Reports on the destruction of locusts in Cyprus. In 1881 over 1300 tons of locust eggs had been destroyed, but in spite of this it was calculated that over 5000 egg cases, each containing many eggs, were deposited in the island in 1883.

The eggs are laid in the ground by means of the powerful ovipositor of the female, the deposition usually being in remote and uncultivated lands. On leaving the egg the young immediately cast their skin, an operation repeated about the 6th, 13th, 21st, 31st and 50th day. Although the wings attain their perfect development and the locust becomes capable of flight and of forming swarms only at the 6th and last moult, much harm may be done by the young, which hop[1] over the land in great armies devouring every blade of grass and every leaf of plants and shrubs (cp Joel 1 4 7). The most striking effects, however, are caused by the swarms of migratory locusts (see above); these, coming out of a clear sky, darken the sun (Ex. 10 15) and in a short time devour every green thing, the coming together of their mouth appendages even producing a perceptible noise as they eat their way through the country (cp Joel 2 5). They are therefore an apt figure for swarming hordes (Judg. 6 5 7 12 Jer. 46 23 Judith 2 20, and cp Jerome on Joel 1 6: *quid enim locustis innumerabilius et fortius; quibus humana industria resistere non potest*). Their habit of banding together led a proverb-writer to class them among the little things of this earth which are wise (Pr. 30 27). The likeness they bear to horses was also noticed (Joel 2 4 Rev. 9 7, and cp the Italian name *cavaletta*), also the suddenness of their disappearance. When the hot sun beats powerfully upon them, they literally 'flee away, and the place is not known where they are'[2] (Nah. 3 17). Fortunately the visits of the swarms are, as a rule, not annual, but recur only after a lapse of some years, though the period is uncertain; the cause of the immense destruction of locust life which this indicates, and still more the cause of the sudden recrudescence of activity, are at present unknown.

Locusts are frequently mentioned by the ancients as an article of food. They are much eaten in the East, and, when the legs and wings are removed and the body fried in butter or oil, are said to be not unpalatable. On Mt. 3 4 see at end of article.

There are nine words in the OT taken to mean the locust, and although, according to the Talmud, there were some 800[3] species in Palestine (cp Lewysohn, *Zool. d. Talm.* 286 *ff.*), we cannot, with any degree of certainty, apportion a distinct species to each Hebrew word.

2. Names.

1. אַרְבֶּה, *arbeh* (prop. 'multiplier'; ἀκρίς, βροῦχος [Lev. 11 22 1 K. 8 37], ἀττέλεβος [Nah. 3 17]), is the usual word for locust, and appears to be the generic term. It is the locust of the Egyptian plague (Ex. 10 1-19, see EXODUS ii., § 3; ii., col. 1442). In Judg. 6 5 7 12 Jer. 46 23 Job 39 20 AV renders GRASSHOPPER. [In Ps. 109 23, 'I am tossed up and down as the locust' (EV) is hardly correct; Kau. *HS* gives 'I am shaken out.' נִנְעַרְתִּי is corrupt; read נֶאֱרֵתִי, 'I am gathered (for removal) like locusts, cp Is. 33 4. So Che. *Ps.*(2); cp § 3.]

2. סָלְעָם, *solʿām* (ἀττάκης [BAFL]), in EV the BALD-LOCUST (Lev. 11 22), cp Aram. סַלְעַם, 'to consume,' which in the Targ. represents בלע. Perhaps a *Tryxalis* with its long smooth head and projecting antennæ is meant.

3. חַרְגֹּל, *ḥargōl* (Lev. 11 22); see BEETLE.

4. חָגָב, *ḥāgāb* (√ 'to hide, or conceal'? ἀκρίς, but in Lev. 11 22

[1] Cp Job 39 20 RV: 'Hast thou made him to leap as the locust?'; and Is. 33 4. [In Ecclus. 43 17 [19] the fall of snow is likened to the flying down of birds and to the lighting of the locust—ὡς ἀκρὶς καταλύουσα (marg. כארבה ישכון רדתו (רדתו).]

[2] Thomson, *LB* 419.

[3] Eight of these at most could be locusts.

ὀφιομάχης) usually rendered GRASSHOPPER (cp Lev. *l.c.*, Nu. 13 33 Is. 40 22 Eccles. 12 5) but in 2 Ch. 7 13, 'locust.' It is referred to in Nu. 13 33 (see n. 1), Is. 40 22 [also in Is. 51 6,[1] see Che. 'Is.' *SBOT* (Heb.); and in Ps. 37 20 90 9,[2] see Che. *Ps.*(2)] as an emblem of feebleness and insignificance. In Talm. חָגָב is the generic term for locusts (cp Lewysohn, *l.c.*). Cp the proper names HAGAB, HAGABAH.

5. גָּזָם, *gāzām*; see PALMER-WORM.

6. יֶלֶק, *yéleḳ* ('licker'; βροῦχος; ἀκρίς in Jer. 51 14 27), usually CANKERWORM (so RV regularly) or CATERPILLER.[3] Some kind of locust is meant, or possibly a young locust. In Jer. 51 27 *yéleḳ sāmār* (ילק סמר), 'rough caterpiller' (or 'cankerworm'), denotes some special kind. The Vg. has *bruchum aculeatum*.[4]

7. צְלָצַל, *ṣĕlāṣal* (probably 'tinkler,' ἐρυσίβη), may be some species of insect noted for its strident noise, such as, in Dt. 28 42 (see also HORNET), the *cicada*, or, in Is. 18 1, according to some (see Che. *Proph. Is.*, *ad loc.*), the formidable tsetse-fly, the 'tsaltsalya' of the Gallas.[5] But other views of צלצל כנפים in Is. *l.c.* are possible. See below § 3 and cp *e.g.*, *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb. pp. 80 (lines 36-46), 108 (lines 40-46); note, also, AV's rendering 'shadowing with wings,' and RV's 'the rustling of wings.'

8. גֵּבִים, גּוֹבַי, *gēbīm* (plur.), *gōbay* (collective)—*i.e.*, 'swarm'? —(ἀκρίς), usually rendered GRASSHOPPER (cp Nah. 3 17,[6] ‖ ארבה); but in Am. 7 1, in AVmg., 'green worms.'

9. חָסִיל, *ḥāsīl* ('consumer,' cp the verb חסל Dt. 28 38; ἐρυσίβη; and βροῦχος 2 Ch. 6 28), in 1 K. 8 37 2 Ch. 6 28 Ps. 78 46 ‖ אַרְבֶּה; some kind of locust must be meant.

Of the above, nos. 1-4 were classed among clean winged things and were allowed to be eaten (Lev. 11 21 *f.*, P; cp CLEAN, § 11); they are described as having 'legs above their feet' (כְּרָעַיִם מִמַּעַל לְרַגְלָיו), whence it would appear that a distinction was made between leaping locusts, *saltatoria*, and those which run, *cursoria*. A similar distinction is made by the Arabs between the *fāris* (riding) and the *rājil* (going); cp also 2 Ch. 6 28, Pesh. *ḳamṣā pārĕḥā wĕ-zāḥĕlā*. In the vivid account of the locust plague in Joel 1 *f.* (see JOEL ii., § 5, and cp Driver's Comm.) four of the above are mentioned in the order 5 1 6 9 (Joel 1 4). The fact that the order in 2 25 is different (1 6 9 5) makes it improbable that these words can be taken to refer to locusts in different stages of growth.

3. Difficult references. There are a few passages which have not yet been discussed. In Is. 18 1 the land 'that sends ambassadors by the sea' is neither 'the land of the rustlings of wings' nor 'the land of strident creatures with wings' (see above, § 2 [8]). The most probable reading is 'Ha Cush! land of the streams of Gihon'; Gihon is the name of the upper, or Ethiopian, course of the Nile (see Haupt, *SBOT*, 'Isaiah' [Heb.] 109); the right words have a twofold representation in the Heb. text, though both times in a corrupt form. The difficult clause at the end of Am. 7 1, following the reference to the 'formation' of certain locusts, evidently needs criticism. EV gives, 'and lo, it was the latter growth after the king's mowings,' a somewhat obscure explanation (see MOWINGS). But 'latter growth' (לקש) surely required no explanation. On the other hand, something more might well have been expected about the locusts. 𝔊 gives καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἷς γωγ ὁ βασιλεύς. The true reading probably is וְהִנֵּה יֶלֶק וְאַרְבֶּה וְגָזָם וְחָסִיל, 'and behold the cankerworm, and the locust, and the palmerworm, and the caterpiller' (cp Joel 1 4). The sense gains greatly; we also obtain a fresh point of contact between the Books of Amos and Joel.

Ḥāsīl.—In two passages *ḥāsīl* seems to have been corrupted into *ṣēl*, 'shadow.' One of these (Ps. 109 23), in an emended text, gives a striking parallel to Nah. 3 17; the other (Job 13 28 = 14 2), to Joel 1 7 12. The renderings respectively are—

1. 'Like caterpillers (כחסיל) on the fences I am taken away,
   I am gathered (for removal) like locusts.'
2. 'Like a blossom which appeareth and fadeth,
   Like a palm-tree (13 28, like a vine) which caterpillers have
   eaten.'

Two kinds of locusts (חָסִיל and אַרְבֶּה) are apparently referred to in Ps. 49 11 and (אַרְבֶּה and חַרְגֹּל) in Ecclus. 14 15; in both cases according to critical emendation. Ben Sira's fondness for interweaving biblical expressions with his proverbs has helped in this case to the restoration of the text.

The NT references to locusts (ἀκρίδες) occur in Mt. 3 4 (Mk. 1 6) Rev. 9 3-11. The Mt.-Mk. passage states that locusts formed the chief food of John the Baptist; it is pointed out, however, elsewhere that there may here be an early misunderstanding (see HUSKS, 4, JOHN THE BAPTIST, § 2). The locusts of the Rev. passage belong to the supernatural imagery of the Apocalypse. Contrary to what is said in Prov. 30 27 the locusts are said to have had a king. There may, however, be a confusion between מֶלֶךְ, 'king,' and מַלְאָךְ, 'angel,' ABADDON [*q.v.*] (note Ἑβραϊστί, Rev. 9 11) being variously represented as the 'king' and the 'angel' of the abyss.

See Driver's Excursus in *Joel and Amos* (Camb. Bible, 1897); Æneas Munro, M.D., *The Locust Plague and its Suppression* (1900), and, on the text of Job 13 28 Ps. 49 13 109 23 and Ecclus. 14 15, Che. 'Biblical Difficulties, *Expos.* 14 [1901], 113 *ff.*

A. E. S., § 1; S. A. C., § 2; T. K. C., § 3.

LOD (לֹד) 1 Ch. 8 12. See LYDDA.

LODDEUS (λολδαιος [B in *v.* 46]), 1 Esd. 8 45 *f.*, RV = Ezra 8 17, IDDO [1].

LO-DEBAR (לוֹ דְבָר; 2 S. 9 4 *f.*, λαδαβαρ [BAL]; λαβαδαρι [A in *v.* 4]; לֹא דְבָר; 17 27 λωδαβαρ [BA]; λαδ. [L]), a place in Gilead in which Mephibosheth, Jonathan's son, lay for a time, with Machir son of Ammiel, who also befriended David on his flight to the E. of Jordan. Probably the same place is meant by the **Lidebir** which Josh. 13 26 places in the territory of Gad. Grätz has discovered the name in Am. 6 13, as, along with Karnaim, captured by Israel from Aram. Here MT (לֹא דָבָר) and all the Versions take it as a common noun, 'nothing'; and probably Amos, out of all the conquests of Israel E. of Jordan, chose these two for the possible play upon their names (see AMOS, § 5). Lo-debar has not been identified; but 7 m. E. of *M'kēs* or Gadara, near the great road eastward, and on a southern branch of the *W. Samar*, is a village *Ibdar*, which must have been an important site on the back of the most northerly ridge of Gilead. There are a good spring and ancient remains with caves (Schumacher, *N. Ajlun* 101). The houses cluster on the steep edge of a plateau which commands a view across Ḥaurān as far N. as Hermon. Strategically it is suitable; no other OT name has been identified along this ridge, which must certainly have been contested by Israel and Aram; and it is apparently on this N. border of Gilead that Lidebir is placed by Josh. 13 26 (cp review of Buhl, *Pal.* in *Expositor*, Dec. 1896, p. 411). [The reading 'Lo-debar' in 2 S. 9 4 *f.* has been doubted: see SAUL, § 6, and cp MEPHIBOSHETH. Wellhausen and Nowack adopt the above emendation of Am. 6 13; Driver, however (*Joel and Amos*, 199), finds a difficulty in it. Cp MAHANAIM.]

G. A. S.

LODGE. For (1) מְלוּנָה, *mĕlūnāh*, Is. 1 8†, see HUT; and for (2) תָּא, *tā*, Ezek. 40 7 *ff.*, RV, see CHAMBER, 9.

For מָלוֹן, *mālōn*, 'lodging place' (Gen. 42 27, etc. RV), see INN.

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[1] [כְּמוֹ־כֵן should be כַּחֲגָבִים. Cp Nu. 13 33 where וְכֵן should be וַחֲגָבִים; the clause is a correction of the preceding one which contains the wrong reading 'in *our* eyes'; Che.]

[2] [כִּיקַר כָּרִים and כְּמוֹ־הֵנָּה should both be כַּחֲגָבִים, Che.]

[3] 'Caterpillar' in English is usually restricted to the larval stage of the Lepidoptera, Butterflies and Moths.

[4] In England palmer-worms from their 'roughness and ruggedness' used to be called 'beare-worms' (Topsell, *Hist. of Serpents*, 105 [1608]).

[5] Cp also Ass. *ṣarṣaru*, a creature like a locust (Del. *Ass. HWB* 574).

[6] AV 'the great grasshoppers'; RV 'the swarms of grasshoppers.' This represents גּוֹב גּוֹבַי of MT. But, as We. points out, גוב is probably an error which גּוֹבַי (a collective form) is intended to correct. Render simply, 'the grasshoppers.'

LOFT (עֲלִיָּה), 1 K. 17 19. See CHAMBER, 6.

LOG (לֹג; ΚΟΤΥΛΗ; *sextarium*), Lev. 14 10. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

LOGOS. Except in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 1 1-18) the biblical usage of λογος shows no peculiarity; it means a complex of words (ρηματα), presented in the unity of a sentence or thought. The entire gospel can be called 'the *logos* of God,' or even, simply the *logos* (κατ' ἐξοχήν)—see, *e.g.*, Mt. 13 19-23 Gal. 6 6 2 Cor. 2 17 Rev. 1 2-9—as being a declaration of the divine plan of salvation.

1. Biblical references.

Such passages as Jn. 8 31 37 Acts 6 7 1 Cor. 14 36 border upon poetical personification, but do not cross the line; neither also does Ps. 33 [32] 4 *ff.*, nor yet Wisd. 16 12 18 15 *f.*

In Jn. 1 1 the Logos comes before us as a person, who was 'in the beginning'—*i.e.*, before the creation—in communion with God, and himself was God. The description proceeds in *vv.* 2 *ff.*; but the name Logos is used only once again—in *v.* 14, 'the Logos became flesh'; from this point onward its place is taken by such names as 'Jesus Christ,' 'the Only-begotten,' 'the Son,' 'the Christ.' 1 14 makes it clear that for the writer the identity of the Logos with the bearer of the gospel, Jesus Christ, is a fact as important as it is indubitable; for him the redeemer is in his heavenly pre-existence the Logos, after his incarnation Jesus Christ. In 1 4 *ff.* it is a very difficult matter to distinguish clearly which predicates refer to the pre-existent 'Son,' and which to the Son in his earthly manifestation; probably the writer did not intend that a distinction should be made, but wishes from the outset to habituate his readers to thinking of the man Jesus who died on the cross as being one with the eternal Logos and so denying none of the qualities of the one to the other; the full Godhead of the Saviour is a pledge of the absolute divineness of the salvation he brings. In any case so much is certainly claimed for the Logos in 1 4-14:—(1) An existence that transcends humanity (it is as incarnate that he 'took up his abode among men'), and indeed creation itself—the highest conceivable glory (that of the Father being excepted); (2) an infinite fulness of grace and truth; and (3) the most intimate possible relation to God, even the title of God not being withheld (the article, it is true, is not prefixed). Moreover, according to *v.* 3 it is through the Logos that the universe is created; nothing has come into being without his intervention, and mankind owe also to him the highest good they know—light and life. Thus from Jn. 1 1 *ff.* we may define the Logos as a divine being, yet still sharply distinguished from God, so that monotheism is not directly denied—not equal to the Father (cp Jn. 14 28), yet endowed with all divine powers whereby to bring to pass the will of God concerning the universe.

Apart from the prologue the Logos as thus defined is not again named in the Fourth Gospel; in 1 Jn. 5 7 he has been introduced only by a late interpolation, and in 1 Jn. 1 1 'the Logos of Life' admits of another interpretation than that demanded by the prologue. So also does 'the *logos* of God' in Heb. 4 12, and in the mysterious announcement in Rev. 19 13 that the name of the conquering Messiah, unknown to all save to himself alone, is 'the Logos of God,' it is only the prologue to the gospel that renders it probable that by the expression a heavenly person of the highest rank is intended.

There remains the question: From what source did the conception of the Logos come into the Johannine sphere of thought?

2. Origin of Johannine conception.

It cannot have been the creation of the Evangelist himself, for the very order of the words in 1 1*ac* shows that he has no need to teach that there is a Logos, but only to declare what ought to be believed concerning the Logos. Neither can he have derived it from the OT, though the divine 'words' are conceived of in the Hebrew Scriptures as objectively existing, and as having a creative power[1] (Jn. 1 2 is evidently related to Gen. 1 3 6, etc.), for the Logos is nowhere a fixed member of the supernatural world. Nor would it at all help us to understand the genesis of the Johannine Logos to adduce the phrase 'the Memra' (מימרא דיי) by which the Targums denote the Divine Being in self-manifestation, though the same hypostatising tendency which produced this Jewish phrase also found expression in the like-sounding phrase of the Fourth Gospel.

[1] Che. *OPs.* 321 *f.*

It was from Greek philosophy that the Evangelist derived the expression through the medium of Philo of Alexandria; but this need not be equivalent to saying that he was the first to put forward the connection between the Philonian Logos and the Jesus Christ of NT believers. Nor yet has he slavishly transcribed Philo; rather with a free hand and with great skill has he borrowed and adapted from the Philonian account of the Logos those features which seemed serviceable towards the great end he had in view—the Christianising of the Logos conception. In spite, however, of the majestic originality of the verses in question (1 1-5 9 *ff.*), suggestions of Philo have been traced in almost every word.

Among Greek philosophers it was Heraclitus who first put forward the Logos—*i.e.*, Reason—as the principle underlying the universe; with the Stoics the Logos became the world-soul which shapes the world in conformity with a purpose, and is the uniting principle of all the rational forces which are at work in the world. This conception was combined by Philo with the Platonic doctrine of Logoi as supersensual primal images or patterns of visible things, and, this done, he read into the OT—and so also into Jewish theology—a Logos which was the intermediary being between the universe in its overwhelming manifoldness and Him who is (ὁ ὤν) God, who was ever being presented in a more and more abstract way, and being relegated to a sphere where religion could find no stay.

As the Wisdom of Solomon (cp also Ecclesiasticus) introduces wisdom as God's representative in his relations with the world, and, if a few passages be left out of account, almost compels a personal separation of this wisdom from God, so does Philo, approaching the view of Hellenism, with the Logos, which he already in so many words designates as 'Son' and 'Only-begotten.' The theological position which had gained partial acceptance in Palestinian Judaism also, had manifestly found its advocates from an early period in Christian circles as well; but it was the author of the Fourth Gospel who first had the skill to take it up and to give it unambiguous expression in the formulæ of the then current metaphysic in such a way as to make it subservient to the deepest interests of Christianity. His representation of Christ is not, however, to be taken as a mere product of his study of Philo, whether we take it that in his prologue he was minded merely to give by means of his Logos-speculation an introduction that should suitably appeal to his educated Gentile Christian readers, or whether we assume that his design was to set forth the ultimate conclusions he had reached as a constructive religious philosopher. The church, unfortunately, even so early as in the second century, began to give greater attention to this philosophical element in the gospel of 'the divine' (τοῦ θεολόγου) than to the historical features of the narrative, and the employment of the idea of the Logos in this manner, occasioned by this author, though he is not to be held responsible for it, became a source of danger to Christianity.

See J. M. Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos in der griech. Philosophie*, 1872; J. Réville, *La doctrine du Logos dans le quatrième evangile et dans les œuvres de Philon*, 1881; Ad. Harnack, 'Ueber das Verhältniss des Prologs des vierten Evgl. zum ganzen Werk' in *ZTK* 2, 1892, pp. 189-231; *Hist. of Dogma*, ET vols. i.-iv.; H. J. Holtzmann, *HC*(2) 4, 1893, especially pp. 7-10, 40-46; Aal, *Gesch. d. Logos-Idee*, 1899; W. Baldensperger, *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums*, 1898; Jannaris, 'St. John's Gospel and the Logos,' *ZNTW*, Feb. 1901, pp. 13 *ff.*; cp also JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 31. A. J.

LOIS (λωις [Ti. WH]), Timothy's (maternal) grandmother (2 Tim. 1 5). See TIMOTHY.

LOOKING-GLASS. AV's rendering of מראות Ex. 38 8 (mg. 'brazen glasses'), and of ראי, Job 37 18, RV MIRROR (*q.v.*). In Is. 3 23 גליון is rendered 'glass' in AV, but 'hand mirror' in RV. The meaning, however, is doubtful; see MIRRORS. In 1 Cor. 13 12 ἔσοπτρον is rendered 'glass' by AV, RV MIRROR.

LOOM (דַּלָּה), Is. 38 12 RV. See WEAVING.

LORD. On LORD as representing יהוה (Yahwè) and on 'Lord' as representing אֲדֹנָי (Adōnai) see NAMES, §§ 109, 119.

'Lord' in OT stands for one Aramaic and eight Hebrew words.

(1) אָדוֹן, *'ādōn*, 'master.' Gen. 45 8 lord = ruler; Gen. 24 14 27 of the master (so EV) of a slave. 'My lord,' of a father, Gen. 31 35; of a husband, Gen. 18 12; of a governor, Gen. 42 10; of Moses, Nu. 11 28; of Elijah, 1 K. 18 7.

(2) בַּעַל, *bá'al*, 'owner,' cp EV Ex. 21 28, 'the owner (בעל) of the ox'; Job 31 39, 'the owners thereof' (*i.e.*, of a piece of land); cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 94. Cp BAAL, § 1.

(3) רַב, *rab*. See RAB, RABBI.

(4) שַׂר, *śar*, Ezra 8 25. See KING, PRINCE, 3.

(5) שָׁלִישׁ, *šālīš*, 2 K. 7 2 17; either = τριστάτης (𝔊), see ARMY, § 4; CHARIOT, § 10, or a modification of סריס ii., Ass. *ša-riš*, 'high officer, captain.' See EUNUCH.

(6) סְרָנִים (σατράπαι, σατραπίαι, ἄρχοντες), only in plur., of the five 'lords of the Philistines,' Josh. 13 3 Judg. 3 3 1 S. 5 8 11, etc. According to Hoffmann, a dialectic plur. of שַׂר. More probably a corruption of רֹזְנִים, a word which has elsewhere, too, undergone corruption. The harmonising hand of an early editor may be assumed (Che.).

(7) גְּבִיר, *gĕbīr*, Gen. 27 29 37, of Esau.

(8) מָרֵא, *mārē*, Aram. in Dan. 2 47 4 19 24 5 23; cp the Syriac *mār'yā*, 'Lord,' and *mār*, 'lord.'

(9) κύριος, Mt. 9 38 10 24 13 27, etc. (δεσπότης is rendered 'master,' except where it is used of God or of Christ).

(10) ραββωνι. See RABBI.

(11) μεγιστάν, in pl. Mk. 6 21, kingly associates. In Rev. 6 15 18 23 RV, AV, 'great men.' EV 'great man' in Ecclus. 4 7, Heb. שלטון (cp Eccles. 8 4 8), 32 9 Heb. זקנים, 38 3 Heb. נדיבים (mg. מלכים).

LORD'S DAY (ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα; *dies dominica*). We cannot say with certainty how far back the practice of marking the first day of the week by acts of worship is traceable. This at least is probable: 'that in the post-apostolic ordinance we have a continuation of apostolic custom;'[1] but the time when the Christian Sunday began to be observed in Palestine, where the observance of the Sabbath does not seem to have been at first superseded by it, remains utterly obscure.[2]

1. NT references.

1 Cor. 16 2 bids each person, κατὰ μίαν σαββάτου (EV 'on the first [day] of the week'), lay by him in store as he may prosper (for the 'saints' in Jerusalem), that no collections be made when the writer comes (1 Cor. 16 2). It is often possible and sometimes inevitable to infer from the practice of a later time that of an earlier. This has been done in the present case by Zahn,[3] who finds clear though faint traces of Sunday observance. It must not be overlooked, however, that the contribution of each one is to be laid up 'by him' (παρ' ἑαυτῷ), *i.e.*, in his own home—not in an assembly for worship.

This suggests an alternative explanation to that of Zahn. The church of Corinth consisted for the most part of poor, obscure people (1 Cor. 1 26 *ff.*); possibly for many of them the last or the first day of the week was pay-day, the first day therefore, was the day on which they could most easily lay aside something.[4] 1 Cor. 16 therefore does not supply us with any assured facts as to an observance of Sunday in the Pauline churches.

On the other hand, the 'we-sections' in Acts contain a valuable indication. On his way to Jerusalem, Paul stayed at Troas seven days (Acts 20 6), the last of which is called μία τῶν σαββάτων (EV 'the first [day] of the week'), the following day—Monday of our reckoning—being fixed for his departure (*v.* 7). On this last day there was a 'breaking of bread' and Paul prolonged his discourse with the congregation till midnight (*v.* 7). Even here, however, we must be careful not to infer too much. The passage furnishes no conclusive proof that the first day of the week was the regular day for celebrating the Lord's Supper, or that a universal Christian custom is here referred to. We may venture to conclude, however, with a fair measure of probability, that the first day of the week was at the time the day on which the Lord's Supper was observed in Troas.

If, on the other hand, the narrator had wished it to be understood that the 'breaking of bread' which he is mentioning was merely *ad hoc*, and in connection with the apostle's approaching departure, he would hardly have expressed himself as he does. It is much more likely that Paul fixed Monday for his departure in order that he might observe the Sunday communion once more with his beloved brethren of Troas. This passage being from the pen of an eye-witness, we are justified in regarding it as affording the first faint yet unmistakable trace of a setting apart of the first day of the week for purposes of public worship by Christians.

Whether Rev. 1 10 ought also to be cited in this connection depends on our exegesis of the passage, on which see below, § 2.

2. Light from other sources.

The younger Pliny's well-known letter to Trajan (about 112 A.D.) does not state directly that the 'fixed day' among the Bithynian Christians for religious worship was Sunday, though this is certainly probable (cp Acts 20 7). Its indistinctness is compensated for by the fulness of the information in Justin Martyr's *First Apology* (chap. 67), written about 150 A.D.[1]

The evidence given before Pliny was to the effect 'quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent; quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque [coëundi] ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium' (Plin. *Epp.* 10 96 [97], ed. Keil, 307 *f.*).

Justin Martyr's words are as follows:—'And on the day called Sunday (τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ) there is an assembly (συνέλευσις) in one place of all who live in cities or in the country, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets (cp CANON, § 69) are read as long as time permits (μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ); then, when the reader has ceased, the president (ὁ προεστώς) gives his exhortation to the imitation of these good things (πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως). Then we all stand up together and offer prayers (εὐχὰς πέμπομεν) and, as we before said [chap. 66], when our prayer is ended (παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς), bread is brought (προσφέρεται) and wine and water, and the president in like manner sends up (ἀναπέμπει) prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability (ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ) and the congregation assents (ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ) saying the Amen. And the participation of the things over which thanks have been given is to each one (ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ, γίνεται), and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the hands of the deacons (καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται). And they who are well-to-do and willing give each one as he wills, according to his discretion (κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὃ βούλεται δίδωσι), and what is collected is deposited with the president, and he himself succours (ἐπικουρεῖ) the orphans and widows and those who are in want (λειπομένοις) through sickness or other cause, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers who are sojourning (τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὖσι ξένοις); and in a word he takes care of all who are in need. And we all have our common meeting (κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα) on the Sunday because it is the First Day, on which God, having changed darkness and matter (τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας) made the world, and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead. For they crucified him on the day before Saturday (τῇ πρὸ τῆς κρονικῆς) and on the day after Saturday, which is Sunday (ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡλίου ἡμέρα), having appeared to his apostles and disciples, he taught [them] those things which we have submitted to you also for your consideration.'

Besides this passage, we have those cited in § 2, which are some of them older than Justin's date.

3. "Sunday."

In the Græco-Roman world of the Empire, the day which was reckoned the first in the Jewish week was called Sunday, just as the other days of the week were named after the other planets; the nomenclature is of Babylonian origin (see WEEK). Sunday, too, is the name employed by two ancient Christian writers—in works, it is true, addressed

[1] Weizsäcker, *Ap. Zeitalt.*(2) 549.

[2] Cp Zahn, *Gesch. des Sonntags*, 179, who supposes that at least as early as the third decade of the second century the Sunday was marked by public worship at Jerusalem.

[3] Zahn, *op. cit.* 177.

[4] Before finally accepting or rejecting this conjecture, it will have to be considered whether weekly payments of wages were usual, and also which day of the week was reckoned as its first in the civil life of Corinth. Plainly Paul is reckoning by the Jewish week—from Sunday to Saturday; but Gentile astrologers began the week with Saturday (Zahn, 182, 358).

[1] Cp Harnack, *TLZ* 22 [1897] 77.

to non-Christians[1]—viz. by Justin (*ut supr.*), twice, and by Tertullian (*Apol.* 16, *Ad nat.* 1 13). Its naturalisation was made easier by the consideration that the first day of the week was the day on which light was created; and, moreover, the comparison of Christ to the sun was felt to be apposite.[2]

In the early church the name 'First day' (of Jewish origin, as we have seen) and also—since the day followed the Sabbath, or seventh day of the week—'Eighth day' is of frequent occurrence. The two names are often combined: 'The eighth day which is also the first.'[3]

4. 'First day,' 'Eighth day.'

Most characteristic of all, however, is the name 'Lord's day' (ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα; also simply, ἡ κυριακή[4] or ἡ κυριακὴ κυρίου). Usually[5] Rev. 1 10 (ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ) is cited as the earliest instance; but the presence of the article before κυριακῇ and the connection in which the phrase occurs both favour the other interpretation (supported by a weighty minority of scholars), according to which 'the day of the Lord' here stands for 'the day of Yahwè,' the day of judgment—in LXX ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου (as also in Paul, and elsewhere), called elsewhere in Rev. 'the great day' (ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη: 6 17 16 14).

5. 'Lord's day.'

The following early passages, however, are undisputed; *Didache* 14, κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον; *Ev. Pet.* 35, ἐπέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακή, and *ib.* 50, ὄρθρου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς; Ign. *ad. Magnes.*, 9 1, μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν; and the title of the writing of Melito of Sardis (περὶ κυριακῆς) mentioned by Eusebius (*HE* iv. 26 2). Here 'Lord's Day' has become a technical name for Sunday. The word κυριακός, however, is not a new coinage of the Christians (more particularly of Paul), as used formerly to be supposed. It comes from the official language of the imperial period; frequent examples of its occurrence in the sense of 'imperial' are to be found in Egyptian inscriptions and papyri, and in inscriptions of Asia Minor.[6]

The question as to the reason why Christians called the first day of the week the Lord's day is not adequately answered by the remark of Holtzmann[7] that 'the expression is framed after the analogy of δεῖπνον κυριακόν.' The old Christian answer was that it was the Lord's Day as being the day of his resurrection; cp Ign. *ad Magn.* 9 1, as above, Justin, *Apol.* 1 67, as above, and Barnabas 15 9: 'Wherefore also we keep the eighth day with joyfulness, on which also Jesus rose from the dead, and, having been manifested, ascended into the heavens.'[8] This answer has much to be said for it. The Lord's day is the weekly recurring commemoration of the Lord's resurrection.

How it was that Christians came to celebrate this day weekly, not only yearly, has still to be explained. Apart from the established habit of observing the weekly Sabbath festival, the ancient practice of honouring particular days by feasts of monthly recurrence may very probably have contributed to this result. In Egypt, under Ptolemy Euergetes, according to an inscription coming from the Egyptian Ptolemais,[9] the twenty-fifth day of each month was called 'the king's day' (ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμέρα) because the twenty-fifth of Dios was the day 'on which he succeeded his father on the throne' (ἐν ᾗ παρέλαβεν τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ

6. Origin of a 'weekly celebration.'

[1] Zahn, *Gesch. des Sonntags*, 357. To make a distinction as Zahn does in the use of the name Sunday before and after Constantine is to go too far. The Christian inscriptions show that the 'pagan' names for the days of the week were already current among Christians before Constantine. Cp for example De Rossi, 1 615 (twice), and V. Schultze, *Die Katakomben*, 246, 1882.

[2] Cp Justin, above; further citations in Zahn, 357 *f.*

[3] Zahn, 356 *f.* 'Eighth day' first in Barnabas, 15 8 *f.*

[4] Cp ἡ κρονική = *dies Saturni* in Justin, above.

[5] As, for example, by Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 9 2 67, and Zahn, 178.

[6] See Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 1897, p. 44 *f.*

[7] *HC* 4 2, 1893, p. 318.

[8] Further evidence in Zahn, 359 *f.*

[9] *Bull. de corresp. hellénique*, 21, 1897, pp. 187, 193.

πατρός: Decree of Canopus, 1 5). The Christians might have held the same language in speaking of the first day of the week with reference to Christ.

Of like nature is the custom, widely diffused throughout the kingdoms of the successors of Alexander, of celebrating the birthday of the sovereign, not year by year only, but also month by month; the existence of the custom can be clearly made out from recent discoveries in epigraphy, and it is implied in the tradition—often assailed, but manifestly quite trustworthy—of 2 Macc. 6 7. Cp BIRTHDAY.[1]

Like so many other features in the kingdoms of the Diadochi, these birthday customs seem to have had an abiding influence within the imperial period.[2] The word 'Augustan' (Σεβαστή) as a name of a day in Asia Minor and Egypt is at least a reminiscence of the custom in question; the name, which first became known through inscriptions, has been discussed by H. Usener,[3] and after him by J. B. Lightfoot[4] and Th. Mommsen.[5] According to these scholars, in Asia Minor and Egypt the first day of each month was called Σεβαστή. Lightfoot regards this as at least 'probable in itself,' but finds that 'some of the facts are still unexplained.' Recently K. Buresch,[6] without reference to the scholars already mentioned, has revived an old conjecture of Waddington, that Σεβαστή is a day of the week, not a day of the month.

For this Buresch adduces two inscriptions from Ephesus and Kabala, and makes reference (in the opposite method to that of the present article) to the analogy of the Christian κυριακή. To his two inscriptions we may here add the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, 46, dating from 100 A.D. (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεχειρ δ Σεβαστῇ: 'on the day of Sebaste, 4th Mechir of the third year of the . . . emperor Trajan.'

Without venturing on a confident judgment on a very difficult question, we might, on the evidence before us conjecture that Σεβαστή in some cases denotes a definite day of the month (the first ?), and in others, as for example in the inscriptions from Ephesus and Kabala as also in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus,[7] a week-day—viz. Thursday (*dies Jovis*).

If this conjecture is correct, then in the *dies Jovis* metamorphosed into a 'day of Augustus' we should have an analogy to the change of the *dies Solis* into the 'Lord's day.' As a name for a day of the month also Σεβαστή would have a value not to be overlooked as an analogy for κυριακή.[8]

At what date the name 'Lord's day' arose we do not know. Even if we assume Rev. 1 10 to refer to the Sunday, it would be rash to conclude[9] that κυριακή was not used before the time of Domitian.

7. Literature. A. Barry in Smith and Cheetham's *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, *s.v.* 'Lord's Day'; Zöckler, *RE*(2) 14 428 *ff.*, *s.v.* 'Sonntag'; J. B. de Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. Vrbis Romæ*, i. 1857-1861 (προλεγόμενα); Th. Zahn, *Skizzen a. d. Leben d. alten Kirche*, 1898, pp. 161 *ff.* 351 *ff.*; *Geschichte des Sonntags vornehmlich in der alten Kirche*, a learned and luminous essay, in which, as in the other works cited, references are given to the older literature of the subject.

G. A. D.

LORD'S PRAYER. The Lord's Prayer is a significant example of the scantiness and incompleteness of Christian tradition. It is not to be found in the second gospel—*i.e.*, in the oldest, as most scholars are agreed—(unless there is a trace of it in Mk. 11 25) nor in the fourth; and the two gospels which contain it, refer it to different occasions, and give it in varying forms. In Mt. it stands

1. Place in Gospels.

[1] On this custom of a monthly celebration of the birthday see also now E. Schürer, zu 2 Macc. 6 7 (monatliche Geburtstagsfeier), *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft u. die Kunde des Urchristentums*, 2 (1901) 48 *ff.*

[2] The Pergamum inscription, 374 B (temp. Hadrian) expressly mentions a monthly birthday festival of Augustus.

[3] *Bull. dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Archeologica*, 1874, pp. 73 *ff.*

[4] *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part ii.(2), 1889, 1 678 *ff.* esp. 714 *f.*

[5] *Ap.* Max Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, '95, 2 265; cp also Fränkel himself, *ib.* 512.

[6] *Aus Lydien*, 1898, 49 *f.*

[7] The Editors think of the day of the Emperor's accession. Their reference however to the Berlin papyrus 252 is inconclusive; see vol. 2 of the Berlin Papyri, 354.

[8] So Deissmaun, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 45 *f.*, with concurrence of A. Hilgenfeld, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift*, xviii., 1898, 1542.

[9] Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 9 2, p. 67.

LORD'S PRAYER

(6 9-13) as part of the 'Sermon on the Mount'; according to Lk. (11 2-4) it was given by Jesus at the request of a disciple, 'as he was praying in a certain place.' From the context in Lk. (10 38) it has been concluded that the locality was near or at Bethany or near Jerusalem, more precisely the garden of Gethsemane.[1] (Not far from the traditional site of Gethsemane on the slope of the Mount of Olives stands to-day the church of the Pater-noster, showing in the quadrangle the Lord's Prayer engraved on marble tablets in thirty-two languages.) Older harmonists used to combine the two reports by the suggestion that the disciple, who, if he was one of the twelve, must have been acquainted with the prayer as taught on the former occasion, expected some fuller or more particular form of prayer; or supposed that he was not of the Twelve, but one of the Seventy (*τις τῶν μαθητῶν*). Before this, Origen had explained the fact that in Lk. a shorter form is given than on the Mount by the remark *εἰκός γε πρὸς μὲν τὸν μαθητὴν, ἅτε δὴ ὠφελημένον, εἰρηκέναι τὸν κύριον τὸ ἐπιτομώτερον, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πλείονας, δεομένους τρανοτέρας διδασκαλίας, τὸ σαφέστερον* (*De Orat.* 30 1; ed. Koetschau, 2 393). Modern exegesis finds in this difference a proof of twofold tradition, and is on the whole inclined to see in the place to which Lk. refers the prayer, the better tradition, the 'Sermon on the Mount' having received a later insertion. So, *e.g.*, Arthur Wright (*Some NT Problems*, 26; *The Composition of the Four Gospels*, 75), who insists that in Mt. it breaks the parallelism of the context; and Geo. Heinrici.[2] According to Baljon (*Comm.* on Mt., Utrecht, 1900), Mt. seized the opportunity to bring the Lord's Prayer 'which he found in the Logia' into the 'Sermon on the Mount,' because Jesus was speaking there of praying. But it is quite impossible to say anything definite on the source or sources from which Lk. and Mt. took the piece. Even the *hapax legomenon ἐπιούσιος*, which is common to both texts, does not prove unity of source, or that Greek was the language of that source. It is just as possible that Mt. had the Lord's Prayer before him (written or oral) in Aramaic or Hebrew, and gave it himself in one of these Semitic dialects, and that only the Greek wording of the First Gospel was influenced by the language of the Third Gospel.[3]

According to Lk., the disciple asked 'Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.' That the disciples of John were addicted not only to much fasting (Mt. 9 14 Mk. 2 18), but to much praying,[4] Lk. alone tells us (5 33). To add fresh petitions on particular subjects to received forms of prayer, is but natural in all times; certain rabbis (R. Eliezer and R. Johanan) are specially mentioned as having done this.[5] In this way the Baptist may have added to the prayers then in use among the Jews some special prayer, and may have taught it his disciples. Such an apocryphal prayer is found in Syriac MSS, whether also in Greek and Latin the present writer does not know.[6]

[1] M. Margoliouth, *The Lord's Prayer*, pp. 7, 10, and, with better reasons, J. A. Robinson, 'On the locality in which the Lord's Prayer was given,' in F. H. Chase, 'The Lord's Prayer in the early Church,' *TST* 3, 1891, pp. 123-5.

[2] *Die Bergpredigt* (Reformations-Programm), Leipsic, 1899, pp. 24, 34, 70, 72.

[3] For this view cp especially Zahn, *Einl.* 2 312; for the opposite view, that ἐπιούσιος was coined by Mt. or one of his fellow-workers, see A. Wright, *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, 1900, p. 102.

[4] The latter statement is apparently questioned by Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2 3.

[5] Lightf., *Hor. Hebr.* on Mt. 6; art. 'Schemone Esre' in Hamburger, *RE* 2 [1883], 1098.

[6] The prayer 'which John taught his disciples' reads thus in the Syriac Bodleian MS, Pococke, 10:

'God make us (or me) worthy of thy kingdom and to rejoice in it;
God show me the baptism of thy Son.'

Zotenberg's catalogues of the Syriac MSS in Paris mention a prayer of John (whether identical with the preceding or not) in MS 13 [20] (after the canticle of Zacharias, Lk. 2 19-32) and iii. [3], among some prayers for the canonical hours (232 [5 *b*] in Syriac or Carshuni).

2. Wording.

Not only as to the *occasion* but also as to the *text* of the Lord's Prayer, there is a twofold tradition. That of Mt. became the form which passed into general use; that of Lk. suffered alteration even in the MSS of this Gospel.

(*a*) In Mt. the modern critical editions offer hardly any variation. The form *ἐλθέτω* of TR instead of *ἐλθάτω* is retained by Alford and Weiss, by Weiss also the article *τῆς* before *γῆς*; but *ἀφίεμεν* of the TR is generally given up for *ἀφήκαμεν*. On the doxology, see the revisers' marginal note, and the notes of WH, pp. 8-10. WH gave it a place among the 'Noteworthy Rejected Readings,' Weiss at the foot of his page.

The critical apparatus may be supplemented by the following remarks:—

(1) In the *Apostolic Constitutions* the Bodl. MS misc. græc. 204 (= Auct. T. 2 4—on its recovery see *TLZ*, 1899, col. 207) has 3 18, *παραπτώματα, καθώς*, omits *ἀφίεμεν*, and closes: *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.* See on this form of the doxology the embolism of the extant Greek liturgies (Brightman, 60, 446, 460).

(2) For *ἐπὶ γῆς* or *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, cp E. Miller's *Textual Commentary on the Gospels*, I., for Clement, Barnard (*TS* 5 5); the new edition of Origen is divided: *τῆς* is found ii. 340 16, where the Lord's Prayer is quoted in full, 360 18 363 8; in other passages it is omitted. The Curetonian Syriac has the plural for 'thy will.'

(3) The Sinai codices of the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* (ed. Lewis-Gibson) witness to *καὶ ἐλθ.*; so does the Lewis-Palimpsest of syr[vt], which breaks off after this word. Cp the additional note of Burkitt in WH (impression of 1896), who refers to the Syriac *Acts of Thomas* (ed. W. Wright, 313), where the Lord's Prayer is given in full from syr[vt] without doxology. That the copyist of *k* (Codex Bobiensis) was so little acquainted with Christianity that he was able to write *veni ad regnum tuum* is justly pointed out by Burkitt (*Cambridge University Reporter*, 5th March, 1900).

(4) In the Syriac MS Pococke, 10 (see above [§ 1 n. 64]), on the margin is written ܘܚܛܗܝܢ 'and our sins,' as to be inserted after 'our debts.' This is also the reading in the *Acts of Thomas*, 313.

(5) Special mention has to be made of the Didachè, which offers at the opening *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* (*ἐλθέτω*), *τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν*, (*ἀφίεμεν*), *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.* On the word *ὀφειλή*, cp G. A. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 48 (= *Bible Studies*, 1901), and compare with this singular, the similar singular 'unsere Schuld' for 'unsere Schulden' in certain recensions of Luther's Catechism, and in Dutch, where 'Schulden' are money-debts (Baljon, *Comm.* 94).

(*b*) In Lk. the text suffered much in MSS and editions by assimilation to that of Mt. In TR it differed from Mt. only by *δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν, τὰς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίεμεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν*, and the omission of the doxology. The critical editions have shown that the invocation in Lk. is only *πάτερ*, and that the third and seventh petitions are totally absent. In the rest, there is full agreement, though Weiss again writes *ἐλθέτω* with TR. All prefer *ἀφίομεν* to the *ἀφίεμεν* of the TR.

There is one very interesting variant treated at length in the apparatus of WH: *ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς.* To supplement the remark of WH (repeated in 1896) that no other record of this singular reading is extant (besides the explicit testimony of Greg. Nyss., Maximus Confessor, and Tertullian), it should be noted that cod. evang. min. 604 (= 700 in the list of Gregory = Egerton 2610, in the British Museum) has this very reading in the text of Lk. (see H. A. C. Hoskier, *A full account and collation of the Greek Cursive Codex Evangelium*, 604 [1890], who gives a photographic reproduction of the passage, and Chase, 24). Whether in the reading *ἐφ' ἡμᾶς* which is added in cod. D and various forms of the second petition,[1] a trace of this Marcionitic reading is extant, may be doubted. Marcion wrote further *τὸν ἄρτον σου τὸν ἐπιούσιον*, perhaps *τὰς ἁμαρτίας* instead of *τὰ ὀφειλήματα* (on the second clause there is no testimony extant), and put *μὴ ἄφες ἡμᾶς εἰσενεχθῆναι*, a dogmatic alteration, which (independently, it would seem) appears also in Latin in Cyprian (*De Or.* c. 25), in Latin MSS of the Gospels (see Chase, p. 62 *ff.*), and in several settings of the Liturgy, as 'suffer us not to be led' or 'let us not be led into temptation.'[2]

[1] In German, 'zu uns komme dein Reich,' or 'zukomme uns dein Reich.' In the so-called Bishops' Book, 'thy kingdom come *unto us.*'

[2] See Chase, who quotes the so-called King's Book of 1593, and W. H. Frere, 'Edwardine Vernacular Services,' in *Journ. Th. Studies*, Jan. 1900, p. 242.

In a passage like the Lord's Prayer, every minute detail such as numbering and arrangement and even orthography deserves careful attention.

3. Numbering and arrangement.

Augustine (*Enchirid.* 116) remarks 'Lucas in oratione dominica petitiones non *septem* sed *quinque* complexus est.' The number seven became thenceforth traditional in the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran Church. But the same Augustine argued: 'quod ille (Mt.) in ultima posuit: *libera nos a malo*, iste (Lk.) non posuit, ut intelligeremus ad illud superius quod de tentatione dictum est pertinere.' In accordance with this view, Origen and Chrysostom counted six petitions; they are followed by the reformed churches. WH print the Lord's Prayer in Mt. in 2×3 stichi, in Lk. without strophic arrangement. Wordsworth-White make, in their Latin NT, of *Pater-nomen tuum* one stichus, of *et ne inducas* and *sed libera* two. Hetzenauer's reprint of the Vulgate puts a full stop after every petition, therefore also: *'tentationem. Sed.'* In the Greek text Weiss places a colon only after γῆς, WH after γῆς, σήμερον, and ἡμῶν, while Brightman (*Liturgies*) omits all punctuations in the second half, and separates the first half by commas. AV, RV, and Prayerbook need hardly be quoted. The division and arrangement of WH prove the best.

No attempt can be made here to give an exhaustive explanation of this 'Breviarium totius evangelii' as Tertullian styled it, or 'Cœlestis doctrinæ compendium,' as Cyprian called it.

4. Meaning.

'Oratio hæc,' said Tertullian, 'quantum substringitur verbis, tantum diffunditur sensibus.' Some philological remarks, however, are necessary.

(1) *The exordium.*—'The abrupt πάτερ,' says A. Wright (*Gospel of Luke* [1900], 103), 'is softened down in St. Matthew by an editorial addition which in identical or equivalent terms occurs in Mt. 5 16 45 etc. (19 times); only once in St. Mark (11 25); not at all in St. Luke'; but see Lk. 11 13. 'In the West there is evidence that the abruptness was eased by prefixing the original Aramaic *abba* (not *abbun*, 'our father'). So Rom. 8 15 Gal. 4 6 (Mk. 14 36).' It is better to say that the Aramaic original 'Abba' was preserved even in Greek surroundings, but explained by the addition of the translation ὁ πατήρ (as in Mk. 5 41, ταλιθα through τὸ κοράσιον).

That not only the isolated πάτερ of Lk., but also πάτερ ἡμῶν of Mt. can correspond to אַבָּא is sufficiently shown by Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 157, though for a prayer the more solemn אָבִינוּ (in Hebrew), אֲבוּנָא (Aramaic), אֲבוּנַן (Galilean), seems to Dalman more probable. For the isolated πάτερ or ὁ πατήρ cp Mt. 11 26 Mk. 14 36 Lk. 22 42 with Mt. 26 39 42 Lk. (15 12 18 21) 23 34 46 Jn. 11 41 12 27 *f.* 17 1 5 21 24 (with 10 25) or Clem. i. ad Cor. 8 3: ἐὰν ἐπιστράφητε πρὸς μὲ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ εἴπητε Πάτερ, ἐπακούσομαι ὑμῶν, the Syriac translation has here אבון (our father).

That the imperative forms ἁγιασθήτω and γενηθήτω may be used for the optative, εὐκτικῶς not strictly προστακτικῶς, is shown by Origen (*De Or.* 24 5, ed. Koetschau, 2 355 *f.*) with reference to some remarks of Tatian on γενηθήτω in Gen. 1 3.

On the use of the passive aorist of this verb instead of the middle see Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, § 20, 1). (In Gen. 1 3 γενηθήτω of LXX gives place in Aquila and Longinus (*de Sublimi*) to γενέσθω, in Symmachus to ἔστω, in the *Oracula Sibyllina*, 1, 9, to γεινάσθω.) On the Semitic original presupposed by γενηθήτω, see below, § 5 [4].

(2) ἐπιούσιος. The remark of Origen,[1] that the word is not found elsewhere in Greek, is still true despite the recent increase of Greek literature through the newly discovered papyri; on its meaning, therefore, tradition must be heard, and the question settled, if possible, by philological reasons.

(a) The oldest tradition seems to be that represented in syr^{vt} (cur., sin. and Acts of Thomas) by לחמא (or לחמן) אמינא, (our) *constant, continual bread.*

[1] The passage is important, and deserves study (*De Orat.* 27 7 = Koetschau, 2 366 *f.*).

LORD'S PRAYER

This אמין is, in the Pesh. of the OT, the regular rendering for Heb. תָּמִיד; see especially Nu. 4 7, לֶחֶם הַתָּמִיד ('continual bread' EV), and it is a strange coincidence, that not only the Armenian version of 2 Macc. translated 1 8 (προεθήκαμεν τοὺς ἄρτους) by the same word as in NT τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον[1] but also the mediæval Jew, Shemtob ben Shaphrut, to whom is due the Hebrew translation of the Gospel of Matthew, published in the 16th century by Münster and Mercier, and republished in 1879 by Ad. Herbst,[2] hit upon the corresponding Hebrew word תמיד, translating את לחמנו תמידי תן לנו היום. He even formed from תמיד an adjective תמידי, which in biblical Hebrew is as unheard of as ἐπιούσιος in Greek from ἐπιοῦσα. T. R. Crowfoot, *Observations on . . . Cureton Syriac Fragments* (1872, p. 10), and C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (1877, p. 141), seem to have had no knowledge of this mediæval predecessor when they proposed תָּמִיד as original for ἐπιούσιον.

(*b*) The same tradition seems represented in the West by the old Latin 'cotidianus' and the Gothic 'hlaif unsarana thana *sinteinan*' (cp the same word in 2 Cor. 11 28 = καθ' ἡμέραν and the adv., *sinteino* for διὰ παντός, πάντοτε, ἀεί) and the Old German *emissigaz* (Vaterunser of Weissenburg).

(*c*) With the 'venientem' of the Sahidic version is to be compared Cyril (Luc. 265), οἱ μὲν εἶναί φασι τὸν ἥξοντά τε καὶ δοθησόμενον κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα, while he himself explained: ὅτι τῆς ἐφημέρου τροφῆς ποιοῦνται τὴν αἴτησιν ὡς ἀκτήμονες δηλονότι· ἐπιούσιον τὸν αὐτάρκη διανοεῖσθαι χρή. The Coptic has *crastinum.*

(*d*) The Peshitta has 'the bread of *our need*,' and is followed by the later Syriac translation of Polycarp and Thomas of Heraclea, who formed the rare adjective ܡܣܢܩܢܝܐ 'our *needy* bread.' The Palestinian, translating 'our bread of *richness*,' took ἐπιούσιος in the sense of περιούσιος.

(*e*) Jerome tried the word *supersubstantialis*, 'substantivus' or 'superventurus'; Victorinus, 'consubstantialis.' [Hence J. B. Jona in his Hebrew version of the Gospels (Romae, MDCLXVIII) even gives לַחְמֵנוּ עַל־הַקִּיּוּם.]

(*f*) It would be of the highest importance to be assured of the accuracy of Jerome's repeated statement that the 'Gospel of the Hebrews,' which he identified at times with the Semitic original of Matthew, had *māḥār* (מָחָר). Two views are possible. The one is that this *māḥār* is a translation from the Greek, resting on etymology; if this be so, the explanation has no more value than any other. The other is that this *māḥār* represents the Jewish-Christian form of prayer of 400 A.D. (or thereabouts), which was also known about 60-65 A.D. in Jerusalem, Kokaba, Berœa.

For the latter view strong reasons are given, especially by Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Kanons*, 2 693 709; *Einl.* 2 312; for the former see R. H. Kennett in A. Wright's *Gospel of S. Luke*, 102. It is true, לַחְמֵנוּ (לְ)מָחָר sounds a little strange in Hebrew, and so indeed does the Aramaic לַחְמָנָא דִי מְחָר; but it is so in other languages also, and there are philological reasons which strengthen this tradition.[3]

On this side of the question see Winer-Schmiedel, *Gramm.* § 16 n. 23, and the literature there mentioned. Origen's view that the word comes from ἐπί and οὐσία, or from ἐπί and εἶναι, is less likely than the other, that it is derived from ἐπ-ιέναι, more especially from ἡ ἐπιοῦσα, sc. ἡμέρα, the following day. If we compare James 2 15, τῆς ἐφημέρου τροφῆς, the way of the RV seems the best,—to leave 'our daily bread' in the text and to remark that literally it means 'our bread for the coming day.'

Comparing Prov. 30 8 לֶחֶם חֻקִּי (AV 'food convenient for me,' mg. 'of my allowance'; RV 'food that is needful for me,' mg. 'Heb. the bread of my portion'), Del., Salk.-Gi., Resch translate לֶחֶם חֻקֵּנוּ; Rönsch (like the Palestinian version), לֶחֶם סְגֻלָּתֵנוּ; Taylor (like the old

[1] This is the origin of the statement in H-P, on 2 Macc. 1 8, 'tres codices Sergii' ἄρτους ἐπιουσίους, to which Deissmann (*Neue Bibelstudien*, 41) and Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, '99, p. 157) called attention.

[2] On this edition see the present writer's review, *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1880, no. 11.

[3] See also Jerome's Comm. on Mt. 6 (Vallarsi, 7 34), the *Anecdota Maredsolana*, ed. Morin, III. 2 (1896) 262, where the most definite statement occurs:—'In Hebraico evangelio secundum Matthæum ita habet: Panem nostrum *crastinum* da nobis hodie.'

Syriac and Shemtob), לחמא חרירא or לחם חמיר. Arnold Meyer (*Muttersprache Jesu*, 1896) thinks of Aramaic מִסַּת, 'sufficient.' Chase's conclusion is that the original may simply have been 'Give us our (or 'the') bread of the day.' M. Schultze (*Gramm. der aram. Muttersprache Jesu*, 1899, § 113) gives *laḥma di ṣork-ána* and צָרְכֵּנוּ is given by 'the last reviser of the last version of the Hebrew NT' quoted by M. Margoliouth, who finds this 'utterly inconceivable,' proceeding 'from a sheer mania for alteration.' That it refers to the needs of common life and must not be taken allegorically (as Marcion and many since his time have taken it) is now almost universally admitted.

(3) *πονηροῦ*; *malo.* Whether this be masculine or neuter, cannot in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Syriac be decided from the form alone. For the Greek NT see the exhaustive investigation of Chase. Shemtob translated מכל רע (changed in the edition of S. Münster). There is an early allusion to this meaning in the Didaché (10 5), *μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ.* The Ethiopic, too (see Brightman, *Liturgies*, 234), has 'Deliver us and rescue us from all evil.' The same combination of the two verbs by which in the Peshitta *ῥῦσαι* is rendered (Mt.) ܦܪܘܩ and (Lk.) ܦܨܐ, is found in the Nestorian Liturgy (Brightman, 296), '*Save* and *deliver* us from *the evil one* and his hosts.' Taylor (*Sayings*, 142 *ff.*) writes 'The original form of the petition can scarcely have been ותצילנו מן הרע'; but may it not have been ותצילנו מיצר הרע? On the יצר רע or י׳ הרע, see Taylor's note. It seems on the whole the most probable view to take it as masculine. The Arabic text published by Mrs. M. D. Gibson (*Studia Sinaitica*, 7 14, has 'from the Satan' and adds *κύριε* after 'temptation'; cp on the latter addition, Brightman, *Liturgies*, 469, *l.* 54.

(4) For the doxology, cp not only 1 Ch. 29 11, but also Dan. 2 37 1 Esd. 4 38 40 and the Prayer of Manasseh (end). The earliest quotations are in Polycarp, *ad Philipp.* 6 and 7.

In former times Grotius (especially), and, later, Wetstein expressed the view that the Lord's Prayer was a combination of Jewish prayers 'ex formulis Hebræorum concinnata.' Others went further, and maintained that the Lord's Prayer consisted of the *beginnings* of prayers, singled out by Jesus as suitable for his followers. Still more extravagant statements, as that Jesus had gathered the Lord's Prayer out of the Zendavesta, need not detain us (see *PRE*(2) 4 768). On the other hand, Dr. M. Margoliouth in 1876 endeavoured to show that the Jewish Liturgy never contained anything so glorious, so august, and so comprehensive. His work, entitled *The Lord's Prayer no Adaptation of existing Jewish Prayers*, is, however, rather rhetorical than historical and critical in character. The truth is that we may say of the Lord's Prayer—applying what Theodore Zahn lately wrote (*Forschungen*, 6 [1900] 153) of the teaching of Jesus as a whole—that Jesus uttered things which were said almost literally by Jewish teachers before and after him. On the other hand, 'duo si faciunt idem, non est idem'; and even if for the separate parts, words, thoughts of the Lord's Prayer parallels can be adduced from Jewish sources, as a whole this prayer remains unique. Moreover, it is difficult to be certain of the exact age of the parallels adduced. The Jewish Liturgy has had a complicated history, if we mention only the most famous pieces of it,[1] the *Shĕma'*, the *Shĕmōnēh 'Eśrēh*, the *Ḳaddīsh*, the *Ābīnū Malkēnū*,

5. Connection with Jewish Prayers.

[1] On the *Shĕma'* and *Shĕmōnēh 'Eśrēh* see Schürer, *GVI* 3 2 459 *ff.*; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 299 (for literature, see p. 301); Hamburger (*Real Encycl.* 2 11; 'Abendgebet,' 11; 'Kaddisch,' 603 *ff.*; 'Morgengebet,' 802 *ff.*; 'Mussafgebet,' 815 *f.*; 'Schema,' 1087 *ff.*; 'Schemone-Esre,' 1092 *ff.*; 'Abinu Malkenu,' in Suppl. II. ['91, pp. 1 *ff.*]); Schechter, 'Some Rabbinic Parallels to the NT,' in *JQR*, Apr. 1900, p. 429.

and since Christian scholars are (apart from Dalman) behindhand in thorough and critical study of documents (cp PRAYER), it seems best to restrict ourselves to some of the most remarkable and indisputable Jewish parallels.

For OT parallels see the Bible (RV) with marginal references, Dittmar, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo* (1899), and Hühn, *Die alttestamentlichen Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testamente* [1900] (Part II. of 'Die Messianischen Weissagungen').

(1) Exordium: **πάτερ**, or **πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς**. It is the Jewish custom to add שֶׁ(בַּ)שָּׁמַיִם, דְּבִשְׁמַיָּא, '(who) is in heaven' to אב where it is used of God; but in prayer, even among Jews the isolated אבינו is not unusual. The fundamental passage for the designation of God as Father is Ex. 4 22. (Cp FATHER.)

For Shĕmōnēh 'Eśrēh, cp 4 and 6 in both recensions (the Palestinian detected by Schechter among the MSS from the Gĕnīzah of Cairo and published in *JQR* 10 [1898], pp. 654-9; reprinted at the end of Dalman's *Die Worte Jesu*, I., 299, and, in the Babylonian, Dalman, 301 *ff.*), חָנֵּנוּ אָבִינוּ דֵּעָה מֵאִתָּךְ and סְלַח לָנוּ אָבִינוּ, and in the Babylonian form הֲשִׁיבֵנוּ אָבִינוּ לְתוֹרָתֶךָ, where the Palestinian has השיבנו י׳ אֵלֶיךָ. On the אָבִינוּ מַלְכֵּנוּ (the prayer for New Year and Day of Atonement) see Hamburger, *l.c.* Suppl. II. 1; on אַב הָרַחֲמִים, 'Father of mercies' (2 Cor. 1 3; Bĕrākhōth 8) and אָבִינוּ אַב הָרַחֲמִים (in the prayer before the Shema), Hamburger, I. 8. In the Ḳaddīsh קֳדָם אֲבוּנָא דְבִשְׁמַיָּא, for which the Ḳaddīsh de Rabbanan has ק׳ מֵימְרָא דִשְׁמַיָּא וְאַרְעָא, 'before the word of heaven and earth,' and another recension, מָרֵא שׁ׳ וא׳, 'the Lord of heaven and earth,' Dalman, 305. In Aramaic, אֲבוּנַן דְבִשְׁמַיָּא occurs as introduction to the recital of Ex. 15; see *ZDMG* 54 116.

(2) **ἁγιασθήτω**, comp. in Shĕmōnēh 'Eśrēh, 3, קָדוֹשׁ אַתָּא וְנוֹרָא שְׁמֶךָ, in the Babyl. recension with transposition אַתָּה קָדוֹשׁ וְשִׁמְךָ קָדוֹשׁ and the sequel וּקְדוֹשִׁים בְּכָל־יוֹם יְהַלְלוּךָ סֶלָה for וְאֵין אֱלוֹהַּ מִבַּלְעָדֶיךָ; further Bab. 18, יְהַלְלוּ אֶת־שִׁמְךָ הַגָּדוֹל.

The divine name occurs further in Bab. 1 (למען שמו, 'for his name's sake') 13 הבוטחים בשמך, 'that trust in thy name'; in thy name we trust. The *Ḳaddīsh* begins: יִתְגַּדַּל וְיִתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא בְּעָלְמָא, 'magnified and hallowed be his great name in the world'; afterwards, eight more such verbs are placed together referring to 'the name of holiness, blessed be he (or it)': יתברך ישתבח ויתפאר ויתרומם ויתעלה ויתהלל ויתנשא שמיה דקדשא בריך הוא, 'blessed, praised, and beautified, and extolled, and elevated, and glorified, and lifted up, be the name of holiness, blessed be he.' 'Any benediction which is without mention of *haššēm* (*i.e.*, יהוה) is no benediction at all'; b. Bĕrākhōth, 40*b*.

(3) **ἐλθάτω**. Any benediction (cp the preceding) which is without *Malkūth* is no benediction at all: b. Bĕrākhōth, 40*b*.

Shĕmōnēh 11 [Bab. adds מְהֵרָה] וּמְלוֹךְ עָלֵינוּ אַתָּא לְבַדֶּךָ, 'and be king over us (quickly)—thou alone' (opposed to [12] מַלְכוּת זָדוֹן, 'the kingdom of pride'); cp no. 14, מלכות בית דוד משיח צדקך, 17 (variant כי מלך אל טוב ומטיב אתא).

Ḳaddīsh, יַמְלִיךְ מַלְכוּתֵיהּ, 'may his kingdom reign'; but read with Dalman יִמְלֹךְ, 'may he make it reign'; the Ḳaddīsh de-Rabbanan adds (in one recension, ביקריה), 'in his glory,' and connects it with the kingdom of his Messiah.

(4) **γενηθήτω**. Whether in Hebrew יֵעָשֶׂה or יְהִי be the better translation, can be doubted. Shemtob, Del., Salk.-Gi., and Resch adopted יֵעָשֶׂה; M. Margoliouth preferred יְהִי, the reading of the previous Hebrew version which comes to us from Dr. M. S. Alexander (the first Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem), Dr. S. M'Caul, and Stanislaus Hoga; the Syrian versions have הוא, with the exception of the Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum, which, in accordance with its usual diction, has יתעבר.

In Jewish prayers there seems to be no exact parallel; but cp Bĕrākhōth, 29*b*, where Rabbi Eliezer answers the request for a short prayer by saying עשה רצונך בשמים ממעל וג׳, 'Do thy will in heaven above' (Taylor, *Sayings*, 139, Hamburger, 1098 n. 6), and Bĕrākhōth, 16*b*, יהי רצון מלפניך י׳ אלהינו שתשים שלום, 'May it be thy will, O Lord, our God, to make peace in the family above and in the family below.' In Shĕmōnēh 'Eśrēh,

cp 13, עם עושי רצונך, 'with those who do thy will' and 16, רְצֵה י' אלהינו, 'be pleased O Lord our God'; in the Babyl. recension 16 תקבל ברצון ותהיה לרצון תמיד עברת ישראל עמך ותְרַצֵּינוּ. In the Kaddīsh תתקבל צלותכון ותתעביד בעותכון, 'may your prayer be accepted and may your petition be done.'

(5) **τὸν ἄρτον.** No exact parallel in Jewish prayers. There is a petition for blessing of the year in Shĕmōnēh 'Esreh 9, in Hăbīnēnū and elsewhere, and the saying of R. Eliezer haggādōl (*circa* 40-120 A.D.), 'Whosoever has a bit of bread in his basket and says, What shall I eat to-morrow? must be reckoned among those of little faith' (*Sōṭā*, 48*b*).

On the different translations of ἐπιούσιος, see above, § 4 (2).

(6) **καὶ ἄφες.** *Shĕmōnēh* 6, סְלַח לָנוּ אָבִינוּ כִּי חָטָאנוּ לָךְ מְחֵה [וְהַעֲבֵר] פְּשָׁעֵינוּ, in the Babyl. recens. 16 [חוּס] וְרַחֵם עָלֵינוּ; also in *Hăbīnēnū.* τὰ ὀφειλήματα (expression from business-life) is more = חובותֵינוּ (Del., Marg.; also Shemtob, who renders ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, לבעלי חובותינו) than = אַשְׁמָתֵנוּ (Salkinson-Ginsburg, Resch).

(7) **εἰς πειρασμόν.** Shemtob, Del., לִידֵי נִסָּיוֹן; Salk.-Gi., Resch, לִידֵי מַסָּה; the reviser, rightly challenged by M. Margoliouth (p. 95), לְמַסָּה; Münster, בְּנִסָּיוֹן for Shemtob's לידי נ'.

The expression ואל תביאנו . . . לידי נסיון occurs in the Jewish morning prayer (cp Bĕrākhōth, 60*b*, Margoliouth, 98, Taylor, 142 *f.*); but this prayer seems to betray a later origin than the Lord's Prayer: ויהי רצון מלפניך . . . ואל תביאנו לא לידי חטא ולא לידי עברה ולא לידי נסיון ולא לידי בזיון ואל תשלט בנו יצר הרע.

(8) **ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.** In the prayer which Rabbi used to say after the usual prayer according to Bĕrākhōth, 16*b*, he mentions, among the evils from which he desires to be delivered, after אדם רע ומפגע רע מיצר רע מחבר רע משכן רע, also ומשטן המשחית, 'and from Satan the Destroyer' (Taylor, 142 *f.*).

(9) All the expressions of the Doxology occur in Jewish prayers גְּבוּרָה, עֹז, שָׁלְטָן, יְקָר, זִיו.

6. Literature. Among early commentaries, see those of Origen (vol. ii., ed. by Koetschau) and Cyprian; among modern treatises that of Kamphausen (1866), F. H. Chase's *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (*Texts and Studies*, 3 [1891]), where too the literature is duly noted, C. W. Stubbs, *The Social Teaching of the Lord's Prayer* (1900).

A portion of the Lord's Prayer, from a clay tablet of about the fourth century, A.D. found at Megara and now in the National Museum at Athens, has been published lately by R. Knopf (*Mittheil. des Kais. Deutsch. Arch. Instituts: Athenische Abtheilung*, xxv. 4 [1900] 313-324). The tablet is broken, but ends ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Then follows κύριε and the monogram of Christ ⳩. Eb. N.

LORD'S SUPPER. See EUCHARIST.

LO-RUHAMAH (לֹא רֻחָמָה, § 23, 'unpitied'; ΟΥΚ ΗΛΕΗΜΕΝΗ [BAQ], cp לֹא נֻחָמָה, Is. 54 11), and LO-AMMI (לֹא עַמִּי, 'not my people'; ΟΥ ΛΑΟϹ ΜΟΥ [BAQ]), symbolical names given to Hosea's daughter and son, to signify that Yahwè would cease to have mercy upon the house of Israel, and that they were no more his people, nor he their God (Hos. 1 6-9; see Rom. 9 25 1 Pet. 2 10). Cp HOSEA, § 6, JEZREEL, § 1, col. 2459.

The antithesis comes at the close of the prophecy in chap. 2 21 *ff.* [23 *ff.*] (to which probably 1 10-2 1 [2 1-3] is to be appended), 'In that day . . . I will pity (רִחַמְתִּי) Lo-ruhamah, and to Lo-ammi I will say "Thou art my people"' (2 23 [25]) . . . 'Say ye unto your brethren Ammi (my people) and to your sisters Ruhamah (pitied)' 2 1 [3]. Zech. 13 9 is not the only parallel. If 'Ariel' in Is. 29 1 2 7 should rather be 'Jerahmeel' (cp 2 S. 5 6 8, where the true text, the present writer thinks, spoke of Jebusites and Jerahmeelites as the inhabitants of old Jerusalem), we get a close parallel to Hosea; for *v.* 2*b*β should in this case run, 'and it shall become Lo-jerahmeel—*i.e.*, 'on whom God hath no pity.' See *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

LOT (גּוֹרָל), Josh. 18 6. See DIVINATION, § 2 (iv.), EPHOD, URIM AND THUMMIM.

LOT (לוֹט, λωτ), a righteous man, who by the divine favour escaped from the catastrophe which befel the wicked city of Sodom (Gen. 19 1-29); he is also said to have been brother's son to Abraham, whom he accompanied from his fatherland (12 4 *f.*), but from whom he parted at length owing to disputes between their shepherds, and to have been allowed by his generous uncle to choose the Jordan valley for himself and his flocks (13 5-12); a later tradition says that Abraham made a successful expedition to rescue Lot who had been taken captive by Chedorlaomer and the allied kings (14 12 14 16). It should be noticed here that the story in 12 10-20 is probably one of the later insertions in J; hence the otherwise surprising circumstance that no mention is made in it of Lot. The words 'and Lot with him' are an editorial correction (cp *Oxf. Hex.*). The Moabites and Ammonites are called by two writers the b'ne Lot (EV 'children of Lot'), Dt. 2 9 19 Ps. 83 9 [8]; a legendary account of their origin is given in Gen. 19 30-38 (cp AMMON, MOAB).

1. Double tradition.

In the latter story the progenitor of Ammon and Moab appears as dwelling 'in the cave'; or, more precisely, two parallel statements are made in *vv.* 30*a* and 30*b*, 'he dwelt in the mountain (בָּהָר) and 'he dwelt in the cave' (בַּמְּעָרָה). Hence the question arises whether 'in the cave' may not be a gloss on 'in the mountain' (so Di.), or rather perhaps on בְּחֹר, 'in a cave,' הר being altered into חר to suit a change in the context.

It would be somewhat hard to deny that the story in Gen. 19 30-38 was interwoven with the story of the destruction of Sodom by a later hand. It was not one of the really popular Hebrew legends, and contrasts as strongly with the previous honourable mention of Lot as the story of Noah's drunkenness (Gen. 9 21 *ff.*) contrasts with that of the reward of his righteousness.

2. Identification. The primary Lot (Gen. 19 30-38) was presumably represented as a Horite; he is identical with Lotan, who was the eldest of the sons of Seir the Horite (Gen. 36 20), and was himself the father of a son called Hori (*v.* 22). The secondary Lot (the kinsman of Abraham) may, or rather must, once have had another name, and very possibly (cp the probable supersession of ENOCH [*q.v.*] in the Hebrew Deluge-story by Noah) an error of a very early scribe lies at the foundation of the change. In Gen. 11 27 (P) the father of Lot is said to have been Haran (הָרָן). Now HARAN [*q.v.*] can only be explained as a variation of Ḥaran (חָרָן), or rather Ḥauran (חורן). See JACOB, § 3. The narrative of J in its original form possibly spoke of Hauran as accompanying Abraham from their common fatherland; חורן would easily be miswritten חורי, Hori, and חורי be considered a synonym for Lotan, or Lot, the Horite. It would then become natural to attach the story of the origin of Moab and Ammon to the person of the righteous survivor of Sodom and kinsman of Abraham. But the real ancestor, according to legend, of Moab and Ammon was, not Hauran the Hebrew, but Lot the Horite. (Of course, the story in Gen. 19 30-38 is neither of Moabitish and Ammonitish nor of primitive Hebrew origin; it is an artificial product, except in the one point of the tracing of the Moabites and Ammonites to Lot the Horite, which is due to misunderstanding.)

3. Origin of name. The secondary Lot is but a double of Abraham. Doubtless he shows differences from Abraham, which mar the portrait; but these are due to the unfavourable circumstances in which the biographer places Lot, and only prove that the narrator could not triumph over such great obstacles. Lot has therefore made but a slight mark on Hebrew literature (Dt. 2 9 19 and Ps. 83 9 [8] are both late). A reference is made in Lk. 17 29 32 both to Lot and to his wife, which remains morally effective even if the 'pillar of salt' (Gen. 19 26) is an accretion on the original story (see SODOM). His function is to confirm the belief that the ancestors of the Hebrews were not

wild, self-seeking warriors, but men of piety and righteousness (cp 2 Pet. 2 7 *f.*). Of the character of the primary Lot, who alone has a right to the name, we have no trustworthy information. His name, however, is significant; it comes from 'to take a stranger into the family' (Ar. *lāṭa* in viii.).

Winckler supports this by a quotation from Ibn Hišām (63 *f.*) relative to a man who was belated on a certain occasion, provided with a wife by his friend, and adopted into the friend's family (*iltāṭa-hu*); in this way he became his friend's brother. Applying this key to the Lot of Gen. 19 30-38, and the Lotan of Gen. 36 20 29, we may suppose that a pre-Edomitish tribe was admitted into union with the Edomites. The name of Lotan's sister is TIMNA [*q.v.*], and in 36 12 Timna is the name of the concubine of Eliphaz, son of Esau or Edom. The cases appear to be analogous. On Gen. 14 12 cp SODOM AND GOMORRAH, and on 13 10 *f.* PARADISE, § 6, end.

Cp Wi. *AOF* 2 87 *f.*; Stucken, *Astralmythen*, 81-125; Stade, *Gesch.* 1 119; Ewald, *Gesch.* 1 448; Holzinger and Gunkel on Genesis. For Jewish legends see the Midrash *Ber. Rabba*; for Mohammedan, *Korān*, 15 58-75, etc. T. K. C.

LOTAN (לוֹטָן; λωταν [BADEL]), one of the sons of Seir, *i.e.*, a Horite clan, Gen. 36 20 22 29; 1 Ch. 1 38 *f.* See EDOM, § 3, col. 1183; LOT.

LOTHASUBUS (λωθασουβος [BA], etc.), 1 Esd. 9 44 † = Neh. 8 4, HASHBADANA.

LOTS, FEAST OF. See PURIM.

LOTUS TREES (צֶאֱלִים), mentioned in Job 40 21 *f.*, RV, as a favourite covert of the BEHEMOTH or HIPPOPOTAMUS (AV 'shady trees'; cp Ges. *Thes.*; παντοδαπα δενδρα and δενδρα μεγαλα [BℵA]). RV's rendering is doubtless correct. The cognate Arabic *ḍāl*[1] is the *dōm*-tree, a thorny shrub, sometimes attaining considerable height, a wild species of the *sidr* (*Rhamnus spina Christi* [Linn.], cp Lane, *s.v.* *ḍāl*, *sidr*). This prickly lotus (according to Volck, the *L. silvestris*) is the *L. Zizyphus*, a native of N. Africa and S. Europe, and is to be kept distinct from the water-lilies, *L. Nymphæa* (of Egypt) and *L. Nelumbo* (of India and China), which repeatedly occur as a *motif* in Egyptian and oriental mythology and art.[2] See Wetz. ap. Del. *ad loc.*

N. M.

LOVE-APPLE (דּוּדָי), Gen. 30 14 RVmg., EV MANDRAKES [*q.v.*]. Cp ISSACHAR, § 2.

LOVE FEASTS (αγαπαι), Jude *v.* 12 RV; AV 'feasts of charity.' See EUCHARIST, § 3.

LOVINGKINDNESS (חֶסֶד, *ḥésed*), a characteristic term of OT religion, applicable both to Yahwè and to man.

1. Rendering. This rendering of *ḥésed* may be inadequate, but is certainly preferable to 'mercy' (or 'mercies,' which alternates with it in EV). 'Mercy' is an inheritance from the Wycliffite Bible; Vg. gives *misericordia*, and 𝔊 ἔλεος, ἐλεημοσύνη, ἐλεήμων (but also nine times δικαιοσύνη, and once δίκαιος). It might have been better to limit the use of 'mercy' to the phrase 'have mercy' (חָנַּנִי), Ps. 4 1 [2] 6 2 [3] 9 13 [14], etc. Other renderings of *ḥésed* in EV are 'favour' (Esth. 2 17 Job 10 12), 'goodness' (Hos. 6 4). The root meaning may be 'mildness' (so Ges.(13)), but, in actual use, *ḥésed* is not *mere* 'mildness' or 'gentleness.' A few classical passages from the OT will prove this statement.

2. References.

1. 1 S. 15 6, 'For ye showed ***brotherly kindness*** to the children of Israel.'

2. 1 S. 20 8, 'Mayest thou show *lovingkindness* to thy servant, because into a bond sanctioned by Yahwè thou hast brought thy servant.'

3. 1 S. 20 14, 'And should I be yet alive, mayest thou show me the *lovingkindness* of Yahwè (cp 2 S. 9 3). But should I die, mayest thou not withdraw thy compassion from my house for ever.'[3]

4. 2 S. 15 20, 'Return and take thy brethren with thee, and may Yahwè show thee *lovingkindness* and faithfulness.'

5. 1 K. 20 31, 'The kings of the house of Israel are ***kindly*** kings.'

6. Hos. 4 1, 'Hear the word of Yahwè, ye sons of Israel, for Yahwè has a quarrel with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no trustworthiness, no ***brotherly kindness***, no knowledge of God in the land.'

7. Hos. 6 4 6, 'What shall I do to thee, O Ephraim? what shall I do to thee, O Israel?[1] Your ***loyal affection*** was like morning clouds, and like the night-mist which early disappears. . . . For ***loyal affection*** do I desire, not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings.'

8. Hos. 11 1-4*a*, 'When Israel was young I began to love him; from (the time that he was in) Egypt, I called him my son. As soon as I called them, they went from me; they sacrifice to the Baals, they cause smoke to rise to the images. It was I that guided Ephraim, I took him on mine arms; but they—they discerned not that I had redeemed them. The *lovingkindness* of God I extended to them; I gave much love.'[2]

9. Mic. 6 8, 'God has told thee what is good; and what does Yahwè require of thee except to do justly, to love ***brotherly kindness***, and to celebrate the works of Yahwè?'[3]

10. Jer. 2 2, 'I remember in thy behalf the ***loyal affection*** of thy youth, the love of thy bridal state.'

11. Dt. 7 12, 'Because ye obey these judgments . . . Yahwè thy God will carry out for thee the covenant and the ***lovingkindness*** which he swore to thy fathers.'

12. Is. 54 10, 'My ***lovingkindness*** shall not depart from thee, nor shall my covenant of peace remove.'

13. Ps. 25 10, 'All the paths of Yahwè are ***lovingkindness*** (so RV) and faithfulness to those that observe his covenant and his statutes.'

14. Job 10 12, 'Favour[4] and ***lovingkindness*** thou hast practised towards me, and thy care has watched over my breath.'

3. Applications. In all these passages it is not mere 'mildness' that is meant, but active kindness, and not necessarily that form of active kindness which Portia calls 'mercy,' but, when men solely are concerned, any form of helpfulness. It is in fact the φιλαδελφία of the NT, which means a helpfulness born of sympathy.[5] Sympathy in the ancient world was narrow in its range. It existed, properly speaking, only among those who were natural or reputed kinsmen. Israelitish prophets and legislators sought to widen it; but the task was hard. Certainly it was a bold act on the part of the servants of Benhadad (see 5) to appeal to the *ḥésed* of an Israelitish king. The earlier Israelitish kings, however, were, by comparison with other kings, distinguished by their *ḥésed*; it is a gratifying proof of the reality of the higher religion in Israel. Ahab responds to the appeal, and recognises Benhadad as a 'brother.' Perhaps, however, he would not have responded thus to the appeal of a Hittite; the Aramæans and the Israelites had, after all, some degree of kinship. In this case the 'merciful' of EV is not misleading; but even EV does not say that the Kenites 'showed mercy' to the children of Israel; it was a sense of kinship that animated them, and their services were not such as could be called deeds of mercy. In (2) and (3) Jonathan appeals to the real though adoptive brotherhood which united him to David. In (4), if historical, David shows his generosity of feeling; Ittai, whom he addresses, is 'a foreigner and an exile'; but he has fought by David's side and eaten his bread; he is a brother, and receives an Israelite's blessing. (6) and (9) should be grouped. Hosea complains that the social feeling (*ḥésed*) which once distinguished Israel has disappeared; a nameless prophet of a later day makes the cultivation of this feeling one of the three duties of an Israelite. (7) and (8) must also be taken together. From the latter we see what the 'lovingkindness of God' is; it is neither more nor less than *paternal affection*. Hosea has nothing to say of a

[1] On the Syr. equiv. ܕܠܐ, βάτος, cp Löw, *Pflanz.* 275 *f.*

[2] Found also upon a Jewish intaglio, *e.g.*, Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Phœnicia*, 2 246, fig. 175.

[3] We follow H. P. Smith.

[1] So Wellhausen, Nowack. The text has 'Judah.' See HOSEA (BOOK), § 4.

[2] Readings adopted: *vv.* 1-3 לוֹ בְּנִי, Pesh., Theod.; כְּקָרְאִי, 𝔊; מִפָּנַי, cp 𝔊; אֶקָּחֵם, 𝔊; וְרוֹעֹתָי. So Ruben, and partly Wi. (*AT Unters.* 182), Wellhausen. נִהַלְתִּי, Pesh., Grä.; פְּדִיתִים, Grä. Verse 4 חֶסֶד אֱלֹהִים; הִרְבֵּיתִי, Che.

[3] Readings adopted: אֱלֹהִים; וְהַשְׁמִיעַ מַלְאֲכֹת אֱלֹהֶיךָ (cp Ps. 73 28), Che.

[4] Read חֵן (Beer).

[5] Cp συμπαθεῖς, φιλάδελφοι, 1 Pet. 3 8.

formal 'covenant' between Yahwè and his people; the only *bĕrīth* he knows of is the natural one between a father and his son. In return Yahwè looks for *filial affection:* loyal himself, he expects loyalty from Israel. Jeremiah (see 10) has a similar conception; it is, however, out of the marriage relation, religiously, according to him, that *ḥésed* grows; he calls the forgiving husband of Israel חסיד, 'loyally affectionate' (EV 'merciful'), Jer. 3 12.

In (11), however, a remarkable modification of *ḥésed* appears. That Yahwè from the first loved Israel D does not doubt; but in order that his love may take effect, Israel must give punctual obedience to the prescribed laws. As D puts it, Yahwè will 'keep his covenant and his loving-kindness' for Israel—*i.e.*, will show love to Israel—upon a certain legal condition. Henceforth the same idea of the divine *ḥésed* as limited by the covenant dominates religious writers, and even human *ḥésed* ceases to be purely spontaneous: it is still 'active love'; but it is dictated, and its channels are prescribed, by a written code.[1]

4. Later modifications.

The adjective חֲסִידִים, *ḥăsīdīm* (=אַנְשֵׁי חֶסֶד, Is. 57 1 Ecclus. 44 1; see ASSIDEANS), late in use, means not simply 'men of filial devotion to God and brotherly kindness towards their fellows,' but 'men who perform the pious deeds (חֲסָדִים) required by the law,' and it is nearly='righteous' (cp Is. 57 1 𝔊, ἄνδρες δίκαιοι); see CLEAN, PURE, etc. (for 𝔊 and Pesh., whose renderings are historically significant). Still, though this sense predominates, we find חסיד used once (Ps. 43 1, but the text is doubtful) in the sense of 'gentle,' without any reference to the law, or at most, with an underlying reference to the 'covenant with Noah,' which the heathen were held responsible for neglecting[2] (מִגּוֹי לֹא חָסִיד, EV 'against an ungodly nation'). In the last passage on our list (14) we find Job, in a sad retrospect, referring to the elaborate provisions made for his creatures by the Creator as *ḥésed*, 'loyal affection.' It is a sign of the strong universalistic tendency of the movement known as *Ḥokmāh* or WISDOM (*q.v.*).

This tendency never ceased. Mt. 5 45 implies that the divine love is universal. Whilst some Rabbis explained חסד לאומים חטאת (Prov. 14 34)[3] in the sense of Augustine's saying that the virtues of the heathen are only *splendida vitia*, the famous R. Joḥanan b. Zakkai gave the charitable interpretation, The beneficence of the heathen is (as) a sin-offering (for them) (*Bābā bathrā*, 10*b*).[4] R. Johanan flourished about 70 A.D.; under the forms of legalism he expresses the spirit of the gospel; but the true spiritual kinsman of Jesus is Hosea.

T. K. C.

LOW COUNTRY, LOWLAND. See SHEPHELAH.

LOZON (λοζων [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 33 = Ezra 2 56, DARKON.

LUBIM (לוּבִים; לֻבִּים in Dan. [so Baer, Ginsb.]; λιβυες [BℵAQL]; Nah. 3 9 2 Ch. 12 3 16 8, and Dan. 11 43 (EV 'Lybians')†; the singular לוּב probably occurs in Ezek. 30 5; see CHUB). Everywhere, except Nah. 3 9 (where read probably LUDIM, with Wi. *AOF* 1 513), 'Lubim' probably represents 'Libyans' (Egypt. Labu, Lebu); in Dan., *l.c.*, EV actually gives 'Libyans.' On the three Libyan invasions of Egypt see Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 434, 461, 471 *f.* After the third invasion Egypt became 'slowly flooded by Libyans.' They supplied the Pharaohs with a highly paid militia, and at length a Libyan by descent (Šošenḳ) actually ascended the throne. See EGYPT, § 63.

Stade, Cornill, and Ginsburg would read 'Lubim' for 'Ludim' in Jer. 46 9 (cp LUD, § 2). It should be noted, however, that the Assyrian inscriptions expressly refer to Lydian troops in the service of Egypt. Cp further, CHUB, LEHABIM.

[1] Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung*, 127; cp 145.
[2] See Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 263.
[3] EV 'sin is a reproach to any people,' taking חֶסֶד (with most critics) in the Aramaising sense of 'disgrace.' So Symm. (ὄνειδος). But 𝔊, Pesh. suggest חֹסֶר, 'diminution,' which is very plausible (so Grä.).
[4] See Edersheim, *Hist. of the Jewish Nation*, 149-154.

LUCAS (λουκας [Ti. WH]), Philem. *v.* 24, RV LUKE.

LUCIFER, AV$^{mg.}$ and RV DAY STAR (הֵילֵל), the epithet applied to the king of Babylon who in his pride boasts that he will ascend to the heavens and make himself God's equal; his fate is to be cast down to Shĕōl to the uttermost recesses of the pit (Is. 14 12-15). By Jerome and other Fathers the passage was applied to Satan (cp Lk. 10 18).

הֵילֵל, Hēlēl, according to the vowel-points (but cp König, *Lehrgeb.* 2*a* 106) is an imperative ('howl'), so Pesh. Aq. Jer.; but the above rendering, which follows 𝔊 (ὁ ἑωσφόρος;[1] cp 2 Pet. 1 19, φωσφόρος), Targ. Vg. Rabb. is the only natural one; it requires us to point Hēlāl—*i.e.*, 'brilliant' (so Hi. Ew. Kn. Di.; cp הֵידָד).

The description of the doings and of the fate of Hēlāl is so peculiar (note the expressions 'son of the dawn,' 'stars of God,' 'mount of assembly' [see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF], 'recesses of the north'), that Gunkel (*Schöpf. u. Chaos*, 132 *ff.*) recognises an allusion to a Hebrew nature-myth, analogous to the Greek legend of Phaethōn. The overpowering of the temporary brilliance of the morning-star by the rays of the sun is compared to a struggle between Elyon and the giant Hēlāl. References to a mythic tradition of 'warfare in heaven' are abundant (see DRAGON, LEVIATHAN, STARS, ORION). But if so, why is there no Babylonian equivalent of Hēlāl? It seems better to read either מְהֻלָּל, 'thou famous one' (מ fell out after the preceding מ), or, with a reference to a theory for which much evidence is accumulating through textual criticism, יְרַחְמְאֵל, 'Jerahmeel,' *i.e.*, 'Jerahmeelite oppressor of Israel.' See 'Isaiah,' *SBOT*, Heb., 199, PARADISE, § 4, OBADIAH (BOOK), §§ 5 *ff.* and cp *Crit. Bib.*

According to Winckler (*GI* 2 24), however, Hēlāl is the Arabian Hilāl, 'the new moon,' and שחר, 'dawn,' in Is. 14 12 is a distortion of שהר (cp שַׂהֲרֹן, ORNAMENTS), 'moon.' He refers to a S. Arabian deity Saḥar (שׂחר), of whom a certain priest describes himself as the liegeman. Whether Saḥar is a deity of the moon or of the dawn is undecided. But are we justified in isolating Is. 14 12 from other passages in which שחר is, from the point of view of textual criticism, doubtful? The key which fits one lock will probably fit another of the same character. Read, not 'son of the morning,' but 'child of the sun' (חֶרֶס).

T. K. C.

LUCIUS (λουκιος [Ti. WH]). 1. Roman consul, contemporary with Simon the Maccabee, Antiochus VII. Sidetes, and Ptolemy II. Physcon, 1 Macc. 15 16 (λευκιος [AℵV]). He is mentioned in connection with the embassy of NUMENIUS (*q.v.*) to Rome. Probably Lucius Calpurnius Piso, who was consul with M. Popilius Lænas in 139 B.C. is meant. That Lucius, not Cneius, was the true surname of Piso has been shown by Ritschl. See Schür., *Hist.* i. 1 267 *f.*, and cp MACCABEES, FIRST, § 9 (*c*).

2. A certain Lucius joins Paul, who is writing from Corinth, in saluting the Christians of Rome, to whom therefore he seems to have been known (Rom. 16 21); cp ROMANS, §§ 4, 10. Along with Jason and Sosipater Lucius is there alluded to by Paul as his 'kinsman'; evidently he was a Jew.

The Pseudo-Hippolytus makes him bishop of Laodicea in Syria, as also does the Pseudo-Dorotheus, giving his name, however, as Λουκᾶς. In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (7 46) he is said to have been ordained bishop of Cenchreæ by Paul.

He is possibly the same as

3. Lucius of Cyrene, one of the 'prophets and teachers' of the church in Antioch (Acts 13 1) who set apart Barnabas and Paul for the mission to the Gentiles; cp MINISTRY. He was doubtless one of those 'men of Cyprus and Cyrene' who, upon the dispersion from Jerusalem consequent on the martyrdom of Stephen, had come to Antioch, and there 'spake unto the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus.'

[1] Cp Ps. 110 3 where for מִשְׁחָר we have πρὸ ἑωσφόρου 𝔊, *ante luciferum*, Vg.

LUD, LUDIM (לוּד). 1. (λογδ [AEL]), Gen. 10 22 (Sam. לד) = 1 Ch. 1 17 (B om.). Lud was the fourth son of Shem, according to P. Most scholars since Bochart have followed Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6 4), who makes Lud the founder (ἔκτισε) of the Lydians. A sudden spring to Asia Minor, however, does not seem very probable; or was P really entirely ignorant of the situation of Lydia? Historically, too, there are grave objections to making Lud the brother of Asshur. Lydia was never conquered by the Assyrians in spite of the boastful assertion of Ašur-bani-pal (Smith, *Assurb.* 65 15) that Gugu, king of Lud (Lud-di), 'took the yoke of his kingdom.' Did P really transfer the circumstances of the Persian age (for Cyrus did conquer and annex Lydia) to the Assyrian period (cp GEOGRAPHY, § 21)?

It would really be less bold, when we remember the enormous amount of corruption among the OT proper names, to infer the need of textual emendation. It is probable that עילם (Elam) in Gen. 14 1 (see SODOM) and also ארם (Aram) in Gen. 22 21 (see KEMUEL) have arisen out of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel), and perhaps still more probable that in Ps. 83 9 [8] אשור (Asshur) should be גשור (Geshur). May not these emendations be applicable in Gen. 10 22? In this case we shall do best to suppose that in the original text of P's list neither לוד nor ארם appeared, but ירחמאל (לוד may have come from ראל, and be, equally with ארם, a fragment of ירחמאל). Verse 22 will then run, 'The sons of Shem: Geshur, and Arpachshad, and Jerahmeel,' and ארפכשד (EV Arpachshad) will be best explained as עֲרַב קָדֵשׁ (Arāb-Kadesh = the N. Arabian Kadesh). But cp ARPACHSHAD.

The view of Lud here proposed accords with the explanation given elsewhere (NIMROD) of Gen. 10 10 *f.* It will then be natural to emend the traditional text of *vv.* 13 *f.* as proposed under MIZRAIM, changing 'Ludim' into כַּרְמְלִים, Carmĕlim—*i.e.*, the people of Carmel (cp MAON).

2. Elsewhere, where the name appears, Lud is taken by some to refer to the Lydians (see PUT); but perhaps it rather means a N. African people.

The passages are Is. 66 19 (λουδ [BAQ], λουθ [א], λυδους [Symm. in Q^mg.]) Ezek. 27 10 30 5 ([but here AV LYDIA], λυδοι [BAQ]), see GEOGRAPHY, § 22. לוּדִים, LUDIM, the plur. form, is the name of a son of Mizraim (EGYPT) in Gen. 10 13 (J) = 1 Ch. 1 11 [Ḳr.], לודיים [Kt.] (λουδιειμ [AL], -ιν [E], λωδιειμ [A in 1 Ch. 1 11, B om.]), and recurs in Jer. 46 9 (λυδοι [BאAQ], AV LYDIANS). The singular form (Lud) occurs in Ezek. 27 10 30 5 Is. 66 19.

In Jeremiah the Ludim appear with Egypt, Cush, and Put (Libya); so also in Ezek. 30 5; and in Isaiah with Tarshish, Put (by a probable text emendation; Che., Di., Du., etc., after 𝔊), Tubal, and Javan. We know nothing more. Hence the hypothesis of Stade (*De Pop. Javan*, 5 *ff.* = *Akad. Reden* [1899], 139 *ff.*) that we have in Gen. 10 13 (so also Del. *Par.* 310) and in Jer. 46 9 (so also Co. and Gies.) a textual error for לובים, LUBIM [*q.v.*], whilst Lud in Ezek. and Is. is the same as Lud in Gen. 10 22, and is used loosely as a distant people, on account of the assonance with Phut (פוט) has some plausibility (see also WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 115). See, however, above (1, end) and PUT, § 2, and note Dillmann's adverse judgment on these alterations. It is at any rate difficult to explain Ezek. 30 5 in this way, and the motive, and also indeed the possibility, of the corruption of Lubim into Ludim in at least two of the passages are by no means clear.

T. K. C. (1); F. B. (2).

LUHITH, ASCENT OF (מַעֲלֵה הַלּוּחִית; in Jer. Kt. הַלֻּחוֹת), a locality in Moab mentioned between Zoar and Horonaim, Is. 15 5 (αναβασις [της] λουειθ [BאAQΓ]); Jer. 48 5 (επλησθη [as if from מלא 'to fill'] αλωθ [Bא^{c.a.(?)}] αλεθ [א*], αλαωθ [AQ]). Some have identified it with Ṣarfa, N. of the Wady Kerak, where there are ruins described by de Saulcy. This, however, is premature. The most probable reading of the text, the present writer thinks, is מַעֲלֵה עֲגָלִים, 'the ascent of EGLAIM' [*q.v.*], the same place as that referred to in Is. 15 8; it lay near the S. border of Moab.

What authority (if any) Eusebius had for his statement that the city Lueitha was situated between Areopolis and Ṣoar (*OS*(2) 276, 43), we know not. Nor can we listen to the editors of the

CIS (2 196; cp *J. As.* mai-juin, 1891, p. 538; *ZA* 5 289 *ff.* 6 149 *ff.*) when they point out the [ה]לחית of Is. in a Nabatean inscription found in Moab.

The words of the inscr. are איתיבל רב משריתא די בלחיתו. Lagrange and Nö., however, read, not בלחיתו, but בחיתו. Right method, moreover, requires us to begin by examining the text of Is. 15 5. Such an examination discloses to us a double reading, עגלת שלשיה (transposition has taken place) and מעלה הלוחית. מעלה is of course preferable to שלשיה, but עגל is more correct than הלוח [Jer. הלח]; ת, or rather ית, should no doubt be ים. Thus we get מעלה עגלים. See EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH.

T. K. C.

LUKE[1] is named only three times in NT. According to Philem. 24 he was a 'fellow-labourer' with Paul; **1. In NT.** according to Col. 4 14, a physician who was specially dear (ὁ ἀγαπητός) to the apostle.[2] Both letters, which according to Philem. 1 11 *f.* Col. 4 3 7-9 18 were despatched simultaneously by Paul in his captivity, contain a salutation from Luke to the recipients. Luke, however, is in neither case named as a fellow-prisoner with Paul; in the one case (Philem. 23) it is EPAPHRAS, in the other (Col. 4 10) it is ARISTARCHUS who is so designated. In 2 Tim. 4 11 it is said that 'only Luke is with' the apostle; whether as a fellow-prisoner is not stated. In any case the situation is quite different from that disclosed in the other two epistles in so far as we are here in the present instance informed that all the apostle's other companions have forsaken him. According to 1 8 16 2 9, 2 Tim. also was written from a captivity. Even where the Epistle is not held to be genuine, it is often supposed that 4 9-18 along with 4 19-22*a* are a genuine note (or two notes) written by the apostle, and from captivity. From what captivity—whether or not the same as that referred to in Col. and Philem.—cannot be discussed here (cp PAUL, § 30).

In Col. 4 10-14, a classification is made of the companions of Paul. Aristarchus, Mark, and Jesus Justus are grouped together as being 'of the circumcision' (οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς); then **2. Jew or Gentile.** comes Epaphras with the words added, 'who is one of you' (ὁ ἐξ ὑμῶν), in other words a Gentile Christian; finally are named Luke and Demas. The inference is that these two also are Gentile Christians. This holds good also if Aristarchus proves to be a Gentile Christian. According to Acts 20 4 he belongs to Thessalonica, and according to a very probable conjecture (GALATIA, § 22) he is selected to be representative of the essentially Gentile Christian community there in conveying to Jerusalem their contribution on behalf of the poor there.

To the words 'who are of the circumcision' (οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς) in Col. 4 11 is added the expression 'these only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God' (οὗτοι μόνοι συνεργοὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ). If this be taken literally Epaphras Luke, and Demas were no fellow-workers of Paul—as in Col. 4 12 *f.* (Epaphras), Philem. 24 (Luke and Demas), they are said to have been. To obviate this contradiction it has been proposed to delete the mark of punctuation after 'circumcision,' with the supposed result of making the persons named (with or without Aristarchus) to be the sole fellow-workers of Paul who were of Jewish birth, though besides these there were others of Gentile origin. To delete the mark of punctuation, however,—whether period or comma,—is impossible, unless 'these' (οὗτοι) also be deleted, and this no one has ventured to do. If 'these' is left, we have a manner of expression which must, to say the least, be described as exceedingly careless. If it be borne in mind that the genuineness of the Epistle to the Colossians is by no means free from doubt, the expression can even rouse a suspicion that *vv.* 10-14 were not written by a single author at one writing, but that either *vv.* 12-14 are an addition, or that *v.* 11 (with or without οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς) is an interpolation. At the same time, even where the Epistle to the Colossians

1 On the name see § 6.

2 In Marcion's NT (Zahn, *Einl.* 1 647 2 528) the words ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός were wanting; cp § 3.

is not regarded as genuine as a whole, there is a disposition for the most part to regard the personal notices in 4 7-15 as a genuine fragment; and finally it is not too difficult to suppose that *v.* 11 is to be supplemented thus: 'these alone—that is to say among those of Jewish birth—are fellow-workers.' In any case this course is an easier one than that of bracketing 'of the circumcision these only' (*ἐκ περιτομῆς οὗτοι μόνοι*) so as to make 'fellow-workers' (*συνεργοί*) the immediate continuation of 'who are' (*οἱ ὄντες*).

Luke thus remains in any case a Gentile Christian unless we regard the whole passage as too insecure to allow of our founding anything upon it.

3. Authorship of Third Gospel and Acts.

The interest which Luke has for students of the NT turns almost entirely on the belief that he was the author of the Third Gospel and of Acts. This 'tradition,' however, cannot be traced farther back than towards the end of the second century (Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and the Muratorian fragment);[1] there is no sound basis for the contention of Zahn (2 175) that the existence of the tradition can also be found as early as in Marcion because that writer, from his aversion to the Third Gospel (which nevertheless was the only one he admitted into his collection—with alterations it is true) omitted the expression of honour applied to Luke in Col. 4 14. In ACTS, §§ 1, 9, 15 *f.*, and GOSPELS, § 153, it has been shown that it is impossible to regard Luke with any certainty as the writer even of the 'we' sections of Acts, not to speak of the whole book of Acts, or of the Third Gospel.

4. Inferences, the authorship being assumed.

The assumption, however, that as an evangelist Luke must have been an eye-witness of the events of the earthly life of Jesus, and as the author of Acts, a companion of Paul, led to certain inferences. (*a*) From the fourth century onwards[2] he was held to have been one of the 'seventy' (Lk. 10 1), although this is excluded not only by the fact of the gentile origin of the historical Luke but also by what the Third Evangelist says of himself (1 2). (*b*) It can proceed only from a misunderstanding of the words (*παρηκολουθηκότι πᾶσιν*) of Lk. 1 3 (cp col. 1790), as if 'all' (*πᾶσιν*) were masculine, when Irenæus (iii. 11 1 [10 1] 14 2) with express citation of this text mentions Luke as having been a disciple of several apostles, not only of Paul. (*c*) In like manner, from the fourth century onwards (Lipsius, 360, 362, 367) Luke was identified with the unnamed disciple at Emmaus (Lk. 24 18); being assumed to be the author of the gospel, he was believed to have withheld his name out of modesty. (*d*) The assumption that he was the author of Acts led to the further belief that he was the companion of Paul not only in his captivity, but also during his journeys, either during those portions only which are spoken of in the first person, or throughout the whole of them. In the nineteenth century this also led to his being identified with Silas = Silvanus, because it was thought easier to attribute the 'we' portions to Silas (see ACTS, § 9). So, for example, van Vloten, *ZWT*, 1867, p. 223 *f.*, 1871, pp. 431-434. The identification was thought permissible on the ground that *lucus* and *silva* are synonymous. (*e*) On the assumption that Luke was author of the Acts Clement of Alexandria[3] held him to be also the translator of Paul's epistle to the Hebrews, written in Hebrew, the linguistic character of the Greek text being similar to that of Acts. (*f*) 'A medical language' was discovered in the Third Gospel and in Acts (so Hobart, 1882), and also in Hebrews (so Franz Delitzsch in his *Commentary*, 1857 [ET, 1868-70], condensed in the introduction to the 2nd ed. of the commentary of Meyer-Lünemann). (*g*) According to Zahn (§ 58, 6) it is possible that even the legend which represents Luke as a painter and attributes to him various pictures of the mother of Jesus (the legend is first met with in Theodorus Lector, *Hist. Eccl.* 1 1, dating from the first half of the 6th cent.) may rest upon misunderstanding of the word (*καθ-*) *ἱστορεῖν*, which in the Byzantine period meant 'to paint' and which is used in the passage of Theod. Lector just cited. (*h*) Apart from the same presupposition which regarded Luke as an author, Origen (*Hom.* 1 in Lucam, 3 933 *b* F, ed. de la Rue), or rather his unnamed predecessors, would not have identified Luke with the anonymous 'brother' of 2 Cor. 8 18 'whose praise *in the Gospel* (*i.e.*, in the oral preaching of the gospel) was spread through all the churches.' (*i*) Ramsay, we may presume, apart from this presupposition, would hardly have extended this last theory still farther, so as to hold that this Luke was the full brother of Titus who is mentioned immediately before, and that he was a native of Philippi (*St. Paul*, 203, 213, 219, 248 *f.*, 286, 389 *f.*, etc.). There are, for instance, some small touches in Acts which Ramsay thinks he is able to explain by taking their author to be a native of Philippi. (*k*) On the other hand, from the uncanonical text of Acts 11 28 where 'we' is used, others have sought to make out that Antioch in Syria is indicated as the home of Luke. The form of the text, however, may, on the contrary, rest on a previously existing tradition regarding Antioch (ACTS, § 17, *m*); it has no attestation earlier than the time of Augustine.[1]

[1] For all that follows, cp especially Lipsius, *Apokryph. Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2 354-371, and Zahn, *Einl.*, § 58.

[2] Earliest of all in Adamantius, *Dial. de recta fide* (= contra Marcionistas) in Orig. ed. de la Rue, 1 806 D.

[3] In the *Hypotyposes*, according to Eus. *HE* vi. 14 2; in the *adumbrationes* to 1 Pet. *ad fin.*, 1007 ed. Potter.

5. Birthplace.

In substance the Antioch tradition is met with at a considerably earlier date.

Ramsay (see above, § 4, *i*) lays stress (*op. cit.* 389) upon the fact that Eusebius (*HE* iii. 4 6), whom he regards as the earliest authority for it 'does not say that Luke was an Antiochian; he merely speaks of him as "being according to birth of those from Antioch" (*τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας*). This curious and awkward expression is obviously chosen in order to avoid the statement that Luke was an Antiochian.' Eusebius was aware, according to Ramsay, that Luke 'belonged to a family that had a connection with Antioch,' namely, to a family that had emigrated from Philippi to Antioch. Even should this interpretation be correct it would be deprived of all its value by the circumstance that Eusebius himself in the *Quæstiones Evangelicæ ad Stephanum* (of which Mai, as early as 1847, published fragments from a Catena of Nicetas in *Nova patrum Bibliotheca* [4 1]) writes: *ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς τὸ μὲν γένος ἀπὸ τῆς βοωμένης Ἀντιοχείας ἦν* (p. 270: 'Luke was by birth a native of the renowned Antioch'). Should it be held doubtful whether the words just quoted actually come from Eusebius inasmuch as certain statements in their vicinity are irreconcilable with the views of Eusebius known to us from other sources, Spitta (*Der Brief des Julius Africanus an Aristides*, 1877, p. 70-73, 111) has rendered it probable that they were written by Julius Africanus and thus as early as in the first half of the third century. Of equal antiquity is the Latin prologue to the Third Gospel (in Wordsworth, *NT latine*, 1 269) which has been thoroughly discussed by Corssen (*Monarchianische Prologe zu den 4 Evangelien* in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 15 1, 1896); its words are: 'Lucas Syrus natione Antiochensis.'

This does not, however, prove that Antioch was really the home of Luke. It is very questionable whether those of the third century were in possession of a correct tradition on the subject, and on the other hand it is very conceivable that a mere conjecture may have been adopted. Many critics think that there has been a confusion of Luke with Lucius who is mentioned in Acts 13 1 as present in Antioch. He belonged, however, to Cyrene.

6. Name.

We need not, however, question the possibility of the name Lucas having given rise to confusion with this Lucius. The termination -*ᾶς* was employed as an abbreviation for a great variety of longer terminations (see NAMES, § 86) and in Patrobas (Rom. 16 14) we have a name which in all probability arose out of Patrobius. Besides Lucius, such various names as Lucilius, Lucillus, Lucinus, Lucinius, Lucianus, Lucanus, could all produce the abbreviation Lucas. In any case the name is of Latin origin.

[1] Since the art. ACTS was printed, Harnack also has elaborately controverted the genuineness of the reading in question (*SBAW*, 1899, pp. 316-327).

Lucanus is given for Lucas as the name of the Evangelist in several MSS. of the Vetus Itala (*e.g.*, *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, 2 85, etc.). Cp Ἀπολλώνιος in D for Ἀπολλῶς (supr. col. 262, n.). In *CIG*, apart from Christian inscriptions, the name Λουκᾶς occurs only twice—in both cases in Egypt (3 4759, and Add. 4700 k). The identification of Luke with the Lucius mentioned by Paul in Rom. 16 21—an identification that is mentioned even by Origen (4 686a DE, ed. de la Rue)—cannot be maintained, Lucius having been a Jew. In the form of the Prologue already mentioned, which is to be found in the *Opera Hieronymi*, ed. Vallarsi, xi. 3, 42, there is added immediately after the name of Luke the expression 'ipse consurgens.' In the *Liber interpretationis hebr. nominum* (Vallarsi, 3 113 116; see also *OS* 77 14 79 16) Jerome explains the name as meaning 'ipse consurgens aut [sive] ipse elevans.' In a Greek codex of similar contents (see *OS* 174 80) we read Λουκᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνιστῶν; in a Vatican collection printed in *Wiener Studien*, 1895, p. 157, we find 'iste consurgens.' Professor Nestle in a private letter to the present writer explains that here as in New Greek and in the Romance languages the accusative (Lucam) is taken as the basis and explained as equivalent to לוֹ קָם. Thus it will be only by a misunderstanding that in the *Sermo in natali S. Lucæ* attributed to Abbot Bertharius of Monte Cassino (856-884) the original language of the name is called Æolic. In fact in the *Homiliæ præstantissimorum eccles. cathol. doctorum ab Alcuino collectæ* (Cologne, 1576, p. 953 *b*, middle), cited by Lipsius (p. 366), the passage runs: 'Lucas siquidem Æolice; in nostra autem lingua interpretatur consurgens sive elevans.'

7. Other later traditions.[1] The oldest of the traditions regarding Luke that do not depend on the assumption of his authorship of the Third Gospel and of Acts is met with in the Prologue already referred to: 'serviens deo sine crimine; nam neque uxorem umquam habens neque filios 74 annorum obiit in Bithynia plenus spiritu sancto.' The years of his life are sometimes also given as 73, 78, 80, 83 or 84 (Lipsius, 359, 365, 367). The last-named figure coincides with the age of Anna (Lk. 2 37). As fields of his activity Achaia and Bœotia are sometimes mentioned instead of Bithynia; also Alexandria or Dalmatia, Gaul, Italy, and Macedonia or the region of the Danube. Down to the fifth century tradition was unanimous in attributing to him a natural death; the place generally named being Thebes in Bœotia, but occasionally Thebes in Egypt, or Ephesus. It was only at a later date that the opinion arose that he had suffered martyrdom —by crucifixion on an olive tree like Andrew, and, according to one account, even along with that apostle at Patras in Achaia. This plainly rests upon the fact that in 357 his relics were transported along with those of Andrew to Constantinople. According to other accounts he was beheaded,—either in Rome, or in Alexandria.

For the **Gospel according to Luke**, see GOSPELS, §§ 10-12, 21, 24-33, 37-43, 64, 66 *f.*, 76, 80, 82, 98, 101, 107-111, 116, 120-127, 132-140, 142, 144 *f.*, 147, 153, etc., also the index col. 1897 *f.*
P. W. S.

LUNATIC (σεληνιαζομενοι [Ti. WH]). This term occurs only twice in the NT, viz., Mt. 4 24 and 17 15. The revisers deliberately rendered 'epileptic,' on the ground that a Greek medical authority of the seventh century expressly states that ἐπιληπτικός was the scientific term, and that δαιμονιζόμενοι and σεληνιαζόμενοι were popular terms for the same disease. See passage quoted from Leo in Ermerin's *Anecdota medica* by G. Marshall in *Guardian*, March 9, 1892. It is a mistake to suppose that in Mt. 4 24 the σεληνιαζόμενοι are distinguished from the δαιμονιζόμενοι; it is plain from a comparison of passages that 'lunatics' are mentioned as examples of the class of demoniacs, and 'paralytics' of those tormented with pain. As the periodicity of the attacks of epilepsy was supposed to be determined by the changes of the moon (see Wetstein *in loc.*), those thus afflicted were called σεληνιαζόμενοι, *lunatic* or *moonstruck*. Cp MADNESS.

LUTE (נֶבֶל, Is. 5 12, RV [AV 'viol']; and κινυρα 1 Macc. 4 54 RV [AV 'harp']). See MUSIC, §§ 7 *ff.*

LUZ (לוּז, λουζα [BADEL]). 1. Another name of BETHEL [*q.v.*], Gen. 28 19[1] 35 6 48 3 Josh. 16 2 (see below), 18 13 Judg. 1 23. Of these passages the oldest come from P; but the identification of Bethel and Luz must be much older than P; it is *implied*, indeed, in Judg. 1 22-26 (*v.* 23 *b* is a late gloss). Whence did Luz derive its name? The lexicons say, from לוּז, 'an almond tree'; but Lagarde is probably right in rejecting this view. The almond scarcely grows at Bethel. The rugged hills on the side of which BETHEL stands may, thinks Lagarde (*Uebers.* 157 *f.*, n.**), have been likened to an *os sacrum* (לוּז). Winckler (*GI* 265), however, more plausibly explains it by Ar. *lauḏ* as an appellative = 'asylum,' a suitable name for a sanctuary. According to him, the two oldest and most important temples of the land of Israel—that at Bethel and that at Dan— were both called Luz (see LAISH) in the sense of 'asylum.'[2] Still more probably may we take לוּ[ה] (cp 𝔊) to be shortened and corrupted from חֲלֻצָה, 'strong (city).' Whether the story has a historical basis, we know not. The Josephites may perhaps originally have been specified as the conquerors of Luz (?) in the land of the Hittites (?). See 2.

In Josh. 16 2 RV gives, 'and it went out from Bethel to Luz,' which seems to distinguish Bethel from Luz. Dillmann, Bennett, and others omit לוּזָה ('Luzah') as a gloss. Grätz, however, thinks, comparing 1 S. 12 *f.*, that, for בית־אל at the end of *v.* 1 we should probably read בֵּית־אָוֶן, and for מבית־אל we should read מִבֵּית־אָוֶן, rendering '. . . to Beth-aven, and it went out from Beth-aven to Luz.'
T. K. C.

2. A city said to have been founded 'in the land of the Hittites' by a family which had had to migrate from Bethel or Luz, Judg. 1 26. Some suppose that 'Hittites' in this phrase is used vaguely (like 'Canaanites'), or that we have here a redactional insertion referring to a NE. Syrian empire. See HITTITES (§ 4). But should not 'Hittites' be 'Rehobothites' and 'Luz' be Ḥalūṣah (see REHOBOTH, SHECHEM, ZIKLAG)? There is a strong plausibility in the emendations elsewhere which support this view. There was probably a southern Beth-el containing the sanctuary of Ḥalūṣah, otherwise called Dan (where Jeroboam placed his 'golden calf'). Another tradition (Judg. 18) assigned the conquest of Laish (= Luz = Ḥalūṣah) to the Danites (cp MICAH, 2).

LYCAONIA (λυκαονια [Ti. WH]), twice mentioned in Acts 14. In *v.* 6 Lystra and Derbe are 'cities of

1. Position. Lycaonia' (πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας); in *v.* 11 the people speak 'in the speech of Lycaonia' (Λυκαονιστί). In its original extent, Lycaonia, the country of the Lycaones, was the vast, treeless region which like a broad band runs athwart the plateau constituting the interior of Asia Minor, from Galatia proper, the zone of undulating country on the northern edge of the plateau, to the offshoots of Mt. Taurus and the confines of Pisidia and Isauria (Cilicia Tracheia).[3] The boundaries varied at different times.

[1] (Subjoined is what may be called the authorised ecclesiastical tradition as contained in the *Breviarium Romanum* (18th Oct.).

'Lucas medicus Antiochensis, ut ejus scripta indicant, Græci sermonis non ignarus, fuit sectator Apostoli Pauli, et omnis peregrinationis ejus comes. Scripsit Evangelium, de quo idem Paulus: Misimus, inquit, cum illo fratrem, cujus laus est in Evangelio per omnes ecclesias. Et ad Colossenses: Salutat vos Lucas, medicus carissimus. Et ad Timotheum; Lucas est mecum solus. Aliud quoque edidit volumen egregium, quod titulo, Acta Apostolorum, prænotatur: cujus historia usque ad biennium Romæ commorantis Pauli pervenit, id est, usque ad quartum Neronis annum. Ex quo intelligimus, in eadem urbe librum esse compositum.'

'Igitur periodos Pauli et Theclæ, et totam baptizati Leonis fabulam, inter apocryphas scripturas computamus. Quale enim est, ut individuus comes Apostoli inter ceteras ejus res hoc solum ignoraverit? Sed et Tertullianus vicinus eorum temporum refert Presbyterum quemdam in Asia amatorem Apostoli Pauli, convictum a Joanne, quod auctor esset libri, et confessum se hoc Pauli amore fecisse, et ob id loco excidisse. Quidam suspicantur, quotiescumque in epistolis suis Paulus dicit, Juxta Evangelium meum, de Lucæ significare volumine.'

'Lucam autem non solum ab Apostolo Paulo didicisse Evangelium, qui cum Domino in carne non fuerat, sed a ceteris Apostolis: quod ipse quoque in principio sui voluminis declarat, dicens: Sicut tradiderunt nobis, qui a principio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis. Igitur Evangelium, sicut audierat, scripsit: Acta vero Apostolorum, sicut viderat ipse, composuit. Vixit octoginta et quatuor annos, uxorem non habens: sepultus est Constantinopoli: ad quam urbem vigesimo Constantini anno ossa ejus cum reliquiis Andreæ Apostoli translata sunt de Achaia.']

[1] Gen. 28 19 ουλαμμαυς [A], -αους [DE*L], -μβανους [E$^{a?}$]; אוּלָם precedes, cp Judg. 18 29 𝔊BA.

[2] W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 165) finds the name Luz reproduced as Ru-ḏa in the lists of Rameses II. and III. It may be so; but Gaza appears to be the next place (cp *RP*(2) 6 27).

[3] Isauria (Isaurica; Strabo, Ἰσαυρική) is the hill-country extending from Lystra to the town Isaura, in Strabo and Ptolemy,

LYCAONIA

The fact that Iconium was the last city of Phrygia (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2 19) gives us a fixed point on the original boundary, which must have fallen between Iconium and Lystra; consequently, the apostles, being driven out of Iconium, crossed the frontier from Phrygia into Lycaonia (Acts 14 6). Nevertheless, Iconium was generally reckoned a Lycaonian town, in defiance of history and local feeling. N. of Iconium, Laodiceia Combusta (Katakekaumene) was on the frontier, being reckoned to Lycaonia (Strabo, 663), so that the line must have run between that town and Tyriaeum. On the east Lake Tatta divided Lycaonia from Cappadocia; and, farther south, the range called *Karadja-Dagh* and the lake *Ak Geul* were on the line. The frontier on the north and south is indeterminate. Lycaonia was thus largely co-extensive with the plain called Axylon ('Treeless,' see above) by the Greeks, which is thus described by Hogarth (*A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, 85):—

'Cartographers write this tract a Desert, and therefore that term must include an undulating treeless plain which sends up corn breast-high for the scratching of a Homeric plough. Fresh water is found everywhere at less than twenty feet, and deep grass grows in the marshy hollows through which streams creep to the central lake.'[1]

Nor is it very level, being broken by the *Boz-Dagh* and other hills. The wells which supply the drinking water must be very ancient (Strabo, 568). The plain afforded excellent pasturage for sheep, and gave opportunity for making large fortunes by the trade in wool. It was on the Lycaonian downs that Amyntas grazed his 300 flocks (Strabo, *l.c.*).

2. History. Lycaonia had no history as a separate independent country. Until 190 B.C. it was included within the Syrian (Seleucid) Empire. At some time between 189 and 133 B.C., probably about 160 B.C., the entire tract W. of Lake Tatta, southwards as far as Iconium and Lystra inclusive, was added as a tetrarchy to Galatia proper, making one of the twelve tetrarchies into which Galatia was divided (Plin. *HN* 5 95). This Lycaonian tetrarchy included fourteen cities, of which Iconium was the chief. The rest of Lycaonia from Derbe eastwards to Castabala on Mt. Amanus, was given, in 129 B.C., to the sons of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, in reward for their father's loyalty (Justin, 37 1, Strabo, 534 *f.*). This was called the Eleventh Strategia of Cappadocia (*τὴν ἐπίκτητον, sc. στρατηγίαν*, Strabo, 537). Thus Lycaonia fell into two parts, the 'added tetrarchy,' and the 'Eleventh Strategia.' In 64 B.C. Pompeius reorganised the country after the defeat of Mithradates.

The northern part of the tetrarchy was permanently attached to Galatia proper and it retained its name of 'Added Land' (*προσειλημμένη*, Ptol. v. 4 10); the southern and most valuable part of the old tetrarchy was detached.[2] Similarly, it was only the eastern part of the old Eleventh Strategia that was allowed to continue to belong to Cappadocia; the frontier was drawn W. of Cybistra. The southern part of the tetrarchy, and the western part of the Strategia—*i.e.*, the entire south-western section of Lycaonia—was attached as the Lycaonian Diœcesis to the Province of Cilicia. The district of Derbe and Laranda was administered by Antipater of Derbe under the supervision of the Roman governor of Cilicia, who also retained the right of way through eastern Lycaonia (*i.e.*, the Cappadocian part of the Strategia: cp Cic. *Ad Fam.* 13 73; 15 1, *cum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem, in finibus Lycaoniæ et Cappadociæ.* Id. *Ad Att.* v. 21 9; Plin. *HN* 5 25).

In 40 B.C., when Antonius regulated Asia Minor, the south-western portion of Lycaonia was formed into a kingdom for Polemon, son of Zeno, a rhetorician of Laodiceia on the Lycus, along with Isauria (Appian, *BC* 5 75: cp Strabo, 569, 577). Iconium was his capital (Strabo, 568). In 36 B.C. the kingdom of Polemon was given to Amyntas, who ruled over Pisidic Phrygia and Pisidia proper: at the time Galatia proper (including, of course, the Added Land) was given to him. Antipater of Derbe had taken advantage of the Civil Wars to make himself completely independent; consequently Amyntas, who was a loyal agent of Rome, was allowed to destroy him, and to annex his territory. Lycaonia was thus, with the exception of the eastern part of the old Strategia, wholly within the realm of Amyntas; and when Amyntas was slain in 25 B.C. it became part and parcel of the vast Province of Galatia.[1] Subsequently, in 37 A.D., eastern Lycaonia (*i.e.*, the Cappadocian part of the old Eleventh Strategia), having been placed under Antiochus IV., king of Commagene, became known as Lycaonia Antiochiana (*Ἀντιοχιανή, sc. χώρα*—Ptol. v. 6 17; *CIL* 10 8660). In 41 A.D. this arrangement was confirmed by Claudius, who also detached from Galatia the extreme south-eastern corner of Lycaonia—viz., Laranda and its territory—and transferred it to Antiochus.

The reason for this lay in the fact that Antiochus was king of Cilicia Tracheiotis, and Laranda was the centre from which radiated the roads running through Tracheiotis to the coast (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 361). Coins with the legend ΛΥΚΑΟΝΩΝ were struck by Antiochus, probably at Laranda.

3. In Paul's time. This state of things lasted until 72 A.D., when Vespasian considered the Romanisation of the Tracheiotis complete, and incorporated the kingdom of Antiochus in the provincial system (Suet. *Vesp.* 8). From this it is clear that at the time of Paul's visit (about 50 A.D.) Derbe was the frontier city of Galatia Provincia in this quarter, and therefore he went no farther eastwards (Acts 14 21). It is also clear that the bulk of the Lycaonians were, from the Roman point of view, 'Galatians,' men of the Province Galatia (Gal. 3 1 1 Cor. 16 1); for in Paul's time Lycaonia, always fated to be divided, fell into two parts—Galatic Territory (*Γαλατικὴ χώρα*, Acts 18 23) or Lycaonia Galatica,[2] and Antiochian Territory or Lycaonia Antiochiana. The former, or the Roman part of Lycaonia, the only part in which Paul *worked*, is mentioned three times in Acts—Acts 14 6 (where it is defined by the enumeration of its cities, as Paul entered from Phrygia Galatica), Acts 16 1 (defined again by the enumeration of the cities, as Paul entered from Lycaonia Antiochiana), and Acts 18 23 (defined by reference to the Province, as Paul entered from the non-Roman part).[3]

4. Culture, etc. The Lycaonians were probably the aboriginal race conquered by the immigrant Phrygians about the tenth century B.C. For their religion and character see Ramsay's *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, 19 *ff.* The cities were probably mostly the foundations of Greek kings (especially of the Seleucids), which accounts, among other things, for the influence and numbers of the Jews therein (Acts 14 19). Lycaonia or South Galatia possessed, long before the advent of the Romans, some Hellenised cities on the great commercial route. Greek was the language of commerce, and these cities were *foci* of Græco-Roman influence. The villages and rustic districts were the last to be Hellenised; but those of southern Lycaonia felt the movement a full century before those of Galatia proper.

The governing (Latin) race was confined to the garrison towns or colonies; and to the towns in general the commercial element, Hellenic or Jewish, would also be confined in the main. In the country and the remoter towns the native element survived (see LYSTRA). Of the Lycaonian language nothing is known (for three inscriptions in this obscure dialect, cp *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 11 157).

There was thus an essential contrast between the society and civilisation of Lycaonia, or South Galatia, and the northern part of the province (*i.e.*, Galatia proper). Greek civilisation did not establish itself in North Galatia until very late; not earlier than 150 A.D.

and was part of Cilicia Tracheia. Subsequently, the name Isauria was extended to include all the districts of Cilicia Tracheia (see Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 450).

[1] See Murray's *Handb. to AM* 161. Ramsay, on the other hand, describes it less favourably.

[2] The line of demarcation passed, probably, just N. of Savatra or Soatra on the eastern highway.

[1] Dio Cass. 53 26: *τοῦ Ἀμύντου τελευτήσαντος, ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας Ῥωμαῖον ἄρχοντα ἔσχε.*

[2] This title is not indeed actually found as yet, but is proved by the analogy of Pontus Galaticus as distinguished from Pontus Polemoniacus, and Phrygia Galatica (=*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* of Acts 16 6) as distinguished from Phrygia Asiana.

[3] [See, however, GALATIA, §§ 9-14.]

was it dominant even in the cities (Ramsay develops and proves this at great length in *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, 1 341; cp Momms. *Prov. of R. Emp.* 128 *f.*).

This phenomenon resulted from the fact that the Lycaonian plain was traversed by two main arteries of communication—(1) the trade-route from the Euphrates to Ephesus, crossing Lycaonia from E. to W. by Laodiceia Combusta (Strabo, 663); (2) from the Cilician Gates and Laranda, through Derbe, Iconium, and Antioch, uniting with the first-named road at Metropolis in Phrygia.[1]

Hence the diffusion of Christianity, being strictly conditioned by the geographical and historical relations of the various districts, started from Iconium as centre for the whole of Lycaonia, and the ecclesiastical system of Lycaonia was highly developed at an early period. In northern Galatia the centre was Ancyra, and the line along which the movement travelled was that leading from Bithynia through Juliopolis (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 197 240)—a route which came largely into use only when the centre of the Roman world was moved to the shores of the Bosphorus. See further, GALATIA.

Literature. Ramsay in *Hist. Geogr. of AM*, *pass.*; later, and with greater accuracy, in *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, *pass.* See for inscriptions, Sterrett in *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor.* These supersede, as regards *history*, the older travellers—to whom reference should be made for *description.* Views in Davis, *Asiatic Turkey* (*pass.*). Coins, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins*—Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Isauria, 1900. W. J. W.

LYCIA (λυκια, Acts 27 5), the SW. part of Asia Minor between Caria and Pamphylia, where the Taurus range descends in masses to the sea, forming a rugged coast with several good harbours (Strabo, 664). The inhabitants, who called themselves Tramele (Τερμίλαι), were apparently the descendants of a conquering tribe allied to the Greeks, which crossed the Hellespont from Europe and established itself among the original Semitic population.

[The Lycians, though not mentioned in Gen. 10, were well known as a maritime people, not only to the Greeks, but also to the Egyptians, who called them Ruku or Lûk (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 354 362). They are also mentioned in one of the Amarna Letters (28 10-12) as plundering Alašiya (Cyprus? Crete?).]

In course of time the conquerors were themselves absorbed into the body of the conquered race. Throughout western Asia Minor from the very dawn of history development turns upon this conflict between European and Oriental elements (see Rams. *Hist. Phryg.* 1 7 *f.*). A relic of the latter was the Lycian custom of tracing descent through the mother (Herod. 1 173; cp Sayce, *Emp. of the East*, 99); cp KINSHIP, § 4. The Lycians were absorbed into the Persian empire after a brave defence. After their victory over Antiochus at Magnesia (190 B.C.) the Romans handed over Lycia and the greater part of Caria to the Rhodians; but twenty-three years later independence was restored to the Lycian cities (Pol. 30 5). Then followed the golden period of Lycian history.

The country formed a league (τὸ Λυκιακὸν σύστημα) of twenty-three cities,[2] organised on a federal basis (Strabo, 664); this was only a development of an earlier Κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων (cp *CIG* 4677). At any rate, the Lycian League has been justly called the 'fairest product of that Hellenism, that mastery of the barbarian mind by Greek political thought, which took such strong root in Asia Minor' (Greenidge, *Handbk. of Grk. Const. Hist.* 241, where see details). The cities were arranged in three classes, with three, two, or one vote at the annual assembly of the nation (τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον), at which the head of the league (Lyciarch) was elected. In the same proportion the public burdens were assigned to the cities. To the first group belonged Patara and Myra, both mentioned in the NT, Acts 21 1 (Πάταρα καὶ Μύρα [D]), 27 5 (cp Strabo, 665). There was no federal capital.

During this period, Lycia is heard of, in 1 Macc. 15 23, as one of the states to which the consul L. Calpurnius Piso sent letters in favour of the Jewish settlers (139 B.C.); PHASELIS (*q.v.*), a Lycian town, is mentioned separately in the list. For loyalty to the Romans, the freedom of the Lycians was confirmed, first by Sulla, and afterwards by Antonius. In 43 A.D. internal dissensions afforded the Emperor Claudius a pretext for taking the territory of the Federation into the Empire (Suet. *Claud.* 25, *Lyciis ob exitiabiles inter se discordias libertatem ademit*). As a province, Lycia seems to have been combined at first with Pamphylia (Dio Cass. 60 17). Two prætorian governors of this period are known—Eprius Marcellus (Tac. *Ann.* 13 33 in 54-56 A.D.), and Licinius Mutianus (*Lyciæ legatus*, Plin. *HN* 12 9). As, however, under Galba, and perhaps under Nero, Pamphylia was united with the Province Galatia (cp Tac. *Hist.* 2 9), it has been conjectured that freedom was restored to the Lycians by Nero or Galba; at all events, information fails as regards Lycia during the reigns of Nero and his successors.

In 74 A.D. Vespasian took Lycia once more within the provincial system, and united it with Pamphylia to form the double province Lycia-Pamphylia, precisely like Pontus-Bithynia (Suet. *Vesp.* 8. See Momms. in *CIL* iii., *Suppl.* no. 6737). As an imperial province, it was governed by a prætorian *Legatus Augusti proprætore*; but in 135 A.D. Hadrian handed it over to the Senate in exchange for Bithynia (Dio Cass. 69 14). When absorbed by the Empire the old Federal union still persisted as the Κοινὸν Λυκίων for the imperial cultus, under the presidency of the Lyciarch.

Lycia has no importance in the early history of Christianity; in this respect it is like PAMPHYLIA (*q.v.*). Its name does not occur in 1 Pet. 1 1 (cp Hort, *First Ep. of Peter*, 163 *f.*). For its later conection with Christianity see Mommsen in *Arch. epigr. Mittheil. aus Oestr.*, 1893, p. 93 *f.*

Literature. The Austrians have done much for Lycia. See Benndorf u. Niemann, *Lycia*, 2 vols. E. Kalinka, 'Zur historischen Topographie Lykiens' in Kiepert's *Festschrift*, 1898, p. 161 *f.* W. J. W.

LYDDA, or LOD (לֹד; λοδ [BℵA]; but λυδδα in Neh. 11 35 [ℵ^c.a inf. mg. L, Bℵ*A om.] Macc. and NT; λυδδον [gen. plur.] in Ezra 2 33 Neh. 7 37 1 Esd. 5 22 [L], λωδ in 1 Ch. 8 12 [L, B om]; λυδδων λοδ in Ezra 2 33 [A]), a town of the Shĕphēlah, in (?) the Gē ha-ḥărāshīm or 'Valley of the Craftsmen (?),' corresponding to the mod. *Ludd*, 11¾ m. by rail SE. from Jaffa. Mariette, Brugsch, and others find it mentioned (as Lu-ṭ-n) immediately before Ono in the Karnak list of Thotmes III.; but W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 140) will not admit this. Cp HADID and BENJAMIN, § 8, *b*, 3; but see ONO, where the doubtfulness of this identification is pointed out (see also *Crit. Bib.*). Confusions of names are not unfrequent in lists. There is at any rate no doubt about Lydda.

In 1 Macc. 11 34 Lydda is named as one of the three 'governments' (νομοί) that were added to Judæa from Samaria, in the reign of Jonathan the high priest, by King Demetrius II., Ephraim and Ramathaim being the other two. It is mentioned by Josephus and Pliny as giving its name to one of the ten or eleven toparchies (κληρουχίαι τοπαρχίαι) into which Judæa was in their time divided (Jos. *BJ* iii. 3 5; Plin. *HN* v. 14 70). Shortly after the death of Julius Cæsar in 44 B.C. the inhabitants of Lydda and certain other towns were sold into slavery by Cassius owing to the failure of these places to pay the heavy contributions he had demanded; they were afterwards set free by Antony. Lydda is mentioned in Acts 9 32 *ff.* in connection with a visit of the apostle Peter. It was burned by Cestius Gallus in Nero's reign, was taken by Vespasian in 68 A.D., and, after the fall of Jerusalem, for some time shared with Jabneh the honour of being one of the chief seats of rabbinical learning.

In a *Totius Orbis Descriptio* of the fourth century Lydda is mentioned with Sarepta, Cæsarea, and Neapolis as a centre of the purple trade. Its classical name was *Diospolis* (when first given is not known); but it continued also to be known, especially in Christian circles, as Lydda, as appears from episcopal lists in

[1] An alternative route ran from the Cilician Gates, through Cybistra, and north-westwards across the plain through Iconium, and then hit the trade route at Laodiceia Combusta (Rams. *Hist. Comm. on Gal.* 184).

[2] These twenty-three cities were not the sum total of Lycian cities, for more than a hundred places are known to have struck coins, and Pliny *HN* 5 28 says that Lycia formerly possessed seventy cities, though in his own time there were only thirty-six.

which its name occurs. Pelagius was condemned here at a synod held in 415. After varying fortunes the city was destroyed by Saladin in 1191; but it was rebuilt, only, however, to be sacked by the Mongols in 1271. From this last blow it never recovered, and it is now an unimportant village, the only feature of interest which it possesses being the Church of St. George, partly dating from the twelfth century, which reminds us that Lydda was in Christian times the centre of a cultus closely connected with the dragon-myths of Egypt and Babylon. It would even seem to have obtained a place in some forms of the antichrist legend, for a *ḥadith*, ascribed to Mohammed by ancient commentators on the Korān, says that 'Isa (Jesus) will slay *ed-dajjāl* ('the impostor'=Antichrist) at Lydda, or even at the gate of the church of Lydda (Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges*, 1877, p. 10). Antichrist is, in fact, a descendant of the mythic dragon. See ANTICHRIST.

LYDIA, RV LUD (לוּד; Ezek. 30 5) and LYDIANS, RV LUDIM (לוּדִים; Jer. 46 9). See LUD, 2.

LYDIA (λγδιδ, 1 Macc. 8 8 Ezek. 30 5 AV, RV LUD [*q.v.*], cp *id.* 27 10), the central member of the triad of districts fringing on the W. the great interior plateau of Asia Minor. On the N. came Mysia, on the S. Caria, on the E. Phrygia. Lydia thus included the basins of the Hermus and its tributaries, and that of the Cayster, and extended southwards over the range of Messogis as far as the Mæander[1] (Strabo, 577). Eastwards, in the direction of Phrygia, the boundary was uncertain, even to the ancients, and it was disputed whether the Katakekaumene, the inland volcanic region on the upper Hermus, was to be reckoned as Lydian or Mysian (Strabo, 628). This confusion was due partly to the presence of both Lydian states and Mysian states in the same district (Strabo, 579); partly also it was the result of disregard of ethnical facts by the Romans in their organisation of the provincial divisions, as Strabo himself says (629).

1. Situation.

Whether the Lydians are referred to in the OT is considered elsewhere (see LUD, LUDIM, PUT); our chief object here is to illustrate the history of NT times. Lydia had long been a great trading state, owing to its natural wealth (cp Herod. 1 93 5 49; Tac. *Ann.* 4 55), though its trade was inland, not maritime. It was in fact the policy of the Mermnadæ (who, about 585 B.C., extended their rule over Phrygia to the confines of the Median empire) to make their state an industrial centre. Sardis, the capital, was a meeting-place of the caravan trade across Asia Minor by the old north, or royal road, and that which ran through Lycaonia.

The Lydians were the first to coin money, and were the earliest traders (Herod. 1 94). This statement of Herodotus has been explained by Radet by pointing out that the old Phœnician trade was conducted by barter, and that the Lydians first put this traffic on a new basis by stamping pieces of electrum of guaranteed weight and fineness with a symbol. The story of Pythius (Herod. 7 27 *f.*) shows that commerce on a great scale was thus rendered possible in Lydia. The coast had early been occupied by Hellenic colonies (Strabo, 647), and their subjugation gave Lydia also the Ægean trade: her history became interwoven with that of Greece, and Lydia became 'the link that binds together the geography and history of Asia and Europe' (Sayce, *Empires of the East*, 423).

The victory of the Romans at Magnesia, in the valley of the Hermus (190 B.C.), resulted in the transference of Lydia from Antiochus of Syria to Eumenes II. of Pergamus Pol. 21 45; Livy, 37 56). To this change reference is made in 1 Macc. 8 8. In 133 B.C., by the will of Attalus III., the Pergamene kingdom passed to the Romans, and Lydia henceforth formed part of the Roman province of Asia. After this date, the name Lydia possessed no *political* significance, though still valid in the domain of ethnology or geography. For Romans, or for those who adopted the Roman and imperial point of view, 'Asia' was the sole permissible term. Hence, in the NT the name Lydia does not occur, in spite of the fact that so much is said, for example, of Ephesus. Paul names only 'Asia' and 'Galatia' [cp GALATIA, §§ 5, 15 *f.*]: the writer of the Apocalypse sums up *five* Lydian cities, together with the Mysian Pergamus and the Phrygian Laodicea, as 'the seven churches which are in Asia' (Rev. 1 4).

2. History.

Here must be noticed the view maintained by Blass (*Act. Apost.* 176) and Zahn (*Einl.* 1 132 *f.*) as to the practice of Lk. in using non-provincial terms (Lycaonia, Pisidia, Mysia, etc.), and giving to the term 'Asia' a more restricted application than it had in official usage [cp GALATIA, § 15]. According to Zahn, 'Asia,' as used by Lk., means simply Lydia: Blass includes also Mysia and Caria, and excludes only Phrygia—this being, in fact, the extent of the Roman province of Asia from 133 to 84 B.C. The enumeration in Acts 2 9 seems to give colour to this view, and in this passage Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.*(5) 150) admits that 'Asia' is 'pointedly used in the popular sense, excluding Phrygia' (see ASIA; but cp PHRYGIA for another explanation). No support for Zahn's view can be derived from Strabo (627, τάχα γὰρ ἡ Μῃονία 'Ασία ἐλέγετο), for he is quoting a mere theory. In fact, all attempts to prove a use of the term Asia in a narrower sense than the Roman province at its greatest extent fail: it was not until the end of the third cent. A.D. that Asia was restricted as Zahn suggests (cp Ramsay, *Stud. Bibl.* 4 30 *f.*).

3. Blass and Zahn on 'Lydia' and 'Asia.'

The Lydia (see LYDIA, ii.) who befriended Paul at Philippi, came from Thyatira (Acts 16 14). Trade guilds, united in the worship of some deity, were characteristic of Lydia (cp Rams., *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 2 417), and the woman may have acted as agent for a guild of dyers. Possibly 'Lydia' was not her true name, but a popular designation (cp Zahn, *Einl.* 1 375).

The fact that five of the seven churches of Asia lay in Lydia makes that country important in the history of Christianity. See the special articles EPHESUS, PHILADELPHIA, SARDIS, SMYRNA, THYATIRA.

Literature.—Radet, *La Lydie et le monde grec au Temps des Mermnades*, 1893; Sayce, *Ancient Empires of the East*, 423 *f.* W. J. W.

LYDIA (λγδιδ [Ti.WH]), a woman of Thyatira, dealer in purple stuffs (πορφγροπωλις), and a 'worshipper of God' (ςεβομενη τον θεον; see PROSELYTE, § 5); Paul's first convert, and his hostess, at Philippi (Acts 16 14 *f.* 40). See LYDIA i., § 3.

LYE occurs once in RV (Jer. 2 22), where it represents Heb. נֶתֶר, *nēther*, AV NITRE, and twice in RVmg. (Is. 1 25: 'I will purge as with lye thy dross'; Job 9 30 'if . . . I cleanse my hands with lye'), where it represents Heb. בֹּר בּוֹר,[1] *bōr*. Cp SOAP.

The English word lye is now used for solutions of the hydroxides of potassium or sodium in water, which, when added to certain oils or fats, produce soap, but was formerly applied to a mixture of water and the ashes of wood and plants generally, the water dissolving the alkaline salts of the ash.

A. E. S.

LYSANIAS (λγςανιογ, Ti.WH) is mentioned in the NT only in Lk. 3 1, where he appears as tetrarch of ABILENE [*q.v.*] at the beginning of the Baptist's ministry. Outside of the NT we know of only one man of this name who ruled over this region; his rule commenced about 40 B.C., and in 36 B.C. he was executed by the triumvir Mark Antony at the instigation of Cleopatra (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 4 1, § 92; *BJ* i. 22 3, § 440; Schürer, *GJV*(2) 1 296, ET 1 402)—thus a difference of more than sixty years. The question arises, accordingly, whether perhaps Lk. may not intend a younger Lysanias with regard to whom we possess no direct information, and whether it is possible to suppose that what is said in Lk. may be applicable to him though inapplicable to the older Lysanias.

The Lysanias of whom we know from secular history

[1] On the Mæander as the boundary between Lydia and Caria, see Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 1 183, n.

[1] [In Is. 1 25, כַּבֹּר, 'in the furnace,' ought perhaps to be read for כַּבֹּר; so Lowth and others. See FURNACE, 2.]

LYSANIAS

succeeded his father Ptolemy, who was the son of a certain Mennæus; this Ptolemy, according to Strabo (xvi. 2 10, p. 753), was lord of the 'hill country of the Ituræans'—by which we are to understand probably the southern Antilibanus (see ISHMAEL, § 4 [7]) along with Abila (west from Damascus)—and also of the plain of Massyas or Marsyas, which stretched between the Lebanon and Antilibanus ranges from Laodicea in the N. to Chalcis (Ptolemy's capital) in the S.; and indeed it is probable that his territory came farther S. still, to the region of Paneas N. of Lake Merom or Semechonitis.

1. Extent of territory of Lysanias.

(*a*) The apologists are not alone in maintaining the impossibility of this kingdom being designated as the tetrarchy of Abilene. Schürer (596 *f.*, 602; ET i. 2 326 *ff.*) takes the same view, and assumes therefore a younger Lysanias, who in the Baptist's time was tetrarch of Abilene only. Schürer himself affirms that 'Pompey destroyed the fortified places in Lebanon (Strabo xvi. 2 18, p. 755) and undoubtedly also curtailed the territory of Ptolemy in a way similar to that in which he dealt with the Jewish territory.' That the kingdom of Ptolemy was thereby reduced to the limits of Abilene alone must not, however, be assumed, for Ptolemy purchased immunity for his incursions from Pompey by the payment of a thousand talents (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3 2, § 39).

In particular it is not probable that precisely Ptolemy's capital (Chalcis) was taken from him. Josephus, however (*BJ* ii. 12 8, § 247), expressly distinguishes this Chalcis from the 'kingdom of Lysanias' when he says that in 53 A.D. Chalcis was taken from Agrippa II., in compensation for which he received a greater kingdom which included the kingdom of Lysanias.

A notice in Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 10 1 3, §§ 343-345, 360; *BJ* i. 20 4, §§ 398-400) leads to the same result. Zenodorus had received, on payment of tribute, the former domain of Lysanias (ἐμεμίσθωτο τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Λυσανίου); after Zenodorus' death (20 B.C.) Augustus bestowed his territory upon Herod the Great—Ulatha and Paneas to the N. of Lake Merom. These districts, therefore, would seem to have previously belonged to the dominion of Lysanias (Schürer, 1 599).

(*b*) If accordingly it is impossible to assign Abilene alone to the Lysanias vouched for by profane history we must put some other meaning upon the expression of Lk. unless we are to postulate a younger Lysanias. Krenkel (*Josephus u. Lucas*, 1894, p. 96 *f.*) seeks to explain the expression from Josephus.

It is stated by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 10 1, §§ 343-345; *BJ* i. 20 4, § 398 *f.*) that Augustus gave to Herod, while Zenodorus was still alive, Trachon, Batanæa, and Auranitis. After the death of Herod in 4 B.C. these three territories along with a portion of the domain of Zenodorus fell to Herod's son Philip (*Ant.* xvii. 11 4, § 319; *BJ* ii. 6 3, § 95). This tetrarchy of Philip was, after his death in 34 A.D., incorporated with the province of Syria; but in 37 it was given to Agrippa I. along with the 'tetrarchy of Lysanias' (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6 10, § 237). In *BJ* (ii. 11 5, § 215) Josephus makes the same statement, only with the expression 'the so-called *kingdom* of Lysanias' (βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσανίου καλουμένην). After the death of Agrippa I. in 44 A.D. his territory passed under Roman control. But in 53 A.D., according to Josephus (*BJ* ii. 12 8, § 247), his son Agrippa II. obtained the former tetrarchy of Philip—*i.e.*, Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis—with, in addition, the 'kingdom of Lysanias' along with what had formerly been the domain of a certain Varus. In *Ant.* xx. 7 1, § 138, Josephus states it thus: he received the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanæa, and also Trachonitis with Abila. At this point Josephus adds that this last had formerly been the tetrarchy of Lysanias (Λυσανίου δ' αὕτη ἐγεγόνει τετραρχία). That this holds good of Abila only, not also of Trachonitis, follows from xix. 5 1, § 275 ('Αβίλαν τὴν Λυσανίου).

Upon these data Krenkel bases the conjecture that Josephus does not mean to speak of Abila as the only possession of Lysanias, that he calls it the tetrarchy or kingdom of Lysanias simply and solely because it was the only part of the former dominions of Lysanias, which, instead of being assigned to another lord such as Herod the Great, Philip, or Agrippa I. and receiving a name from the new master, had since the death of Lysanias continued to be directly under Roman rule. This interpretation fits best the 'Abila of Lysanias' ('Αβίλαν τὴν Λυσανίου); in the other passages it is not the most obvious one. It would be more natural to interpret in another sense—that Abila alone had constituted the territory of Lysanias,—in that case, then, of a younger Lysanias. But Josephus never gives any indication of a younger Lysanias being known to him. His readers were bound to suppose him to mean the Lysanias who was executed in 36 B.C. When we look at the question from this point of view, accordingly, the simplest course would seem to be to conclude that Josephus intends this same Lysanias throughout, and that there was no younger Lysanias; therefore, that Krenkel's interpretation is not to be set aside as inadmissible.

(*c*) Coming now to Lk., Krenkel supposes him to have borrowed his expression from Josephus, but on the erroneous impression that Lysanias had survived and ruled to a period shortly before the granting of his tetrarchy to Agrippa I. and thus to the Baptist's time. As to Lk.'s acquaintance with the writings of Josephus, see ACTS, § 16, and THEUDAS. Even if Lk. was not acquainted with Josephus, however, it is still possible that he may be in error; he may have found and misunderstood the expression 'tetrarchy of Lysanias,' meaning the former tetrarchy of Lysanias, in some other source.

(*d*) In any case we need some explanation of Lk.'s mentioning Lysanias at all. Clearly his wish is to be as complete as possible at this important point of his narrative; but Abilene was a very unimportant territory and Lysanias was not a Jewish ruler at all; if Lysanias was to be mentioned other neighbouring princes deserved equally well to be so also. The most likely suggestion is that Lk. starts from the condition of matters which subsisted down to the year 100 A.D., and thus approximately to the time when he was composing his book; Agrippa II., the last of the Jewish princes, possessed in addition to other territories Abilene also, and Lk. thus found himself called upon to say who it was that held it in the Baptist's time.[1] Whether he is indeed correct in giving a tetrarch Lysanias for this period must remain an open question. That he was mistaken cannot possibly be shown or even assumed without difficulty; but neither can it be disproved. In no case can it be held to be impossible, on the alleged ground that such a mistake on his part were inconceivable. Not to speak of the mistake regarding Philip in this very verse (cp ITUREA), the undeniable error in *v.* 2—that there were two high priests at the same time—is so serious that, in comparison with it, that regarding Lysanias would seem quite natural, especially if Lk. was depending on the unprecise mode of expression he found in Josephus or some other authority.

2. Titles.

Dio Cassius calls the pre-Christian Lysanias 'king of the Ituræans,' as also does Porphyry (ap. Eus. *Chron.* ed. Schöne, 1 170), if we assume that here 'Lysanias' (Λυσανίου) ought to be read for 'Lysimachus' (Λυσιμάχου). It is illegitimate to infer from this, however, that the coins with the legend 'Lysanias, tetrarch and chief priest' (Λυσανίου τετράρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως: Schürer, 1 598, n. 23) relate not to him but to a younger Lysanias. The coins bearing the legend 'Ptolemy tetrarch and chie[f priest]' (Πτολεμαίου τετράρχου ἀρχ[ιερέως]) are without hesitation attributed to his father. In that case, however, it is very probable that the son also bore the same title. True, Ptolemy is nowhere designated 'king' as his son is. The expressions of Josephus are quite general—that he 'was ruler' (δυναστεύων, *Ant.* xiv. 7 4, § 125), or 'bore sway' (ἐκράτει, *BJ* i. 9 2, § 185). But the titles 'tetrarch' and 'king' are not sharply distinguished. 'Tetrarch' at that time and for many a day had lost its original

[1] Holtzmann (most recently in *HC ad loc.*) adds the conjecture that Lk. took literally the title 'tetrarch' which he mentions in 3 1 as belonging to two sons of Herod the Great, and accordingly believed that out of the kingdom of Herod there must have been formed a fourth tetrarchy besides the two he had named, and Judæa—viz., the 'tetrarchy of Lysanias.' It is not necessary, however, to go so far as this; see § 2.

meaning of ruler of a fourth part of a kingdom and had come to be applied quite generally to any ruler over a territory not too great, dependent on Rome (Schürer, i., § 16, n. 12, 350-352; ET ii. 1 7, n. 12). The writers of that period, however, often substitute for it the title of 'king' also, which strictly denotes a higher dignity. Even Josephus designates the territory of one and the same Lysanias partly as a tetrarchy (τετραρχία) and partly as a kingdom (βασιλεία, § 1 *b*). In most quarters, therefore, no difficulty is found in identifying the pre-Christian Lysanias with the tetrarch of the inscription to be treated of in next section.

3. Inscriptions. The following inscription upon a tomb at Ba'albek (=Heliopolis) to the N. of Abila (*CIG* 4523) is of importance if the lacunæ have been rightly filled up by Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*, 1864, p. 317-319, and more exhaustively in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, vol. 26 *b* [1870], pp. 70-79): '. . . daughter to Zenodorus [son of] Lys[anias t]etrarch and [to] Lys[anias . . . and t]he sons [and to Ly]san[ias . . . and th]e sons in me[mor]y [piously] erected (. . . θυγάτηρ Ζηνοδώρῳ Λυσ[ανίου τ]ετράρχου καὶ Λυσ[ανίᾳ . . . καὶ τ]οῖς υἱοῖς [καὶ] (Λυ)σαν[ίᾳ . . . καὶ τοῖ]ς υἱοῖς μν[ήμ]ης χάριν [εὐσεβῶς] ἀνέθηκεν). Schürer and others deduce from this not only that the Zenodorus named above (§ 1 *a* and *b*) was a son of the pre-Christian Lysanias, but also that younger members of his family also bore the name Lysanias. Krenkel considers this to have no point inasmuch as the inscription bestows the title of tetrarch only on the father of Zenodorus, but designates the other persons by their mere names without any addition. It remains a possibility, however, that one or more of them may have received the title of tetrarch only after the erection of this monument, which perhaps may have been set up soon after the death of Zenodorus (20 B.C.). Moreover Krenkel has confined himself, as he ought not to have done, to Schürer's reproduction of the inscription. Schürer himself says that he is giving only the legible portions of it and takes no account of the lacunæ assumed by Renan. Just as the first-named Lysanias is more precisely designated as tetrarch, so Renan desiderates some more definite title for the second and for the third. Krenkel is right, however, in so far as he contends that neither the second nor the third can have been designated tetrarch, otherwise the first Lysanias would have required some further addition —for example the name of his father—for distinction's sake. In point of fact Renan conjectures only so much as this—that the second and the third Lysanias were distinguished by addition of the names of their fathers. The most important consideration, however, is that for both of them the name Lysanias itself rests upon pure conjecture. Renan himself says that in the second place, for example, the reading might quite as easily be Lysimachus or Lysias; and, in the third place, Brocchi, the only person who had seen this fragment of the inscription which has since disappeared, did not read 'Lysan' (ΛΥΣΑΝ) at all, but 'Dasan' (ΔΑΣΑΝ).

(*b*) Another inscription (*CIG* 4521, cp Addenda in vol. iii.) relates that a freedman of the tetrarch Lysanias has constructed a road and built a temple 'for the weal of the lords Augusti' (ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κυρίων Σε[βαστῶν] σωτηρίας). There was no plurality of Augusti (=Σεβαστοί) until the time of Tiberius, alongside of whom his mother Livia, after the death of the Emperor Octavianus Augustus (14 A.D.), bore the title of Augusta (Tac. *Ann.* 1 8; Schürer, 1 603, n. 37). Now it is by no means impossible that a freedman of the Lysanias who died in 36 B.C. should, fifty years afterwards, or more have made a road and built a temple, particularly if, as often enough happened, he had been emancipated as a child along with his parents. Thus neither does this inscription supply any decisive evidence in favour of the existence of a younger tetrarch Lysanias.

4. Literature. Wieseler, *Chronol. Synop. d. vier Evangelien*, 1843, pp. 174-183, and *Beitr. z. Würdigung der Evangelien*, 1869, pp. 196-204; Renan, in *Mém. Acad. Inscr.* 26 *b*, 1870, pp. 49-84, and especially Schürer, *GJV* 1, Beilage 1, 600-603 (ET i. 2 335 *ff.*) for the assumption of a younger Lysanias. On the other side, see Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, 1, § 40, 1835, pp. 310-313; Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 1 618 *f.* (ET ii. 384 *f.*) and *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, 1 (1878) 9-12, and especially Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lucas*, 1894, pp. 95-98.

P. W. S.

LYSIAS (λυсιαс [ANV]). 1. A general of Antiochus Epiphanes (see ANTIOCHUS, 2) and one of the seed royal. Antiochus, smarting under the recent defeat of his captains APOLLONIUS (2) and SERON (*qq.v.*), placed Lysias in charge of the W. portion of his empire with orders to 'root out and destroy the strength of Israel and the remnant of Jerusalem.' He himself with half the army removed from Antioch to proceed with the invasion of Persia, entrusting his young son—afterwards Antiochus V. Eupator—to the care of Lysias (1 Macc. 3 32 *ff.*). An army of 47,000 men under three leaders was sent against Judæa, but met with no success (1 Macc. 4 1 *ff.*, see GORGIAS, NICANOR), and Lysias, vexed and discouraged, started out the following year with a force 65,000 strong (165-164 B.C.). He was badly defeated at Beth-zur by Judas (1 Macc. 4 28 *ff.*), and the tidings of this disaster completed the discomfiture of Antiochus, who, on his deathbed, entrusted the guardianship of his son to PHILIP, 5[1] (1 Macc. 6 5 *ff.*). Lysias, however, set up Antiochus Eupator as king, and set out upon a fresh invasion of Judæa (6 28 *ff.*). Beth-zur was besieged, and at the neighbouring locality of Bethzacharias the Maccabæan party was defeated (see ELEAZAR). Leaving behind a portion of his army to continue the siege of Beth-zur, Lysias marched upon Jerusalem; but hearing that Philip had returned to assert his newly gained authority, Lysias concluded a treaty with Jerusalem, which, however, he immediately violated (6 51 *ff.*). He hastily marched to Antioch, which Philip had already occupied, and ultimately overcame him (see PHILIP, 5).[2] He was put to death at the commencement of the reign of DEMETRIUS I. [*q.v.*]. His history as recounted in 2 Macc. 10 11 *ff.* 11-12 1 13 1-14 2 differs in several essential particulars from the above; see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 2 *f.*, col. 2869 *ff.*

2. See Claudius Lysias.

LYSIMACHUS (λυсιμαχοс [BℵAV]).

1. Son of Ptolemy, who is said to have translated into Greek the book of Esther; see apocryphal Esther 11 1 (𝔊 10 11). On this and on the statement that the translation was made *at* Jerusalem (τῶν [L$^{\beta}$ τὸν] ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ) see ESTHER, § 9, col. 1405, Willrich, *Judaica*, 25 *f.*

2. A high priest (about 171 B.C.), temporarily appointed by his brother MENELAUS [*q.v.*]. His many acts of sacrilege roused the indignation of the common people, who rose against him and killed him (2 Macc. 4 29 39 *ff.*).

On the statement in *v.* 29 (τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης διάδοχον) see Willrich, *Judaica*, 165; the Vg. seems to have supposed that Lysimachus was his brother's *successor* (see RVmg.), reading: 'Menelaus amotus est a sacerdotio succedente L. fratre suo.'

In view of the fact that his brother Menelaus bears a Hellenised form of a Hebrew name, Mr. S. A. Cook conjectures that Lysimachus itself is a Hellenising of the Hebrew אליסמך* (cp ISMACHIAH, SEMACHIAH). See generally ONIAS.

LYSTRA (λυсτραν, Acts 14 6 21 16 1; εν λυсτροιс, Acts 14 8 16 2 2 Tim. 3 11).[3]

1. Site. The site of Lystra was guessed by Leake in 1820, and his conjecture was confirmed by Sterrett's discovery of a large

[1] Probably this was due to the ill-success of Lysias.

[2] Another tradition in 2 Macc. 13 23 would seem to show that Philip had been appointed chancellor.

[3] The same variation in gender and declension as is found in the case of MYRA [*q.v.*]; but while the mod. name of Myra is proof of the existence of the local form Μύραν, there is no evidence, other than the passage in Acts, available in the case of Lystra. See on this point, Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 128. The name Lystra, as Ramsay remarks (*Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, 223), is probably Lycaonian, as the similar names Ilistra and Kilistra occur to the SE. and NW. of the town respectively (cp Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 451).

LYSTRA

pedestal, standing perhaps in its original position, having an inscription in honour of Augustus (*Wolfe Exped.* 142: *Divum Aug[ustum] Col[onia] Iul[ia] Felix Gemina Lustra consecravit d[ecreto] d[ecurionum]*). This proves that the colony occupied the hill about one mile NW. of the modern village *Khatyn-Serai* (= 'The Lady's Mansion'), some eighteen miles SSW. of Iconium. A considerable stream, flowing eastwards out into the Lycaonian plain, runs between the ancient site and the modern village. Few remains of the old city are visible above ground; but a small church stands near an *Ayasma* (*i.e.*, 'Αγίασμα) or spring reputed holy by the Christians of Iconium and the Turks of the neighbourhood. This tradition of sanctity probably goes back to pagan times. There is no trace of the temple of Zeus (Act 14 13); but its site is perhaps indicated by the pedestal already mentioned (see JUPITER).

2. History. When on the death of Amyntas in 25 B.C. his kingdom was formed into a province (Galatia), Lystra, Isaura, and Derbe were all included within it: for Lystra had belonged to the Lycaonian tetrarchy transferred to Amyntas in 36 B.C. (see LYCAONIA), and Derbe had been taken by him from Antipater with the connivance of the Romans (see DERBE). The importance of the town was ephemeral, and dated only from 6 B.C., when Augustus made an effort to regulate and civilise the mountaineers on the southern frontier of Galatia. To this end there was created a system of military roads radiating from Antioch to the garrison cities or colonies. The military colonies founded in this region were Olbasa, Comama, Cremna, Parlais, Lystra, and Antioch (cp *CIL* 3, suppl. 6974) [see PISIDIA]. Lystra was the most easterly of these colonies, and the bulwark of southern Galatia; for Derbe, which lay farther E., did not become important until 41 A.D., and was never a colony; nor was Iconium, the nearest important town to the N., a colony (until the time of Hadrian). Lystra thus stood in proud isolation in this nook of Galatia as the representative of Roman civilisation, and the Latin-speaking *Coloni* formed a military aristocracy amid the *incolæ* or Lycaonian natives of the town. The nearest Roman city was Antioch, the military centre.

The sympathy between the two colonies is illustrated by the inscription discovered at Antioch on the base of a statue presented by Lystra (Sterrett, *Wolfe Exped.* 352: τὴν λαμπροτάτην 'Αντιοχέων κολωνίαν ἡ λαμπροτάτη Λυστρέων κολωνία τὴν ἀδελφὴν . . . ἐτείμησεν). The Latin feeling in Lystra is shown by the fact that the name of the city is written *Lustra* on coins and in inscriptions, under the influence of a false analogy between the Lycaonian word and the Latin word *lustrum* (cp *CIL* 8 6596, *Col. Lustrensium*, and 6786. Coins have COLONIA . JULIA . FELIX . GEMINA . LUSTRA). Nevertheless, it was only special circumstances that for a time impressed this foreign character upon the town.

3. NT references. Lying as it did in a secluded glen ten miles S. of the great trade route, which naturally ran by way of Iconium and Derbe, Lystra retained more tenaciously than those towns the native stamp. When the hill-country was pacified, Lystra ceased to be of importance; and its situation was not such as to make it a great town by reason of its trade. Hence it was neither Romanised nor Hellenised; of all the places visited by Paul, Lystra was the only one the native character of which was sufficiently prominent to receive notice in Acts. The belief in the epiphany of the gods, and the use of the 'speech of Lycaonia' (Acts 14 11) in a moment of excitement testify to the permanence of the native character in the bulk of the population.

Athough on the ground of their constitution as Roman colonies, Lystra and Antioch go together, from the point of view of the organisation of the Roman province, Lystra goes with Derbe, these two together being the cities of the Lycaonian region of the province of Galatia. Hence, Lystra is grouped with Derbe in Acts 14 6 (where τὴν περίχωρον, 'the region that lieth round about' AV = the χώρα, *Regio*, of *Lycaonia Galatica*. See LYCAONIA, § 3, and GALATIA, § 7). From the point of view of its commercial relations, the connection of Lystra was closest with Iconium, and next to that with Antioch, for the trade flowed westwards. Hence, in Acts 14 19, it is Jewish traders from Iconium and Antioch that come to Lystra; and in Acts 16 2 Lystra and Iconium are grouped together as the district in which Timothy was well known (Rams. *St. Paul the Traveller*, 179). Lystra was the birthplace and home of Timothy, whose parentage illustrates the composite character of the population. 2 Tim. 3 10 *f.* clearly implies that Timothy was a spectator of the brutal assault made upon Paul by the Lystran rabble. Lystra was revisited by Paul on the way home on the completion of the first journey (Acts 14 21), and again on the second journey (Acts 16 1): the order of the names corresponds to the geographical order, for on the second journey Paul travelled westwards by way of the Cilician Gates. A visit to Lystra, on the third journey, is implied in Acts 18 23 (on the South Galatian theory only [cp GALATIA, §§ 7 and 9-14, 24]).

In later Christian history Lystra is rarely mentioned. Artemas or Artemius, one of the Seventy, is said to have been its bishop. Excavation will doubtless reveal much on this interesting and promising site.

Literature.—Chiefly Ramsay in his *Church in the R. Emp.*(5) 47 *ff.*, and *Hist. Comm. on Gal.* 223, *et pass.*

W. J. W.

M

MAACAH (so 2 S. 10 6 8) or **Maachah** (מַעֲכָה; μαχατει [B], μαχαθι [AF], μαχαθει [L]; other readings μαχει, αχαθει, ομαχαθει [=ο μαχ., cp L], νωχαθει, μοχατει, μαχαχααχει [B]; μοχατει [ℵ], μαχατι, μαχαται, μαχαθθει, μαχαθα, μωθατει, μααχαθ [A]; μααχαθι [Q]; μακαθι, μακαρθι, μαχαθιτου [L]). If the name is, as the present writer holds, probably a popular corruption of Jerahmeel (see MAACAH ii.), we need not wonder to find it both in the N. and in the S. of Palestine. The final editors of our narratives certainly took Maacah to be an Aramæan country. It is mentioned in connection with Rehob, Zobah, and Ish-tob (Tob?) as furnishing Aramæan mercenaries to the Ammonites, 2 S. 10 6 8 (*μααχα* [AL], *αμαληκ*[1] [B]); in the parallel, 1 Ch. 19 6, it is even called ARAM-MAACAH [RV], SYRIA-MAACAH [AV] (אֲרַם מַעֲכָה, *συριας μοοχα* [Bℵ], *σ. μαχα* [A], *σ. μααχα* [L]). In 2 S. 20 15 (AV) we read of a city called Abel of Beth-maacah (see ABEL-BETH-MAACAH), which is commonly supposed to have derived its name from the northern Maacah. It should be noted, however, that Abel-beth-maacah (so RV) is called (*v.* 19) 'a mother in Israel' whereas Maacah only became Israelitish after the defeat of Hadad-ezer;[2] the reading Abel-beth-maacah must be corrupt (see SHEBA, b. Bicri). The gentilic noun **Maachathites** (AV), **Maacathites** (RV), מַעֲכָתִי, occurs with 'Geshurites' in Josh. 13 13*a* [JE] (in *b*, מַעֲכָת, whence RV **Maacath**) and in Dt. 3 14 (AV 'Geshuri and Maachathi,' *ὁ ιαειρ* [AF]); here a northern people and land is evidently meant. In 2 S. 23 34, however, 'the Maacathite' as clearly indicates a southern district (see ELIPHELET, 2).

A corrupt form of 'Maacath' is חמת (EV HAMATH). Wi.[3] thinks that there were two Hamaths, one in Syria, the other on the S. of Mt. Hermon; the second חמת however is surely a corruption of מעכה (Maacah). We know as a fact that there was a southern Geshur (if that be the right vocalisation); it is hardly less certain that there was a southern Maacah, and the true text of that much-disputed passage, 2 S. 8 1*b*, most probably stated that 'David (not Solomon) took the Maacathite (district) out of the hand of the Ṣarephathites' (see METHEG-AMMAH). The popular corruption חמת may underlie the strange place-name חמטה (HUMTAH), and the odd personal names חמוטל and the more corrupt alternative form (𝔊BAL 2 Ch. 36 2) אבימל; מעכה, *i.e.*, the southern Maacah, may also occur in Ps. 60 6 [8], emended text (see PSALMS [BOOK], § 28 [iv.]) and elsewhere.

T. K. C.

MAACAH RV, so also in 2 S. 3 3 AV, which has elsewhere MAACHAH (מַעֲכָה, μααχα [BAL]). Like MICAH and MICAIAH (*qq.v.*), the name seems to the present writer to be a popular corruption of Jeraḥme'el or Jeraḥme'elith ('a Jerahmeelite'). Talmai, the father of Maacah 2, was also probably designated 'a Jerahmeelite' (b. Ammiḥur?). See TALMAI 2, and MAACAH 2.

1. A 'son' (or 'daughter'?) of Naḥor (*i.e.*, Ḥauran) by Reumah (Gen. 22 24, *μωχα* [ADL]). The name (see above) corresponds to 'Kemuel-abi-aram' (another disguise of Jeraḥme'el), in the list of Naḥor's sons by Milcah. See KEMUEL, NAHOR.

2. Daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, and mother of Absalom (2 S. 3 3, *μααχαθ* [A], 1 Ch. 3 2, *μωχα* [BA]). See GESHUR 2, TALMAI.

3. Mother of Abijah (1 K. 15 2 2 Ch. 11 20-22), also called MICAIAH (2 Ch. 13 2; AV MICHAIAH). In 1 K. 15 her father's name is given as Abišalom, in 2 Ch. 11 as Abšalom, but in 2 Ch. 13 as Uriel of Gibeah (𝔊BA, however, for 'Gibeah' has *γαβαων*, Vg. *Gabaa*, Pesh. *rāmĕthā*, 'Ramah'). It has been thought that the name Uriel may have been derived from 1 K. 15 10 (where it may originally have stood, see ASA, 1), the motive of the change being a desire to provide some other parentage for Abijah's mother (cp TAMAR 3).

A more satisfactory theory can be offered. The reading in 1 K. 15 2 is more nearly correct; אבישלם may be a corruption of ארימאל, and both ארימאל and אריאל corruptions of ירחמאל. Maacah, as we have seen, is probably a corruption of ירחמאלית, and the original statement was that Abijah's mother was named Maacah [a Jerahmeelite], of Gibeah. The Gibeah meant is that of Josh. 15 57.

4. Mother of Asa (1 K. 15 10, *ανα* [BL]; 2 Ch. 15 16). See ASA, 1. Most probably 1 K. 15 10 should run thus: 'His mother's name was Maacah [a Jerahmeelite],' on the analogy of 1 K. 15 2 (see 3). She was deposed from her position as queen-mother on account of some religious symbol (מפלצת, RV 'an abominable image') which she had made for ASHERAH [*q.v.*], 1 K. 15 13.

In Pesh. of 1 K. 15 10 Maacah's father's name is given as Ebed-salom, a mistaken emendation of Abishalom (cp 3).

5. Father of ACHISH [*q.v.*] (1 K. 2 39, *αμησα* [B]), called also MAOCH (מָעוֹךְ, 1 S. 27 2, *αμμαχ* [B], *μωαβ* [A], *αχιμααν* [L]); so Targ. in both passages. The reading of 𝔊L and Tg. is important. See TALMAI (*ad fin.*).

6. A concubine of Caleb (1 Ch. 2 48, *μωχα* [BA]), personifying the Jerahmeelites.

7. Wife (or 'mother,' Pesh.) of Machir (also=Jeraḥme'el?), the Manassite (1 Ch. 7 15 *f.*, *μοωχα* [B], *μοοχα* [A]); cp MAACAH 1; SAUL 1.

8. Wife of Jehiel, 'father' of Gibeon (1 Ch. 8 29, *μολχα* [B], *μιλχα* [Ba? b?], *μαχα* [L]; 9 35 *μοωχα* [BℵA]). B's reading confirms the derivation from Jeraḥme'el.

9. Father of HANAN [2] (1 Ch. 11 43, *μοωχα* [Bℵ], *μαχα* [A]).

10. Father of Shephatiah, a Simeonite (1 Ch. 27 16, *μαχα* [B], *μααχα* [A], *μαχατι* [L]). Note that the next name is that of a son of Kemuel, another distortion of Jeraḥme'el.

For another instance of the distortion of 'Jeraḥme'el' into 'Maacah' see SAUL, § 1 (on 2 S. 20 14, Abel-beth-maacah). Cp also MEHOLATHITE; Maacah and Meholah are both probable corruptions of 'Jeraḥme'el.'

T. K. C.

MAADAI (מַעֲדַי, abbrev. from some ethnic, but see MAADIAH and cp 𝔊), b. Bani, in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end); Ezra 10 34 (μοδεδ[ε]ια [Bℵ], μοοδεια [A], μουουδι [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 34 MOMDIS (μομδειος [B], -δεις [A], μοουδεια [L]).

MAADIAH (מַעַדְיָה, see § 33, but also cp MAADAI), a priest in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*); Neh. 12 5 (BℵA om., μααδιας [ℵc.a mg. sup.], μααδιας [L]). Cp MAAZIAH, MOADIAH.

MAAI (מָעַי), a priestly musician in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*), Neh. 12 36† (BℵA om., μααι [ℵc.a mg. inf.], μαια [L]).

MAALEH-ACRABBIM (מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים), Josh. 15 3†, AV, RV Ascent of AKRABBIM (*q.v.*).

MAANI. 1. (μανει [B], μααNI [A], μοονειμ [L]), 1 Esd. 5 31 RV=Ezra 2 50 MEUNIM (*g*).

2. RV BAANI (*βααν[ε]ι* [BA], *βαναι* [L]), 1 Esd. 9 34=Ezra 10 34, BANI 2.

MAARATH (מַעֲרָת; μαγαρωθ [B], μαρωθ [A], μααρωθ [L]), a city in the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15 59), mentioned next to Gedor, which is 6½ m. N. from Hebron. Near the ruins of Jedūr (Gedor) is the village of Bēt Ummar, which may be a distant echo of Ma'arath (?). Not far away are handsome rock tombs and a number of small caverns (Baed.(2) 135).

MAAREH-GEBA. See GEBA.

MAASAI, AV **Maasiai** (מַעְשַׂי), 1 Ch. 9 12=Neh. 11 13, AMASHAI (*q.v.*).

MAASEAS (Bar. 1 1 RV). See MAASEIAH i.

[1] This may perhaps record an early and correct explanation. But cp ARAM, § 5, n. 1.

[2] Cp Wi. *GI* 2 241.

[3] *Ibid.* 210 *f.*

MAASEIAH, RV **Mahseiah** (מַחְסֵיָה, § 28 ; [Ginsb. ; but see Baer's note on Jer. 32 12]), an ancestor of Baruch, Jer. 32 12 (ΜΑΑϹΑΙΟΥ [BQ], ΜΝΑϹ. [B[b]], ΜΑϹϹ. [A], ΜΑϹΕΟΥ [ℵ]) ; 51 59 (ΜΑΑϹΑΙΟΥ [Bℵ[c.a]Q], -ϹϹ. [A], ΜΑΧΑΙΟΥ [ℵ*]). In Bar. 1 1 the name appears as MAASIAS, RV MAASEAS.

MAASEIAH (מַעֲשֵׂיָה, [and מַעֲשֵׂיָהוּ in Jer. 35 4 and nos. 4-9], for the corruption בעשיה see no. 22 ; acc. to Che. from some ethnic (see 12), but pointed as if= 'work of God' cp JAASIEL and see NAMES, § 31 ; ΜΑΑϹΑΙΑ[Ϲ], ΜΑΑϹΙΑ[Ϲ] [BℵQ], ΜΑΑϹΙΑ[Ϲ] [L], ΜΑϹΕΟΥ [ℵ]).

1. Father of Zephaniah the priest, temp. Zedekiah, Jer. 21 1 (μανασσαιου [B], μνα. [B[ab]], μασσ. [A], μαασ. [Q]), cp 29 [36] 25 (μνασαιου [B[a?b]], μασσ. [A]), 37 [44] 3 (μνασαιου [B[ab]], μα. [A]). He is possibly the same as

2. b. Shallum, a door-keeper, Jer. 35 [42] 4 (μαασεου [ℵ[c.a]], μασαιου [A]).

3. Father of the 'false' prophet Zedekiah, Jer. 29 21 (om. BℵA, μασσιου [Theod. in Q[mg.]]).

4. b. Adaiah, a captain of Judah, who allied himself with Jehoiada, 2 Ch. 23 1 (μασιαν [A]).

5. An official (הַשּׁוֹטֵר, see SCRIBE) under UZZIAH, 2 Ch. 26 11 (αμασαιου [B], μαασσιου [L]).

6. A 'king's son,' if this is right (בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ ; see HAMMELECH), slain by the Ephraimite Zichri when Pekah invaded Judah, 2 Ch. 28 7 (μασιαν [A]). [According to Che. 'Azrikam,' which follows, comes from 'Jerahmeel,' originally a gloss on 'hammelech.' Thus Maaseiah was the 'ruler of the house.']

7. Governor of Jerusalem, temp. Josiah, sent with Shaphan to superintend the restoration of the temple, 2 Ch. 34 8 (μαασα [B]).

8. and 9. Two Levites of the second rank, temp. David, 1 Ch. 15 18 (μαασσαια [B], αμασια [A[vid.]]), 20 (μασσαιας [B], μασαιας [ℵ]).

10. A priest in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 18 (μεεσσηλ [B], μαασηα [ℵ], -ηια [A])=1 Esd. 9 19, MATTHELAS, RV MATHELAS (μαεηλας [B], μαθη. [A]).

11. One of the b'ne HARIM, a priest in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 21 (μασαηλ [Bℵ], μασειας [A])=1 Esd. 9 21 (EANES, RV MANES, μανης [BA]), where 'of the sons of Harim' is omitted except in 𝔊[L].

12. One of the b'ne PASHHUR, a priest in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 22=1 Esd. 9 22, MASSIAS (ασσειας [B], μασσιας [A], μαασσιας [L]).[1]

13. One of the b'ne PAHATH-MOAB, in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 30 (μασηα [B], μαασ. [A], μαση [ℵ])=1 Esd. 9 31 MOOSIAS, RV MOOSSIAS (μοοσσειας [B], μοοσσιας [A]; no trace is found in 𝔊[L] save σιδια, or perhaps μαδειας?)

14. Father of AZARIAH (4); Neh. 3 23 (μαδασηλ [Bℵ], μαασσιου [L]).

15. In list of Ezra's supporters (see EZRA ii., § 13 [*f*.]; cp i., § 8; ii., § 16 [5]; ii., § 15 [1]*c*) Neh. 8 4 (μαασσαια [B], -σιας [L]) =1 Esd. 9 43 BALASAMUS, RV BAALSAMUS (*i.e.*, βαλασαμ= BILSHAN ; βααλσαμος [BA], μαασιας [L]).

16. Expounder of law (see EZRA ii., § 13 [*f*.]; cp i., § 8; ii., § 16 [5], § 15 [1]*c*), Neh. 8 7 (om. BℵA)=1 Esd. 9 48, MAIANEAS, RV MAIANNAS (μαιαννας [BA], μασσιας [L]).

17. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 25 [26] (μααλσια [A]).

18. b. Baruch descended from SHILONI [*q.v.*], in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., § 5[*b*], § 15 [1]*a*), Neh. 11 5 (μαασεια [B], μαλσια [A], μεσεια [ℵ*], αμεσεια [ℵ[c.a]], μασιας [L]) ; he represents the Shelanite branch of Judah, just as Athaiah represents the Perezite (see PEREZ), cp 1 Ch. 9 5 where the name ASAIAH (עֲשָׂיָה) is probably nothing more than another form of Maaseiah.

19. b. Ithiel in list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., § 5[*b*], § 15 [1]*a*) ; Neh. 11 7 (μαγαηλ [B], ματαηλ [ℵ]).

20. and 21. Two priests in procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii., § 13*g*), Neh. 12 41 42 (om. Bℵ*A).

22. A Gershonite Levite, 1 Ch. 6 40 [28], whose name has been corrupted into BAASEIAH.

MAASIAI, 1 Ch. 9 12, RV MAASAI.

MAASIAS, RV **Maaseas** (Bar. 1 1) ; in Jer. 32 12 MAASEIAH i.

MAASMAS (ΜΑΑϹΜΑΝ [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 43 RV= Ezra 8 16, SHEMAIAH, 17.

MAATH (ΜΑΑΘ [Ti. WH]), a name in the genealogy of Jesus (Lk. 3 26). See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

[1] [The name occurs between Elioenai (=Elishama=Ishmael) and Ishmael. Perhaps the same man is meant, and his name was Ishmael ; Nethaneel=Ethani, follows (so Che.).]

MAAZ (מַעַץ, cp AHIMAAZ ; ΜΑΑϹ [BAL]), one of the sons of Ram b. Jerahmeel b. Hezron ; 1 Ch. 2 27†.

MAAZIAH (מַעַזְיָהוּ, 'Yahwè is a refuge'? the name may, however, be a corruption of מַחְסֵיָה ; see MAASEIAH i.), the name of a (post-exilic) priestly family, to which was assigned one of the twenty-four 'courses,' 1 Ch. 24 18 (ΜΑΑϹΑΙ [B], ΜΟΟΖΑΛ [A], ΜΟΟΖΙΑ [L]). Represented amongst the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7) ; Neh. 10 8 [9] (מַעַזְיָה, ναδεια [B], αζεια [ℵ], μααζεια [A], μααζιας [L]) ; cp MAADIAH.

MABDAI (ΜΑΜΔΑΙ [B], ΜΑΝΔΑΙ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 34= Ezra 10 35, BENAIAH, 9.

MACALON ([ΕΚ]ΜΑΚΑΛΩΝ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 21=Ezra 2 27, MICHMAS. See MICHMASH.

MACCABEES (FAMILY)

The name 'Maccabæus' (ΜΑΚΚΑΒΑΙΟϹ ; Lat. *Machabæus* ; Syr. ܡܩܒܝܐ) was originally a name of the third son of Mattathias (see § 3), commonly called Judas, and in the books of Maccabees is applied only to him.

1. The name 'Maccabee.'

(Ἰούδας ὁ καλούμενος Μακκαβαῖος 1 Macc. 2 4 3 1 ; Ἰουδ. [ὁ] Μακκ. 2 66 ; Ἰουδ. ὁ Μακκ. 5 24 2 Macc. 2 19 8 1 ; ὁ Μακκ. 1 Macc. 5 34 [A], 2 Macc. 8 5 16 10 19 *ff.* ; or simply Μακκ. 1 Macc. 5 34 [ℵV] 2 Macc. 10 1.)[1] It thus makes the impression of being a surname ; see, however, below.

As Maccabæus was the central figure in the struggle for Jewish independence, it was natural that his name should be used at a later day (so, *e.g.*, in Origen) to designate the other members of the family to which he belonged (also called 'Hasmonæans' ; see below, § 2), or even in a wider sense, to apply to all those who were in any way associated with him or his brethren. Similarly, certain writings which are concerned directly or indirectly with the deeds or the times of these leaders have been entitled Books of Maccabees (Μακκαβαίων, or Μακκαβαϊκά ; properly, the Maccabæan history or times ; cp Βασιλειῶν, etc.). See below on the titles of '3 Macc.' (col. 2879) and '4 Macc.,' especially (col. 2872).

The form and the meaning of the Hebrew (or Aramaic) original of the name Maccabæus are alike uncertain. The Greek transcription points to a form with *ḳ* (ק). Against this, the Latin *machabæus* (*ch*= כ [*k*]) has been urged, but without sufficient reason.

The argument in favour of the form מכבי has been presented with great thoroughness and ingenuity by S. I. Curtiss (*The Name Machabee*, Leipsic, 1876), who attempts to give the Latin form 'Machabæus' direct connection with the Hebrew, through Jerome. The argument breaks down completely at that point, however, even if we let Jerome's indefinite 'Machabæorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi' (in *Prol. Gal.*) mean all it can, and believe that he had actually seen a Hebrew 1 Macc.[2] There is not the slightest probability that the old Latin translation of 1 Macc. was revised by Jerome ; on the contrary, all the evidence is strongly opposed to this view.

So far, therefore, as the testimony of the old versions is concerned, we have to guide us only the undoubted fact that the Greek form of the name is derived from a translation of the book made with painstaking accuracy directly from the Hebrew (see below, MACCABEES, FIRST, § 3 [col. 2858]), whilst the Latin form of the name is found in a version made *from the Greek*.[3]

The favourite interpretation of the name has connected it with the Hebrew *maḳḳébeth* (see HAMMER, 1) ;

[1] [The spelling of the name occasionally varies in AℵV.]

[2] There is justification for the suspicion that this statement of Jerome's was based simply on Origen's testimony to the existence of a Semitic 1 Macc. See col. 2857, § 1 ; and col. 2866, § 11.

[3] All other forms of the name, even those which appear in (late) Jewish writings (מכבאי, מכבי, מקבי), are derived either from the Greek or from the Latin.

Aram. *maḳḳābā*. Judas would thus have been called 'The Hammerer,' presumably because of his prowess in battle. To this, however, there are objections :

1. The form of the word—apparently an adjective ending in *ai* or *i*—which the Greek naturally suggests. We should hardly expect an adjective to be used in such a case.

2. The kind of hammer designated by the Hebrew מקבת (see Curtiss, 22 *f.*). Both Hebrew and Aramaic have words in common use for 'heavy hammer,' 'sledge-hammer,' whilst מ' is the smaller workman's tool. Especially in view of the familiar passages Jer. 50 23 (cp *Bĕrākhōth*, 28*b*) 51 20, the 'hammer' theory of Judas' name seems hardly credible.

3. It is by no means certain that the name Maccabee was given to Judas because of his valour. There is no hint of such an origin of the name in our oldest sources,[1] and it is evident that the interpretations of this nature found in later writings (*e.g.*, in Gorionides) are mere guesses.

It is to be observed that not only Judas, but also each of his brothers, has a double name. In the passage 1 Macc. 2 2-5, John is said to have been called Gaddi (see col. 2853, n. 1); Simon, Thassi; Judas, Maccabæus;[2] Eleazar, Avaran; Jonathan, Apphus. It has commonly been supposed that these 'surnames' are all descriptive of the character or exploits of those to whom they are applied (thus Eleazar's name, Avaran, has been explained from the incident of his boring a hole (root חור) in the elephant); but the fact that not one of the names lends itself to any such interpretation should be conclusive against this theory.

On the contrary, the 'surnames' have rather the appearance of names given at birth (Gaddi is a familiar Jewish name; see below, § 3 1); and when the list 'Simeon, Judah, Eleazar, etc.,' is put over against the corresponding list 'Thassi, Maccabi, Avaran, etc.,' the probability at once suggests itself that the latter were the names originally given by Mattathias to his five sons, whilst the former were the names which they received later as *the princes of the Jewish people* (in the way that has been so generally customary, with kings, popes, caliphs, etc.).

It is a precisely similar case when Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4 8) writes: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Βάλας λεγόμενος, although 'Balas' was the *original name* of this king, and 'Alexander' the later official name which came to him with his elevation in rank (see Schür. *GJV* 1 178; ET 1 1, p. 240). Cp also the names of the queen Alexandra, whose Hebrew name had been Salome: Ἀλεξάνδρα ἡ καὶ Σαλίνα (Eusebius); *Alexandra quæ et Salina vocabatur* (Jerome, *Comm.* on Dan. 9 24 *ff.*); by Josephus called only Alexandra.

It is doubtful, therefore, whether much help is to be gained from the side of etymology in determining the Hebrew form and meaning of 'Maccabæus.'

For the various conjectures that have been made, see Curtiss, 12-24; Wace's *Apocrypha*, 1 247 *f.*; Schürer, *GJV*(2) 1 158; ET 1 1, p. 212 f.

As for the form, the evidence decidedly favours מקבי (with single ק?);[3] the possibility of a form with כ must, however, be admitted.

2. The name 'Hasmonæan.'

The Jews do not seem to have applied the name 'Maccabee' either to the members of the dynasty or to the books dealing with the events of their time. Instead, they used for both the adjective 'Hasmonæan' (Asmonæan, חשמוני, Ἀσαμωναῖος), which seems to have been the family name of the house of Mattathias.

'Hasmonæan' does not occur in the books of Maccabees, but is frequently used by Josephus (see the references, below), and appears once in the Mishna (*Middōth* 1 6),[4] where Judas and his brethren are called בני חשמונאי. Similarly Targ. 1 S. 2 4 (בית ח'), and many passages in the Gĕmārā and later Jewish literature. For the complete list of references, see Gaster, 'The Scroll of the Hasmonæans' (*Transs. 9th Orient. Congress*, Lond., 1892), p. 7; Levy, *Neuhebr. und chald. Wörterbuch*, s.v.). The Hebrew form חשמונים also occurs.

The origin of the name is wholly obscure. It was probably borne originally either by Mattathias himself, or by one of his ancestors; but we are quite destitute of information on this point. In 1 Macc. 2 1, Mattathias is called 'the son of John, son of Simeon' (Ματταθίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Συμεών);[1] Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 6 1, carries the line one step farther back, adding τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου (cp xiv. 16 4 xvi. 7 1); but it is not likely that he had any authority for this.[2] The adjective may have originated in the name of a man, Hasmon (cp the Chronicler's חָשֻׁם; see HASHUM); or, more probably, in the name of a place (cp P's חשמון, Josh. 15 27 and חשמונה, Nu. 33 29 *f.*; see HESHMON, HASHMONAH); or even in an appellative, though the absence of a root חשם in the Hebrew-Aramaic literature known to us makes this very unlikely.

The fanciful etymology connecting the name with the ἅπ. λεγ. חשמנים, Ps. 68 32 (the result of a scribe's blunder), which is then explained by the Arabic *ḥašm* (!), 'fatness,' should be put aside once for all.

3. Uprising under Mattathias.

While Palestine was under the Egyptian rule, the Jews were not directly interfered with in the exercise of their religion and customs. Even then, however, Greek cities were springing up in all parts of the land, and a strong pressure was gradually being brought to bear on Judaism by the rapid encroachment of Greek thought and culture. After the beginning of the Seleucid rule (198 B.C., under Antiochus III., the Great) this pressure was vastly increased, both from without and from within. The Syrian kings did not find it easy to hold together the heterogeneous elements of their domain, and it was to their interest to discourage the exclusive Jewish religion. To the Jews themselves, the struggle against Hellenism might well have seemed a losing one. There was a strong party in Judæa that openly favoured union with the Gentiles and the adoption of the new culture. See, *e.g.*, 1 Macc. 1 11 14 15 2 Macc. 4 7-15; etc. On the other hand, as was natural, those who held to the national religion redoubled their zeal. At the head of these was the well-defined extreme legalistic party of 'the Pious'[3] (חסידים, Ἀσιδαῖοι, see LOVINGKINDNESS). Soon after the beginning of the reign of Antiochus (IV.) Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) matters came to a crisis (see ISRAEL, § 70 *ff.*; ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION). It was not, however, at Jerusalem, but in one of the smaller towns of Judæa that the revolt broke out. When the king's officer, who compelled the people to sacrifice to the heathen gods, came to Modein (Μωδεΐν; see MODIN), a village in the mountains near Lydda, a man of that place named Mattathias (מַתִּתְיָה, 'Gift of Yahwè'; see MATTITHIAH), son of John, a priest of the order of Joarib (1 Macc. 2 1), offered resistance to the king's command; he slew the officer and a Jew who was offering the sacrifice, pulled down the altar, and fled, with his five sons and many others who joined them, into the mountains. Multitudes followed, and the revolt very soon assumed formidable proportions. Mattathias and his companions also went through the land, pulling down the heathen altars, putting to death the apostates, and stirring up the remainder of the people to insurrection. In this same year, however (Sel. 146;

[1] If the author of 1 Macc. had thus understood the name, how could he have failed to make some use of the figure in 3 3-5?

[2] That Judas' name is written with the Greek adjective ending -αῖος, and not simply transliterated, like Γαδδί (see § 3, 1), etc., is of course due to the fact that it had already become a household word among the Greek-speaking Jews.

[3] In favour of the single rather than the double ק, the following considerations may be urged:—(1) The possibility that Josephus wrote the name with a single κ (so generally in Niese's ed.). (2) The occasional employment of κκ to represent a single ק. Thus, Ακκαρων for עקרון; Νακκαρειμ for נקדים (Am. 1 1 [unless we should point *naḳḳādim*]), etc. (3) The Latin form, which may well have become fixed in use before the translation from our Greek version was made.

[4] In this passage, certain chambers (לשכות) belonging to the temple are described. Of one of them it is said: מזרחית צפונית בה גנזו בני חשמונאי (var. חשמוני) את אבני המזבח ששקצום מלכי יון; 'In the NE. chamber the Hasmonæans laid away the stones of the altar which the Grecian kings had defiled.' Cp 1 Macc. 4 46.

[1] Wellh., *Ph. u. Sadd.* 94 n., wished to read 'Hasmon' in place of 'Simeon.'

[2] Similarly Josephus speaks of the members of this family in a few places as οἱ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖδες (*Vit.* 1; *Ant.* xx. 8 11 20 10), as well as οἱ Ἀσαμωναῖοι and τὸ Ἀσαμωναίων γένος. See Schürer, 1 198; ET 1 1, p. 266.

[3] [See Che. *OPs.* 56 n., and ASSIDEANS; and on the further development of the two opposing parties, see PHARISEES and SADDUCEES.]

167, 166 B.C.), Mattathias died; first having committed the leadership of the insurgent people to his son Judas.

Thus began the supremacy of the 'Hasmonæan,' or 'Maccabæan,' house which was to play such an important part in Jewish history. Cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 17. Two of the five sons, John and Eleazar, did not long survive their father.

1. John, the eldest, originally (? see § 1) called Gaddi, גַּדִּי,[1] was captured and slain by a marauding Arab tribe, in 161, while he was engaged in carrying the property of the Maccabæan party into the country of the Nabatæans for safe keeping (1 Macc. 9 35-42).[2] As this was after Jonathan had succeeded Judas in the leadership, and no other mention is made of him, we may conclude that he was recognised as inferior to his brethren.

2. Eleazar, the fourth son, who also bore the name Avaran[3] (see § 1), is the hero of the battle (lost by the Jews) against the forces of Lysias at Beth-Zechariah, in 162. Seeing that one of the elephants of the enemy's host was furnished with the royal trappings, and believing therefore that the king rode upon it, he crept under the animal and stabbed it, and was crushed by its weight (1 Macc. 6 43-46). He receives no further mention in the books of Maccabees.

The following table exhibits the genealogy of the Hasmonæans, with the date at which each died (as given in Schürer):—

Mattathias (167-166).
- John (161)
- Simon (135)
  - John Hyrcanus I. (105)
    - Aristobulus I. (104)
    - Alexander Jannæus (78) = Salome Alexandra (69)
      - Hyrcanus II. (40)
        - Alexandra = Alexander [did not reign] (49)
          - Aristobulus [high-priest] (35)
          - Mariamme [wife of Herod] (29)
      - Aristobulus II. (63)
        - Alexander [did not reign] (49) = Alexandra
        - Antigonus (37)
- Judas (161)
- Eleazar (162)
- Jonathan (143)

4. Judas Maccabæus. Judas (יְהוּדָה), the third son of Mattathias, and the leader of the Jewish people in their struggle for religious freedom, is one of the most heroic figures in all the history of the nation. On his name Makkabi, Maccabæus, see § 1. If the view there advocated, that this was his original name, and that he and his brethren were given special names as the princes of Israel, is correct, it is not unlikely that he received the name Judah because of his military prowess (cp Gen. 49 9, etc.). According to the account given in 1 Macc. 2 66, Mattathias at the time of his death appointed Judas captain of the hosts of Israel, because he had been 'strong and mighty from his youth.' The army which he commanded at first was not made up chiefly of the adherents of a single party, as seems to be asserted in 2 Macc. 14 6, but was recruited from all classes and parties in Judæa. It is true, the 'Ασιδαῖοι (see the preceding §) were foremost in the movement which Judas led; but neither he nor his brethren were ever identified with that sect.

Marvellous success attended Judas from the first. After gaining a series of brilliant victories over the Syrian hosts sent against him, he was enabled in 165 to purify the temple and restore its worship. His armies, no longer made up merely of religious enthusiasts, were now employed for campaigns against the Edomites and the Ammonites; also in Galilee, Gilead, and the Philistine territory. Judas thus made himself the champion, in the wider sense, of the Jewish nation, not merely of its religious rights. In 163, the object sought by the Jews in the beginning of the struggle was actually attained. They were given full religious liberty, in return for their submission to the king, now Antiochus (V.) Eupator. (For the circumstances, see 1 Macc. 6 48-63, and the summary of the history given below under MACCABEES, FIRST, § 2 [col. 2858].)

Judas' career as a military leader was by no means ended. From this time on, the Jews were engaged in a fateful struggle among themselves; the Hellenising party contending for supremacy with the national party, of which Judas and his brethren were the leaders. Certain adherents of the king, notably one Alcimus, who became high priest (see ALCIMUS), succeeded through misrepresentations in calling in the help of a Syrian army. Judas' valour as a military captain, however, was again displayed, and the Jewish arms triumphed. After the decisive battle near Beth-horon, in 161, Judas was again virtually the political head of the Jewish people, with more power than ever before. It does not appear, however, that he exercised the office of high priest, as his successors did. Probably it did not occur to him to do so.

It was at this time that Judas took at last the momentous step of asserting the political independence of the Jewish nation. Two ambassadors were sent to Rome (1 Macc. 8 1 *ff.* 17 *ff.*), in the not unreasonable hope of gaining the support of the Romans against the Syrians, and thus securing the permanent triumph of the Jewish national party. The Romans did in fact return a favourable answer (1 Macc. 8 21 *ff.*), but it came too late to be of any assistance to the Jews. Only about two months after the victory which Judas had gained over the Syrian captain Nicanor near Beth-horon, the king (Demetrius I.) sent against him an army in comparison with which the Jewish forces were but a handful. Judas refused to retire from the field without a battle, and fought desperately; but his army was utterly routed, and he himself was slain (1 Macc. 9 1-19). The cause of the loyal Jews seemed to have fallen with him.

There is but one estimate of the character of Judas. He was a true patriot and a born captain. The enthusiasm of the writer of 1 Macc. (3 3-9) is shared by the writer of 2 Macc., who had otherwise no interest in the Hasmonæan house. Devout and zealous for the law, as his father had been, prompt of action and brave to rashness, Judas was able to inspire confidence in those whom he led, and to gain surprising results with small means. It was as the fruit of his example and achievements, made possible by a peculiar combination of circumstances, that the Jewish nation under the Hasmonæans achieved such successes in the decades following; though these later gains also were due chiefly to the political situation in the Syrian kingdom (see below, § 5), and were necessarily only temporary.

5. Jonathan. Jonathan ('Ιωναθαν, יְהוֹנָתָן), the fifth son of Mattathias, bore also the name Apphūs, 'Απφους, 1 Macc. 2 5 (see § 1). The original form and meaning of the latter name are quite unknown.

We have no means of knowing with what guttural letter the word began, or what Semitic consonant the Greek ς represents. On the Syriac transcription חפוס no reliance whatever can be placed; see preceding col., n. 3.

Jonathan is mentioned occasionally in 1 Macc. (5 17 24 55) in connection with Judas and Simon as taking a prominent part in the earlier Maccabæan campaigns; and upon the death of Judas, he was unanimously chosen to succeed him as leader of the national party (1 Macc. 9 28-31).

His opponents had at that time decidedly the upper hand. The Hellenising party was triumphant[1] (see the preceding §),

[1] The name גַּדִּי, which has a distinctly heathen sound (see NAMES, § 57, and Kerber, *Hebräische Eigennamen*, 1897, p. 67; cp GAD, § 1) was not uncommon among the Jews. The Greek form Γαδδις given by many MSS in 1 Macc. 2 2 received its last letter from the following word.

[2] [In 2 Macc. 8 22 10 19, by an ancient false reading (?) he is called Joseph.]

[3] The original form and meaning of the name, which occurs in two places, 1 Macc. 2 5 and 6 43, are quite uncertain. Many Greek MSS give the form Σαυαραν (*i.e.*, Ελεαζαρ ὁ Σαυαραν side by side with Ελεαζαρος Αυαραν), which is also possible. The Syriac, indeed, writes the word with initial ח; but it may be questioned whether this fact should be allowed any weight. As in the case of the name Makkabi, it seems probable that the Syrian translator can have had nothing but the Greek to guide him.

[1] In 1 Macc. 9 24 read: 'in those days their iniquity (רִעָם instead of רעב, 'famine') waxed exceedingly great,' etc.

and, aided by the Syrians, used every means to secure its advantage (1 Macc. 9 23-26). Many former adherents abandoned the Maccabæan cause (*v.* 24*b*), and those who remained faithful were subjected to intimidation and even violence (*v.* 26). Jonathan, with his comparatively few followers, was compelled for some years to keep in the background; at first, as a freebooter, making raids in various parts of the land, and at one time (158 B.C.) unsuccessfully pursued by a Syrian army (1 Macc. 9 58-72); then, at the head of a sort of rival government at Michmash, a short distance N. of Jerusalem, where his party seems to have steadily gained in numbers and in power (*ibid.* *v.* 73). This was undoubtedly due largely to his own ability, as well as to the truly popular cause which he represented, and to the fact that the Hellenising party since the death of Alcimus (159 B.C.) was without a leader.

At length the scales were turned completely in Jonathan's favour in an unexpected way. Demetrius was compelled to contest the possession of the Syrian throne with a powerful rival, Alexander Balas. Both saw the necessity of making overtures to Jonathan, who finally espoused the cause of Balas, in return for which service he was made the head of the Jewish people, with considerable power, and was also appointed high priest of the nation. This (153 B.C.) was the real beginning of the Hasmonæan rule in Jerusalem. Jonathan continued to hold the office of high priest (vacant, apparently, since the death of Alcimus), and to increase, little by little, the advantage already gained. He was confirmed in his authority by Balas, when the latter became king (1 Macc. 10 65); was received with high honours at Ptolemais by Balas and Ptolemy Philomētor, king of Egypt (*ibid.* *v.* 59 *ff.*); and finally, when Demetrius II. became king of Syria, succeeded by a daring stroke in obtaining a series of most important concessions to Judæa. See the interesting account in 1 Macc. 11 20-37; and cp Schürer, *GJV*⁽²⁾ 1 182 *ff.*; ET 1 245 *ff.*

During all this time Jonathan showed himself a wise and bold leader, both in peace and in war. The Syrian power continued to be divided among rival aspirants to the throne, so that not only Jonathan, but also his successors, were enabled to maintain their power by making shrewd use of the situation. The purpose of completely throwing off the Syrian yoke—a purpose already cherished by Judas—was not lost sight of by Jonathan. He sent ambassadors with letters of friendship to Rome, Sparta, and other places (144 B.C.?), at the same time working diligently to strengthen Judæa in every possible way (see esp. 1 Macc. 11 35 *f.* 12 32-38). Soon after this, however, Jonathan fell a victim to Syrian treachery. Trypho, the chief captain of the young Antiochus VI. who was now contending with Demetrius II. for the supremacy, became himself an aspirant to the throne. Fearing Jonathan for some reason, and wishing to put him out of the way, Trypho enticed him into Ptolemais and there put him to death (1 Macc. 12 39-53). This was at the close of 143.

6. Simon.

Simon (Σιμων,[1] שמעון) was the second son of Mattathias; according to 1 Macc. 2 3 called also Thassi (Θασσι); see § 1. The Semitic form and original meaning of the name Thassi can no longer be determined. In 1 Macc. he is frequently mentioned with honour in the account of the times of Judas and Jonathan, as an able military leader. Thus 5 17 21 *ff.* 9 67 *f.* 11 65 *f.* 12 33 *f.* 38 *f.* During the reign of Jonathan, Antiochus VI. appointed Simon general (στρατηγός) over an important district (11 59). In 2 65 Mattathias is represented as singling him out as the wisest of the brethren, and appointing him their counsellor.[2] Simon seems to have been in all respects a worthy successor of Judas and Jonathan.

Upon the death of Jonathan, Simon promptly took his place at the head of the nation, both as captain and as high priest, being confirmed in this by all the people. He continued to carry out with energy the policy pursued by Jonathan, building up and fortifying Jerusalem and the other strongholds of Judæa (13 10 33 43-48 52 14 7 32-34), extending the territory of the Jews, taking every advantage of the Syrian dissensions, and sending embassies abroad. In all these things he was enabled by the circumstances to attain much more than had been possible for his predecessors, so that his reign was a glorious one for the Jewish people.

In 142, soon after the accession of Simon, the Syrian yoke was at last removed from Israel. Demetrius II., yielding to Simon's demand, formally recognised the independence of Judæa (see the triumphant words of the historian, 1 Macc. 13 41 *f.*). Soon after this, Simon succeeded in gaining possession of the Acra, or citadel of Jerusalem, which had been occupied by a Syrian garrison for twenty-six years, ever since the beginning of the Maccabæan struggle[1] (13 49-53). In the brief season of peace and prosperity which followed (1 Macc. 14 4-15),[2] Simon's services to his people were given important recognition. A solemn assembly held at Jerusalem in 141 confirmed him in the offices of governor and high priest,[3] and made both these offices hereditary. Thus, a Hasmonæan dynasty was formally established. An inscription in Simon's honour (col. 2864 [*b*]) was composed and put in a conspicuous place.[4] At about this time, also, embassies were sent to Rome (col. 2863 [*a*]) and to the Spartans (*ib.*), which resulted successfully (col. 2864 [*c*]), 1 Macc. 14 16-24 15 15-24. Soon, however, Simon became involved in other wars, as the Syrian throne changed hands and his help was needed. Moreover, Antiochus (VII.) Sidētes sent an army against Judæa, in the hope of recovering some of the possessions which the Jews had gained; but his captain was defeated and driven from the country by two of Simon's sons, Judas and John. Near the beginning of 135, Simon fell a victim to the plot of his own son-in-law, Ptolemy, 'captain of the plain of Jericho,' who wished to obtain the power for himself. With two of his sons, Mattathias and Judas, Simon was received by Ptolemy into the fortress DOK (*q.v.*), near Jericho, and there treacherously murdered.[5]

7. John Hyrcanus.

John, son of Simon, generally called Hyrcanus, Ὑρκανός,[6] is said in 1 Macc. 13 53 to have been put in charge of the fortress Gazara by his father in 142. John also took a prominent part in the defeat of the Syrian general Cendebæus (16 2 *ff.* 9 *f.*). Immediately after the murder of Simon, Ptolemy sent men to Gazara to kill John, who was now the legitimate successor to the leadership of Israel. John was informed of the plot, however, and with true Maccabæan promptness slew the messengers and made all speed to Jerusalem, where he arrived in advance of his rival, and made his position secure. His reign of thirty years, though by no means peaceful, was decidedly successful politically. In the first year after his accession, he was temporarily humbled by Antiochus Sidētes, who besieged Jerusalem with success, obtaining important concessions from the Jews, besides breaking down the city wall. These losses were soon repaired, however, as the Syrian government was again involved in sore difficulties. Hyrcanus rebuilt the city wall (1 Macc. 16 23), and began in 128, immediately upon the death of Antiochus, a series of important campaigns, one fruit of which was the humbling of the Samaritans and the destruction of their temple. The territory of the Jews was very considerably extended (reaching such an extent as it had not had for many centuries), and their independence completely restored.

1 In the OT 𝔊 Συμεων, Eng. 'Simeon.'

2 For a possible explanation of this, see col. 2860, par. (3).

1 [On 1 Macc. 13 47-50 14 14 36, see Che. *OPs.* 68 80, n.w; and on 13 51, see *OPs.* 11, and references in p. 40, n.u.—ED.].

2 [See Che. *OPs.* 23.—ED.]

3 It must be remembered that Jonathan received the office of high priest, not from the people, but from the Syrian king.

4 [See Stade-Holtzmann, *GVI* 2 382; but cp Wellh. *IJG*⁽¹⁾, 222 *f.*; ⁽⁴⁾, 273.—ED.]

5 [On Simon, cp Che. *OPs.* 11, 24 *ff.*, 68.—ED.]

6 For attempts to explain this name, which had already been in use for some time among the Jews, see Schürer, 1 204 (ET i. 1, p. 273 *f.*).

In several respects the reign of Hyrcanus marks a departure from the simpler ways (and perhaps the ideals) of his predecessors. Hyrcanus waged war with the aid of foreign mercenaries, for example, and had his own name engraved on the coins of his reign. It is an especially interesting and significant fact that he cut loose from the Pharisees, and identified himself with the Sadducees (see SCRIBES AND PHARISEES, SADDUCEES, and Che. *OPs.* 24 *f.* 39). Concerning the events of the latter part of his reign we have little information. He died in 105 B.C.

Many of the works dealing with the history of this period are referred to below (MACCABEES [BOOKS]). Here may be mentioned:—Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. (2), 1851, pp. 310-350; Flathe, *Gesch. Macedoniens*, ii. (1834); J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'hist. et la géogr. de la Pal.*, 1867; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881; De Saulcy, *Hist. des Machabées ou princes de la dyn. asmonéenne*, 1880; Pauly's *Real-enc. der class. Alterthumswiss.*(3), *s.v.* 'Antiochus IV.'; Schürer, *GJV*(2) 1 127-241; ET i. 1 169-290 (in the introductory part of the vol. there is an excellent account of the sources); Ewald, *GVI*(3) 4 287-543; ET, 1867-1886, 5 286-394; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, vols. 2 2 3; Stade-Holtzmann, *GVI* 2 286 *ff.*; Wellh. *IJG*(4) 256 *ff.* See also the works referred to in Schürer, 1 4-9 127 *f.*; ET 1 6-12, 170.

8. Literature.

C. C. T.

MACCABEES (BOOKS)

CONTENTS

FIRST MACCABEES

1. Title. By far the most important of the several writings known as the 'Books of the Maccabees' (Μακκαβαίων βιβλία, or Μακκαβαϊκά) is the history commonly entitled 'Maccabees.' The title borne by the book in its original Hebrew form (see below, § 3) is not known.

Many scholars have tried to recognise it in a well-known passage quoted by Eusebius (*HE* 6 25) from Origen. Origen enumerates the (twenty-two) books of the Hebrew canon, giving the Hebrew names in Greek transliteration, and then adds: 'Besides these there is "the Maccabaïca," which is entitled Sarbēth Sabanaiel.'[1] It is beyond doubt that the reference is to a Hebrew or Aramaic 1 Macc., whose title is transliterated. All attempts to explain this title from the Hebrew, however, have hitherto been futile (see the comms., and especially Curtiss, *The Name Machabee*, 1876, p. 30).[2] On the other hand, the solution proposed by Dalman (*Gramm.* 6), according to which the two strange words in their original form stood for the Aramaic ספר בית חשמנאי, seems very plausible. The title 'Book of the Hasmonæans' would be eminently suitable for 1 Macc. (cp 5 62, and the actual superscription of the later Aramaic composition dealing with the history of this time: see below, § 11); and it is easy to see how, by the aid of common scribal blunders,[3] the form in Eusebius could have been reached. It may be doubted, however, whether even this can give us any sure clue to the *original title* of 1 Macc. This plainly Aramaic form of words is not likely to have been the superscription of a work written in Hebrew; it is much more probable that the work known (by hearsay only?) to Origen was an Aramaic translation, such as must have been made very early. As will appear in the sequel (§ 11), all the evidence goes to show that the Hebrew 1 Macc. was current only for a very brief period. If we suppose, then, that the above explanation of the name recorded by Origen is correct, there would still remain the possibility that (as frequently happened) the title borne by the translation was quite independent of that borne by the original.

2. Contents. The book is a history of the Jewish struggle for religious freedom and for independence under the Maccabees. It covers the period of forty years beginning with the accession of Antiochus (IV.) Epiphanes, 175 B.C., and ending with the death of Simon, the third of the Maccabæan leaders, 135 B.C. It is for the most part a narrative of events in their chronological order, attention being given chiefly to military and political affairs, and, in fact, to all that concerned the relation of the Jews to other nations.

[1] ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά, ἅπερ ἐπιγέγραπται Σαρβηθ Σαβαναιελ. See also the superscription of the Syriac 1 Macc. (Lagarde's *Apocrypha Syriace*), which was evidently derived from these words of Origen.

[2] Of all these attempts it may be said, that they have an exceedingly improbable sound. Most of them rest on the reading Σ' Σαρβανεελ, which has been in vogue since the sixteenth century, but without any good authority.

[3] The correct transliteration would be σφαρ βηθ ασαμωναιε.

The narrative is continuous, and the treatment uniform throughout the book. The material may be divided conveniently as follows:—

1. (1 1-9) The briefest possible introduction, beginning with the conquest of Alexander, and describing in general terms the origin of the Seleucid empire. 2. (1 10-64) Desperate condition of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes. His attempts to abolish the Jewish religion. 3. (2 1-70) The uprising at Modein (167 B.C.) and the growth of the rebellion led by Mattathias. 4. (3 1-4 35) The first victories gained by the Jews under the leadership of Judas Maccabæus. 5. (4 36-61) Purification of the temple and dedication of the new altar (165 B.C.). 6. (5 1-68) Campaigns conducted by Judas against the surrounding nations. 7. (6 1-17) Death of Epiphanes, in Persia, and accession of Eupator (164 B.C.). 8. (6 18-63) Further wars with the Syrians. Concession of religious freedom to the Jews, in return for their submission. 9. (7 1-50) Demetrius gains possession of the throne (162 B.C.). Death of Nicanor. 10. (8 1-9 22) Treaty with the Romans. Death of Judas (161 B.C.). 11. (9 23-10 66) Jonathan succeeds Judas as military leader of the Jews. Supported by the pretender Alexander Balas, he becomes the high priest of the nation (153 B.C.). He is received in state by Alexander and Ptolemy (Philometor), King of Egypt, at Ptolemais. 12. (10 67-11 74) Further battles fought by Jonathan; and his relations with the Syrian kings. 13. (12 1-53) Embassies to Rome and Sparta. Death of Jonathan (end of 143 B.C.). 14. (13 1-14 15) Fortunes of the Jews under Simon. They secure their political independence (142 B.C.). The Syrians are driven from the castle in Jerusalem. Peace in the land. 15. (14 16-49) Renewal of friendly relations with the Spartans and with Rome. A formal record is drawn up by the people and put in a conspicuous place in honour of Simon, who is thus publicly declared ruler of the Jews (141 B.C.). 16. (15 1-16 24) Relations of Simon with Antiochus Sidētes. His two sons defeat the Syrian general. Murder of Simon (135 B.C.).

3. Original Language. As to the language in which 1 Macc. was written, there is no room for doubt. Mention has been made of the testimony of Origen (§ 1) and Jerome (col. 2850, towards end), which testimony, though less valuable than it at first appears to be, shows at least that each of those great scholars regarded it as an undisputed fact that the book was written in Hebrew. Internal evidence proves beyond question that this opinion (or church tradition) was correct.

That the language was Semitic is evident. Semitic idioms follow one another in such number and variety as would be inexplicable in a Greek composition; see, for example, 1 29 (cp Gen. 41 1, etc.), 36 58, Ἰσραὴλ τοῖς εὑρισκομένοις = לישראל הנמצאים (incorrectly punctuated by Swete, and frequently misunderstood), 2 40 4 2 5 30-33 6 21 (ἐξ αὐτῶν [ℵV] as subject of the verb; so also 7 33), 8 1 9 44 etc.; and such passages as 3 15-26 5 1-8 28-34. The form of many of the proper names shows that they are transliterated from a Semitic text; thus φυλιστιειμ; the names in 11 34 (Schür. *GJV* 1 183; ET 1 245 *f.*); Ιμαλκουε [ℵV] for ימלכו, 11 39 (see Schür. *l.c.*; We. *IJG*(4), 270),

etc. In 14 27, *ενσαραμελ* [A, *ενασαραμελ* (אV)] (cp now *Exp. T* 11 523 *ff.*) is plainly the transliteration of some word or words which the translator did not understand. Cp also *χαφεναθα*, 12 37. The weighty evidence afforded by occasional mistranslation, or by renderings which can only be explained as the result of misunderstanding or accidental corruption of the original Semitic text, is not wanting. Thus 8 29, *ἔστησαν* (mistranslating the Hebrew perfect tense: 'the Romans *hereby make agreement*'; see the following verses, and cp the similar mistake in 14 28, *ἐγνώρισεν ἡμῖν* for הודענו; 'we *make proclamation*'); 9 24, λιμός (רעב for רֹעָם); 10 1, ὁ Ἐπιφανής instead of τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς,—a mistranslation made very easy by the Semitic usage in regard to such adjectives; 10 72, *οἱ πατέρες σου* (אבותיך instead of צבותיך [for צבאותיך], 'thine armies'); 14 9, *στολὰς πολέμου* (!) (reading צבא instead of צבי, 'gay apparel').[1]

That the Semitic language was Hebrew, not Aramaic, is everywhere manifest.

See the evidence furnished by many of the passages cited above; and add further, 2 39 3 19 (כי אם; also 9 6), 5 40 7 35, and the remarkable succession of Hebrew idioms in 5 1-8.

4. Author.

Nothing is known concerning the author of 1 Macc., beyond the facts that can be gathered by inference from his book. He was certainly a devout and patriotic Jew.

It can hardly be doubted, moreover, that the author lived and wrote in Palestine. It is plain from every part of the book that his personal interests were all in that land.

His acquaintance with the geography and topography of the country is strikingly minute; when, on the contrary, he has occasion to mention foreign lands, he shows himself much less accurately informed. In his narrative he frequently introduces such details as would have no importance for one living at a distance from the scenes and events described. See, for example, 3 24 7 19 8 19 9 2-4 33 34 43 12 36 *f.* 13 22 *f.* 16 5 6.

The writer of this history, furthermore, must have stood near to the centre of Jewish political affairs.

There is, to be sure, nothing to require us to suppose that he himself took an active part in the events he records; but he is most plainly in his element when he is dealing with affairs of state, military movements, and court intrigues. He must have been a man of rank, and personally acquainted with the leaders of his people.

The author shows himself a loyal adherent of the Hasmonæan house; it was to this family that Israel owed its rescue and its glory; see especially 5 62, and cp 13 3 14 18 26 16 2. That he should extol the character and deeds of Judas was of course to be expected, but his admiration of the other Hasmonæan leaders is hardly less emphatically expressed.

See what he says of Jonathan, 9 73 10 15-21 59-66 11 20-27 71 12 35 52 *f.* (notice also 10 61 11 25); of Simon, 13 3 *ff.* 47 *f.* 14 4-15 16 14; and of John, 13 53 16 23 *f.*

When in addition to these facts it is observed in what a favourable light the Jewish priesthood is exhibited throughout the book—the renegade high priests Jason and Menelaus, for example, are not mentioned at all (contrast 2 Macc. 4 7-5 23)—the conjecture of Geiger (*Urschrift*, 206 *ff.*) that the author of 1 Macc. was a Sadducee seems not improbable (see SADDUCEES).[2]

5. Date.

i. The date of the composition of 1 Macc. can be determined approximately. If we assume the book to be the work of a single writer, as seems necessary (see below, § 9), it is plain from 16 11-24 that it must have been finished after the beginning of the reign of John Hyrcanus (135-106 B.C.). It is also evident from the way in which the writer speaks of the Romans that the days of Pompey and the Roman rule were not yet dreamed of: he emphasises chiefly the Romans' fidelity as allies (8 1 12 12 1 14 40), and implies everywhere that they are friends to be proud of, although outside the horizon of ordinary Jewish affairs (8 1 *ff.* 19). The book must, therefore, have been completed before the year 63 B.C.

ii. There are grounds for bringing the date of composition within narrower limits.

(1) The passage 16 23 *f.*, in particular, has afforded a basis for argument. It reads as follows:—

'Now the rest of the acts of John, and of his wars, and of his valiant deeds which he did, and of the building of the walls which he built, and of his doings, behold they are written in the chronicles of his high-priesthood, from the time that he was made high priest after his father.'

It has been customary to conclude from this mention of the 'rest of the deeds' of John, and especially from the reference to the 'chronicle of his high-priesthood,' that his reign must have been far advanced,[1] or even ended (so most scholars since Eichhorn), at the time when these words were written. The cogency of this reasoning may be doubted, however; the more so, as every particle of the remaining evidence points to a different conclusion.

It is evident that the writer wished to bring his history to an end with the close of Simon's reign. If this had been his only purpose, however, he would hardly have followed 16 17 with just these concluding verses 18-22, which tell only half of what was necessary to be told, if the escape of John was to be narrated at all, and leave the history of the Hasmonæan house and of Jerusalem (see *v.* 20) in suspense. To suppose that these verses were intended merely to serve as the necessary bridge from the reign of Simon to that of John, does not explain them satisfactorily; and the greater the interval of time supposed to have elapsed between these events and the writing of the history, the greater the difficulty becomes.

On the supposition that the historian finished his work soon after the beginning of the reign of Hyrcanus, and wished to conclude it with complimentary mention of his sovereign, every part of the closing passage 16 18-24 is at once satisfactorily explained.

It is all precisely what we should expect. The events following Simon's death were then familiar to every one; it was only necessary to lead up to the statement of John's prompt action (*v.* 22), and then to add the customary formula: 'the rest of his great deeds,' etc. For the only deeds that are specially mentioned—the carrying on of war, and the building of walls—we have no need to look further than the earlier years of his reign; the wars that brought him his chief glory, and the rebuilding of the wall that had been razed by Antiochus Sidētes, were both begun, it would seem, during or immediately after the year 128 (see col. 2856, § 7). As for the 'chronicle of his high-priesthood' (if we suppose the words to be more than a mere compliment),[2] the historian could have referred to it equally well at any time after the beginning of the reign. If there really was such a chronicle, it was probably the continuation of the record of the preceding reigns; see the latter part of *v.* 24 (see also below, § 8).

(2) The impression thus gained from the closing verses of the book, that it was completed during the reign of John Hyrcanus, is confirmed by the tone of security and political self-respect that is so evident in all parts of the history. With the beginning of the last century B.C. came a marked decline.

(3) On the other hand, there are indications that the historian *began* his work during the reign of Simon.

The striking passage 14 4-15, in particular, points distinctly in this direction. So, too, does the much discussed verse 13 42. Even if documents and coins (?) were dated in this way (see Schür. *GJV* 1 192 *ff.*; ET 1 257 *ff.*), the custom can have continued only for a very short time. The only historians who would be likely to write such a verse as this would be those of Simon's own day. Cp on the other hand 14 27, which is equally significant whether written by the author of 1 Macc. or by some one else. The compliment paid to Simon in 2 65 may also be taken as evidence; there is nowhere in the sequel anything that could be regarded as especially illustrating the quality here ascribed to him, or as implying that he was looked upon as the counsellor of his brethren.

iii. The theory best accounting for all the facts (see also below)—and no really plausible argument can be urged against it—would seem to be, that the greater part of this history was composed and written under the inspiration of Simon's glorious reign, and that it was finished in the early part of the reign of John Hyrcanus. That is, the book was probably written between 140 and 125 B.C.

The passage 13 30 can give us no additional help. The words 'unto this day' are the indispensable (OT) formula added to the account of such monuments, and would have been used in any case, whether the time that had elapsed were two years or twenty. This is simply one of the many illustrations of the way in which the writer models his history after the pattern of the older Hebrew scriptures; the use of the formula here serving

[1] The same confusion of these two words more than once in Daniel; see Moore in *JBL*, 1896, pp. 195, 197.

[2] Geiger was certainly wrong, however, in regarding the book as a 'party document.'

[1] See the advocates of this view cited in Grimm, *Comm.* 24.

[2] It is not probable, however, that they are anything more than this. See below, § 8.

to show his sense of the importance of the monument (cp 9 22 16 23 *f.*).[1]

Viewed from the literary point of view, 1 Macc. makes a most favourable impression. Its author was evidently a writer of unusual talents as well as of considerable experience. His narrative is constructed with a true sense of proportion and with skill in the arrangement of the material. The style, which is strongly marked, is plainly his own, though formed on the classical Hebrew models. Reminiscences of OT phraseology are of course frequent, and certain familiar formulas from the older Hebrew history are occasionally introduced (*e.g.*, 2 69 *f.* 9 20-22 13 26 16 23 *f.*); but there is no further evidence of any imitation, conscious or unconscious, of the older writers. The chief characteristics of the style are terseness and simplicity. At the same time, the narrative is full of lively details, and is never suffered to lag.

6. Literary characteristics.

The reserve of the writer is worthy of especial notice. Though it is evident that he is intensely interested in all the history he is recording, he generally contents himself with giving a purely objective view of the course of events, keeping his reflections to himself. He writes as a loyal and devout Jew, yet without indulging in such abuse of his enemies as is so common, for example, in 2 Macc.[2] It cannot be said, however, that he does not display enthusiasm. It breaks out into momentary expression again and again, all through the book.

See, for example, 2 48 3 3-9 4 24 58 5 63 *f.* 11 51 14 8 *ff.*, etc. On such occasions as these, and in fact wherever the writer, for one reason or another, wishes to make his story especially impressive, or is carried away by his feeling, he rises to poetry in the true Semitic manner. Examples are 1 25-28 37-40 3 3-9 45 9 41[3] 14 4-15. Similarly, the impassioned utterances of Mattathias in 2 7-13 49-68, of the people in 3 50 *ff.*, and of Antiochus in 6 10 *ff.*, are expanded in poetic form; cp also the two addresses of Judas to his army 3 18-22 4 8-11.

In all parts of the book we meet the same striking combination of dignity and naïveté, the same excellences of style. We may well believe that in its original form it was a fine specimen of Hebrew prose.

Regarding the religious standpoint of the author, it is to be said that in this respect also the book deserves to hold a high place in Jewish literature. There is nowhere any room for doubt as to his patriotism, in the best sense of the word. He believes in Israel as the people chosen of God.

7. Religious character.

The author is zealous for all the time-honoured institutions; for the law and the ordinances (1 11 15 43 49 54 *ff.* 62 *ff.*[4] 2 20 *ff.* 27 42 48 3 21 14 14 *f.* etc.), for the holy scriptures (1 56 3 48 12 9), for Jerusalem and the sanctuary (1 21 37 *f.* 2 7 *f.* 3 43 45 51 4 38 59 7 37 42 9 54 *f.*). He refers repeatedly to God's deliverance of Israel in the past (2 59 *f.* 4 9 *ff.* 30 7 41), and expresses his firm faith that he is ready to hear and help now also, as of old (3 18 *f.* 4 10 *f.* 9 46 16 3); 'none that put their trust in him shall want for strength' (2 61).[5] In 4 55 (cp *v.* 24 *f.* 3 44 etc.) 12 15 the successes achieved by the Jews under the Maccabæan leaders are ascribed to the divine help; as in 1 64 (cp 3 8) the evils that had come upon the nation are said to be God's punishment for its sin. Help through miraculous intervention, indeed, is neither asked nor expected—the day of wonders, and of prophets with superhuman power and wisdom, is past (9 27; cp 4 46 14 41 Ps. 74 9 Dan. 3 38 [Song of the Three Children, *v.* 14], Ezra 2 63 [Neh. 7 65]);[6] but God now works deliverance for his people through the strength he gives to those who call upon him (4 33). In 11 70-72 Jonathan's desperate valour, which wins the day, is the result of superhuman strength given him in answer to prayer.

It is remarkable, in view of such genuine faith and religious devotion as the writer everywhere manifests, that the book from beginning to end should avoid all direct designations of God.

Neither 'God' (θεός, אלהים), nor 'Lord' (κύριος, ארוני), nor any of the titles occasionally employed in the OT are to be found here.[1] Instead, the writer makes use of the term 'heaven' (οὐρανός, שמים), which is so employed as to be the full equivalent of the name 'God'; thus, 3 18 *f.* 50 4 10 40 55 9 46 12 15 16 3; cp also 3 60. In some of these passages, this use of the word 'heaven' is followed by the personal pronoun in a most significant manner; see 3 22 51 *ff.* 4 10 55. In two passages (7 37 41 *f.*) where God is directly addressed, the pronoun 'thou' is used without being preceded by any noun. Similarly, in 2 61 the pronoun of the third person is employed, with only the context to show that God is meant; in 16 3, 'by *the* mercy,' not even a pronoun is used.

As the tendency thus illustrated begins to appear among the Jews before the time of the Maccabees, and plays an important part in the later literature, it is hardly safe to draw conclusions from these facts as to the personal characteristics of this writer.

The use of the OT in the book may be noticed, finally. The repetition of certain formulas from the historical books has already received mention. Apart from these, there are allusions in 2 52-60 to Genesis, Numbers, Joshua, Samuel, Kings, Daniel; in 14 12 the words of Mic. 4 4 are repeated; 4 24 contains a familiar verse from the Psalms, cp 1 Ch. 16 34 41 Ezra 3 11; in 7 17 Ps. 79 2 *f.* is formally cited. Other quotations or allusions are found in 2 26 4 9 30 *ff.* 7 37.

Those who suppose that the author of this history wrote in the early decades of the last century B.C., find it necessary to assume that he made considerable use of written sources.[2] It is indeed quite out of the question to suppose that an account so vivid and accurate, and of such uniform fulness of detail, even in the narrative of the first years of the uprising, could have been written merely on the basis of oral tradition and personal recollection, after such a lapse of time. Nor would the hypothesis that the written sources used by the author were merely scattered official and private documents, of no great extent, be at all adequate to account for the work before us. It is very difficult to suppose the existence of such documents as this theory calls for, or to believe that a Jewish historian of that day could have combined them with such marvellous skill. Nor would any such process have produced this book. If, however, as has been argued above, the book was written soon after the middle of the second century, the necessity of postulating extensive documentary sources is removed. Moreover, both the lack of evidence of any such sources in the book itself, and the character and manner of the whole narrative, make it by far the most probable theory that what we have here is the account of one who had witnessed the whole Maccabæan struggle from its beginning, and had had exceptional opportunities of information.

8. Sources.

The only passages in 1 Macc. in which there might appear to be reference to written sources known to the author are 9 22 and 16 24. In both cases the writer is making use of the familiar OT formula used in closing the history of a king: 'The rest of his acts, and his mighty deeds, behold, they are written,' etc. The reason for his employing it in only these two places is obvious.

The compliment is paid to Judas, as the great hero of these times; to John, because of the time and manner in which the book was finished (see above, § 5). Accordingly, when it is said of Judas, that 'the rest of his acts were not written down,' the natural inference is this, that the writer knew of no record other than his own of the events of Judas' time; this was, therefore, the only way in which he could conclude the formula. Again, when he has occasion to apply the formula to the reign of John,

1 Even if this were not the case, the attempt to determine the time that 'must have elapsed' before a writer could use the phrase 'unto this day' (*i.e.*, 'where it still stands') must be wholly fruitless. To many writers, ten years, or even five, would seem a long interval. Especially in those eventful times, when nothing was long secure, and hostile armies were marching through the land, a historian might well have expressed his gratitude that the conspicuous monument at Modein had been allowed to stand for even a very brief period.

2 The description of Antiochus Epiphanes as ῥίζα ἁμαρτωλός (1 10), and of Alcimus by the adjective ἀσεβής (7 9), are certainly examples of moderation.

3 The grim humour of the passage 9 37-42 is not to be lost sight of.

4 Cp Dan. 1 8.

5 The fact that the writer puts these utterances into the mouth of his heroes, Mattathias, Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, renders them no less his own, of course.

6 It is doubtful how much significance should be attached to this phrase in its various forms. See Jerus. *Ḳiddūshīm*, 4 [near the beginning].

1 The words 'God' and 'Lord' have frequently been inserted, however, both in many of the Greek texts and in the versions. Thus, *e.g.*, in the English AV, 2 21 26 3 18 53 60 4 55 9 10.

2 See, *e.g.*, Schürer, *GJV* 2 579 (ET 5 6).

which had only recently begun, it is hard to see what form of words he could have employed other than that which he actually used. That such a 'book of the records' of John's reign had already been written, is therefore neither said nor implied; only this, that he was one whose deeds would certainly be recorded.

As for the question whether we may not find in these words at least a hint as to one of the sources at the command of the writer, namely, a chronicle of the reign of Simon (and possibly also of the reign of Jonathan), the answer must be: (1) We are not warranted in drawing any such conclusion from the words of this stock phrase. (2) There is not a grain of evidence, nor any great intrinsic probability, that the record of any of the Hasmonæan reigns was officially kept.[1] (3) There is nothing whatever to indicate that the sources used by the writer for his account of the reign of Simon were in any way different from the sources at his disposal for the history of Judas. It may be added, though the fact has little significance, that the only Jewish source for the history of these Hasmonæan rulers known to Josephus was our 1 Macc. Moreover, regarding the history of the period 175-161 B.C., there is no evidence that 1 Macc. and 2 Macc. (Jason of Cyrene) made use of any common source, or that the latter had any extensive documents at his disposal (see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 2, col. 2869 *f.*).

In connection with this lack of evidence for the existence of other important records of the Maccabæan period, it should be observed further, that 1 Macc. shows no sign of being a compilation; it is, on the contrary, remarkably homogeneous in all its parts. It would be difficult to imagine greater uniformity of style and method, from beginning to end, in a work of this nature.[2]

As for the many official documents which are embodied in the history, it is not likely that the author of 1 Macc. took them from a collection already made. It seems much more probable, from their character, and the way in which they are used, that they were partly collected by him, but chiefly composed or freely reproduced by him in accordance with his own taste aided by memory. On these documents, see also § 9 *f.*

9. Integrity. By the earlier investigators of 1 Macc., the integrity of the book was generally unquestioned. In recent times, however, the attempt has been made by some scholars to show that the history as we have it is not in its original form. The question has been raised whether certain of the letters, edicts, and other documents contained in the book can have originally formed a part of it.

(*a*) Some have gone so far as to claim that the whole concluding portion, from near the beginning of the fourteenth chapter to the end of the book, is a later addition by another hand.

Destinon, *Die Quellen des Josephus*, 1882, pp. 80 *ff.*, argued that the form of 1 Macc. known to Josephus did not contain chaps. 14-16. He also advocated the theory, formerly held by J. D. Michaelis, that Josephus used a Hebrew 1 Macc. (the original form) differing in other important particulars from our Greek version (*l.c.*, pp. 61-80).

As for the form of 1 Macc. which is reproduced in the *Antiquities*, it may be regarded as certain, in spite of the arguments of Destinon and others, that it was identical with our Greek version.

See, for example, the weighty evidence incidentally noted in § 11, below. The reason urged by Destinon for regarding the last three chapters as secondary is the haste with which Josephus passes over this portion of the history, giving it hardly any space at all, although these chapters contain abundant material of the sort that would seem to serve his purposes especially well, inasmuch as it is his manifest aim to magnify the political importance of the Jews, and to make as much as possible of their friendly relations with the Romans. The argument certainly deserves notice; but it may be doubted whether it should be given any great weight (see Schür. *TLZ*, 1882, p. 390). It is hardly safe to rely on the methods of such a writer as Josephus, even in a matter of this nature; it must be remembered, too, that one chief consideration in the composition of his work was the striving after brevity and condensation. A Gentile historian would have found little or nothing of importance in these chapters of 1 Macc., and it is not difficult to believe that Josephus could have made up his mind to omit them.[1] Nor has the theory that the book originally ended near the beginning of chap. 14 ('at about the 15th verse'; We. *IJG*(1), 222 *f.*, n.; (2), 257 n.; (3), 268 n. 2; sentence omitted in (4), 273 n.) any further argument in its favour; while on the other hand there are many and weighty considerations against it.

In style and manner, as in contents, chaps. 14-16 are in perfect harmony with the rest of the book. 16 *17*, to take a single instance, cannot fail to remind the reader of the author of the earlier chapters. See also what has been said above (§§ 5, 8) regarding the close of the book.

(*b*) The question of the document 14 *27-47*, the inscription in honour of Simon, is more difficult. The manner in which its representation of the course of events seems to run counter to that contained in the preceding and the following portions of the history has long attracted attention.[2] It is urged that there is a serious contradiction here in regard to the order of events, the chief point of difference being the account of Simon's embassy to Rome.

According to the document (*v.* 40), this would seem to have occurred before the time when Demetrius recognised the authority of Simon, and to have been one of the things that led him to take that step. In the earlier part of this same chapter, on the other hand, the beginning of Demetrius' long captivity among the Parthians is narrated (14 *1-3*) before the account of the embassy is given (*v.* 24); and in chap. 15, the return of Numenius with the answer of the Romans (*v.* 15) would seem, from the connection in which it stands, to have occurred in the year 139, at the beginning of the reign of Antiochus (VII.) Sidētes.

It is by no means certain, however, that the author of 1 Macc. should be cited as dating the events of 14 *1-3* earlier than those of *vv.* 16 *ff.* 24 *ff.* Nor are we justified in any case in giving such weight to a verse of the nature of 14 *40*, belonging to a document whose chief aim was by no means to record history exactly, but rather to glorify Simon in every possible way. The whole question of the dates and order of events of these few years, moreover, is one of exceeding difficulty;[3] and even on the supposition that we have here a true copy of the proclamation that was put in the court of the temple, the difficulty might still be adjusted by supposing the author of 1 Macc. to have been mistaken in regard to the date in 14 *1*.[4] It is far more likely, however, that what we have here (*v.* 27-49) is a free reproduction of the substance of the proclamation, after the manner customary throughout this book in incorporating official documents (see next section). The difficulty with the statement in 14 *40* is thus most probably to be charged to the author's own inaccuracy, which is of a kind that is very easy of explanation, under the circumstances. There is, therefore, no sufficient reason for regarding 14 *25-49* as a later interpolation.[5] Notice also the fact that this passage formed a part of the Hebrew 1 Macc.; see especially *v.* 27 *f.* (above, § 3).

(*c*) The section 15 *15-24*, which narrates the return of the above-mentioned embassy, and contains the letter sent by the Romans in the year 139 B.C., to Ptolemy Physkon and Simon, has also been suspected of being an interpolation (see Wellh., *ibid.*; Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, 69 *ff.*).

[1] See Schürer, *GJV* 2 584 *f.*

[2] The greater frequency of poetical passages in the first half of the book, noticed by Westcott (Smith's *DB*), is simply due to the difference in character of the subject matter and the narrative (see above, § 6), and cannot be used as an argument for diversity of authorship.

[1] It was the easier for him to omit the account of the Roman embassy here, inasmuch as he manages to introduce the most imposing features of it later, on a similar occasion (see below, *c*).

[2] See the note in Grimm, *Comm.*, at the end of chap. 14; Destinon, 86 *ff.*; Wellh. *op. cit.* 222 *f.*, n.; Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, 70.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Schürer, 1 132 *ff.*; ET I 176 *ff.*

[4] Another alternative would be to regard *v.* 40 as the interpolation of some scribe.

[5] The difficulties which some have found in the form of the document (*e.g.*, Wellh. *l.c.*), are due in part to the translation and transcription, as well as to the fact that the whole is freely reproduced. In *v.* 28 the original reading was 'We hereby proclaim' (see § 3). In *v.* 41 the word ὅτι is certainly secondary, and the result of scribal carelessness.

It is generally assumed that this alleged Roman edict is identical with that given in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 8 5 (in the time of Hyrcanus II.), the resemblances being too striking to be accidental. See the very extensive literature of the subject, in Schürer, 1 199*f.*, 279*f.*; ET I 1, pp. 267*ff.*, 378*f.* It has been proved by Mommsen ('Der Senatsbeschluss bei Josephus Ant. xiv. 8 5' *Hermes*, 9 [1875] pp. 281-291) that the document in Jos. really belongs, at least in part, to the time of Hyrcanus II.[1] But Mommsen also argued at length (*l.c.*) and for weighty reasons, that the edict in 1 Macc. 15 is not identical with that in Jos. His arguments have failed to convince most scholars, because of the still unexplained fact that 'Numenius, son of Antiochus' and the 'golden shield of a thousand pounds weight' appear in both documents. The explanation of this latter fact, however, is certainly this: Josephus, for the reasons given already (above, *a*) omitted the portion of 1 Macc. containing the mention of Numenius and the golden shield, but took occasion to introduce this important name, and the most interesting details, at the next opportunity. The two documents were thus originally quite distinct. The fact must also be emphasised that the passage 15 15-24 bears striking evidence of having been written very soon after the time when these events occurred. The 'consul Lucius' (Λεύκιος ὕπατος) of *v.* 16 can be no other (Ritschl, *Rhein. Museum*, vol. 28, 1873; Mommsen, *l.c.*) than L. Calpurnius Piso, who was Roman consul in 139. The edict was sent *to Demetrius* (Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ), which shows that the Romans wrote—as must in fact have been the case—before hearing of the captivity of Demetrius and the accession of Antiochus Sidētes. This again is striking evidence that we have here the account of a contemporary (so Grimm, *Comm.*); so also is the manner in which this narrative is inserted in the midst of events of the reign of Sidētes, in spite of *v.* 22, and the way in which the story of the military operations at Dor is interrupted. An interpolator could not possibly have introduced it here (as argued by Wellhausen, *l.c.*); on the contrary, the author of 1 Macc. must have written from his own recollection of the actual order of events.

The historical accuracy of the whole account, as well as the fact that it formed a part of the original 1 Macc., would therefore seem to be beyond question. That we have in this document the actual words of a Roman edict, however, may be strongly doubted. The only conclusion that can certainly be drawn is that the Romans, under L. C. Piso, accepted the present of the Jewish ambassadors, and returned an answer that was at least polite and was addressed to King Demetrius.

(*d*) Still other of the incorporated documents have occasionally been suspected of being interpolations, the suspicion being probably due in all cases to a mistaken idea of the purpose and method of a historian of that day in reproducing letters, speeches of military leaders, and the like (see next section).

In the case of the document 10 25-45, for example, it has justly been observed (Wellh. *op. cit.* 218, n.; cp Willrich, 70) that it cannot be regarded as a genuine letter of Demetrius. But we are certainly not therefore justified in concluding that it was not put in its present place by the careful and conscientious author of 1 Macc. On the contrary, it was probably composed by him on the basis of his knowledge of the attitude of Demetrius, of which it undoubtedly gives a fair idea, in the main. Whether any considerable portion of its contents may be regarded as reproducing actual utterances of the king, is quite another question.

The great importance of 1 Macc. as a source for the history of the Jews is now generally acknowledged.[2]

10. Historical value. Besides being the only detailed account which we have of the events of the greater part of this most important period, the book has proved itself worthy to hold the highest rank as trustworthy history. In the first place, all of the most important events are dated according to the Seleucid era (reckoned from the spring of 312 B.C.; see Schürer, 1 33, ET I 44), the accuracy of the dates given being in the main beyond all question. We thus have here for the first time a Jewish history with a satisfactory chronology. The same verdict of trustworthiness must be accorded to the book as a whole. Both in the account which it gives of the general course of events, and in its narrative of details, it bears the unmistakable stamp of truth. In the preceding paragraphs (§§ 4, 5, 8) we have maintained the view that the author of 1 Macc. records in this book events of his own lifetime, which he had had exceptional opportunities of observing. There are, in fact, many indications of this apart from those already mentioned.[1] For example, the details given in 6 39*f.*, 7 33 etc., and especially in 8 19 (the 'long journey' of the ambassadors to Rome), 9 34 43 (where 'on the Sabbath day' has no significance at all for the narrative), were plainly recorded by a contemporary of these events. In all parts of the book, the narrative has this same vivid and circumstantial character, the details being frequently such as one who had not witnessed the events, or who wrote a considerable time after their occurrence, could have had no reason for adding. It is plain that the author was excellently well informed as to the progress of affairs in general, the character and movements of the chief actors in these scenes (see above, § 4), and even as to minor circumstances of time, place, and manner. It is to be added that he shows himself a true historian both in the choice of his material and in the manner of using it. In the choice of material, especially, his pre-eminence appears. It cannot be said of him that he purposely distorts facts, or invents them. It is true that he was a warm adherent of the Hasmonæan house, and probably a personal friend of its leaders, as well as a sincere patriot; but his history is not written in a partisan spirit.[2] No one will blame him for passing over in silence the shameful conduct of the high priests Jason and Menelaus, or for making only brief mention of the defeats suffered by the Jews. To turn such defeats into victories, as is done, for example, in 2 Macc. 13 9-24 (contrast 1 Macc. 6 28-63), would never have occurred to him. His statements cannot always be believed, it is true; they must occasionally be pronounced mistaken, or inaccurate. Especially when he has occasion to touch upon the geography or political conditions of foreign countries (*e.g.*, 1 1 8 1-16 14 16, etc.), he exhibits a naïve ignorance which is all the more noticeable because of the very exact knowledge of Palestine which he everywhere displays. That his numerical estimates (size of armies, number of the slain, etc.) are often exaggerated, is a matter of course. Such statements were generally the merest guesses, in the early histories. Regarding the incorporated documents the case is somewhat similar. They are not to be taken too seriously. There was no thought of 'authenticity' here, any more than in the matter of recording the speeches made by Mattathias to his sons, or by Judas on the field of battle. The composition, or at least the free reproduction, of such speeches and documents belonged to the task of the historian. In general it may be said of those in 1 Macc. that they may be used only with the greatest caution; though it is probable that in the most of them veritable documents are reproduced, in substance if not in form. On the whole, the book must be pronounced a work of the highest value, comparing favourably, in point of trustworthiness, with the best Greek and Roman histories.

11. Text and Versions. i. *Hebrew text of* 1 *Macc.*—The original Hebrew text of 1 Macc. seems to have disappeared at a very early date. There is no evidence of its use by any early writer, not even by Josephus. Nor is there any sure testimony to its existence after the time when the Greek translation was made (regarding the equivocal words of Origen and Jerome, see above, §§ 1, 3). What is more important, there is no evidence of correction from the Hebrew, either in the Greek or in any other of the versions (all of which were made from the Greek). On the contrary, our Greek version is plainly seen to be the result of a single translation from a Hebrew MS which was not free from faults. It hardly seems probable that the Hebrew 1 Macc. can have been widely

[1] See his concluding words, 291; and the comments in Willrich, 71.

[2] For the earlier discussions of this question, especially in the eighteenth century, see Grimm, *Comm.* p. xxxiv*f.*

[1] See above, esp. §§ 4*f.*, col. 2859*f.*

[2] See the excellent characterisation of his work in this respect, in Schlatter, *Jason von Kyrene*, 55.

circulated at any time; there was certainly never any tendency among the Palestinian Jews to include it in the collection of 'sacred writings.' [See further, iv. below, on later Hebrew writings.]

ii. *Translations of* 1 *Macc.* (*a*) *Greek.*—Fortunately, the Greek translation is an excellent piece of work of its kind. It aims first of all at giving a closely literal rendering of the Hebrew; but the translator has chosen his words so well, and interpreted so clearly, that the result makes very pleasant reading. Most manuscripts of the LXX, including the three uncials ℵ, A, and V, contain the book. B, on the other hand, contains none of the books of Maccabees. The MSS show no great variation among themselves; in general, the text represented by ℵ and V (which resemble one another closely) seems to be the oldest and best.[1] Many passages furnish evidence of the fact that all our texts and versions of the book come from a single Greek MS whose text had suffered corruption.

Thus, in 3 9 καὶ συνήγαγεν ἀπολλυμένους, which makes no good sense here, is plainly a doublet of the following καὶ συνήγαγεν Ἀπολλώνιος: the blunder being found in all MSS and versions. In 9 5 Ελασα or Αλασα should probably be Ἀδασα (Λ for Δ); cp 7 40. Similarly in 9 2 Μαισαλωθ or Μεσσαλωθ should be Μεσαδωθ (Wellh. *IJG*(4) 266, n.). In all these cases, our witnesses agree in giving the corrupt form. In like manner, all show the same evidence of a confused text, with some words accidentally omitted, or repeated, in 9 14 32-35 43. There are many other examples.

It is especially to be noticed that in the most of these cases *Josephus also* contains the corrupt reading.

(*b*) *Latin.*—There are two Latin versions of 1 Macc.; the one represented by the Vulgate, and the other (extending as far as the end of chap. 13) contained in a single MS (*Sangermanensis*).[2]

The Vulgate version is in the main a faithful rendering of the Greek; the Sangermanensis version is the result of a recension designed to conform to the Greek as closely as possible (cp the two Latin versions of 2 Macc.).

(*c*) *Syriac.*—There are likewise two Syriac recensions of the book.

The common version printed in the *Paris Polyglot*, vol. ix., the *London Polyglot* vol. iv. (variant readings in vol. vi.), and Lagarde's *Apocrypha Syriace* (1861); and another (extending as far as 14 25)[3] found in the *cod. Ambrosianus* of the Peshitta (publ. by Ceriani, 1876-1883). Trendelenburg (in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, 15 [1784] pp. 58 *ff.*) proved conclusively that the common version is a translation from the Greek. It is careful, and very old. Its readings correspond in general with those of codd. 19, 64, 93 (H and P), generally recognised as 'Lucian' MSS; and it must be regarded as forming with these a separate recension. See especially G. Schmidt, *Die beid. syr. Uebers. des ersten Maccabäerbuches*, in *ZATW* 17 1-47, 233-262 (1897). Schmidt concludes (234 *f.*) that the version of the *cod. Ambros.* is the result of a revision of the older Syriac according to the common Greek text.

These are the only important versions of the book. According to Dillmann,[4] the Ethiopic version of 1 and 2 Macc. (not yet published) was made from the Latin Vulgate in the sixteenth or the seventeenth century.

iii. *Translations of* 2 *Macc.*—What is said of the Greek MSS and the versions of 1 Macc. applies in general to 2 Macc. also; for the two are usually found together, and the history of their transmission seems to have been nearly always the same. Cod. ℵ, however, contains 1 Macc., but not 2 Macc.

iv. *Later works based on Macc.*—Mention may also be made here of certain later versions of the Maccabæan history, for the most part based on the books of the Maccabees, but having little or no independent value.

1. The Aramaic מגלת אנטיוכס, *Megillath Antiochus*; or מגלת בני חשמונאי, *Scroll of the Hasmonæans.*

See especially Gaster, *The Scroll of the Hasmonæans* (Transs. 9th Internat. Congr. of Orientalists, London, 2 1-32), where the (Aramaic) text is printed, with a translation, and very full references to the literature are given.[5] The Hebrew text (trans. from the Aramaic) is printed, *e.g.*, in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 1 (1853), where also another form of the Aramaic text is given (vol. vi., 1877).

The book is a very brief Midrashic composition, not based directly on 1 Macc., nor (apparently) on any other written source. It is evident from its internal character that it was written long after the Maccabæan age.[1]

2. The Jewish history of 'Joseph ben Gorion' (Josippus). This work (of about the 10th cent.?) contains a history of the Jews from Adam down to the time of the destruction of the Temple by Titus.

Wellhausen (*Der arabische Josippus*, Berl., 1897) concludes that its original extent was the same as that of the 'Arabic Book of Maccabees' (see next paragraph), and that the name Joseph ben Gorion (by mistake for Flavius Josephus) was attached later, after the additions from the *Jewish War* had been made. The chief sources of the book in its original form were 2 Macc. and a secondary (Latin) recension of the *Jewish War* of Josephus. The author, who seems to have written in Italy, sadly misuses his material, and adds a good deal of legendary matter of his own. As history, the book is absolutely worthless. See, further, Wellh., *l.c.*; and the literature in Schürer, 1 123 *f.* (ET 1 1, p. 165 *f.*).

3. The so-called *Arabic Maccabees*, or *Arabic* 2 *Macc.*, printed in the *Paris Polyglot*, vol. ix., and in the *London Polyglot*, vol. iv., with a Latin translation made by Gabriel Sionita. This work, which very closely resembles the preceding, contains a history of the Jews beginning with the story of Heliodorus (2 Macc. 3), and continuing down to the end of the Hasmonæan house, in the time of Herod. According to Wellhausen (*op. cit.*, 46 *f.*), this book, the Arabic Josippus, and the Hebrew Gorionides, are to be regarded as three separate recensions of the same work; the 'Arabic Macc.' representing its original extent, in which form it was truly a 'Book of the Maccabees,' though of no historical value.

An English translation of the work as '5 Macc.,'[2] was given by Cotton in his *Five Books of Maccabees*, 1832; and a description of it under this same title is given in Bissell, 638 *ff.* In the Arabic text, from which alone the book is known to us, it bears the title '2 Macc.' A note at the end of chap. 16, misunderstood by Sionita, who repeats his mistake in the preface to the book, says: 'Thus far the 2 Macc. of the Hebrews' (which, in fact, does end at that point). After chap. 19, with which the end of 1 Macc. is reached, the remaining chaps., 20-59, follow Josephus very closely. See the table in Bissell, Wellhausen, *op. cit.*; and Ginsburg's article in Kitto's *Bibl. Cyclopædia.* The book deserves more attention than it has received.

[Among these later works we must probably include the incomplete fragments of a Hebrew version of 1 Macc. published by Chwolson, and more recently by Schweizer, from a Paris manuscript of the second half of the twelfth century. The fragments in question cover chaps. 1-4 7 27-9 22 30 73 and 6 1-15. Schweizer, in a critical discussion of the text (see below, end of § 12) comes to the conclusion that it is based upon the original Hebrew from which all other versions have sprung. His view is probably too optimistic. The text may certainly prove to be here and there of some value for a criticism of the readings of the versions, but its general importance is only secondary. The style is too simple and the vocabulary too easy to be ancient, and the work as a whole resembles the paraphrastic compositions above mentioned.]

12. Literature.

i. *Commentaries.*—J. D. Michaelis, *Uebersetz. der* 1 *Macc. mit Anmerkn.*, 1778; Grimm, *Das erste Buch der Macc.* (*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handb. zu den Apokr.*, 3te Lieferung), 1853; Keil, *Commentar über die* [*i. und ii.*] *Büch. d. Makk.*, 1875; Rawlinson (1 and 2 Macc.) in Wace, *Apocr.*, ii. (1888); Fairweather and Black, *First Bk. of Macc.* (Cambr. Bible for Schools), 1897. Bissell's *Apocr.*, 1880, contains a translation of 1-3 Macc. with comm.; Zöckler's 'Die Apokryphen des AT' (*KGK*), 1891, the same, with the addition of a portion of 4 Macc. (see below, col. 2886, § 9). The comm. of Grimm, though partly out of date, is by far the best work of the kind that we have. Bissell's work is largely a translation of this. The comms. of Rawlinson and Zöckler are very unsatisfactory. In Kautzsch, *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr.*, 1 and 3 Macc. are treated by the general editor.

ii. *Critical Investigations.*—Ewald, *Gesch.*(3) iv., 1864, pp. 603 *ff.*; Rosenthal, *Das erste Makkabäerbuch*, 1867; Nöldeke, *Die AT Lit.*, 1868; Schnedermann, 'Ueber das Judenthum der beiden ersten Makkabäerbücher' (*ZKW*, 1884, pp. 88-100); Niese, *Kritik d. beiden Makkabäerbücher*, 1900; and the text-

[1] See also on the Syriac versions, and their affinities, below (*c*).

[2] Published in Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ*, vol. ii., 1743.

[3] The text of the remainder, 14 26-16 24, is the common version.

[4] *Libri VT Apocryphi Æthiopice*, 1894, preface.

[5] See also Schürer, 1 123 (ET, i. 1 165).

[1] Gaster tries to make a very early date seem probable.

[2] This title, '5 Macc.,' is also borne by a Syriac version of Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi., found in the *cod. Ambrosianus* of the Peshitta (ed. Ceriani). See Schürer, 1 75.

books of OT Introduction which contain the Apocrypha (most recently, Strack, König, Cornill). See also Geiger, *Urschrift*, 1857, pp. 200-230 (1 and 2 Macc.); Curtiss, *The Name Machabee*, 1876; Schürer, *GJV* 1 26-33 (ET 1 36 *ff.*) 2 579-584 (ET 5 3-13); Wellhausen, *IJG*(4) 256 *ff.*; Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, 1895; Bloch, *Die Quellen des Josephus*, 1879; Destinon, *Die Quellen des Josephus*, 1882; Willrich, *Judaica*, 1900. A. Schweizer, *Untersuchungen über d. Reste e. hebr. Textes vom I. Makkabäerbuch* (Berlin, 1901).

iii. *Modern Translations.*—Hebrew translation in Fraenkel, *Kethubim acharonim, sive Hagiographa posteriora*, Leipsic, 1830. English translations of 1-4 Macc. in Cotton, *Five Books of the Maccabees*, 1832; Bagster's *Apocrypha, Greek and English*, 1882; Churton's *Uncanon. and Apocr. Scriptures*, 1884; Dyserinck, *De apocriefe boeken des ouden verbonds*, 1874, contains 1-3 Macc.; so also Reuss, *La Bible*, vol. vii., 1879, and *Das alte Testament*, vol. vii., 1894. The best German trans. is that of Kautzsch in his *Apoc. u. Pseudepigr.*, 1898.

Other literature, especially the older critical and exegetical works, in Grimm, p. xxxiv *f.*; Schürer, 2 584 (ET ii. 3 12 *f.*).

C. C. T.

SECOND MACCABEES

The book known as '2 Maccabees'[1] is a history of the Hasmonæan uprising, differing widely from 1 Macc. both in its general character and in its contents. The events with which it deals are all included in a period of hardly more than fifteen years, from a time shortly before the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.) down to the year 161. It is thus in the main parallel to 1 Macc. 1-7. Prefixed to the history is an interesting supplement (1 1-2 18), consisting of two letters purporting to have been sent by the Jews of Palestine to the Jews of Egypt. As these letters are quite distinct from the main body of the book, and are plainly not the work of its author, they will be discussed separately (§ 7).

1. Contents.

The contents of the history proper, which begins at 2 19, are as follows:—

Author's preface, announcing the subject of his work, the source from which he obtained his material, and the character and aim of his own labours (2 19-32). Story of Heliodorus, whose attempt to plunder the temple at Jerusalem was miraculously thwarted (chap. 3). Account of the intrigues by which the high-priesthood changed hands, especially the misdeeds of Simon, overseer of the temple, and the renegade high-priests Jason and Menelaus (chap. 4). The calamities that came upon Jerusalem in 170. Jason captures the city and butchers many of the inhabitants. Antiochus, returning from Egypt, makes a great slaughter in Jerusalem, and plunders the temple (chap. 5). Judas and his brethren flee to the mountains (5 27). The persecution of the Jews begun in 168. Story of the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the seven youths with their mother (chaps. 6 *f.*).

The remainder of the book (chaps. 8-15) is taken up with the history of the wars waged by Judas Maccabæus. The correspondences with 1 Macc. (often of only a very general character) are the following:—chap. 8 = 1 Macc. 3 1-4 27; 9 = 1 Macc. 6 1-16; 10 1-8 = 1 Macc. 4 36-59; 10 14-38 = 1 Macc. 5; 11 = 1 Macc. 4 26-35;[2] 12 10-45 = 1 Macc. 5 24-68; 13 = 1 Macc. 6 17-63; 14 *f.* = 1 Macc. 7. The book closes with the death of the hated Syrian leader, Nicanor, in the battle of Beth-horon, 161 B.C. Epilogue of the author (15 37-39).

According to the author's own statement (2 23 *ff.*), 2 Macc. is merely an epitome of a larger work, consisting of 'five books,' composed by one Jason of Cyrene. Beyond this statement nothing is known concerning this Jason or his work. His name is not mentioned elsewhere, and we possess no further evidence of the use of his history by other writers. The words of the epitomist plainly imply that his own labours consisted solely in abridging and popularising the work of Jason, upon which he relied for all the facts narrated. As the book itself contains no evidence to the contrary, it is only necessary to ask what were the sources used by the older writer in compiling his history.

2. Sources.

It is evident, first, that 'Jason' was not acquainted with 1 Macc.[3] This fact appears both from the frequent

[1] It is first cited under this name by Eus., *Præp. evang.*, 8 9. The title '2 Macc.' appears also in some of the oldest lists of OT books (see APOCRYPHA; also col. 2881, § 7; col. 2886, § 8).

[2] The account of this expedition is confused in 2 Macc. with that of the similar expedition described in chap. 13. Cp especially 11 31 with 1 Macc. 6 59, and see below, § 2.

[3] Some, indeed, have even found in the book a concealed polemic against 1 Macc. So especially Geiger, *Urschr.* 228; Kosters, *Th.T* 12 491-558. The evidence of this, however, is quite insufficient. See also below, § 6, first note.

and very noticeable disagreement with that book, in order of events, chronology, and statements of fact; and also from the absence of considerable interesting and important material contained in 1 Macc., which could hardly have been thus omitted altogether in a work of this character, if it had been known to its author. For the same reasons, the supposition of a common written source (or sources) is to be rejected. There is, in fact, no passage common to the two books where the hypothesis of a single document underlying both accounts seems probable. Moreover, from the character of the narrative of 2 Macc., most modern scholars have concluded that the sources at Jason's disposal were mainly oral.[1] The account he gives is frequently confused and even self-contradictory, though often bearing the marks that point to an eye-witness.

The first expedition of Lysias into Judæa, 165 B.C., is represented in 2 Macc. as having occurred after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. The substantial identity of the account in chap. 11 with that given in 1 Macc. 4 26-35 is beyond question; yet there is introduced into it an important feature belonging to the later expedition of Lysias in 163 B.C.—viz., the concession of religious freedom to the Jews. The story of this second expedition (cp 1 Macc. 6 17-63) is then told in chap. 13, where the incident of the royal concessions is again narrated, with a reference (*v.* 22) to the former account. There can be no question that 1 Macc. gives the true history and chronology of these expeditions; the way in which they are confused in 2 Macc. is then best explained by supposing that Jason relied for his facts on the imperfect recollection of a number of men, not having written records at his disposal.

There are many other indications pointing in the same direction.

The important campaigns conducted by Judas in the years 164 and 163, described in 1 Macc. 5, are introduced in 2 Macc. in two places, 10 14-38 and 12 10-45. In both places the account is confused and fragmentary, in marked contrast to the narrative of 1 Macc., which connects all the successive events of these campaigns in an orderly scheme whose general accuracy cannot be doubted. As in the case of the two campaigns of Lysias, so also here, events are narrated out of their proper place and order in Jason's work. The most striking example of this is found in the statements regarding the Syrian leader Timotheus. In 10 37, at the close of the former of the two passages mentioned, his death is narrated; yet he appears again repeatedly in the similar campaigns described in chap. 12. It is to be observed, on the other hand, that the narrative in both passages contains such vivid touches—especially in the narration of unimportant incidents—as suggest the recollection of eye-witnesses. See for example 10 37 12 35. Neither here nor elsewhere in the book does it seem likely that the author is reproducing various written sources.

In short, the character of the history of which 2 Macc. is the abridgment can best be explained by supposing that its author was a contemporary of men who had taken part in the Maccabæan struggle; that he was obliged to depend mainly on oral accounts; that he did not receive his information directly from those who had themselves taken part in these events, but only after it had passed through other hands; and that he was often unequal to the task of criticising and arranging the material thus obtained. As for the 'letters' transcribed in 9 19-27 11 16-38, it is plain that they were manufactured entire.

The question to what extent the work before us is to be regarded as that of the epitomist is one of considerable difficulty. It seems probable, on the whole, that the method generally pursued by him in abridging the work of Jason was to omit large portions entire, and to write out others with little or no alteration. (See especially Grimm, 16 *ff.*; Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, 66.)

The narratives actually preserved seem to be given in their original wording, rather than in a free abbreviation; not even in 13 22-26 is it necessary to see an exception to this rule. It is not unlikely that even such passages as 6 12-17 12 44 *f.*, which might seem to belong to the writer of the preface 2 19 *ff.*, are to be regarded as the words of the older writer.

From what has just been said concerning the sources at Jason's disposal, and the way in which he used them, it is plain that 2 Macc. cannot take a high rank as trustworthy history. Moreover, any careful examination of the book leads to a decidedly unfavourable estimate of it in this

3. Historical value.

[1] So Grimm, Schürer, Zöckler, Willrich, Cornill, and others.

regard. In the large part that runs parallel to 1 Macc., comparison affords an excellent basis for judgment as to the relative value of the two accounts.

In the cases where they disagree in statements of fact, it is generally beyond question that the representation in 2 Macc. is incorrect. The order of events in 2 Macc., also, even in places where it might seem quite plausible if we had no means of testing it from without, is often shown by the clear and consistent account of 1 Macc. to be in reality sadly confused.[1] The careful chronology of the first book, moreover, has no parallel in the second. Events are indeed occasionally dated according to the Seleucid era, and on the whole correctly; but the distorted order of events in the narrative has made even the correct dates misleading (see Comms. on 11 33 and 14 1 4), so that many have been led to assume a peculiar way of reckoning the Seleucid era for the chronology of this book.[2] In 13 1 (1 Macc. 6 20) the date given is certainly incorrect.

The contrast in selection and treatment of material caused by the difference of aim in the two books is also strongly marked. The aim of the writer of 1 Macc. is simply that of a historian; the epitomist of Jason, on the other hand, had in view primarily the edification and entertainment of his fellow-countrymen. So he himself informs us (2 25-29; cp 6 12 *ff.*, etc.), and the fact is abundantly illustrated in the book. It may be partly due to this parenetic aim of the epitomist that certain incidents of minor importance receive so much space, and are so overdrawn; the fact must be emphasised, however, that most of the exaggeration of statement and description which is so prominent a feature of 2 Macc. was probably due to the older work. It is plain that Jason was a zealous Jew, and that his book was intended chiefly for his Jewish brethren. It would seem that to him, as to the epitomist, the probability of a story was a matter of little importance, provided it were interesting and patriotic (see Willrich, 64 *ff.*). Examples are plentiful.

Thus, the long description of the tortures and death of the martyrs, chap. 6 *f.*, is quite incredible from beginning to end. The account of the death of the patriot Razis (14 37-46) is in the same vein; so, too, is the story of the end of King Antiochus (chap. 9), who, before his death, offers to become a Jew (*v.* 17). See also such exaggerations as 12 16 13 12. That the many numerical estimates contained in the book should show the same tendency to overstatement is certainly not surprising. For examples, see especially 8 24 30 10 23 31 12 23 26 28. [See also ONIAS, §§ 7 *f.* 10 12.]

As has already been shown, it is not only in such minor matters that the book is untrustworthy. See the incorrect statements (already referred to in § 2) regarding Lysias and his expeditions; the misleading accounts of the campaigns of Judas in chaps. 10 and 12; the narration of the death of Timotheus in the year 164 (chap. 10), although he is made to play an important part in subsequent events (chap. 12). The statement regarding Philip in 9 29 is flatly contradicted in 13 23, the matter in question being one of considerable importance, such as only a historian who was neither well-informed nor careful could thus deal with. In 11 22 *ff.* we have a (spurious) letter written by Antiochus Eupator, the successor of Epiphanes, giving the officer Lysias instructions concerning his first campaign in Judæa (cp also 10 11). We know from 1 Macc. (4 28 *ff.*), however, that this same expedition of Lysias was ended the year before the death of Epiphanes. In 10 3 it is stated that the rededication of the temple took place *two* years after its profanation; it is plain, on the contrary, from 1 Macc. 4 52-54 (cp 1 54) that the length of the interval was three years (168-165 B.C.). In 15 31 35 it is plainly assumed that the Acra was in the possession of the Jews at the time of the death of Nicanor. In reality, it was occupied by the Syrians until the time of Simon.

The passage 13 15-23 affords a striking example of perversion of the truth for the sake of glorifying the Jews. The successive defeats experienced by Judas and his allies in 163, as a result of which they were reduced to dire extremities (1 Macc. 6 47-54), appear in 2 Macc. as a succession of brilliant and decisive victories for the Jews.

Still another feature of the book, not calculated to increase confidence in its trustworthiness, is the prominent place given to miracles. See 3 24 *ff.* 33 *f.* 5 1-4 10 29 *f.* 11 8 12 22 (cp 15 27), 15 12-16. How far this feature may be due to the epitomist, rather than to Jason, is a legitimate question. It seems most probable, however, from what we know both of the taste and of the aim of Jason, and of the method of the epitomist, that all these miracles and 'apparitions' formed a part of the older work.[1]

[1] See the examples given above, § 2.

[2] See Schürer, *GJV* 1 32 *f.*; ET 1 45 *f.*

When all has been said regarding the unhistorical and untrustworthy character of the book, the fact remains that its value as history is by no means inconsiderable. From the character of the sources used by Jason (§ 2) it is evident that he must have preserved some valuable material. The fact that the book, although written quite independently of 1 Macc., agrees with it in a great many points is to be mentioned in its favour. In still other points its statements are confirmed by those of Josephus (Grimm, 13),[2] and from other sources (Rawlinson, 541 n.). In many parts of the history concerning which we are already well informed, 2 Macc. adds interesting details, the correctness of which there is no reason to doubt. If used with great caution, it thus furnishes a welcome supplement to our other sources of information. There is hardly a chapter in the book that does not yield something that can be utilised. It is probable that too much confidence has been placed in chaps. 3 *ff.* by commentators and historians. The temptation to this is very strong, inasmuch as our information regarding the period just preceding the Maccabæan wars is almost entirely limited to the statements of this book. There is really no ground whatever (apart from this very lack of the means of correcting the statements of the writer) for supposing that the book is more trustworthy here than elsewhere.[3] It is, on the contrary, only with the greatest reserve that this portion may be used at all.

4. Literary character.

That our 2 Macc. was written in Greek is beyond question. The words of Jerome, 'The second book of Maccabees is Greek, which can be shown even linguistically,'[4] must be echoed by all who read the book. Hebraisms are almost entirely wanting,[5] and there is no other sign that the book is a translation, but every kind of evidence to the contrary. It follows, in view of what has been said regarding the method of the epitomist (§ 2), that the work of Jason of Cyrene must also have been written in Greek, as would, indeed, have seemed probable on other grounds. The language of 2 Macc. is, in general, similar to that found in the best Greek writers of the last centuries B.C., and the beginning of the Christian era, this remark applying as well to the passages certainly composed by the epitomist (2 19-32 15 37-39) as to the main body of the book. The vocabulary is extensive; *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* and words or phrases employed in an unusual way are frequently met with; see Grimm, 7, and the list (compiled by Westcott) in Rawlinson, 540. The style is generally easy and flowing, idiomatic, and well-balanced. Both in the construction of periods and in the use of the favourite rhetorical devices of the Alexandrine writers, a considerable degree of skill is shown. On the other hand, the most common faults of this school of writers, an overloaded and artificial style, and an ill-judged striving after rhetorical effect, are not absent. On the whole, the book occupies, in point of language and style, a position between 3 Macc. and 4 Macc.; not attaining the high level of the latter, though far superior to the former.[6] An unpleasant peculiarity, which appears in all parts of the history, is the use of abusive epithets or phrases when enemies of the Jews, or others of whom the writer disapproves, are mentioned. See 8 34 15 3. As a narrator,

[1] It is hardly permissible, however, to draw this conclusion from the words τὰς . . . ἐπιφανείας in 2 21.

[2] Yet the disagreement of Jos. with 2 Macc. is even more noticeable than the agreement. See Willrich, 83 *ff.*

[3] Grimm's statement (16) is quite unjustified: 'Doch scheint die für den Abschnitt Cap. 3 1-6 11 benützte Quelle viel lauterer geflossen zu sein als diejenigen, die für die späteren Abschnitte zu Gebote standen.'

[4] [Machabæorum liber] secundus Græcus est, quod ex ipsa quoque φράσει probari potest (*Prologus Galeatus*).

[5] Most of the examples cited by Grimm, 6, can hardly be called true Hebraisms.

[6] The harsh estimate of the style of 2 Macc. in Rawlinson, 540, is much exaggerated.

the writer displays no remarkable gifts. He is fond of exaggerating details, of painting scenes at undue length (see, *e.g.*, 3 15-22), and of introducing his own reflections, not content with simple statements of fact. The way in which the tortures of the martyrs are depicted at length, in chaps. 6 *f.*, is an especially unpleasant feature of the book to modern readers. There is occasionally a lack of connection between the parts of the narrative, and an appearance of awkwardness of composition, due in part no doubt to the omission of considerable portions of the original work. The arrangement of the material is purely chronological (the passage 10 1-8 seems, it is true, to have been intentionally removed from its proper place; cp *v.* 9 *f.*), and in our epitome, at least, there is no formal indication of successive divisions, except at 10 9 *f.*[1]

The aim of the book to edify and instruct the Greek-speaking Jews—an aim which seems to have characterised Jason's work as well as this epitome—has received mention already (§ 3). The writer wished to strengthen the faith of his fellows; to glorify the Jews, as the chosen people under God's especial protection, and the temple at Jerusalem, as the holiest of all places; to show how unfaithfulness to the national religion brought sure destruction (4 13-17 12 39-42), and how through Judas Maccabæus, the leader of the faithful of the people and the instrument of God's providence, the deliverance of the nation was wrought. In all parts of the book this didactic purpose appears prominently in one form or another. The attitude of the writer is, in general, not that of a historian, but rather (and professedly) that of a religious teacher; see especially 3 1 *ff.* 4 15-17 5 17-20 6 12-17 9 5 *f.* 12 43-45 13 7 *f.* 15 7-10. The most interesting feature of the religious teaching of the book is its expression of faith in the resurrection of the dead (cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 69); see especially 12 43-45, and cp 7 9 11 14 36 14 46. In no other of the few passages in pre-Christian Jewish literature in which this belief appears is it so clearly and emphatically expressed. Some have thought to find in 2 Macc. a Pharisee party document (Bertholdt, *Einl.* 1813, p. 1069; Geiger, *Urschr.*, 219 *ff.*),[2] arguing especially from 14 6, where Judas is represented as the leader of the Assideans, but also from the religious tone of the book, and from the ungentle way in which the priests are handled (contrast 1 Macc.). It is beyond question that all the sympathies of the writer, both in religious and in political matters, must have been with the Pharisees; but we are hardly justified in going beyond this general conclusion. There is no evidence of any polemic against the Sadducees (such as Bertholdt saw in 12 43 *f.*); and the book, whatever else may be said of it, is certainly not a party document.

5. Religious character and aim.

One chief aim of the writer, beyond doubt, was to bring about a more perfect unity of the Jews by strengthening, especially among the Jews of Egypt, the feeling of national pride and of enthusiasm for the orthodox religion and worship; in this way and in other ways he sought to keep them in close connection with their brethren of Palestine.[3] This purpose explains in the most satisfactory way the prefixing of the two letters to the book (see below, § 7). It also accounts for another external peculiarity of 2 Macc. Many scholars since Ewald (*GVI* 4 606, n.) have remarked the prominence given in the plan of the book not only to the feast celebrating the death of Nicanor, with the institution of which the whole history comes to an end, but also to the feast of the rededication of the temple, the description of which closes the first half of the book, the passage 10 1-8 apparently being removed for this purpose from its proper place. The account of the institution of the Nicanor feast would have been a most natural point for Jason to bring his book to a close at, in any case. This would have been just the kind of ending best suited to his general purpose; cp the ending of 3 Macc. (7 19 *f.*), of Esther, and of Judith (Lat. Vulg.). The author's aim not being that of a historian, there was no need for him to go on and narrate the death of Judas; his purpose was fully accomplished without that. The transposition of 10 1-8, however, is probably to be attributed to the epitomist, who saw how the plan of the book could thus be made subservient to his more definite aim, increased significance being thereby given both to the Nicanor feast and to the feast of the Dedication. These were ***the two Maccabæan feasts***, by the observance of which the Jews of the Diaspora could share, as in no other outward way, in the national glory of that struggle.[1] Further evidence of this same purpose may very likely be found in the manner in which the writer takes every opportunity to magnify the temple at Jerusalem; see, for example, 2 19 3 12 5 15 14 13 31 15 18, also 3 2 *f.* 5 17-20 13 23 15 32, etc. Thus to dwell upon the indisputable fact that the true centre of Judaism was at Jerusalem, was to emphasize the national unity, and the ground of it. That the purpose of the writer was to impress upon the Egyptian Jews the duty of worshipping at Jerusalem, or to disparage the worship at the temple of Leontopolis (Rawlinson, 544; Willrich, 66), there seems to be no sufficient reason to suppose.

There is good ground for believing that the epitomist lived and wrote in Alexandria. His mastery of the best Greek language and style of the time, and the evidence he gives of a thorough familiarity with the Greek rhetorical schools, would not, indeed, of themselves be sufficient to establish the conclusion. Such training, more or less thorough, was to be had in all parts of the 'Hellenistic' world. The presence of the letters addressed to the Jews of Egypt at the beginning of this book, however, combined with the fact that all the earliest allusions to 2 Macc. (see § 8) come directly or indirectly from Alexandria, must be regarded as very strong evidence.

6. Author and Date.

Regarding the date of the epitome, no very definite conclusion can be reached. It is, of course, not legitimate to argue from 15 37, 'the city from that time onwards being in the hands of the Hebrews,' that the abridgment was completed before 133 (when Jerusalem was taken by Antiochus Sidētes); for these words are a mere flourish, designed to give the book a proper close. It is to be observed that in 15 36 there is a reference to the book of Esther, which was written probably not earlier than 130 B.C. (so Cornill, Kautzsch, Wellh. *IJG*(4), 302 *f.*). It follows that even the work of Jason (to which this verse certainly belonged) must have been written later than this. This conclusion, it may be added, is confirmed by the internal evidence of the book; the author appearing everywhere as one who was at some distance, both in place and time, from the events he describes. On the other hand, our 2 Macc. was known both to Philo and to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (see § 8), though unknown to Josephus. It seems therefore most probable, on the whole, that the epitomist put forth his work near the close of the last century B.C. The date of Jason's history, which seems to have been completely superseded by the epitome, may be conjecturally placed about a century earlier.

[1] Any separation of the book into five divisions 'corresponding to the five books of Jason of Cyrene' (Zöckler, 90) must be purely arbitrary.

[2] Cp also Wellh., *Ph. u. Sadd.*, 82.

[3] It may be remarked that there is no conclusive evidence that *this* aim was shared by Jason. It is perhaps most likely that in all the manifestations of it which are so noticeable in 2 Macc., the hand of the epitomist is to be recognised; and that this is to be regarded as his one important contribution to the book.

[1] The feast of the Dedication was the more important of the two, and we have in the letters prefixed to 2 Macc. direct evidence that it was at least thought of as a bond of unity between the Jews of Palestine and those of Egypt. The emphasising of this feast, however, was only a single feature (though a very prominent one) of the writer's general plan, and it is a distorted view of 2 Macc. that pronounces it 'ein Chanukabrief' (Willrich, 67).

It is due to the fact of Jason's distance from the scene of the events he describes, as well as to his parenetic aim, that he shows so little interest in the family to which Judas belonged, and in its subsequent history. In 5 27, which contains apparently his whole account of the uprising at Modein, nothing is said of the brothers of Judas, and they are nowhere given any special prominence; though there is no evidence of a wish to disparage them.[1] Mattathias is nowhere mentioned. The fact is, the fortunes of the Hasmonæan house were not in any way connected with the purpose of Jason's book, or with his own interests. The case of the writer of 1 Macc. affords a striking contrast in this respect, for he not only lived in Palestine, but also seems to have been a personal friend of the Hasmonæan leaders.

It has already (§ 1) been noticed that there stands at the beginning of the book of 2 Macc. (1 1-2 18) what purports to be the copy of certain official letters sent by the Jews of Palestine to those of Egypt. The professed aim of these letters, as appears from 1 9 18 2 16 (cp 10 8), is to stir up the Egyptian Jews to observe the feast of the Dedication. The character of the Greek in which the letters are written shows that they cannot be attributed either to Jason of Cyrene or to the epitomist; on the other hand, they are joined as closely as possible to the epitomist's prologue, 2 19 beginning with 'Now as concerning Judas,' etc. (Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἰούδαν, κ.τ.λ.), and making mention immediately of the 'purification of the great temple, and the dedication of the altar.'

7a. The prefixed letters.

i. The *first letter*, 1 1-9 (regarding the precise point at which it ends, see next par.), contains little more than the request that the feast be kept.[2] It is plain that the writer did not have in mind the *first institution* of this feast in Egypt. On the contrary, as is evident from *v.* 9, and from the fact that not a word is said about the observance of the feast in Palestine, those to whom the letter was addressed were supposed to be already familiar with the custom, and to have themselves observed it: the letter is merely a reminder. The real difficulty is with the interpretation of *v.* 7 *f.*, especially the words 'We have written to you in the extremity, etc.' (γεγράφαμεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ θλίψει, κ.τ.λ.). The 'extremity of tribulation' that came upon the Jews of Jerusalem in consequence of the misdeeds of Jason and his party could hardly refer to anything else than the terrible distress under Antiochus Epiphanes; and this probability is confirmed by *v.* 8, which evidently refers to the restoration of the worship of the temple in 165 B.C. 'In the reign of Demetrius (II.), in the (Seleucid) year 169' (=144-143 B.C.), these times were long past. Moreover, nothing is said about the contents of that former letter (on the supposition that γεγράφαμεν is to be translated by a past tense, as is generally done). The reader who supposes that he is hearing about events of 143 B.C., suddenly finds himself back in the year 165, without knowing where the transition occurred.

These difficulties have been vastly increased by the custom now in vogue of joining the date at the end of *v.* 9 (otherwise the beginning of *v.* 10) to this first letter (so Grimm; Fritzsche, *Apocr. Gr.;* Reuss, *Das AT;* English RV; Swete, *OT in Greek;* and most recent comms.). In this way the Seleucid year 188 (=124 B.C.) is made the date of the letter 1 1-9; that is to say, the writer reminds his readers of a letter sent to them nineteen years before, without characterising it, or showing that it stood in any connection with the present letter or with the institution of the Dedication feast! The date must, however, on the contrary, be joined to the second letter, as is done by the well-nigh universal tradition of the early church, represented by the best Greek MSS, and the Syriac and Latin versions. (See further below.) As for *v.* 7, the obvious solution of all the difficulties mentioned is to put a period after 'you' (ὑμῖν). The verb (γεγράφαμεν) is to be translated in the only natural way, as epistolary perfect,[1] and the whole verse as far as 'you' (βασιλεύοντος . . . ὑμῖν) is to be regarded as the date of the letter 1 1-9. With 'in the extremity' (ἐν τῇ θλίψει) begins the real business of the letter; the writer reminding his readers, in a few well-chosen words, of the circumstances under which this important feast was instituted. The whole document is thus perfectly comprehensible, and in every way well suited to its purpose.

ii. The *second letter*, 1 10-2 18, has generally seemed even more troublesome than the first. According to the accepted view, it purports to have been sent to the Jews of Egypt by Judas Maccabæus and others in authority at Jerusalem, soon after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, its purpose being to announce the institution of the Dedication feast. It thus becomes necessary at once to brand it as a shameless forgery, because of the many things it contains which are incongruous with the supposition of such an origin, and especially, because of the strange story of the death of Antiochus (1 13-16), which flatly contradicts all the other accounts of that event.

It may be doubted, however, whether the current view of this letter is correct. It is hardly less evident here than in the case of the first letter that the writer could not have had in mind the *institution* of the Ḥănukka in Egypt. There is no account given of the purification of the temple and the restoration of the worship by Judas; there is nothing to indicate that a new feast is being instituted; nothing definite is said about the particular manner of observing it. On the contrary, it is taken for granted (just as in the former letter) that the feast, and the mode of celebrating it, have long been known. Only on this supposition can we account for the fact that all mention of the celebration is confined to the two verses 1 18 2 16, both of which have plainly the air of dealing with matters of course. The impression naturally made by 2 14, besides, is that the war mentioned is a thing of the past; Judas Maccabæus is thought of as one who has already passed off the stage. As for the 'Antiochus' of 1 13-16, it is quite incredible that Epiphanes should have been intended by the writer It is not likely that any story of the Maccabæan struggle was more widely familiar than that of the manner of Epiphanes' death. It is a most significant fact, moreover, that shortly before the date prefixed to this letter, 124 B.C., Antiochus VII. Sidētes, who had been a bitter enemy of the Jews (see Schürer, 1 200-208), had perished in an expedition against the Parthians.[2] Nor is this the only coincidence to be noted. At the end of the year 125 B.C. (three years after the death of Antiochus Sidētes), the allies of Ptolemy Physkon triumphed at last in Palestine. Alexander Zabinas, who came to the throne at that time, had been introduced into the struggle by Ptolemy, and was himself an Egyptian. He at once made friends with John Hyrcanus and the Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 3). So the year 124 B.C. was a singularly appropriate one for the sending (or forging) of such a letter as this from the Jews of Palestine to those of Egypt. It would seem to be the reasonable hypothesis, therefore, that the writer (or forger) of this letter intended it as a reminder to the Egyptian Jews of the same kind as the preceding one; and that he gave it the date (124 B.C.) which corresponds exactly with its contents. It may be added as further proof, that the person who put these two letters together in their present order certainly regarded the second as belonging to a later date than the first. As for the names mentioned in 1 10, 'Aristobulus' is probably the well-known Jewish sage, who flourished

[1] The conclusion of Kosters, *Th.T* 12 491-558, that 2 Macc. is a polemic against the Hasmonæans and against 1 Macc., does not seem to be justified.

[2] Bruston, *ZATW* 10 110 *ff.* (1890), attempts to divide this letter at *v.* 7, making three letters in all.

[1] The necessity of this has often been felt and expressed. See esp. Ewald, *Gesch.*(3) 4 610 n.

[2] For the literature bearing on this event, see Schürer, 1 208, n. 9.

in the second century B.C.[1] We do not know, however, that he was in any sense the 'preceptor' either of Ptolemy Philometor (181-146) or of Ptolemy Physkon (146-117). The 'Judas' in this verse is probably due to the blunder of a translator or scribe. What is required at this point is 'the council of the Jews' (ἡ γερουσία τῶν Ἰουδαίων), as the Syriac actually reads (probably a fortunate conjecture). If our Greek letter is a translation from the Hebrew or the Aramaic, as seems not unlikely (see next col., begin.), the mistake would be very easy.

This second letter is, moreover, from beginning to end a document of very considerable interest. Its several parts,[2] which seem at first sight to have little to do with one another or with the avowed purpose of the whole, are all found on closer examination to be written with the aim of showing the true importance of the Maccabæan feast of the Dedication. The writer sets himself the task of demonstrating at length *its historical significance;* indicating at the same time in other ways the analogy between the Maccabæan period and the other principal epochs of the nation's life. In fact, the whole letter might well be entitled:—The Antecedents of the Ḥănukka in Jewish Sacred History.

One feature of the writer's demonstration deserves especial notice: namely, the extent to which it is based on the conception of the Dedication (ἐγκαινισμός) as a *restoration of the sacred fire* to the altar and the temple.[3] Evidently at that time this idea had a most prominent place (perhaps the central place) in current Jewish thought regarding the origin and meaning of this feast. Apparently, also, the writer could take it for granted that his readers were perfectly familiar with this feature of the restoration of the worship by Judas, as well as with the manner of observing the feast. In the passage 2 8-14 the nature of the writer's argument can best be seen as he attempts to establish the series: Moses, Solomon, Nehemiah, Judas Maccabæus; each of whom was connected with the miraculous appearance or renewal of the sacred fire. See also 2 1, cp 1 19 (Jeremiah, Nehemiah, Judas). Another point in which Judas is the legitimate successor of Jeremiah and Nehemiah, namely, the preserving and handing down of the sacred writings, is emphasised in 2 2 *ff.* 13 *f.*

The question of the authenticity of the two letters is not easily answered. It has been shown in § 7*a* that

7b. Their authenticity.

the contents of each correspond perfectly with their respective dates (143 B.C. for the first; 124 B.C. for the second), and with their avowed purpose. It can hardly be doubted, moreover, that the motive which produced these writings was felt as strongly in Jerusalem as in Egypt. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that many such letters were actually sent. Regarding the first letter, it must be said that its very commonplace character argues in its favour. It can best be understood on the supposition that it is in fact just what it professes to be. The second letter is for the most part a collection of incredible stories; and this fact makes it less likely that it was official in any true sense. Still, it could hardly be claimed that all official writings of the Jerusalem Jews were worthy of credence; or that a scribe with a thesis in religious history to prove, and a vivid imagination, always expressed the soberest views of those whom he represented. Perhaps the most that can be said of this letter is that it may well be genuine, in spite of the appearances against it; and that it undoubtedly had been influential among the Jews of Egypt.

Scholars have generally agreed that the two letters are of diverse authorship (see Grimm, 24; Kosters, *Th.T*, 1898, p. 76); regarding the language in which each was written, on the other hand, there has been great difference of opinion. See Grimm, 23 *f.*; Ewald, *Gesch.*, 4 610. Whilst it has not been shown in the case of either letter that the character of the Greek necessitates the conclusion that it is a translation, yet in view of the large number of Semitic idioms, and the frequency of such obscure expressions as seem to suggest a careless translation, it is on the whole most probable that both were written in Aramaic or Hebrew. In 1 10 'and Judas' for 'of the Jews' has already been mentioned as possibly due to careless transcription of a Semitic text. In 1 69 καὶ νῦν was pronounced by Ewald (*l.c.*) 'absichtliche Nachbildung der hebräischen Farbe.' In 1 16 'hewed in pieces' (μέλη ποιήσαντες) reminds us of the Aramaic phrase (עבר הרמין) in Dan. 2 5 3 29. The difficulties in 1 18 are probably to be solved by making the verse end with the word 'feast of tabernacles' (σκηνοπηγίας), and taking the remaining words (καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς . . . θυσίας) as the *superscription* of the long discussion which occupies the remainder of the letter (so the Syr., quite correctly).[1] This and the following sentences have then a distinctly Semitic sound. See also the (doubtful) evidence of such passages as 1 7 19 23 26 (connection of clauses) 17 *f.* Ewald (*l.c.*) regarded it as certain that the translator of the second letter was the epitomist himself. For a fuller discussion of this whole question, see *ZATW* 20 236-239.

There seems to be no good reason for doubting that it was the epitomist himself that prefixed these two letters to the book. It is of course possible to suppose that it was a later editor who at the same time inserted the conjunction (δέ, EV 'now') in 2 19. But the rest of *v.* 19 certainly belongs to the writer of what follows; and its fitness to establish a connection between the letters and the history is very evident. When we take into account the tastes of the epitomist, his definite aim in all this work (§ 5), the date and address of these letters compared with the probable date and place of composition of his book, and the fact that all copies and recensions of the work contain the letters in this position and order, it must be pronounced extremely probable that the epitomist himself prefixed them to 2 Macc.

The earliest attestation of 2 Macc. is in Philo's work entitled *Quod omnis probus liber*, in which undoubted

8. Attestation. MSS and versions.

dependence on it may be recognised, as has been fully demonstrated by Lucius (*Essenismus*, 37 *ff.*). Evidence of its influence next appears in the Epistle to the Hebrews, 11 35 *f.*, where the writer has in mind, beyond question, the narrative of 2 Macc. 6 18-7 42. The word 'tortured' (ἐτυμπανίσθησαν), *v.* 35, is derived from 2 Macc. 6 19 28; 'obtain a better resurrection' (ἵνα κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως τύχωσιν) strongly reminds us of 2 Macc. 7 9; and the word 'mockings' (ἐμπαιγμῶν), *v.* 36, was very likely suggested by 2 Macc. 7 7 10, where it stands in close proximity to the phrase just referred to. (See Bleek, *St. u. Kr.*, 1853, p. 339.) Again, the author of 3 Macc. shows himself acquainted with the book (see col. 2881, § 6); whilst 4 Macc. is wholly based upon it (see col. 2882, § 2). It is cited further by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 14 97), Hippolytus (*De Christo et Antichristo*, chap. 49), Origen (see reff. in Schürer, 741 *f.*), and very frequently by later writers. The stories of the martyrs, especially, exercised an important influence among both Jews and Christians. For references to Jewish literature see Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, 123; and for the later Christian literature see Grimm, *Comm.* 133 *f.*, and the references in Schürer, 742 (ET ii. 3 214 *f.*). Josephus appears to have been unacquainted with the book.

For the Greek MSS containing 2 Macc., and for the Syriac translation, see above, col. 2867, § 11, iii.

[1] See Gfrörer, *Philo u. die jüdisch-alexandrinische Theosophie* (2), 2 71 *ff.*; Dähne, *Jüdisch-alexandrinische Religionsphilosophie*, 2 73 *ff.*; Schürer, 2 760 *ff.*

[2] That is to say, those comprised in 1 18-2 18; 1 10-17 is merely introductory.

[3] Cp also the 'Arabic 2 Macc.' 9; Wellh. in *Der arabische Josippus*, 14.

[1] The Greek text of this verse in Fritzsche is an arbitrary reconstruction.

Apart from the Old Latin version of the book, represented by the Vulgate, another Latin version is preserved in a single codex in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. This has been edited by A. Peyron (*Ciceronis orationum pro Scauro, pro Tullio, . . . fragmenta*, Stuttgart, 1824, pp. 71-125). It appears on closer examination to be merely a painfully literal rendering of the standard Greek text.

9. Literature. See APOCRYPHA, § 32, and above, col. 2868, § 12. The following also are to be mentioned: C. Bertheau, *De sec. lib. Macc.*, Göttingen, 1829 (cited frequently by Grimm); W. H. Kosters, 'De polemiek van het tweede boek der Makkabeën' (*Th.T* 12 491-558 [1878]); Schlatter, *Jason von Cyrene*, 1891 (see *TLZ*, 1893, p. 322); and on the letters: Grätz, 'Das Sendschreiben der Palästinenser an die ägyptisch-judäischen Gemeinden' (*MGWJ*, 1877, pp. 1-16, 49-60); Bruston, 'Trois lettres des Juifs de Palestine' (*ZATW* 10 110 *ff.* [1890]); Kosters, 'Strekking der brieven in 2 Makk.' (*Th.T*, Jan. 1898, pp. 68-76); C. C. Torrey, 'Die Briefe 2 Makk. 1 1-2 18,' *ZATW* 20 225 *ff.* [1900]; B. Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*, 1900. In Kau., *Die Apokr. u. Pseudepigr.*, 1898, 2 Macc. is translated, etc., by Kamphausen. On the historical contents cp A. Büchler, *Die Tobiaden u. die Oniaden im II. Makkabäerbuche*, etc., 1899. C. C. T.

THIRD MACCABEES

1. Title. The title '3 Maccabees' is unfortunate, for the book professes to record events which occurred during the reign of Ptolemy (IV.) Philopator (222-204 B.C.). That it should have been classed as 'Maccabæan' is due to its being a narrative of persecution of the Jews by a foreign king.[1]

2. Contents. The book is a religious novel having for its subject the triumph of the Jews over their enemies through divine intervention. Their persecutor is the Egyptian king, out of whose hands they are delivered by a series of marvellous occurrences. The narrative runs as follows:—

After his victory over Antiochus the Great at Raphia (217 B.C.), Ptolemy visits Jerusalem, and tries to enter the temple, in spite of the frantic opposition of priests and people. Just as he is on the point of executing his purpose, he is stricken from heaven, and falls to the ground (1 1-2 24). Returning to Alexandria, bent on revenge, he assembles all the Jews of Egypt and shuts them up in the great hippodrome, where they are to be butchered together. It is necessary, however, first to write down their names. This proves an endless task because of their immense number; before it can be finished the supply of writing materials in Egypt is exhausted, and the Jews are saved for the present (2 25-4 21). The king then devises a new plan. Five hundred elephants, made frantic with wine, are to be let loose upon the Jews in the hippodrome. The execution of this order is hindered in various ways. On the first day, the king oversleeps. On the second day, being caused by God to forget all that had happened, he suddenly calls the Jews his best friends, and reproves those who remind him of his decree. Finally, on the third day, as the sentence is about to be executed, two angels appear, terrifying the king and his officers, and causing the elephants to turn upon the men of his army and trample them to death (5 1-6 21). The scale is now completely turned in favour of the Jews. They are set free at once; the king provides for them a great banquet lasting seven days; and a solemn proclamation in their favour is sent out. With the royal permission, they kill more than three hundred renegades of their nation, then return to their homes with great joy, after erecting a monument in memory of their deliverance, and setting apart the days on which it was effected to be celebrated henceforth (6 22-7 23).

It is plain from this synopsis that the book contains little more than a collection of the most incredible fables. Moreover, the details of the narrative are for the most part so absurd and so self-contradictory as to be merely grotesque. The story is not told with the skill that might give it, at least in part, the air of plausibility; the author only heaps one exaggeration upon another.

3. The beginning lost. The book as we have it is evidently not complete; the beginning is missing. This appears not only from the opening words 'Now when Philopator' (ὁ δὲ Φιλοπάτωρ), but also from distinct allusions to a preceding portion of narrative which the book no longer contains. The most striking examples are 1 1, 'from those who returned'; 1 2, 'the [above mentioned] plot'; 2 25, 'the boon companions already mentioned.' The character and extent of the missing portion can be inferred with probability from the indications afforded by the book in its present form. The story is concerned mainly with the triumph of the Jews over their persecutors. This part of the narrative seems to be complete; there is nothing to indicate that any other tale of persecution had preceded, whilst the contrary impression is plainly given by 1 8 *ff.* 2 25 *ff.*, etc. The missing portion was probably of the same general character as 1 1-7—*i.e.*, it formed with it the introduction to the story of the Jews. It must have included some mention of the following items:—(1) Character of Ptolemy and his companions. (2) Condition of the Jews in Egypt (probably). (3) Antecedents of the war with Antiochus. (4) The plot against Ptolemy's life. All this might have been contained in a single short chapter; and it is probable that this much, and no more, has been accidentally lost. On this supposition, the book, with its elaborate historical introduction, uniform contents, and impressive close, is seen to have been a well-rounded composition, complete in itself; not a fragment of a larger work.[1]

4. Language and style. The original language of 3 Macc. was Greek, beyond question. Its author had at his command an unusually large vocabulary (see the introduction in Grimm) and considerable resources of rhetoric. Still, the result of his labours is far from pleasing. The style is bombastic and inflated to the last degree; everything is embellished and exaggerated. The impression made by the literary form of the book is thus similar to that gained from its contents; it is an insipid and wearisome production, with hardly any redeeming features.

5. Historical basis. The question whether the narrative of 3 Macc. is to any considerable extent to be taken seriously can hardly arise. The beginning of the book sounds like history; but the providing of some such introduction, or background, is a necessary feature of the construction of any historical romance. It is quite another question whether the principal narrative, dealing with the fortunes of the Jews, has any basis of fact. There is to be noticed especially the striking resemblance between the story of the Jews' deliverance from the intoxicated elephants and the account given by Josephus (*c. Ap.* 2 5), of certain events of the reign of Ptolemy (VII.) Physcon. According to Josephus's account, which is very brief, the king assembled and bound all the Jews of Alexandria, and exposed them to be trampled upon by his elephants, which he had made drunk. The elephants, however, turned upon his own men and killed many of them. Moreover, the king saw a 'fearful apparition' which caused him to cease from his purpose. It is added that the Jews of Alexandria have been accustomed to celebrate this day of their deliverance. Obviously, we have here the same story, only reduced to its simplest form, and told of a different king. It must be remarked, also, that the fabulous character of the story is not done away with even in the form given by Josephus;[2] and further, that it does not fit well into the setting he has given it. There is certainly a literary relationship of some kind between the two versions (notice especially the mention of the apparition in Josephus, corresponding to the angels of 3 Macc.); and as Josephus was evidently unacquainted with 3 Macc., the explanation of the correspondence would seem to be this, that a current popular tale, already fixed in form, was used by both writers. Whether this tale had any basis of fact, it is useless to inquire. We cannot even be confident that such a day of deliverance was actually observed in Egypt; for this feature

[1] Some have thought to find another title in the problematic Πτολεμαϊκά, which appears in connection with Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία in the 'Synopsis of Athanasius.' See below, § 7.

[1] Ewald's theory (*GVI* 4 611-614), that 3 Macc. is a fragment of a historical work of considerable extent, is quite destitute of probability.

[2] See, in defence of the version given by Josephus, Whiston, *Authentick Records*, Pt. i., 200 *ff.*

of both versions may well have been due to a mere fiction of the older tale. Cp Judith 16 31 (Lat. Vulg.). There is thus no evidence that the statements of this book regarding the Jews and their history rest on a foundation of fact.[1]

6. Author and date. That the author of 3 Macc. was an Alexandrine Jew is made exceedingly probable both by the contents and by the evidence of language and style. The knowledge of Egyptian affairs displayed is also worthy of notice. (See Abrahams in *JQR*, Oct. 1896, 39 *ff.*) Regarding the date of composition, no very definite conclusion is possible. To look for a 'historical occasion' for the writing of an edifying story such as this is quite useless.[2] It is not at all necessary to suppose that the Jews of Egypt were in any especial need of comfort or encouragement at the time when 3 Macc. was composed. The author gives evidence of acquaintance with 2 Macc. (see the proof in Grimm, 214, 220), and once (66) cites the Book of Daniel in its later form, with the apocryphal additions. It is therefore quite unlikely that the book was written earlier than the last century B.C.; on the other hand, i can hardly have been written later than the first century A.D.

7. Attestation. The book '3 Macc.' is found in most MSS of the LXX, including the two uncials A and V. It was also included in the Syriac translation of the Scriptures. On the other hand, it seems to have been for a long time unknown in the Western church. There are no traces of any Latin version earlier than the one made for the Complutensian Polyglot (1517).

No early Jewish writer shows any sign of acquaintance with 3 Macc. The earliest witness to it in Christian literature is the catalogue of biblical books in the Codex Claromontanus (probably third cent.).[3]

In the fourth century 3 Macc. is attested (here also indirectly) by Cod. ℵ, which contains '1 Macc.' and '4 Macc.,' but neither of the two intermediate books. It is next mentioned by Philostorgius (Photius' Epitome, 1 1) and Theodoret (*Comm. in Dan.* 11 7); the former pronouncing it unworthy of credence, the latter appealing to it as trustworthy history. The other instances of its early attestation are in Eastern lists of the OT books (but never in any list originating in the Latin church). Thus it appears in canon 85 (or 76) of the Apostolic Canons (5th cent.);[4] in the Stichometry of Nicephorus; in the list of the sixty canonical books; and in the so-called Synopsis of Athanasius.[5]

The Greek text of 3 Macc. has been printed repeatedly.

In Holmes and Parsons, *VT Græcum*, vol. 5; Bagster's *Apocrypha, Greek and English*; Tischendorf's *LXX*, vol. 2; Fritzsche, *Libri apocr. VT*; Swete's *LXX*, vol. 3 (text of A, collated with V); and in most of the other editions of LXX or Apocrypha.

The Syriac translation, which is quite free, seems to have been the only old version of the book made from the Greek. Printed in the London Polyglot, vol. 4, and in Lagarde's *Apocr. Syriace.*

8. Literature. Grimm, *Drittes Buch der Maccabäer*, 1857 (the one thorough commentary); the works on the Apocrypha (trans. and comm.) by Bissell, 1880, and Zöckler, 1891; translations in Cotton, Bagster, Churton, Dyserinck, Reuss, and Kautzsch (see above, col. 2868, § 12). See also Ewald, *GVI*(3) 4 611-614; Schürer, *GJV* 2 743 *ff.* (ET ii., 3 216 *ff.*); Abrahams, 'The Third Book of the Maccabees,' *JQR*, Oct. 1896, pp. 39-58, 1897, pp. 39 *ff.*; Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, 142 *ff.*; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 1895, pp. 258 *ff.*; and the text-books of Introduction which include the OT Apocrypha. C. C. T.

[1] See, for an attempt to find some historical value in the book, Abrahams in the *JQR*, Oct. 1896, pp. 39 *ff.* Cp also Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 1895, pp. 258 *ff.*

[2] Regarding the attempts (especially that of Ewald) to find such an occasion, see Grimm, 216 *ff.*; Schürer (2), 2 744 *f.*

[3] Through some accident the 'liber tertius' has fallen out before the 'liber quartus'; but it is none the less attested. See Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, 2 157 *ff.*

[4] Zahn, *op. cit.*, 192; Funk, *Apostol. Konstitutionen*, 204 *f.* It has been customary to cite this as the earliest attestation of 3 Macc.

[5] The text of this last passage is troublesome. See Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons* (1847), p. 144, and Zahn, *op. cit.*, 317. The reading is Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία δʹ Πτολεμαϊκά. Credner wished to read καὶ in place of δʹ, and to regard Πτολ. as referring to 3 Macc. Zahn, on the contrary, would retain the δʹ and read πολεμικά (!).

FOURTH MACCABEES

1. Title. The so-called Fourth Book of Maccabees is a composition of homiletical character, receiving its title from the fact that the principal part of its material is based on the story of the 'Maccabæan' martyrs told in 2 Macc. 6 18-7 42. By many early Christian writers (see § 4) the work was attributed to the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, in the manuscripts and editions of whose writings it is commonly included. It therefore frequently receives a corresponding title, even in many manuscripts of LXX.[1] Finally, as it partakes of the nature of a treatise, and has a definitely stated subject (an unusual circumstance), it appears at an early date with the appropriate superscription περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ,[2] 'On the Supreme Power of Reason' (see § 2). The oldest form of the title, however, seems to have been simply Μακκαβαίων δʹ; the form found in the oldest MSS of LXX (including the three uncials which contain the book), and attested by the list of the Cod. Claromont., Eusebius (indirectly),[3] and Philostorgius.

2. Contents. The author states his subject, or 'thesis,' plainly at the start. He wishes to show that 'the pious reason is absolute master of the passions' (1 1, cp *v.* 13 18 2, etc.).

In a brief introductory passage, he indicates the scope of the question, and the nature of the chief illustration which he intends to use for his argument (1 1-11). He further states, in a single sentence (1 12), the general plan of his discourse; first, a philosophical discussion of the main proposition (ὑπόθεσις); then, the illustration afforded by the history of the martyrs.

The remainder of the book thus falls into two parts. (i.) The philosophical discussion (1 13-3 18). The various terms are defined, and one after another the passions are considered, with the attempt to show that all are under the control of the reason. (ii.) The story of the martyrs, with the lessons to be learned from it (3 19-end).

This part of the book is based on 2 Macc. chaps. 3-7. After a brief introduction (3 19-21), the narrative of 2 Macc. is reproduced, in much abridged form, as follows:—4 1-14 = 2 M. 3,[4] 4 15-21 = 2 M. 4 1-17, 4 22-25 = 2 M. 5 1-6 11.

The discourse on the sufferings and triumph of the Jewish martyrs, constituting three-fourths of the whole book, to which the preceding is merely introductory, begins with chap. 5. Its frame-work is an expanded version of 2 Macc. 6 18-7 42.

The following divisions are more or less distinctly marked:—

1. Narrative of the trial and torture of the aged priest Eleazar (5 1-6 30).
2. Lessons drawn by the author from this narrative (6 31-7 23).
3. Description of the torture of the seven youths (8 1-12 20).
4. Author's comments on their fortitude (13 1-14 10).
5. Reflections on the sufferings and constancy of the mother (14 11-17 6).
6. Conclusion (17 7-18 24).

3. Integrity. The integrity of the last chapter has generally been called in question by scholars of the present century, for reasons which appear at first sight to be strong. The mother's exhortation, 18 6-19, seems to be a disconnected piece, joined neither to the preceding nor to what follows. It is, moreover, in some respects a repetition of the similar exhortation contained in 16 16-23. Accordingly, W. Lowth (see Hudson's *Josephus* ii. 14 11 [1720]) and Dähne (see below, § 9) concluded that the book originally ended with 18 5 [6a]. Others went farther. The contrasts and correspondences between 17 20-24 and 18 3-5 attracted attention. It was argued that the latter passage, so far as it is parallel in contents with the former, is superfluous, whilst the statement regarding Antiochus in 18 5 is not in keeping with that found in 17 23 *f.* It was further observed that in MSS and editions of

[1] On these various titles, see Grimm, *Comm.* 291 *f.*; Freudenthal (see § 9), 117-120.

[2] So in both Euseb. and Jerome (see § 6).

[3] See the quotation in § 8.

[4] In the story of Heliodorus, the name 'Apollonius' is substituted

Josephus the last chapter begins with 18 3, and that in fact with 18 2 a stopping-place seems to be reached. Accordingly, Hudson (*Josephus* ii. 14 11), Gfrörer (see below, § 9), and Grimm,[1] followed in recent times by most of those who have discussed 4 Macc.,[2] regarded 18 2 as the original close of the book, and all that follows as a later addition.

The evidence is far from conclusive. 18 2 would make a weak and unsatisfactory ending for such a homily as this; on the other hand, the passage 18 20-24, which is exactly in the style of our author, and against which no one has been able to raise any objection, is in every way suited to the place where it stands.[3] The incongruity between 17 20-24 and 18 3-5 is only apparent; both statements regarding Antiochus were useful for the author's argument, each in its place; the one by no means excluding the other. The way in which the mention of the king's fate is terminated at 18 5 sounds abrupt; but it must be borne in mind that the writer was addressing those who were perfectly familiar with the story of Antiochus's death in Persia; the barest allusion to it would be sufficient. As for the mother's exhortation, 18 6-19, the lack of any connection on either hand must be admitted. It seems at first sight to be decidedly out of place, the more so in view of 16 16-23.[4] When the nature of the composition is borne in mind, however, it may appear that the very abruptness of transition in these closing paragraphs had its purpose. Having finished his argument, the author wished to construct a peroration that should be as impressive as possible. This he accomplished with skill, by causing to pass before the mind of his hearers, in the passage 18 6-19, a rapid panorama of the national heroes, combined with an ideal picture of their own family life. Having thus brought the lesson of his discourse home to them in a way that could hardly fail to stir them profoundly, he had prepared the way for the short but most effective paragraph with which the book ends.

4. Author and date. That the author of 4 Macc. was a Jew, who is here addressing his countrymen, is everywhere manifest (see, *e.g.*, 18 1, cp 1 11 17 19-23, etc.). The opinion of many early writers,[5] that he was no other than Flavius Josephus, is certainly erroneous; as appears not only from the lack of any resemblance to Josephus' style, but also from the fact that 2 Macc., which is here so extensively used, was plainly unknown to Josephus. The reason why the ascription was made can only be conjectured.[6] From the character of the language of 4 Macc. (see § 6), the thorough acquaintance with the Greek rhetorical schools shown by its author, the emphasis laid by him (at least in appearance) on the study of philosophy (1 1; cp 5 6-11, etc.), and the training which he evidently presupposes in his hearers, it is possible to draw at least the conclusion, that it was written in some city where the Jews were for the most part completely Hellenised. It is most natural to think of Alexandria, especially in view of the importance given in the book to 2 Macc., nearly or quite all of the earliest references to which come, directly or indirectly, from that city (Philo, 3 Macc., Hebrews, Clem. Alex., Origen; see above, col. 2874, § 6). There is nothing in the book, however, that could be called specifically Alexandrine, and it is quite possible that its author lived and wrote in some other city.

As for the date of 4 Macc., the grounds for reaching a conclusion are the same as in the case of 3 Macc. (*q.v.*). It was probably written either shortly before, or shortly after, the beginning of the Christian era.

5. Literary character. In form, as in contents, 4 Macc. is a sermon, or homily. The attitude of its author is everywhere that of one who is delivering a formal address to an audience. In the opening words, he speaks of himself in the first person and of his hearers in the second person, and continues to do this in the sequel. In 18 1 he addresses his hearers, 'men of Israel,' in the vocative. Rhetorical devices and turns of expression such as belong properly to an oration are frequent—*e.g.*, 3 19 7 6 *ff.* 15 1 4 13 17 2 *ff.*, etc. Moreover, it is plain from the words of 1 12, 'I will now speak . . . *as I have been wont to do*,' that the author at least wishes to represent himself as before those whom he is accustomed to address in this same formal way. It is quite evident from the manner and tone of the whole composition that the object aimed at was less to gain intellectual assent to a proposition than to give a religious impulse. In short, we have before us the discourse of a Jewish preacher, who was a man of culture, and (apparently) one accustomed to speak with authority. It is not, however, a 'homily' of the kind made familiar to us by Philo and the early Christian fathers, consisting chiefly of a running commentary on some portion of Scripture. It differs, in fact, from all such compositions, Jewish or Christian, that have come down to us, in the manner in which it combines Greek and Jewish literary forms.[1] It is indeed based on Scripture (2 Macc. was certainly regarded by the author as belonging to the national sacred literature), as its true foundation; but at the same time, the formal subject is a philosophical proposition, laid down at the beginning and kept in view throughout, after the manner of a Greek rhetorical exercise. As both the Jewish and the Greek elements appear at their best, and are handled in a masterly manner, we may regard the book as a characteristic product of Hellenistic culture of the best type. Whether it may be taken as a specimen of sermons actually delivered in the synagogue is a question that cannot be answered with certainty, because of our very meagre knowledge of Greek-Jewish customs in this regard. We know of nothing to forbid the supposition, however; and the writing before us must be regarded as furnishing very strong evidence for the affirmative.

The plan of the discourse is carefully thought out, and follows in general the rules of the Greek rhetoricians.[2] The literary skill and taste shown by the writer deserve in the main high praise. He writes with dignity, and an evident consciousness of mastery. The rhetorical power which he exhibits is very considerable. The one great blemish in the book, from the modern point of view, is its detailed description (exaggerated far beyond the bounds of reason) of the horrible tortures to which the martyrs were subjected. Though such descriptions were doubtless in accordance with the taste of that day (cp especially the abundant examples of the kind in the early Christian literature), they are quite intolerable now; and as a considerable part of the book is thus occupied, the defect is fatal.

6. Language and Style. In literary style and use of language, the writer of 4 Macc. shows himself a master. Of all the specimens of Hellenistic Greek that have been preserved, this stands among the very foremost in point of excellence. The

1 See his arguments in the excursus at the end of his Comm., 368 *ff.*

2 Freudenthal (*op. cit.*, 155-159), arguing in ingenious but arbitrary fashion, concludes that 18 6-19 and 17 22-24 are interpolations, and that in these places considerable passages of the original have been lost.

3 So also Freudenthal.

4 It cannot be said, however, that the one passage makes the other superfluous. They differ from each other almost as widely as possible. It should also be observed (what some have overlooked) that *neither* is properly the fulfilment of the promise in 12 7.

5 Eusebius, Jerome, Philostorgius, and others; besides the titles of a good many MSS. See below, § 8; also Grimm, 291 *f.*; Freudenthal, 117 *ff.*

6 Some (*e.g.*, Ewald) have supposed the ascription to be a mistake due to the fact that the name of the author of 4 Macc. was Joseph.

1 The nearest parallel—in many respects a striking one—is the 'Epistle' to the Hebrews.

2 See especially Freudenthal, 18 *ff.*, and the lit. referred to in Kautzsch, *Apocr. u. Pseudep.* 2 156. Cp also von Soden on the Epistle to the Hebrews (Holtzmann's *Hand-kommentar*(2), 6 *ff.*).

style is well suited to the matter, simple in the narrative portions, and rhetorical where this quality is in place. It is smooth, flowing, and vigorous, always highly finished, and rarely overloaded. Well constructed periods abound. In the use of classical constructions (*e.g.*, the optative mood),[1] the writer stands almost alone among Jewish Greek authors. His style and diction do not seem to have been influenced by the LXX, though he occasionally quotes from it ($2_{5\ 19}$ 17_{19}); Hebraisms are almost totally wanting; ἅπαξ λεγόμενα are unusually abundant (see the list in Grimm, 287; supplemented by Freudenthal, 28, n.).

It has already been observed that 4 Macc. partakes of the nature of a philosophical treatise. It has for its starting-point a formal thesis, stated and defined in more or less technical language at the outset, and kept in view throughout the whole composition. Both in its general plan and in its phraseology it shows plainly the influence of the Greek schools. Moreover, its author consciously assumes the attitude of a champion of the study of 'philosophy' (1_{1}), and it is plain that he wishes to make prominent the philosophical side of his discourse, though aiming primarily at giving religious instruction. See, for example, 1_{1} $5_{6\text{-}11}$ 7_{18}, etc. The decidedly Stoic colouring of his philosophy is worthy of notice, moreover. See especially the 'four cardinal virtues' (φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, 1_{18}; cp $1_{2\text{-}6}$ 2_{23} 5_{22} *f.* 15_{7}), and for further evidence, the thorough discussion in Freudenthal, 37 *ff.* On the other hand, it is plain that 4 Macc. is far from representing any particular school; nor does its author appear as the advocate of any 'system' made up from combined Greek and Jewish elements. His philosophy is merely a part of his general culture; his faith is not essentially modified by it. The religion which he preaches here is Judaism of the most thorough-going type, somewhat enriched from Greek thought, but none the less loyal. His chief aim in this discourse is to inspire his hearers by the example of the constancy and devotion of the Maccabæan martyrs. In drawing the lesson he displays the most ardent patriotism, and a zeal for the ceremonial law worthy of any Pharisee. The motive that actuated these heroes was not so much the hope of gaining eternal life as the purpose to perform their duty (12_{12}; cp 5_{16} *ff.* 6_{14} *ff.* 7_{7} 9_{15} 13_{16}). They died in behalf of a cause, in support of the law, in obedience to God; by their death, moreover, they wrought deliverance for their nation (1_{11} $17_{19\text{-}23}$ 18_{4}). In this connection the writer gives expression to a doctrine which is one of the most interesting features in the book on the side of its theology: namely the belief that the death of a martyr is in some way an expiatory offering for his people (6_{29} 17_{21}; cp 2 Macc. 7_{37} *f.*).

7. Philosophical and religious character.

The eschatology of the book is also of especial interest. As was of course to be expected, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is given a prominent place. What is emphasised by the writer, however, is not the belief in the resurrection from the dead, as in 2 Macc., but rather the doctrine that all souls, whether righteous or wicked, exist for ever after death. The good shall be in eternal happiness together (17_{18}), with the fathers of Israel (5_{37}), and with God (9_{8} 17_{18}). The wicked shall be in eternal torment (9_{9} 10_{11} 12_{12} 13_{15}), burning in eternal fire (9_{9} 12_{12}). Cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 77.

The personal earnestness and enthusiasm of the writer are manifest at every point. He is a true preacher, not a mere rhetorician, and the present discourse is something very different from a formal exercise. He shows himself thoroughly acquainted with the Hebrew scriptures, and assumes that his hearers are. The reference in 18_{8} to the serpent, the *evil spirit* (cp Wisd. 2_{24}) of Gen. 3, is worthy of notice; so also is the expression 'the rib that was built up' (referring to the story of Eve), in 18_{7}. The whole passage 18_{6} *ff.* gives us very interesting glimpses of Jewish family life of the writer's own day.

[1] See Grimm, 287 *f.*

The verdict of Freudenthal, who thought to find in 4 Macc. a good many 'Christian interpolations,' has created a somewhat erroneous impression of it in this respect. As a matter of fact, the only apparent instances of the kind worthy of notice are 7_{19} 16_{25} (cp, however, 15_{3}) and 13_{17} (three words). These seem to be mere expansions of the text by Christian scribes, without importance of their own and adding nothing to the teaching of the book.

8. Attestation. Text and versions.

Eusebius, in speaking of the works of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, mentions 4 Macc. in the following words:—*πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο οὐκ ἀγεννὲς σπούδασμα τῷ ἀνδρὶ* [viz. Josephus] *περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, ὅ τινες Μακκαβαϊκὸν ἐπέγραψαν τῷ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὕτω καλουμένοις Μακκαβαϊκοῖς. συγγράμμασι ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβίας ἀνδρισαμένων Ἑβραίων περιέχειν* (*Hist. eccles.* iii. 10_{6}). Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, chap. 13 (Josephus), speaks of it in very similar terms: 'Alius quoque liber ejus, qui inscribitur *περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ* valde elegans habetur, in quo et Machabæorum sunt digesta martyria.' Again, *contra Pelagianos*, 26, he quotes 4 Macc. 3_{5}; this time also naming Josephus as the author of the book. Gregory Naz., *Homil. in Macc.*, cites the book as *ἡ βίβλος περὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι τῶν παθῶν τὸν λογισμὸν φιλοσοφοῦσα.* In Photius' Epitome of Philostorgius, chap. 1, occur the words: *τὸ μὲν τέταρτον τῶν Μακκαβαϊκῶν βιβλίον ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου γέγραφθαι καὶ αὐτὸς* [Philostorgius] *συνομολογῶν οὐχ ἱστορίαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγκώμιον εἶναί φησι τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ παῖδας τοὺς Μακκαβαίους διηγούμενον.*

The book appears as '4 Macc.' (see § 1) in the list of the Cod. Claromontanus (original of the third century?), the 'Catalogue of the sixty Canonical Books,' and the so-called 'Synopsis of Athanasius' (see above, col. 2881, § 7), and is contained in the Greek uncials ℵ, A, and V.

For information regarding the MSS containing the book—MSS both of the LXX and of Josephus' works—see Grimm, 294 *ff.*, and especially Freudenthal, 120-127.

The first printed text of the book, that of the Strasburg LXX of 1526, was based on a single very poor MS (Freudenthal, 127 *f.*). It became nevertheless the basis of the 'vulgar text,' printed in many Greek Bibles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in many editions of Josephus; *e.g.*, that of Basel, 1544; those of Lloyd (Luidus), Oxford, 1590; Hudson, 1720; and the later editions based on the Hudson text (Dindorf [1845-47], and especially Bekker [1855-56], improved it considerably). A recension differing from this, based on the Alexandrine Cod., was represented by the LXX editions of Grabe, 1719, and Grabe-Breitinger, 1731; and by Apel, *Apocr. VT*, 1837. More recently, the book has been printed in Bagster's *Apocrypha Greek and English* (1882); in Fritzsche's *Libri apocr. VT*, 1871 (a decided improvement on all preceding editions of 4 Macc.); and in Swete's LXX (Cod. A, with variants of ℵ and V). The text of the book is still in a very unsatisfactory condition, however. Much remains to be done, by collating new MSS (only a comparatively small number of those available having thus far been used), by making use of the Syriac version (see below), and by conjectural emendation.

Nothing is known of any old Latin version of 4 Macc., or even of the sources used by Erasmus in making his Latin 'paraphrase,' which differs so widely from our Greek text. See Grimm, 296; Freudenthal, 133; Churton, 564. The old Syriac translation is contained in the Peshitta, *Cod. Ambrosianus* (published by Ceriani, 1876-83), and has recently been edited from nine MSS in Bensly's *The Fourth Book of Maccabees and Kindred Documents in Syriac*, 1895. This translation, which is generally faithful and well executed, is seen to agree with ℵ rather than with A (Bensly, 14); but its more exact relation to the Greek texts has yet to be determined.

9. Literature.

The only commentary on the whole book is that of Grimm, 1857; an excellent piece of work. Zöckler's *Apokryphen*, 396-402, gives a translation, with commentary, of the introductory part of the book, 1_{1}-3_{18}. Bissell (637 *f.*) furnishes only a brief introduction. English translations in Cotton, Bagster, and Churton (see above, col. 2868, § 12). German translations in the *Bibliothek der griechischen u. römischen Schriftsteller über Judenthum u. Juden*, vol. ii. (1867), and (by Deissmann, with many useful notes) in Kautzsch's *Apocr. u. Pseudepig.* A very thorough monograph by Freudenthal, *Die Fl. Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Vernunft* (1869).

See also Gfrörer, *Philo und die alexandrinische Theosophie*, 2 173-200 (1831); Dähne, *Die jüdisch-alexandrinische Religions-philosophie*, 2 190-199, (1834); Ewald, *GVI*(3), 4 632 *ff.*; Grätz, *MGWJ* (1877), pp. 454 *ff.*; Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*(3), 3 2 (1881), pp. 275-277; Bensly, *The Fourth Book of Macc. in Syriac*, 1895; and the text-books of Introduction.

C. C. T.

5 MACCABEES. See 1 MACCABEES, § 11.

MACEDONIA (ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ, Acts 16 10 12 etc. Combined with mention of Achaia—Acts 19 21 Rom. 15 26 2 Cor. 9 2 1 Thess. 1 7 *f.* The ethnic is Μακεδών—Acts 16 9 19 29 27 2 2 Cor. 9 4 1 Macc. 1 1 6 2 2 Macc. 8 20; applied to Haman in Esth. 9 24 16 10 𝔊).

The Macedonians were of Greek stock, as their traditions and remains of their language prove. In its

1. Earlier history. original sense, Macedonia was simply the plains of the lower Haliacmon (*Kara-Su*) and Axius (*Vardar*), on the N. and NW. of the Thermaic Gulf (Gulf of *Salonica*). The old capital was Edessa, or Ægæ, on a terrace above the river Lydias, overlooking the sea. Gradually the Macedonians extended their power westward and northward over the hill-tribes of Illyrian race, the Orestians, Lyncestians, etc. The key to early Macedonian history lies in this absence of community of tradition and race between the highlanders and the lowlanders (see brilliant sketch by Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander*, 8 *f.*). Not until the accession of Philip II. (359 B.C.) was the unification of Macedonia effected; the conquest of the Greek cities of the Chalcidic peninsula opened the door of the Ægean and made her a factor in Greek politics. The supremacy of Macedonia over Greece was realised during Philip's lifetime; whilst that of his son saw the Macedonian kingdom converted into a world-wide empire (cp the sketch of the achievements of Alexander the Great with which the history of the years 175-135 opens, 1 Macc. 1 1). Macedonia came at last into conflict with Rome. The battle of Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.) broke the power of Philip V., and that of Pydna (168 B.C.), in which his son Perseus was defeated, brought the Macedonian kingdom to an end (ref. in 1 Macc. 8 5).

The 'Macedonians' of 2 Macc. 8 20 are probably the Macedonians in the service of the Seleucid kings. Perhaps the word came to be applied to the soldiers of the phalanx, with which the Macedonian conquests were so closely associated.

The 'Macedonia' of the NT is the Roman province of that name. This was not constituted immediately

2. NT times. after the victory at Pydna; the country was for a time allowed to retain a certain degree of independence. It was broken up into four divisions: (1) *Macedonia Prima:* between the Nestus and the Strymon—capital, Amphipolis. (2) *M. Secunda:* between the Strymon and the Axius—capital, Thessalonica. (3) *M. Tertia:* between the Axius and the Peneius in Thessaly—capital, Pella. (4) *M. Quarta:* the mountain lands on the W.—capital, Pelagonia (cp Livy, 45 29 *f.*; for details, see Mommsen, *Hist. Rom.* ET 2 302 *f.*; silver and bronze coins ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ, etc., Head, *Hist. Num.* 208 *f.*). In 146 B.C. Macedonia received a provincial organisation. It is not clear that the fourfold division was entirely abolished;[1] but the country was henceforth under the control of a resident official, whose headquarters were in Thessalonica. The province included Thessaly, and in the other direction extended to Thrace and the river Nestus. East and west it ran from sea to sea, for that part of Illyria which lay between the Drilo (*Drin*) and the Aous fell to it, so that the ports of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia were Macedonian. The province also contained the most important artery of communication in the empire—the *Via Egnatia*, which connected those ports with Thessalonica and Amphipolis.

In the partition of the provinces (27 B.C.) Macedonia fell to the Senate (Str. 840, Dio Cass. 53 12); but in 15 A.D. it was handed over to the emperor (Tac. *Ann.* 1 76), and so continued until in 44 A.D. Claudius restored it to the Senate (Suet. *Claud.* 25, Dio Cass. 60 24). As a senatorial province it was governed by a proconsul of prætorian rank. Such was Macedonia when Paul entered it (in 50 A.D.?; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 71).

The entrance into Macedonia and the visit to Rome are the two most important stages in Paul's missionary

3. Paul. career; hence, looking back in the 'afternoon' of his life, he can speak of his work in Macedonia as the 'beginning of the gospel' (Phil. 4 15). The account of this breaking of new ground on the second journey is given in great detail in Acts 16 9 *f.* A new meaning is given to the phrase 'a man of Macedonia' (ἀνὴρ Μακεδών) which had sounded like a knell in the ears of the greatest Greek orator (cp Demosth. *Phil.* 1 43). If we accept Ramsay's conjecture that Luke himself was the man seen in his vision by Paul (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 202 *f.*), this explains also the 'emphasis laid on the passage to Macedonia,' for which Ramsay thinks 'it is not easy to account on strictly historical grounds' (*op. cit.* 198 *f.*). It is hardly true to assert that 'a broad distinction between the two opposite sides of the Hellespont as belonging to two different continents had no existence in the thought of those who lived in the Ægean lands.' In the second place, it was the after events that unfolded the importance of the step now taken; and Lk. writes with these results in his mind. Lastly, if Luke himself was the instrument used to direct Paul upon his new path, we can see how even at the moment the incident at Troas might seem the climax of the whole journey and the entry into Macedonia bulk largely in the writer's mind.

Paul visited Macedonia many times. Five or six years after the foundation of the churches he revisits them twice, as he goes and as he returns, on his third missionary tour (Acts 19 21 20 1-3 1 Cor. 16 5 2 Cor. 1 26 2 13 7 5 8 1 9 24). Perhaps he saw them immediately after his first Roman imprisonment (cp Philem. 22 Phil. 2 24), and yet again, before he came to Nicopolis (1 Tim. 1 3). He was surrounded by representatives sent by the three Macedonian churches—Aristarchus and Secundus from Thessalonica, Gaius (Acts 19 29 20 4 27 2), Sopater from Berœa (Acts 20 4), Epaphroditus from Philippi (Phil. 2 25). The distinguishing mark of the Macedonians is their loyalty to Paul's teaching, and their intense affection for himself (1 Thess. 1 3 8 3 6 4 9 2 Thess. 1 3 2 Cor. 11 9 Phil. 4 1 15 *f.*). A characteristic of Macedonia, as of Asia Minor, is the prominence of women (cp the story of Lydia, Acts 16 13 *f.*, at Philippi; also at Berœa and Thessalonica women are specially mentioned among the converts, Acts 17 4 12 Phil. 4 2 *f.*, 'those women which laboured with me in the gospel.') W. J. W.

MACHÆRUS (ΜΑΧΑΙΡΟΥΣ, in Talm. מכוור, or, according to the *'Ārūch*, מַכְבַּר; but Jastrow [*Dict. of Targ.* etc. 781] disputes the identification),[1] the most southern point of the dominions of Antipas the Tetrarch, on the E. of the Dead Sea; according to Pliny (*HN* v. 16 72), the strongest Jewish castle next to Jerusalem. It had been fortified by Alexander Jannæus (106-79 B.C.), and afterwards by Herod the Great, who there built a city. There the suspicious Antipas confined JOHN THE BAPTIST [*q.v.*], and there the great prophet was executed.

In the year 70 A.D. the town seems to have harboured, irrespective of the Jewish garrison, a population of at least 2000 men, besides women and children (see Jos. *BJ* vii. 6 4 *f.*; cp ii. 18 6 Ἰουδαίων τὸ πλῆθος). It is the modern Mkaur (3675 ft. above the level of the Dead Sea, and 2382 ft. above that of the Mediterranean), where extensive ruins are still to be seen. See ZERETH-SHAHAR, and cp Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, 2 336 *ff.*; Schür. *Hist.* i. 2 329 *ff.*; GAS *HG* 569 *f.*; also Gautier, *Autour de la Mer Morte*, 1901.

MACHBANAI, RV **Machbannai** (מַכְבַּנַּי), one of David's warriors; 1 Ch. 12 13† (ΜΕΛΧΑΒΑΝΝΑΙ [B], -ΝΝΕΑ[2] [ℵ], ΜΑΧΑΒΑΝΑΙ [A], -ΝΕΙ [L]. Pesh. reads 'Shephatiah'). See DAVID, § 11, n. *c.*

MACHBENAH, RV **Machbena** (מַכְבֵּנָא), 1 Ch. 2 49†. See CABBON, and cp MEKONAH.

MACHI (מָכִי; ΜΑΚ[Χ]Ι [B*bAL], ΜΑΚΟΣΙ [Bab],

[1] See Leake, *Northern Greece*, 3 487 *f.* and cp the expression used in Acts 16 12. See PHILIPPI.

[1] We. *GGA*, 1889, no. 8, p. 606 *f.*, suggests the identification of the name with the Moabite מחרת (MI, *l.* 14).

[2] 𝔊BN may derive from מלך and בנה (cp BENAIAH [בניהו]), or is it a corrupt repetition of Mishmannah (in *v.* 10)? These two could be easily confused in the older script (S. A. Cook).

μαχειρ [F]), father of Geuel; Nu. 13 15†. Read probably Machir—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel (Che.).

MACHIR (מכיר; μαχ[ε]ιρ [BADFL]). 1. Son of Manasseh, son of Joseph (Gen. 50 23, E). The name, however, is properly ethnographic. Either the *gens* which bore this name was the most important of the *gentes* of Manasseh—this is expressed by representing Machir as Manasseh's firstborn (Josh. 17 1 1 Ch. 7 14); or else the whole of Manasseh was one great *gens* of Machir—this is symbolised by the statement that Machir was the only son of Manasseh (Nu. 26 29 *ff.*; cp Gen. 50 23). The latter view is extremely plausible. In Gen. 50 23 E tells us that 'Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the third generation: the children also of Machir, the son of Manasseh, were born upon Joseph's knees.'[1] Clearly Ephraim and Machir are put upon the same footing. Similarly in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5 14) we find Ephraim and Machir mentioned instead of Ephraim and Manasseh. The tradition is that Machir (*i.e.* the gens of Machir) went from the W. to the E. side of Jordan and conquered Gilead (Nu. 32 39 JE); this is even placed in the time of Moses (cp Nu. 32 40 Dt. 3 15, late passages). Other writers add Bashan (Josh. 13 31, P; 17 1*b*, R; a gloss in the former passage carefully says, 'half Gilead'). It is also stated that Gilead was the son of Machir (Nu. 27 1, P; 1 Ch. 2 21; cp Josh. 17 1*b*, R, where Machir is אֲבִי הַגִּלְעָד, 'father of *the* Gilead,' *i.e.*, the land of Gilead). This of course simply means that Gilead was occupied by Machirite (Manassite) clans. Cp Kuenen, *Th.T* 11 (1877) pp. 483 *ff.*, and notes in *Oxf. Hex.* vol. ii.

Was the conquest of Gilead really so ancient as to be loosely referred to the time of Moses? Judg. 5 14 is opposed to this; 'Machir' is there equivalent to (western) Manasseh. It is possible that we may assign the conquest of N. Gilead to the clan of Abiezer, whose representative in legend is GIDEON [*q.v.*].

This hero is represented in Judg. 8 5-16 as the conqueror of Succoth; now Succoth is explained elsewhere (SUCCOTH) as a corruption of Salecah or Ṣalḥad, the frontier-city of Bashan towards the E. Salecah occurs, the present writer believes, under various disguises in the genealogies of Chronicles (which contain valuable early material, though often in a corrupted form). Two of its most noteworthy corruptions are HAMMOLECHETH [*q.v.*] and ZELOPHEHAD [*q.v.*]; now Hammolecheth (Salecah) is given in 1 Ch. 7 18 as the sister of Gilead, and Zelophehad in *v.* 15 as the second son of Manasseh. Abiezer (the eponym of Gideon's clan) is in the same context (*v.* 18) called a son of Hammolecheth. It is possible that the conquest of N. Gilead by the Machirites was marked by a desperate fight for Salecah, and in this connection it may be remarked that in 1 Ch. 7 14 'Machir the father of Gilead' is said to have been the son of Manasseh by 'his concubine the Aramitess' (RV). 'Gilead' should here, as in some other passages, be 'Ṣalḥad' (=Salecah): the reference to the concubine is a symbolic indication of the subordination of the Aramæan element in the population of NE. Gilead to the Israelitish. In Nu. 26 29 (P) we read of the family of the **Machirites** (מכירי; μαχειρι). See further GILEAD, MANASSEH.

As to the name Machir. Has it some connection, as has been suggested (EPHRAIM, § 1), with the story of Joseph? Rather it is one of the many corruptions and abbreviations of 'Jerahmeel'; the Machirites may have been partly of Jerahmeelite origin. Now perhaps we can understand why the hero who conquered Succoth (Judg. 8) is called not only Gideon, but also Jerubbaal; for Jerubbaal too is very possibly an ancient corruption of Jerahmeel. 'Manasseh' may perhaps be a title of the god once worshipped in the Machirite territory W. of Jordan. Cp GAD, and see MANASSEH, § 4.

2. Son of Ammiel, residing at Lo-debar, commonly supposed to be a place on the E. of the Jordan (see LO-DEBAR), 2 S. 9 4 *f.* 17 27. It has been inferred from these two passages that Machir was a wealthy landowner, who remained faithful to the house of Saul, and gave a refuge to Meribbaal or Mephibosheth, though at a later time he was ostentatiously loyal to David, whose army he supplied with ample supplies at Mahanaim, during the rebellion of Absalom. There is reason, however, to suspect that the text of both passages has been so seriously corrupted that no reliance can be placed on these inferences. See SAUL, § 6, and cp MAHANAIM, MEPHIBOSHETH. T. K. C.

[1] On the idiom, see Stade, *ZATW* 6 (1886) 146 *f.*

MACHMAS (1 Macc. 9 73), RV MICHMASH, *q.v.*

MACHNADEBAI (מַכְנַדְבַי? a corruption either of מִבְּנֵי נדבו (Che.) or of מכרנבו, 'possession of Nebo' [Ass. *namkur* = 'possession']; see G. B. Gray, *Exp. T*, Feb. 1899, p. 232 *f.*; but cp NEBO), one of the b'ne BANI in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 40†. MT is practically supported by μαχαδναβου[1] [B], αχ. [ℵ], μαχναδαα. [A]; but a reading 'Nadab' (נדב) is suggested by 𝔊L (και ναδαβου [Lag.], cp κ. ναδαμου [19], κ. ναδαβου [93, 108]).[2] ‖ 1 Esd. 9 34 reads καὶ ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν εζωρα (OZORA, RV EZORA) σεσεις κ. τ. λ. [BA][3] with which cp the Complut. in Ezra *l.c.* καὶ μαχναδα καὶ σαρουα καὶ σεσει whence it appears to be not improbable that 𝔊BA read שרי ששי (for מכנרבי) מבני; see SHARAI. ['Barnabas' may ultimately come from Bar-nadabu (Che.).]

MACHPELAH (הַמַּכְפֵּלָה, 'the Machpelah'), a piece of land (שׂדה) and a cave near Hebron (Gen. 23 9 17 19 25 9 49 30 50 13, all P).

𝔊 (τὸ διπλοῦν), Vg. (*duplex*), Tg. Onk., and ps.-Jon. derive from כפל 'double,' the suggestion being that this, like other sepulchral caverns, had two chambers. This is plausible; but in 23 17 (cp 19) the field of Ephron is 'in Machpelah.' 'Machpelah' is nowhere else referred to, and P's date is late. Still, P had access to older writings, and we have no reason at all to doubt that the name '*the* Machpelah' (putting aside the question as to the reading) belonged properly to the whole district in which the property including the cave lay.

Few points of biblical geography are more interesting and more difficult than that connected with Machpelah. The statements in Genesis—*i.e.*, those of P—can only be estimated in connection with the statements of J and E respecting the death and burial of the three patriarchs.

1. We have first to assume the general correctness of the geography of the lives of the patriarchs as given in the traditional text. According to P (Gen. 23 19 25 9 50 13) Abraham, Sarah, and Jacob were buried 'in the cave of the field of Machpelah,' and it is implied in 35 29 that Isaac also was buried there. Turning to JE, we notice that the account of the death and burial of Abraham and Isaac has been lost. But we may assume that J placed Abraham's tomb at Hebron, where he considered the patriarch to have resided; Isaac's grave, however, may possibly have been put farther south, viz., at BEER-LAHAI-ROI [*q.v.*]. On the death of Jacob J appears at first sight to be inconsistent. In 47 30 Jacob directs Joseph to bury him where his fathers were buried, but 50 5 (J) points to a tomb specially his own, for Jacob says that he had digged, or less probably bought,[4] one for himself in Canaan. It must be admitted, however,[5] that 47 30 (J) has been manipulated by R to make it accord with P (see We. *CH* 62; *Oxf. Hex.* 274). In Gen. 50 11 J places the burial of Jacob at Abel-Mizraim or rather Abel-mizrim, a place in the far SW. of Canaan (see ABEL-MIZRAIM). Whether E's account agreed with that of J must be left uncertain. This narrator (unless, indeed, we suppose the original document to have had a S. Palestinian geographical setting) must be held to have placed Rachel's death and burial near Beeroth (35 16 19? crit. emend.; see RACHEL), and Dinah's death and burial near Bethel.

[1] Cp MACHBANAI, or Nebo in *v.* 43.

[2] 19, 93, and 108 in Holmes and Parsons exhibit Lucian; cp Ceriani, Lag., and see Field, *Hex.* 87.

[3] 𝔊L retains καὶ Ναδαβου as in Ezra.

[4] כָּרִיתִי admits of either rendering (Staerk); but כרה, 'to purchase,' is rare, and if Jacob had referred to the *legality* of his acquisition of a tomb, he would have said from whom he had purchased it (cp 50 13 P). See Is. 22 16.

[5] Driver's analysis of Gen. 47 27-31 does not recognise this. Consequently he can represent Gen. 47 29-31 as parallel in JE to 49 29-32 in P (Hastings, *DB* 2 532 *a*).

He also mentions (33 19 *f.*) Jacob's purchase of a piece of ground from the Shechemites. All this seems adverse to the choice of such a remote spot for Jacob's burial as Abel-mizrim. On the other hand, the burial of Rachel had probably the same location in J as in E, yet J places the funeral of Jacob in that very remote spot. Possibly more than one place boasted of being the guardian of the tomb of Jacob,[1] and from the title of the altar (or rather maṣṣēba) at Shechem in Gen. 33 20 (see EL-ELOHE-ISRAEL) we may perhaps assume that the tomb at Shechem (which must surely have existed, perhaps near the sacred tree, Gen. 35 4 Josh. 24 26, both E) was known originally as 'Israel's grave,' and that at Abel-mizrim as 'Jacob's grave.' A confusion of names would, of course, arise very early. 'Jacob's well' (near Shechem) is no doubt late in its attestation; but the name in the Karnak list of Thotmes III., usually interpreted 'Jacob-el,' may conceivably (though not at all probably) be explained 'Jacob-beēr'—*i.e.* 'Jacob-well?' (so apparently C. Niebuhr). We have now done our best to make the traditional geography intelligible, but must confess that all is not as satisfactory as we could wish.

2. At this point it is needful to examine the accuracy of the text. It is maintained elsewhere (see REHOBOTH, and cp *Crit. Bib.*) that 'Hebron' and 'Kirjath-arba' are probably in some passages corruptions of 'Rehoboth' and 'Kirjath-'arbim' (city of the Arabians) respectively, and that 'Rehoboth' has a claim to some part of the fame appropriated by Hebron. Also (see ISAAC) that Beer-lahai-roi is a corruption of Beer-jerahmeel, and (see SHECHEM) that 'Hamor, Shechem's father' (Gen. 33 19) is a corruption of 'Cushan-jerahmeel.' Dinah's burial-place too was very possibly near 'the southern Bethel,'[2] close to Ḥalūṣah or Ziklag (see SHECHEM). The traditions of the sepulture of the patriarchs in the original tradition were, therefore, probably not so very different from that given by P, except that P does not place the tombs of the ancestors sufficiently far south. It was in Jerahmeelite land that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (as distinguished from Israel?) both lived and died.

We now come back to the name 'ham-machpelah' (המכפלה). It is itself a distortion of Jerahmeel (ירחמאל). The place near which the cave lay was Cushan-jerahmeel—*i.e.*, one of the chief cities of the Jerahmeelite Negeb (see NEGEB), most probably Ḥaluṣah (Ziklag). 'Mamre,' to the E. of which (לפני) lay the 'field' and the 'cave,' is nothing less than this same Cushan-jerahmeel (ירחמאל=מַמְרֵא). If we take this view in connection with other similar rectifications of ancient but not primitive tradition, it will readily be seen how plausible, nay, how satisfactory it is. If Hebron loses some of its delightful associations, the Jerahmeelite cities of Rehoboth and Ḥaluṣah are the gainers, and readers of the lamented E. H. Palmer's *Desert of the Exodus* will quickly adapt themselves to the truer theory.

3. The traditional 'Machpelah' has a claim to be considered which is somewhat in excess of our space.

'The cave of Machpelah is concealed, beyond all reasonable doubt, by the mosque at Hebron,' are the words of Dean Stanley. The same opinion has been often expressed, and in deference to the antiquity of the tradition, we are bound to give some details from the accounts of early pilgrims, beginning with Josephus, who says (*BJ* iv. 9 7, § 532) that the monuments of Abram and his sons are still shown at Hebron in the fairest marble.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) tells of a square *memoria* of marvellously beautiful masonry, in which were placed the three patriarchs and their wives. Arculf (700 A.D.) says that each of the tombs is 'covered with a single stone worked somewhat in the form of a church, and of a light colour for those of three patriarchs which are together.'

The most circumstantial account of the cave, however, is that of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1163 A.D.). He says that for a fee a Jewish visitor is allowed by the Gentiles to enter the cave. 'He descends into a first cave which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third which contains six sepulchres—those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebekah, Leah, one opposite the other. All these sepulchres bear inscriptions.' It is probable enough that R. Benjamin was one of the last who, in the period of the Christian rule, obtained admission into the interior. For a full account of this great mosque (the Ḥarām) and of everything about the caves except the caves themselves, see *PEFMem.* 3 303, etc., and for the statements of the various travellers and other authorities, the Pal. Pilgrim Text Society's publications, and *Palestine under the Moslems.* See also Sir C. Warren's article, 'Machpelah,' in Hastings' *DB* 2 197-202.

Cp W. Staerk, *Studien zur Religions- und Sprachgesch. des AT* 1 64-73; C. Bruston, 'La mort et la sepulture de Jacob,' *ZATW* 7 202 *ff.*

T. K. C.

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[1] Cp C. Niebuhr, *Gesch.* 1 161.

[2] For מַחֲנֵה לְבֵית-אֵל the original document used by E may have had בִּרְחֹבוֹת.

MACRON (ΜΑΚΡΩΝ [AV]), surname of one of the Ptolemies, 2 Macc. 10 12. See PTOLEMY.

MADAI (מָדַי), the third son of Japheth (Gen. 10 2, ΜΑΔΑΙ [ADL], ΜΑΛΑΙ [E] = 1 Ch. 1 5, ΜΑΔΑΙΜ [B], ΜΑΔΑΙ [AL]). See GEOGRAPHY, § 19; ELAM; PERSIA.

The same Hebrew word is rendered by EV (*a*) 'Medes' (Μῆδοι) in 2 K. 17 6 18 11 Is. 13 17 Jer. 25 25 (Περσῶν [BℵAQ], Μήδων [Qmg.]) Ezra 6 2 and elsewhere, (*b*) 'the Mede' (הַמָּדִי) in Dan. 11 1, and (*c*) 'Media' in Is. 21 2 (οἱ Πέρσαι) Dan. 8 20 (Μῆδοι) Esth. 1 3 10 2 (Μῆδοι). In Is. 21 2 and Jer. 25 25, however, there is reason to think that the original reading was different. In the case of Jer. *l.c.* this is virtually certain. See SHESHACH, *Crit. Bib.*

MADIABUN (RV EMADABUN, ΗΜΑΔΑΒΟΥΝ [BA]), and ELIADUN (RV ILIADUN; [Ε]ΙΛΙΑΔΟΥΝ [BA], ΕΛ. [L]), two names of Levites, 1 Esd. 5 58 (∥ Ezra 3 9).

Probably 'Jesus' (in the same verse) and 'Madiabun' are doublets to 'Joda' and 'Eliadun.' 'Eliadun' (BAL) seems to represent Henadad (read ENADOUN=חנדן?), and ημαδαβουν perhaps arose from the form ωναδαβ (see HENADAD). 𝔊L's και ηναδαδ (contrast 𝔊L in ∥ Ezra) must be a later correction derived from the MT.

S. A. C.

MADIAN (Acts 7 29), RV MIDIAN (*q.v.*).

MADMANNAH (מַדְמַנָּה). **1.** A remote city of Judah towards Edom, mentioned with Ziklag and Sansannah Josh. 15 31, P (ΜΑΧΑΡΕΙΜ [B], ΒΕΔΕΒΗΝΑ [A], ΜΑΡΑΡΕΙΜ [L]). The name, however, is corrupt (cp MADMEN). In Josh. 19 5 its place is taken by Beth-marcaboth; Madmannah (from מרכבה) must be a corruption of Marcaboth, which is itself certainly a distortion of Rehoboth. See MARCABOTH. That Eusebius and Jerome connect the name Medebena or Medemana with a village near Gaza called Menoeis (*OS*(2) 279 24 139 10) is no objection to this view. Cp MEKONAH.

2. The eponym of the city Madmannah, 1 Ch. 2 49, see RV (μαρμηνα [B], μαδμ. [A], μεδμ. [L]).

T. K. C.

MADMEN (מַדְמֵן), a supposed Moabite city, Jer. 48 2 (ΠΑΥϹΙΝ [BℵAQ]; cp Pesh. Vg.). The name ('dung-heap'; cp Del. *Iob* 62 *f.*) is most improbable, and since (1) the context is suggested by Is. 15 1, and (2) there is a very similar corruption in Is. 15 9 (see DIMON), we can safely for Madmen read נמרים, NIMRIM (*q.v.*), which in Is. 15 5 *f.* occurs just after HORONAIM.

T. K. C.

MADMENAH (מַדְמֵנָה; ΜΑΔΕΒΗΝΑ [BℵAQ]), a supposed village of Benjamin, mentioned with Gebim, Is. 10 31. 'No trace of the locality is left' (Di.-Kittel). Probably the name is corrupt (cp MADMEN), and we should read רִמֹּנָה, Rimmonah; for a parallel see DIMNAH. This Rimmonah was not 'the rock Rimmon' of Judg. 20 45, but nearer to Jerusalem. See Che. 'Geographical Gains, etc.,' *Expos.*, Sept. 1899, and cp GEBIM.

T. K. C.

MADNESS (שִׁגָּעוֹן), **MADMAN** (מִתְהֹלֵל).

1. Terms. The Hebrew root שָׁגַע, *šāga'*, which the 'mad' of the RV most commonly represents is in use almost a synonym of התנבא 'to prophesy' (Jer. 29 26) and denotes either the raving of the madman (1 S. 21 14 *f.* [15 *f.*] = יתנבא 18 10) or the prophetic ecstasy (Hos. 9 7). The root-meaning is clear from Ass. *šigu* 'to be in vehement inward excitement,' Del. *HWB* 639. Arabic *šaju'a* means to be strong, vigorous; either the root is the same as שגע, but has developed a secondary meaning on Arabic soil (cp Del. *Prol.* § 9), or it has nothing to do with שגע—in which case *'ašja'u*, 'mad,' *mušja'un*, 'utterly mad,' will be loan-words from the Hebrew. This would account for the anomalous correspondence of שׁ and Arab. *š*. Cp Barth, *Etym. Stud.* 47.

Another root also rendered by 'mad' in RV (Is. 44 25 Jer. 25 16) is הָלַל, *hālal*, the root meaning of which (cp Ar., Ass.) is 'to cry aloud.' The nouns הוֹלֵלָה, or הוֹלֵלוֹת are synonyms of סִכְלוּת, folly (see FOOL). The root-meaning of מִתְלַהְלֵהַּ (Prov. 26 18) is not clear. [The final ה is dittographed; read מִתְהוֹלֵל [Frankenb., Toy], '(As) a madman.']

Greek words rendered 'madness' in the RV are μανία (Acts 26 24), παραφρονία (2 Pet. 2 16), ἄνοια (Lk. 6 11; mg. 'foolishness').

In spite of the fact that madness (*šiggā'ōn*) is one of the plagues with which Israel is threatened in the event

2. OT References. of disobedience to the law (Dt. 28 28), actual cases of insanity are rare in the OT. One might be inclined to regard the case of Saul as the most historical, occurring as it does in the course of a narrative which no one can deny to contain a kernel of fact; yet even here we cannot be sure, without strict investigation, that the notices of Saul's frenzy do not belong to the less historical stratum (see SAUL, § 4). This does not, however, involve our rejection of these notices as material for an article on Madness in OT and NT. As the narrator represents, the successes of David awakened Saul's jealousy, and 'at last the turbulent ferment of passion broke forth into wild frenzy . . . With the tenacity peculiar to one haunted by an illusion, he devotes himself henceforth almost exclusively to his purpose of avenging himself on his supposed mortal enemy and persecutor' (Kittel, *Hist.* 2 121). Saul's reported breach with Samuel also, according to the narrator, contributed to unhinge the mind of Saul; 'he feels himself forsaken by God . . . sees spectres everywhere which are hatching mischief against him' (*Gesch.* 2 105). Looking at the notices of his state from a non-critical point of view, we may perhaps say that the malady of Saul was an idiopathic insanity, exhibiting the usual mental symptoms of melancholia (1 S. 28 20) and delusion (20 30), with homicidal and suicidal mania (18 11 20 33 31 5).

A second instance of insanity in the OT, the 'lycan-

3. Case of Nebuchadrezzar. thropy'[1] (or 'boanthropy') of Nebuchadrezzar (Dan. 4 cp Verg. *Ecl.* 6 48 *ff.*) is, in spite of the testimony of Abydenus (ap. Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 9 41), most probably unhistorical.

The passage is translated in full by Bevan (*Daniel*, 87 *f.*); the part which bears most closely on the question of Nebuchadrezzar's madness is as follows:—

'or else, would that he might betake himself to some other place, and might be driven through the desert, where is no city nor track of men, where wild beasts seek their food and birds fly hither and thither, would that among rocks and mountain cliffs he might wander alone!'

With this we have to compare Dan. 4 33.

'The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hair was grown like eagles' (feathers), and his nails like birds' (claws).'

Prince (*Daniel*, 1899, pp. 32-35) is of opinion that the great king may have been 'afflicted by a form of insanity which incapacitated him from governing, and necessitated the succession of his son.'

Bevan (*Daniel*, 1892, p. 89) can only say that probably 'some Babylonian legend on the subject of Nebuchadnezzar had, perhaps in a very distorted form, reached the ears of the author of Daniel.' With this, Driver (*Daniel*, 1900, pp. 59 *f.*) appears to agree. See also Schrader, 'Die Sage vom Wahnsinn Nebukadnezars, *JPT* 7 [1881], pp. 618 *ff.*[2]

Madness is conceived of in the OT as a kindred phenomenon to the prophetic 'furor'; see PROPHECY.

4. Beliefs respecting origin of madness. A spirit from Yahwè is in both cases the agency at work (cp 1 S. 16 14 with 1 K. 22 19 *ff.*), and, whilst some of the contemptuous pity which the lunatic could not but evoke attaches at times to the prophet (2 K. 9 11), the superstitious awe with which the prophet was regarded serves to clothe the other also and renders his person sacrosanct. In the East the madman is still regarded as something sacred. It is possibly the sacred character of the madman which accounts for the refusal of ACHISH (*q.v.*) to interfere with David when he

[1] A form of disease in which the sufferer, imagining himself to be a wild beast, roamed about the forests. A somewhat milder form of the disease is not unknown to alienists.

[2] [Nebuchadrezzar's madness, however, is simply the product of misunderstanding, if the words of Dan. 4 25 are borrowed from a Babylonian song in which 'eating grass' was a symbolic expression for 'living in misery' (so Winckler, *OLZ*, 1898, p. 71; *AOF* 2 214, n. 2; cp Gunkel, *Gen.* 17).]

feigned madness (1 S. 21 12 [13] *ff.*; cp Ewald, *GVI* 3 116). It would seem too that, according to the narratives, Saul forfeited the allegiance of neither court (16 15 *ff.*) nor people (26 1 28 4; but cp 22 17).

The madmen of the NT are not kings but common folk, and their malady is attributed not to a spirit sent from God (cp SAUL), but to inferior deities or 'demons' entering into them—a conception of madness, as of disease generally, which the Jews brought back with them from Babylon (see DEMONS, § 11). The influence of music is no longer invoked to calm and soothe (1 S. 16 16), nor is the lunatic's person sacred; he wanders about at large, or, if dangerous, is bound in chains (Lk. 8 29). It is hard to say how many of the *δαιμονιζόμενοι* healed by Jesus may be reckoned as insane; see further DEMONS, § 8 *f.*, LUNATIC. In Jn. 10 20 we have madness expressly connected with demoniacal possession. A. C. P.

MADON (מָדוֹן), a royal city of the Canaanites, perhaps on the W. of the Waters of Merom. Josh. 11 1 (*μαρρων* [BF], *μαδων* [AL]); 12 19 ([*λα*]*μορων* [L]; for BF see SHIMRON).

But is the text right? Following 𝔊 (cp Eus. *OS*(2) 278 7, *μαρωμ*) we might read מרום or מרון (see MEROM). This seems better than identifying with *Madīn* near *Ḥaṭṭīn*, W. of Tiberias (*PEFM* 1 365). Further study is needed. See SHIMRON.

MAELUS (ΜΑΗΛΟϹ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 26 = Ezra 10 25, MIJAMIN 2.

MAGADAN (ΜΑΓΑΔΑΝ) is the reading in Mt. 15 39 of ℵBD Ti. WH, RV, etc., for the ΜΑΓΔΑΛΑ, MAGDALA [*q.v.*], of TR and AV. Accepted by the most authorities, the names cannot either of them be identified with any site (but see GALILEE [SEA OF], § 5). The corresponding passage Mk. 8 10 has DALMANUTHA [*q.v.*], which is equally uncertain. Eusebius (*Onom.* ed. Lag.) spells it *Μαγεδαν* and identifies it with the *Μαγεδανή* of his time 'in the neighbourhood of Gerasa,' that is, on the E. shore of the lake (cp Lightfoot, *Op. Post.* 70 *b*, on the site of Magdala). But Jesus is said to have embarked from it for 'the other' (*i.e.*, eastern) 'side' (*εἰς τὸ πέραν*, Mk. 8 13). Ewald (*Hist.* ET 6 348) suggests Megiddo (*Μαγέδω* in Jos. *Ant.* viii. 6 1); so too Volkmar; Henderson (*Pal.*, § 114) says there is 'nothing unlikely in the identification, as our Lord may have passed into the plain of Beisān.' But whilst this in itself is improbable, on Conder's theory that Megiddo was near Beisān, it becomes almost impossible if we adopt the usual and best supported theory which places MEGIDDO [*q.v.*] at Lejjūn in the plain of Esdraelon. G. A. S.

MAGBISH (מַגְבִּישׁ; ΜΑΚΒΕΙϹ [L]), a name in one of the post-exilic lists; the b'ne Magbish returned with Zerubbabel to the number of 156; Ezra 2 30 (ΜΑΓΕΒΩϹ [B], -ΒΙϹ [A]) = 1 Esd. 5 21, NEPHIS, RV NIPHIS (*νειφεις* [B], *φινεις* [A]). The name is absent from ∥ Neh. 7. Cp MAGPIASH, which, as Meyer (*Ent.* 156) sees, represents the same name. Almost certainly that name is נְפִיסִים [נפישים?], NEPHISIM (*q.v.*). The next name in Ezra (*l.c.*) is עילם אחר, which is a corruption of ירחמאל. See also MESHULLAM. T. K. C.

MAGDALA (ΜΑΓΔΑΛΑ), the reading of TR in Mt. 15 39 where ℵBD Ti. WH have ΜΑΓΑΔΑΝ, MAGADAN [*q.v.*]. Whilst 'Magadan' is the best supported reading and Magdala is supposed to be a substitution due to the ignorance of later scribes with regard to Magadan, it ought to be pointed out that *Μαγαδαν* is a possible corruption of an original Magdala. However that may be, the existence of a Galilean Magdala is rendered certain both by the name of Mary Magdalene (cp MARY, § 26), and by the testimony of Jewish writers. The Talm. Jerus. places a Magdala, מגדלא, within a sabbath day's journey of Tiberias (*'Ērūbīn* 5 1), and indeed within the same distance of the hot baths of Ḥamata, to the S. of Tiberias (*Id.* 23 4); and the same

things which some Talmudic writers assign to Magdala others assign to a Migdal Ṣebo'ayya, מגדל צבעיא, 'Dyers-Tower,' (cp Midrash, *Shīr ha-shīrīm* 1 18 with Talm. Jerus. *Pĕsāḥīm* 4 1; and Midrash *'Ēkhāh* 3 3 with Talm. Jerus. *Ma'ăśēr Shēnī* 5 2) which accordingly Neubauer identifies as a part of Magdala (*Géogr. Talm.* 218). The Babylonian Talmud speaks of a מגדל נוניא, Migdal Nunya or 'Fish-Tower,' one mile from Tiberias (*Pĕsāḥim* 46 *b*). [Cp GALILEE (SEA), § 5, where it is suggested that Magadan, Magdala, and Dalmanutha are all corruptions of this compound name Migdal Nunya.—ED.]

Magdala was a place of some wealth (Talm. Jer. *Ta'ănīth* 48) and is said to have been destroyed מִפְּנֵי הַזְּנוּת, 'because of licentiousness' (Midrash *'Ēkhāh* 2 2). The name does not occur in other early writers, nor in Josephus (for the reading Μαγδαλα in *Vita* 24 on which some older scholars depend for their location of Magdala on the E. of the Lake should be Γαμαλα); nor even in Eusebius and Jerome.

Willibald (about 722) passed from Tiberias 'round the sea, and by the village of Magdalum to the village of Capernaum.' Whether this was the Magdalum Castrum of Brocardus is less certain though most probable. It is doubtless that of a writer of the same century who after speaking of the Mensa Domini goes on to say; 'Ibi prope juxta mare Tiberiadis versus Tabariam est locus quæ dicitur Magdalon' (Rob. *BR* 8 279 n. 3, who refers for the citation to Steph. Baluzii, *Miscellanea*, tom. 6 369, Paris, 1713). Quaresmius (2 866) mentions a Mejdel on Gennesaret in his time and identifies it with Magdala. The name still lives, on a site which is suitable to the mediæval data, but too far N. to suit the Talmudic statement that Magdala was within a Sabbath day's journey of Tiberias.

On the Lake, in the SE. corner of the plain of Gennesaret, 3 m. NW. of Tiberias, near a stream which comes down from the Wādy el-Ḥamām, el-Mejdel is a miserable little village, with 'some indications of ancient ruins both of walls and foundations' (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, 2 136), probably a watch-tower guarding the entrance to the plain (Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* 382). The country immediately around is called the Arḍ el-Mejdel (Wilson), and is cultivated by the villagers and Bedouins. Some have taken it to represent the MIGDAL-EL [*q.v.*] of Josh. 19 38.

Besides the authorities quoted, see Lightfoot, *Op. Post.* 70 *b*; *PEFQ*, 1877, p. 121 *f.*; Buhl, *Pal.* 225 *f.*; Schür. *GJV*(2) 1 515 = ET 2 224 (on a proposed identification with Tarícheæ).

G. A. S.

MAGDALENE. See col. 2894, end; also MARY, § 26.

MAGDIEL (מַגְדִּיאֵל, § 38; 'God is my costly possession'? cp perhaps the Palmyrene בני מגרת, the Sab. fem. name מגדעל, and מֶגֶד Dt. 33 13; ΜΑΓΕΔΙΗΛ [AL]) a 'duke' of Edom '*in regione* Gebalena' (*OS* 137 13), Gen. 36 43 (ΜΕΤΟΔΙΗΛ [*AD*vid.], ΜΑΛΕΛΙΗΛ [E]; 1 Ch. 1 54, ΜΕΔΙΗΛ [B], ΜΑΓΔΕΗΛ [L]). 𝔊E's reading (cp MAHALALEEL) suggests an original Jeraḥme'el (Che.).

MAGED (1 Macc. 5 36), RV MAKED.

MAGI, MAGUS (ΜΑΓΟΙ, ΜΑΓΟϹ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 2 1 Acts 13 6†, RVmg. (EV 'wise men,' 'sorcerer'). Cp MAGIC, STARS. See also ZOROASTRIANISM, SIMON MAGUS, JANNES AND JAMBRES.

In 𝔊 μαγος = Aram. אָשַׁף, 'enchanter, magician,' Dan. 1 20 (Theod. but 𝔊 φιλοσόφους), 2 2 27 (Theod., 𝔊 φαρμακῶν), 5 7 (Theod., 𝔊 ἐπακδοὺς καὶ φαρμακούς). Cp μαγεύειν, 'to practice sorcery,' etc., Acts 8 9.

MAGIC

1. Definition. Magic may be briefly described as the attempt on man's part to influence, persuade, or compel spiritual beings to comply with certain requests or demands. It rests upon the belief that the powers in the world are controlled by spirits, and that therefore to be able to overrule these spirits is to have the mastery of nature. In a narrow but later sense, magic has to do with feats of power, not of knowledge, the relation between it and divination being comparable to that between miracles and prophecy. At the beginning, and at the present time among savage people, this distinction is not drawn. Similarly, at the first, good spirits and bad spirits were not distinguished.[1]

There are, no doubt, many cases in which spirits are little, if at all, thought of. The means employed to obtain good or to obviate evil seem to have no connection with belief in spirits; just as ritual acts are performed by some people with little or no thought of the deity or deities they were originally believed to conciliate. Nevertheless, however much the invocation or other charm may appear as cosmic means of influencing the forces of the universe as such, there was originally, as there still is at bottom implied, an acknowledgment of spiritual beings who are influenced in these ways.[2]

2a. A factor in Hebrew life. Such an acknowledgment is certainly made by the ancient narrative (JE) of the story of Balaam (see BLESSINGS). That Balaam is a magician, it is, in the light of ancient Arabian customs, impossible to deny; and it is equally clear that the reality of the power claimed by Balaam is acknowledged in the biblical account. Else why should Yahwè be represented as transferring Balaam's service to the cause of Israel?[3] Nor can we overlook the same acknowledgment in P's account of the Egyptian plagues[4] (Ex. 7-11). Moses throws down his rod and it becomes a serpent; the magicians do the same (Ex. 7 11 *f.*). The reality of the transformation accomplished is not so much as doubted (see SERPENT, § 3). Moses, by his rod, turns the water of Egypt into blood; the magicians 'by their enchantments' do the same (Ex. 7 20-22). The case is similar with the plague of frogs. The power of the magicians fails indeed when it is a question of producing gnats (Ex. 8 17 [13] *f.*; EV LICE [*q.v.*]). Even here, however, there is no scepticism as to the reality of magic.

The word rendered magicians (חַרְטֻמִּים, *ḥarṭummīm*)[5] is found in one of the older sources (Gen. 41 8 24 [E]), where it denotes the dream interpreters of Egypt—those whom the Pharaoh summoned to interpret his dream. In Exodus, on the other hand, it stands for magicians in the narrower and stricter sense. The only other passages in which the word is used are in Dan., where the men so described are represented as living in Babylon; but as the book was written in Palestine, and Gen. and Ex. in their present form stood before the author, there is good ground for believing that the writer borrowed the word from the old books.

A trace of a belief in the efficacy of a plant is clearly seen in Gen. 30 14 [J] where Reuben brings Leah *dūdā'īm* or MANDRAKES (*q.v.*). This plant was known among the northern Semites as Baaras (cp Jos. *BJ* vii. 6 3), and was supposed by the Arabs and by the ancient Germans

[1] Divination is but a species of magic in the wider sense implied in the first definition given above: it is magic used in discovering the will of spiritual beings. See the present writer's *Magic, etc.*, p. 4 *f.* Divination has to do, however, usually with omens, and it is more convenient, as it is more usual, to distinguish magic and divination as is done above.

[2] Frazer (*Golden Bough* (2), 1 61) takes magic proper to be a kind of savage logic, a crude species of reasoning based on similarity and contiguity. Where the operation of spirits is assumed (and 'these cases are exceptional'), magic is, according to him, 'tinged and alloyed with religion.' He admits, however (pp. 67 *ff.*), that in actual fact, such an assumption is often made, but he concludes from various considerations that 'though magic is . . . found to fuse and amalgamate with religion in many ages, and in many lands, there are some grounds for thinking that this fusion is not primitive.'

[3] See BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS, and for Arabian illustrations see Goldziher (*Abh. z. Arab. Philol.* 1 26 *ff.* [1896]), who has shown that among the ancient Arabs, as among the Jews, the magical words of blessing and of cursing played a prominent part. In war, the poet by cursing the enemy rendered service not second to that of the warrior himself; the uttered word was, in fact, a most potent 'fetish' (Goldziher, 28). The Jews of Medīna brought into their synagogues images of their arch foe Malik b. al-Aglam, and at these they hurled curses every time they came together.

[4] In JE no such reference to the magicians occurs.

[5] For a Babylonian connection (Ḳardamu) see Hommel, *Exp.T*, Feb. 1900, p. 234.

to be inhabited by a spirit which gave it extraordinary powers (see WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 442, and cp Lang, *Custom and Myth*, 143 *ff.*). The biblical narrative ascribes to this plant effects which could not be supposed to follow from its natural properties; but no disapproval of its magical use is expressed either by the author or by the redactor. [Whitehouse, in Hastings' *DB* 3 210*b*, connects *dūdā'īm* with the דודה of Mesha's inscription, *l.* 12, cp also ISSACHAR, § 2.]

There is another incident recorded in the same chapter which belongs to the category of magic, though it is magic of the sympathetic or symbolic kind. (For a description of this see Jevons, *Intr. to Hist. of Religion*, 28 *ff.*, Frazer, *Golden Bough*,(2) 149 *ff.*). The peeled rods which Jacob put in front of the sheep and goats as they came to drink water, caused those that were pregnant to bring forth young that were spotted and striped (Gen. 30 37 *f.* [J]); the natural explanation may be adequate, but it is probable that more than this was in the mind of the writer.

There is a good deal of uncertainty as to the teraphim which Rachel stole when she and Jacob left her father's house, Gen. 31 19 *ff.* [E] (see TERAPHIM). They were of human form (1 S. 19 13), and were looked upon as gods (Gen. 31 30 and Judg. 18 24), though their possession is regarded as illegitimate. (Josiah put them away with the wizards, etc., 2 K. 23 24; cp Zech. 10 2 where they are associated with diviners.)

Among the Assyrians images of gods were kept in the house because they were believed to have the power of warding off evil spirits. A certain exorcist is said to have had statues of the gods Lugalgira and Alamu put one on each side of the main entrance to his house, and in consequence, he felt perfectly impregnable against all evil spirits (see Tallqvist, *Assyr. Beschw.* 22).

It is probable that in Gen. and elsewhere we should construe *teraphim* as a plural of 'excellence' or of 'majesty,' answering to אֱלֹהִים (Elōhīm), אֲדֹנִים (Adōnīm). The teraphim were kept in the house as a guarantee of good luck; though originally perhaps idols, they were afterwards, and in biblical times almost exclusively, a kind of charm. That they had a magical import is suggested by Zech. 10 2, where teraphim, diviners, and tellers of false dreams are put in the same category. The Genesis narrative, and also Hos. 3 4, show that teraphim were not always condemned.

In the prohibition 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk' (Ex. 23 19 34 26 Dt. 14 21), many scholars, from Spencer (*Leg. Heb. Rit.* 1335 *ff.* [1732]) downwards, have seen an allusion to a magical broth, prepared in order to give fertility to the fields;[1] more probably the reference is to an ancient form of sacrifice—similar to the sacrifice of blood (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 221, n.).

In Is. 3 2 the Ḳōsēm (magician or diviner) is named along with the knight and the warrior, the judge, the prophet, and the elder, among the stays and supports of the nation; of none of them is any disapproval implied.

One great fact which induced the Hebrews to condemn magic and the like was that it was so closely connected with idolatry; in 2 K. 9 22 it seems identified with it. T. W. D.

2b. In Babylonian religion.

1. *Place of magic in Babylonian religion.*—In the religion of the Babylonians magic always had a prominent place. Every misfortune, and especially all sickness, was regarded as arising from some malign spell, a ban (*mamītu*), under which the sufferer had come. A ban of this kind could be incurred in all possible ways—not only by the commission of positive acts of sin such as murder, adultery, theft, fraud, but also by neglect of ritual and ceremonial precepts, or by casual contact with persons or things which themselves lay under some ban.

1 Spencer adduces (340), as supporting his view, Maimonides, Abarbanel, Nic. de Lyra, and an anonymous Ḳaraite commentator.

All the contingencies in which the ban can be incurred are exhaustively set forth in the second, third, and eighth tablets[1] of the Šurpu series of exorcism tablets. Thus, for example, we read in the second tablet: 'Has he [the bewitched person] sinned against his god, been guilty towards his goddess? . . . Has he dishonoured his father and mother? . . . Has he used false weights, circulated false money? . . . Has he approached his neighbour's wife, shed his neighbour's blood, stolen his neighbour's garment?' The same tablet, however, contains also the question whether the sufferer has slept on the bed of a bewitched person, sat on his seat, eaten from his dish, drunk from his cup.

Alongside of this conception of a more or less impersonal visitation we find that other—doubtless more primitive—in which malevolent divine beings, demons, or else human beings, wizards and witches, in league with these evil demons, are regarded as the producers of disease and disaster. The malign activity of these wicked spirits—in connection with whom the number seven is prominent (cp Lk. 8 2 Mk. 16 9 Mt. 12 45)—is vividly depicted in the Babylonian exorcism texts.

They are regarded as the spawn of hell. The wilderness is their favourite dwelling-place, whence they make their inroads upon the abodes of men. From house to house they make their baleful way, no bar or bolt being able to exclude them; snakelike they steal through doorways, windlike through crevices. Their hostility to men is unsparing; their influence is specially seen in the havoc they work on family life. They alienate husband and wife, father and son, partners and friends. Of these Babylonian demons we meet with two representatives in the OT; Lilitu (see LILITH) and the šēdu (Heb. šēdīm, see DEMONS).

The activity of wizards and witches is in like manner fully and vividly set forth in the exorcism texts, especially in the exorcism tablets of Maḳlū.[2] Day and night the witches—for in this field the female plays a much more conspicuous part than the male—dog the steps of their victims.

The witches haunt the streets and public places, beset the wayfarer, force their way into houses. Their tongue brings bewitchment, their lips breathe poison, death attends their footsteps. A very favourite method of working their enchantments was, in popular belief, by means of figures of clay, wood, dough, or the like. The tying of witch-knots was also largely resorted to. The most usual Babylonian word for witch is *kaššaptu*; cp Heb. מְכַשֵּׁפָה (below, § 3 [2]).

2. *Methods of counteracting the evil power.*—In correspondence with this deep and widespread belief in the power for evil wielded by demons and witches was the belief in the possibility of counteracting it; and the methods by which this could be accomplished constituted an essential part of the religion of Babylonia. The spell, the ban, to which a man was constantly liable demanded a counterspell, an exorcism. This was sought in a great variety of ways; and the main part of the business of the exorciser lay in finding out which particular charm could be used against each particular spell.

Here, water was regarded, above all other media, as of great efficacy. Sprinklings and washings with pure water, taken if possible from the sacred rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, accordingly have a large and important place in the Babylonian ceremonies of exorcism. Similarly, the power of breaking hostile spells was ascribed to fire. Hence the practice freely resorted to of placing a brazier at the bedside of the sick and burning on it a great variety of substances so as to represent symbolically the breaking of the spell. Besides water and fire, many plants and minerals of real or supposed healing virtue were brought into requisition, and thus the practice of magic constitutes the primitive stage in the practice of medicine.

The evil demons who had laid their victim under a ban and taken possession of him were expelled by exorcism and driven back into the wilderness whence they had come. For the witches death by fire was regarded as the only appropriate punishment.

Whether as matter of fact witch-burning was actually practised by the Babylonians cannot indeed, as yet, be quite clearly made out. At all events the witches were burned in the effigy which their victim kindled before the image of the divinity whose help he wished to invoke. The form taken by these witch-adjurations is in many respects quite similar to that of a legal process in which the bewitched person is the accuser, the witch the accused, and the divinity the judge.

1 Translated by H. Zimmern in *Beitr. zur Kenntnis der Bab. Rel.* i., 1896.

2 Translated, with a useful introduction on Babylonian magic in general, in K. Tallqvist's *Die Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlū* (1895).

A matter of prime importance—and in this, relatively, Babylonian magic presents a good side—always was to secure the assistance of one or more of the good greater deities in counteracting these assaults of demons and witches; hence the frequent and fervent prayers still preserved to us in the magical literature of Babylon.

No notices of the practice of necromancy in the manner of 1 S. 28 have as yet been met with. Still something quite similar can be read at the end of the Gilgameš-Nimrod epic in the summoning of the spirit of Eabani by Gilgameš with the assistance of Nergal (god of the under world).[1] At all events the Babylonians had quite the same ideas as the Israelites about the spirit of the departed (*ekimmu*) and the possibility of causing it to appear.

This is plainly shown by the repeated mention of the necromancer (*mušēlū ša ekimmu*, literally, 'he who causes the spirit to come up') in Babylonian lists of official names. Of special interest in connection with the Babylonian notions regarding the disembodied spirit is a text[2] containing the prayer of one possessed by a ghost along with the petition for deliverance from it.

3. *Soothsaying.*—Alongside of magic, soothsaying also had an important place in the Babylonian-Assyrian religion. Through the agency of the seer (bârû)—a class of priest held in special esteem—the effort was made to obtain information as to the future from all sorts of occurrences. The clay tablets recovered at Nineveh from the library of Ašur-bāni-pal, the last of the great Assyrian kings, are full of texts containing omens of this description—which were taken from the flight of birds, from anomalous birth of man and beast, from the behaviour of certain animals, such as the pig, ass, horse, dog, serpent, scorpion, and locust. The interpretation of dreams, and especially the hepatoscopy, are important departments of soothsaying, and these two can be most clearly shown to have existed from the earliest times. Lastly, the cuneiform literature shows that astrology, the observing of the positions and combinations of the stars — a pursuit which has ever been, justly, regarded as having taken its rise in Babylonia—influenced the entire life of the Babylonians in the highest degree. The Assyrian kings made extensive use of all the methods of divination mentioned above, in determining their policy (cp Ezek. 21 21 [26]).[3] H. Z.

For the many terms used in the OT, several of which include both magic and divination, cp DIVINATION, § 3 *f.* Two words appear never to have had any exclusive reference to one or the other. These are ḥăkāmīm (חכמים; σοφοί, σοφισταί) 'wise men' and ḥarṭummīm (חרטמים; EV 'magicians').

3. OT Terms.

Ḥăkāmīm is used of the counsellors of the Pharaoh (Is. 19 11 *f.*), and of the King of Persia (Esth. 1 13 *f.*); ḥarṭummīm, which may be rendered 'sacred scribes'[4] (Gen. 41 8, RVmg.), is applied to the dream-interpreters of the Pharaoh (Gen. 41 8 24 E), and in post-exilic writings to the magicians at the Egyptian court (Ex. 7 11 8 7 [3] 9 11 [P]), and to the dream-interpreters of Nebuchadrezzar (Dan. 2 2 27 4 7 [4] 5 11).

The specific terms, of which the commonest is *ḳésem*, are in some cases obscure. They are the following:—

1. *Ḳésem* (קֶסֶם). This word probably had originally a magical reference (Fleischer), though the secondary sense (see DIVINATION, § 2 [1]) has almost driven out the primary.

Cp Ar. *ḳasama*, which (in 2 and 4), as well as the noun *ḳisāma* ('oath'), has a distinctive magical meaning; also the Syriac *awmī*, 'to exorcise,' strictly 'to make swear,' and likewise the Gr. ὅρκια τέμνεσθαι = 'to make an oath,' and then 'to make a covenant with.' W. R. Smith, however (*J. Phil.* 13 278), and Wellhausen (*Heid.*(1), 128, *Heid.*(2), 133, n. 5), both take the contrary view; Smith making 'decision' (cp Prov. 16 10 and Targ.), Wellhausen 'allotment or distribution,' the fundamental meaning. The present writer differs with reluctance from such eminent authorities. It is true that there are cases in which the Ar. word has the sense of divination (*e.g.*, Ḳuran 5 4), 'obtaining a divine decree by headless arrows, etc.,' and that in Aram., the same signification is most common; but we must remember that in early times magic and divination came under one category.

The primary sense may be one which includes both the special ones. Of the two senses that of magic seems much more likely to be the original.

2. From √*kšp*, כשף (2 Ch. 33 6 'to use witchcraft,' RV 'practice sorcery') are derived *kaššāph* (כַּשָּׁף; Jer. 27 9) and *mᵉkaššēph* (מְכַשֵּׁף, Ex. 7 11 Dan. 2 2 Mal. 3 5) rendered by EV 'sorcerer' (in Dt. 18 10, and Ex. 22 18 [17]: fem. מְכַשֵּׁפָה, AV 'witch,' RV 'sorceress').

W. R. Smith derives from Ar. *kasafa*, 'to cut,' the Hebrew word having in it the idea of cutting oneself in coming to the deity (see 1 K. 18 28 and Jer. 41 5). He points out that it is still common in Arabia for a person guilty of some wrong to cut himself in the presence of the wronged person as a sign of repentance. The noun *kěshāphīm* (כְּשָׁפִים) he takes to mean 'herbs or drugs shredded into a magic brew.' (Cp Ar. *kisfa*, 'bits of things.') The meaning of verb and noun, however, are unconnected, and though in Mic. 5 11 [12] כשפים may well have the meaning of material drugs, in 2 K. 9 22 and Nah. 3 4 (EV 'witchcraft'), it cannot have that meaning, notwithstanding 𝔊 φάρμακα. Nor is this sense suitable in Is. 47 12, nor in Nu. 23 3 (where we should perhaps read with Kue. וילך לכשפיו).

The present writer follows Fleischer, who argues for its derivation from Ar. (*kasafa*) 'to obscure,' of the sun and moon 'to eclipse.' If the derivation just suggested were adopted, the Hebrew might denote first of all 'to have dark appearance,' then 'to be gloomy,' 'distressed,' and finally 'to be a suppliant,' 'to seek something from the deity'; cp the Syriac *ethkesheph* to entreat.[1]

The Syriac word, in all the twelve instances in OT where *kashaph* (כשף), in one or other of its forms occurs, is *ḥeresh.* Now in the simple form this verb means 'to be silent —*i.e.*, to restrain one's voice. In the Pa. and Aph. it means to practise magical arts. To distinguish two separate roots (with the Lexx.) would seem to be unnecessary. Suppose the primary sense to be 'to restrain,' then 'to keep one's voice under,' 'to speak in a low mumbling tone'; we have in that case a link of connection with the meaning in the derived form, for the magician utters his incantations in such a suppressed tone. Smith, however, connects the Syriac word with the rare Arabic term *ḥurs* and *ḥursa* = a kind of food given to women in child-bearing, which was a drug, thus agreeing exactly with φάρμακα.

3. *Láḥaš* (לַחַשׁ), 'enchantment' (cp Is. 3 3, נְבוֹן לָחַשׁ, RV 'a skilful enchanter') is used more specifically of serpent-charming (Jer. 8 17 Eccles. 10 11; cp מְלַחֵשׁ Ps. 58 5 [6] 'charmer'), and hence of any charm which could be worn, cp Is. 3 20 (לְחָשִׁים, RV 'amulets').[2]

The primary meaning of the word may perhaps be seen in 2 S. 12 19 Ps. 41 7 [8], not however in Is. 26 16 (see *SBOT*). It has been thought that *laḥaš* (לחש) and *naḥaš* (נחש) may have a kindred origin, and it is at any rate singular that the Arabic equivalents of both[3] are used in the sense of unlucky.

4. *Ḥéber* (חֶבֶר), found only in pl. (Is. 47 9 12 'enchantments') or in connection with *ḥōbēr*, חבר (Dt. 18 11 Ps. 58 5 [6], 'charmer'), is explained by Ges. (*Thes.* 1 441) to mean binding or tying—*i.e.*, of magical knots.[4] Similarly Smith, who says it is used to denote the tying together of words in order to constitute an incantation. He (followed by Ges.(13)-Buhl(2), and Sieg.-St., also by Stade, *GVI* 1 505, and Dr. *Deut.*, *ad loc.*) goes back to the Jewish tradition which sees in the word some kind of snake-charming. Note the parallelism in Ps. 58 5 [6].

Here we may refer to the Rabbinical *ḳēmīaʿ* (קָמִיעַ), 'amulet,' from קמע, 'to bind.' Most likely it signifies something bound to a person, with no reference therefore to magical tying. It is the

[1] See Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod* (1894), p. 42; Jensen in Schrader's *KB*, vi. 1 263.

[2] L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (1896), no. 53; cp also B. Meissner in *ZDMG* 50, 750 (1896).

[3] See Zimmern, *Beitr. z. Kenntn. d. Bab. Rel.*, p. 82 *ff.* (1901).

[4] חרטם is derived by G. Hoffmann (*ZATW* 3 89) from Arab. (ḥaṭm) 'nose,' and explained as meaning 'one who speaks in a low nasal tone' (cp מְעוֹנֵן. DIVINATION, § 2, and γόητες, below, § 4). 𝔊 gives variously ἐξηγηταί (expounders), ἐπαοιδοί (chanters, those who say incantations), and φαρμακοί (those who use drugs for magical ends).

[1] Cp also Ar. *kāsif*, 'unlucky' (of days). Note that Fleischer (Levy, *NHW* 2 459 *a*) takes Ar. *kasafa* in the derived sense of speaking in a low, murmuring tone.

[2] Similarly בָּתֵּי נֶפֶשׁ (*ib.*), AV 'tablets,' RV 'perfume boxes,' is taken by Smith to be a kind of amulet.

[3] *Laḥasa* (as *lāḥūs*, 'unlucky') and *naḥasa* (*naḥs*, 'unlucky'). Cp SERPENT, § 1 [3].

[4] Cp Ar. *ḥabar*, a narrative—*i.e.*, a series of words bound together. Or we may argue for a derivation from *ḥabara*, to be beautiful, from an (assumed) earlier, but lost meaning 'to weave, bind.' So חָבֵר, *ḥābēr*, a companion, one that is bound (to an individual or society), cp T. W. Davies, *Magic etc.*, 55 *f.*

Rabbinical term for phylacteries; see FRONTLETS. It is not at all impossible that Jesus' words in Mt. 16 19 18 18 were suggested by this magical practice, known in his time and in his country as in all times and lands. See BINDING AND LOOSING.

5. *Saḥ(ḥ)ēr* (שחר) in Is. 47 11, is explained by the great majority of critics (Hi. Ew. Di. etc.) 'to charm (away),' or the like (so RVmg.). This can be well defended (see the Comm.); but the absence of any analogy in Heb. and Aram. favours the view that the text is corrupt.[1]

4. In NT. Among the ancients the employment of certain formulæ was considered efficacious in proportion to the number of repetitions. In India to-day if an ascetic says in one month the name of Radha, Krishna, or Rom 100,000 times, he cannot fail to obtain what he wants; and it is in the same spirit that Moslem dervishes renew their shrieks or whirlings. Similarly, the prophets of Baal called upon their god from morning until night, saying 'Baal, hear us,' 1 K. 18 26.

The words of Jesus 'say not the same thing over and over again' (Mt. 6 7 μὴ βαττολογήσητε[2]) have reference to the same superstition.

In 2 Tim. 3 13 γόητες (from γοάω, 'to sigh,' 'to utter low moaning tones') is used of a class of magicians who uttered certain magical formulæ in a low deep voice. They were to be found, according to Herodotus, in Egypt (2 33) and elsewhere (4 105 7 191); they are mentioned also by Euripides and Plato.

Paul, in addressing the Galatians (5 20), names among the works of the flesh φαρμακεία [EV 'sorcery']; Syr. *ḥarrāshūtha*; Heb. versions of Salk. and Del. כְּשָׁפִים [*kĕshāphīm*], which is closely connected with idolatry by being placed next after it. It is not possible here to do more than mention Simon Magus (Acts 8 9 *f.*) and Bar-jesus, the sorcerer whom Lk. calls also Elymas (Acts 13 8). This name the writer explains by μάγος; it is really the Arabic ('Ālim), 'learned,' which is much the same in sense as μάγος (cp SIMON MAGUS, ELYMAS). Cp EXORCISTS. T. W. D.

5. Bibliography. F. B. Jevons, *Introd. to Hist. of Rel.*, 1896; A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, chap. 4; E. B. Tylor, art. 'Magic,' *EB*(9); Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2) 1 7-128; W. R. Smith's articles in *J. Phil.* (13 273-288 14 113-128) treat ably on the principal biblical terms. Cp also *Rel. Sem.* 246 427, *et passim*; Driver on Deut. 18 10 *f.* EV; T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and related peoples* (1898); Scholz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen bei den Hebräern*, 1877 (uncritical); D. Joel, *Der Aberglaube und die Stellung des Judenthums zu demselben* (1881-83).

On the Bab. Magic, cp the work of Lenormant—now of course somewhat antiquated (*La magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines Accadiennes*, 1874; *Chaldean Magic, its origin and development*, trans. with add. by the author, 1877; *Die Magie und Wahrsage-Kunst der Chaldäer*, 1878). Lenormant is to be supplemented by reference to the various works cited in § 2 *b*; see also the relative sections in Tiele's *BAG*, 1886; and *Gesch. der Rel. im Alterthum*, 1895; in A. H. Sayce's 'Origin and Growth of Rel.' (*Hibbert Lectures*), 1888; in Hommel's *Die Sem. Völker u. Sprachen*, 1888; (by F. Jeremias) in Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrb. der Rel.-gesch.*(2), 1897; and in Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.*, 1898; L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (1896); Zimmern, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Religion' in *Assyriolog. Bibliothek.*, Bd. xii., with L. W. King's review in *AJSL* 13 142 *ff.* H. Z., § 2 *b*; T. W. D.

MAGISTRATE. See generally GOVERNMENT, LAW AND JUSTICE.

The terms to be enumerated are five—

1. שֹׁפֵט *šōphēṭ* (Dt. 16 18 etc.). See JUDGE, 1.

2. יֹרֵשׁ עֶצֶר, *yōrēš 'éṣer* (Judg. 18 7 †) RV 'possessing authority' (mg. 'power of restraint'), an impossible rendering (Moore). The text is very corrupt. In connection with other emendations, and parallel cases of misunderstood references to the N. Arabian Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), it may be best to regard both ירש and עצר as corruptions of a dittographed מצר (*i.e.*, Miṣṣur = Muṣri); בארץ, 'in the land (of)' precedes. The city conquered by the Danites was apparently in the far south (see MICAH i., 2; ZIKLAG), not in the far north.

3. ἀρχή, Lk. 12 11 AV; cp 20 20.

4. ἄρχων, Lk. 12 58; cp RULER.

5. στρατηγός: (*a*) Acts 16 20-38; cp PRÆTOR, PHILIPPI; (*b*) Lk. 22 4 etc., see ARMY, § 6. T. K. C.

MAGOG. See GOG AND MAGOG.

MAGOR-MISSABIB. See PASHHUR (1).

MAGPIASH (מַגְפִּיעָשׁ, cp MAGBISH?), signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 20 [21] (βαγαφης [Bℵ], μαια [A], μεγαιας [L]).

MAGUS (Acts 13 6 8 RVmg.). See BAR-JESUS, MAGIC, § 4.

MAHALAH. See MAHLAH.

MAHALALEEL, RV **Mahalalel** (מַהֲלַלְאֵל, § 34, as if 'praise of God'; but 𝔊BAEL, μαλελεηλ, suggests מְהַלֲלְאֵל, 'praiser of God' [Gray, *HPN* 201, with Redslob and Nestle]; but see below).

1. Fourth in descent from Seth, Gen. 5 12 *ff.*; 1 Ch. 1 2 † (Bk. Jubilees, Malālēl). Cp CAINITES, MEHUJAEL.

2. One of the bnē Judah in a post-exilic list, Neh. 11 4 † (μαλελεηλ [Bℵ]). See PEREZ.

The Judahite name, if not also the Sethite, is probably to be explained, like JEHALLELEL, as one of the many popular corruptions of the tribal name Jerahmeel. Cp βελεηλ, 𝔊B 1 Ch. 8 1, a fuller form of the Benjamite name Bela, which, like Balaam, seems also to come from Jerahmeel. See also MAGDIEL. T. K. C.

MAHALATH (מָחֲלַת, §§ 74, 78; also as a proper name in Talm. Bab. *Pes.* 112 *a*. The name possibly comes from ירחמאלית, Jeraḥme'elith = 'a woman of Jerahmeel' [Che.]).

1. Esau's Ishmaelite wife: Gen. 28 9 [P] (μαελεθ [ADEL]), called BASHEMATH (*q.v.*) in chap. 36. For an explanation of the double name see SALMAH.

2. Daughter of Jerimoth b. David, and wife of Rehoboam: 2 Chr. 11 18 (μολ[λ]αθ [BA], μαελλεθ [L]).

MAHALATH upon [AV], or set to [RV] (עַל־מָחֲלַת, υπερ μαελεθ [BℵART]; επι χορεια [Aq.], δια χορου [Sym.], υπερ της χορειας [Theod., Quinta]; *pro choro, per chorum* [Jer.]), Ps. 53, 88 (headings). Ibn Ezra suggested that Mahalath was the first word of a song, to the tune of which these two psalms were set. Ewald and Wellhausen adopt this view; the 'sickness' might be that of God's people. Rashi, however, thought that the flute, Gesenius and Lagarde that the *cithara* or cithern, was meant. Jerome and the Greek versions except LXX imply the pointing מְחֹלֹת, *mĕḥōlōth*, 'dances': cp heading of Ps. 88, where Leannoth (perhaps = 'for singing') follows. None of these views has much plausibility or is free from objection. A musical note which occurs in only two psalm-headings, and has no clear meaning, is probably corrupt. As Grätz has seen, a better reading is almost certainly 'upon ALAMOTH' [*q.v.*]. LEANNOTH (לְעַנּוֹת; τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι [𝔊]; τοῦ ἐξάρχειν [Aq.]; *ad respondendum* [Jer.]) is also probably a mis-written עֲלָמֹת, originally intended as a correction of מחלת; see PSALMS [BOOK], § 12 *a* (on 'Alamoth'). T. K. C.

MAHALI. See MAHLI.

MAHANAIM (מַחֲנַיִם, 'encampment,' cp *castra*).[1] A

1. O.T. References. city on the E. of Jordan, placed by P on the frontier of Gad and Manasseh (Josh. 13 26 30), and mentioned by him again as a 'city of refuge' together with 'Ramoth in Gilead'

[1] Ges.(13)-Bu.(2) (followed by Che. 'Isaiah,' *SBOT*, Heb.) most felicitously reads for שַׁחְרָהּ in שחרה. Render: 'There shall come upon thee an evil which thou art not able to prevent by payment.' Note the use of the verb in Job 6 22, and the parallelism of כֹּפֶר and שֹׁחַד in Prov. 6 35.

[2] From Battus, a stuttering Greek poet (see Herod. 1 155). Cp Ecclus. 7 14 'Repeat not thy words in thy prayer' (μὴ δευτερώσῃς λόγον ἐν προσευχῇ σου). For references relating to battology among Moslems and others, see Lange in Herzog, 18 396.

[1] [That the form is not really dual, is maintained elsewhere (see NAMES, § 107). We. (*CH* 46) would take מחנה (*maḥănē*) in Gen. 32 22 [21] as a proper name, parallel and equivalent to Mahanaim; but Mahanē does not occur elsewhere, and Ball (*SBOT*) therefore reads מחנם. There may, however, have been a form Mahanath (see MINNITH). Note the sporadic μααναιθ in 1 Ch. 6 80 (B), as well as the cases where 𝔊 renders by the sing. ἡ παρεμβολή. See *ad fin.* S. A. C.]

Heshbon, and Jaazer (*ib.* 21 38 [36], cp 1 Ch. 6 80 [65]). There was doubtless an ancient sanctuary there, for Jacob, so E represents, when he came to the place after parting from Laban, met there a 'host (*mahăneh*) of divine ones': a skilful application of the obvious etymology. Some find a second reference to the etymology in Gen. 32 7 (J), where 'two hosts' (*mahănōth*) are spoken of; but there are difficulties in supposing that the scene of Gen. 32 4 *ff.* (J) is N. of the Jabbok, where E rightly, of course, places Mahanaim (see Holzinger, *ad loc.*, and GILEAD, § 4). On two great occasions the security of the position of Mahanaim seems to have led royal personages to make it their residence. 'Ishbosheth' resided there during his short reign (2 S. 2 8 12), and David retired thither in his flight from Absalom (2 S. 17 24 27; cp 19 32 1 K. 2 8). Under Solomon, Mahanaim was the administrative centre of a department (1 K. 4 14); see AHINADAB. The name occurs in the list of Palestinian cities taken by Shishak (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 773), and is finally met with (if the article prefixed to מחנים is no objection) in Cant. 6 13 [7 1], where the Shulammite is somehow brought into connection with the 'dance of Mahanaim' (χοροὶ τῶν παρεμβολῶν, AV, 'company of two armies'); criticism, however, throws much doubt upon the text[1] (see CANTICLES, § 9; DANCE, § 7).

Reference is probably made to a re-conquest of Mahanaim in Am. 6 13; for קַרְנַיִם read מַחֲנַיִם, and render, 'Have we not, by our strength, taken Mahanaim'? The name of the other town was hardly Lo-debar, but Jabesh-gilead (of which the MT לא דבר is a corruption). See MEPHIBOSHETH; SAUL, § 6.

2. Identification. The exact site of Mahanaim is uncertain. Conder's reasons for placing it to the east of es-Salṭ,[2] beyond the round basin of the Bukei' will hardly bear examination. The critical analysis of Gen. 32 seems to show that Mahanaim lay N. of the Jabboḳ, but where, is disputed. Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, 437) thinks of the ruin called Suleikhat, 300 ft. above the Jordan valley, in the Wâdy 'Ajlūn. Robinson, van Kasteren (*ZDPV* 13 205 *f.*), and Buhl (*Pal.* 257), however, urge the claims of Miḥnè or Maḥnè in the Jebel 'Ajlūn, a little to the NE. of the town of 'Ajlūn, whilst Porter and, according to Gautier, Germer-Durand, suggest that Gerasa rose on the ruins of Mahanaim.

In 2 S. 2 29, Abner and his men, on leaving Gibeon, are said to have passed over Jordan, and gone through all Bithron, and so come to Mahanaim. Prof. H. P. Smith explains הַבִּתְרוֹן, as 'doubtless the proper name of one of the side valleys up which Mahanaim was situated.' This is correct, except that 'all Bithron' is corrupt; the real proper name of the side valley was probably 'the valley of Pistachio trees'[3] (נַחַל הַבָּטְנִים). According to 2 S. 18 6 the battle between the army of David and that of Absalom took place in the 'wood of Ephraim.' For 'Ephraim' an early authority reads 'Mahanaim'; but probably 'Ephraim' should rather be Rephaim (see EPHRAIM, WOOD OF). At any rate, it was clearly in the vicinity of Mahanaim, and the nearest way from this 'wood' or copse-land to the city was by the כִּכָּר (EV 'plain'), or rather, since no satisfactory explanation of this reading (*v.* 23) has been offered,[4] by the נַחַל—that is to say, the eager Ahimaaz ran along in the wady in which, at some little distance, Mahanaim lay.

From a critical glance at the OT passages it is evident that Mahanaim was a strong city; we have to look for one of the very best sites for such a city in N. Gilead. It must also, as Gen. 32 shows, have been easily accessible from Mizpah, which we have elsewhere provisionally identified with Sūf. Putting all this together, we may plausibly identify Mahanaim with 'Ajlūn, so finely situated at a point where valleys meet, with abundant wood in its neighbourhood (GILEAD, § 7), and with an unequalled site for a fortress not far off, which is still occupied by the imposing Ḳal'at er-Rabaḍ. At some distance to the N. is still found the name of Miḥnè or Maḥnè, and some of the best geographers (Robinson, van Kasteren,[1] and Buhl) would therefore place Mahanaim there. It seems better, however, to suppose that the 'wood of Mahanaim' extended as far as Miḥnè, and that the name of Miḥnè is really an abbreviation of that ancient phrase.

Here, as elsewhere, geographical results are dependent on critical exegesis. The idea that 'Ajlūn might be Mahanaim has also occurred to Prof. G. A. Smith (*HG* 587; cp 335 n., 586); but he did not recognise that it was almost forced upon us by the biblical data, rightly viewed. Mühlau (Riehm(2), 954) feels a similar hesitation; he thinks that Miḥnè is not near enough to the Jabbok and the Jordan Valley.

Readings: Josh. 13 26 βααν [B], μααν [Bab], μαναιμ [A], μααν. [L]; *v.* 30 μααναι [B], AL as above. Jos. 21 38 [36] καμειν [B], μανεεμ [L], A as above. 1 Ch. 6 80 [65] μααναιθ [B], -αιμ [A], βαναθ [L], ܡܚܢܡ [Pesh.]. 2 S. 2 8 ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς [BAL], B add εις μαναεμ, cp We. *ad loc.*; *v.* 12 μαναειμ [A], παρεμβολῆς [L], lost in B; *v.* 29 (τὴν) παρεμβολήν [BA], παρεμβολὰς μαδιαμ [L]; Jos. (*Ant.* vii. 1 3) Μαναλις. 2 S. 17 24 μαναειμ [B], -ν [A], παρεμβολάς [L]; *v.* 27 μααναειμ [BA], L as before; 19 32 μαναειμ [BA], L as before. 1 K. 2 8 παρεμβολάς [BAL]; 4 14 μααναιειον [B], μααναιμ [A], μαχειλαμ [L]. The ethnic is perhaps to be found in 1 Ch. 11 46 (crit. emend.). See MAHAVITE; also JEPHTHAH, § 3, n. 4. T. K. C.

MAHANEH-DAN or Dan's camp (מַחֲנֵה־דָן; παρεμβολη δαν [BAL]), a place 'behind'—*i.e.*, W. of—Kirjath-jearim, where the 600 Danites from Zorah and Eshtaol encamped in the course of their advance northwards (Jud. 18 12). The explanation of the name is questionable, and a different localisation of Mahaneh-Dan is given in Judg. 13 25—viz., 'between Zorah and Eshtaol.' It was there that the spirit of Yahwè first stirred up Samson. The explanation of this discrepancy is to be found in 1 Ch. 2 52 54, at least if we may read מָנַחְתִּ־דָן instead of מחנה־דן. The Manahethites were partly 'sons' of Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim, and partly connected with the Zorites (of Zorah). See MANAHETHITES. S. A. C.

MAHARAI (מַהֲרַי, cp Ph. מהרבעל?), a Netophathite [of the Zerahites], one of David's heroes (2 S. 23 28, νοερε [B], μαεραει [A], μααρναν [ο του φελτια] [L], 1 Ch. 11 30, νεερε [Bℵ, *i.e.*, נהרי], μοορα [A], μαρρι [L]; 27 13, μεηρα [B], μοοραι [A], μααρι [L]).

MAHATH (מַחַת, cp Aḫimiti, son of Azuri king of Ashdod, temp. Sargon, see below; μααθ [BAL]).

1. b. Amasai, in the genealogy of the Kohathite Samuel; 1 Ch. 6 35 [20] (μεθ [B], αμιωθ [L]) apparently = AHIMOTH (*q.v.*) in *v.* 25 [10] (where L has αμιωθ as here); perhaps derived from Mahath b. Amasai in 2 Ch. 29 12 (μαεθ [A]). Cp JAHATH, 2, GENEALOGIES i., § 7, iii. *c.* Mahath, 'Amasai, 'Azariah are all Kohathite (*i.e.*, S. Palestinian) names. Amasai probably comes from 'Ishmā'ēlī (Ishmaelite, cp 1 Ch. 2 17), 'Azariah from 'Asshūrī (cp ASSHURIM); Mahath or Ahimoth is presumably also an ethnic, and perhaps (like Aḥiṭub?), comes from Rehōbōthī. A Rehobothite king of Ashdod, and a Levite connected with Rehoboth are very possible.

2. A temple officer temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31 13; θαναι [B; see NAHATH, 3], ααθ [L]), perhaps the same as 1. T. K. C.

MAHAVITE. Eliel the Mahavite is the EV rendering of the MT אֱלִיאֵל הַמַּחֲוִים (1 Ch. 11 46 . . . ο μιει [Bℵ], ο μαωειν [A], ο μαωθι [L]), a rendering which cannot be legitimately obtained from the present state of the text.

Read הַבַּחֻרְמִי (cp Vg., Mahumites), 'a man of Bahurim.' Eliel and Bahurim are both probably Jerahmeelite names (Che.).

Be. (*Chron.*) and Barnes (*Camb. Bible*) would read הַמַּחֲנִי, an inhabitant of MAHANAIM (*q.v.*). Pesh. presents a form ܡܚܘ ܡܚܡ).

[1] Plausible as the 'sword-dance' theory may be, there is so much corruption in the context that we may suggest an emendation akin to that proposed for Cant. 6 11 (see TIRZAH). Read, 'What do you see in the Shulammite? A narcissus of the valleys' (חֲבַצֶּלֶת הָעֲמָקִים). This is grammatically easier and suits the context.

[2] *Heth and Moab*, 180 *f.*

[3] Pistachio-trees are found in Gilead (Post, *PEFQ*, 1888, p. 200; Tristram, *NHB* 367). The current explanation of Bithron as 'ravine' will hardly bear examination (cp BETHER). Cp בטנים (EV *Betonim*), a place in Gad, mentioned beside Mahanaim, Josh. 13 26.

[4] See, *e.g.*, Löhr, *ad loc.*

[1] *ZDPV* 13 205 *f.*

MAHAZIOTH (מַחֲזִיאוֹת, 'visions,' cp NAMES, § 23), according to the Chronicler a son of Heman (1 Ch. 25 4 30, μελζωθ *v.* 4, μεαζωθ *v.* 30 [B], μααζιωθ [AL], *mahazioth* [Vg.]), see HEMAN.

MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ (מַהֵר שָׁלָל חָשׁ בַּז, § 23; οξεως προνομην ποιησαι σκυλων and ταχεως σκυλευσον, οξεως προνομευσον [BℵAQΓ]), the name given by Isaiah to his son (Is. 8 13). Like SHEAR-JASHUB (*q.v.*) this name is intended as an omen (cp Che. *Is.*(3), *ad loc.*). The name means 'swiftly cometh spoil, speedily hasteneth prey' or, to keep closer to the abruptness of the Hebrew, 'hasten booty, speed spoil.' See ISAIAH i., § 4.

MAHLAH (מַחְלָה; μαλα [BAL], μααλα [F]), a daughter of ZELOPHEHAD [*q.v.*] (Nu. 26 33 [37]; 27 1 [L om. all the names of the daughters]; 36 11 μααλα [B], μαλαα [AL]; Josh. 17 3 μααλα [BL]). In RV of 1 Ch. 7 18 Mahlah (AV MAHALAH) is one of the sons of HAMMOLEKETH [*q.v.*], Machir's sister (*μαελα* [B], *μοολα* [A], *μααλαθ* [L]).

All these names are corrupt; but the true readings can probably be recovered. Zelophehad springs from Ṣalḥad; Hammoleketh from Salecah (another name of the same place). Mahlah may come from [Abel]-meholah; there was possibly a *second* place of this name, which ultimately comes from 'Jerahmeel.' Note that Gideon, who has been fused with Jerubbaal, is an Abiezrite, and that Abiezer in 1 Ch. 7 18 is a brother of Mahlah.
T. K. C.

MAHLI (מַחְלִי, § 74; μοολ[ε]ι [BAL]), a Levitical subdivision which appears as a distinct family in Nu. 26 58 (𝔊^BAFL om.), but is elsewhere associated with the division MERARI. These names seem to appear independently in Ezra 8 18 *f.* (see SHEREBIAH) = 1 Esd. 8 47 (*μοολλει* [L]); more commonly, however, they are brought into relationship. Thus Mahli is either made the son of Merari (and brother of MUSHI) in Ex. 6 19 (AV MAHALI) Nu. 3 20 1 Ch. 6 19 [4] (*μοολλι* [L]) 29 [14] (om. B) 23 21 (*μοηλ* [B in *b*]) 24 26, or becomes the son of Mushi and grandson of Merari, as in 1 Ch. 6 32 [47] (*μοολλι* [L]), cp 23 23 24 30 (*μοολλει* [B]). See, generally, GENEALOGIES i., § 7.

The gentilic **Mahlites** (הַמַּחְלִי) occurs only in Nu. 3 33 (ὁ *μολει* [B], ὁ *μοολ[ε]ι* [B^ab AFL]) 26 58 (see above).

The name is possibly derived from MAHALATH (*q.v.*); but may come straight from 'Jerahme'eli' (Che.); note that one of Mahli's descendants is named Jerahmeel (cp 1 Ch. 23 21 24 28 *f.*), and see MOLID.

MAHLON. See CHILION, and cp RUTH (BOOK).

MAHOL (מָחוֹל, § 74; μαλ [B], μαουλ [A], μααλα [L]), the father of Heman, Calcol, and Darda, three (foreign) wise men who, together with Ethan the Ezrahite, were surpassed in wisdom by Solomon (1 K. 4 31 [5 11]). These names can all be accounted for on the assumption that the wisdom of the Edomites is referred to. Ethan and Heman both seem to be corrupt forms of TEMAN [*q.v.*]; Calcol (כלכל) is probably a corruption of Caleb (כלב), and Darda (דרדע) of AROER (ערער). EZRAHITE is certainly another form of 'Zarhite,' and Zerah in Gen. 36 13 17 is an Edomite clan. Lastly, Mahol, like HAMUL, comes from JERAHMEEL (ירחמאל). It was really, perhaps, only Aroer that was a son of Jerahmeel; 𝔊^BL give *υἱὸς* or *υἱόν*, not *υἱοὺς* in 1 K. *l.c.* The enthusiastic remark of 1 K. 4 31 [5 11] now becomes more striking, for the wisdom of the Edomites (with whom the Jerahmeelites were connected) was proverbial (cp Obad. 8), and when we take into consideration that in *v.* 30 we should almost certainly read בני רקם (a corruption of בני ירחמאל, 'sons of Jerahmeel') for MT's בני קדם, and that Job was also 'greater than all the Jerahmeelites' (read בני רקם Job 1 3), the view here offered becomes in the highest degree probable. See EAST (CHILDREN OF), JERAHMEEL, MAHALATH.

Klo.'s ingenious theory (see his notes on 1 K. *l.c.*) that there was a poetic dialogue, like our Job, in which Ethan and the other sages took part, is baseless; מָחוֹל cannot mean 'a round of alternate speeches.' Lag. (*Or.* 2 25) more plausibly thought that בְּנֵי מָחוֹל meant 'dancers' (and singers); cp בְּנוֹת הַשִּׁיר, Eccles. 12 4.
T. K. C.

MAHSEIAH (מַחְסֵיָה) RV, Jer. 32 12 51 59. See MAASEIAH i.

MAIANEAS, RV **Maiannas** (μαιαννας [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 48 = Neh. 8 7, MAASEIAH ii., 16.

MAID, MAIDEN (עַלְמָה, *'almah*, Ex. 2 8, etc.; בְּתוּלָה, *bĕthûlāh*, Lam. 5 11, etc.). See IMMANUEL, § 1, FAMILY, § 4.

MAKAZ (מָקַץ; μαχεμας [B], μαχμας [A], μαγχας [L]), mentioned first among the cities of the second of the prefectures of the land of Israel, 1 K. 4 9. The next three places named being among those reckoned to Dan (Josh. 19 41-43), it would seem that 'Makaz' should be a corruption of one of the other names of Danite towns. ME-JARKON (*q.v.*) suggests itself as probable. If the site proposed for this place is correct, Me-jarkon well deserved to be so prominently mentioned.[1] *Makkûs*, a little to the NE. of Ascalon, once proposed by Conder, is neither in an important position, nor would the site be Danite.
T. K. C.

MAKED (μακεδ [AℵV]; Vg. *Mageth*), an unknown place in Gilead, mentioned in 1 Macc. 5 26 (μακεβ [A]) —cp 36 (where AV MAGED)—along with Bosora and Carnaim.

MAKHELOTH (מַקְהֵלֹת; μακηλωθ [BAF], μακηλωθ [L]), a place named in Nu. 33 25 *f.*, probably identical with KEHELATHAH; cp also MIKLOTH.

All these forms are almost certainly corruptions of 'Jerahmeel.' P's list of stations is artificial; the substratum, however, consists of place-names belonging to the Jerahmeelite region, S. of Palestine.

See WANDERINGS.
T. K. C.

MAKKEDAH (מַקֵּדָה; μακηδαν, μακηδα; Jos. *Ant.* v. 1 17 μακχιδα, *v.* 1 μακκηδα; Pesh. *māḳār*, but in 15 41 *naḳdā*), a royal Canaanite city (Josh. 12 16; om. [?] B) in the lowland of Judah (15 41), mentioned at the end of a group of cities together with Beth-dagon and Naamah. It was 'in the cave at Makkedah' that the 'five kings of the Amorites,' who had sought refuge there after the battle of Beth-horon (10 10 16), were taken and slain. Makkedah itself was captured afterwards (10 21). Eusebius places Makkedah 8 R. m. E. from Eleutheropolis (*OS* 278 90; cp 138 8). This is clearly impossible. Nor is it at all certain (the name having disappeared) whether the site proposed by Warren at el-Mughār ('the cave'), SW. of Ekron, 5 m. E. of *Nā'aneh* (perhaps the Naamah of Josh.), and some 25 m. from Gibeon, is the right one. There are, indeed, signs that an ancient town stood here, and Conder says that this is the only site in the plain where caves are to be found. The *Wādy eṣ-Ṣarār* has, in fact, made a way here through a bar of soft sandy stone, and the precipitous cliffs are pierced by caverns of various sizes (*PEF Mem.* 2 411). The narrative in Josh. points to a single specially large cave (המערה) which was outside of the town. The name may seem to suggest a sheep-breeding region (cp נֹקֵד and Dr. on Am. 1 1). It may, however, have suffered changes, and the original name may possibly have had the same origin as MEGIDDO [*q.v.*]. It has not been traced with certainty in the Egyptian name-lists.
T. K. C.

MAKTESH (הַמַּכְתֵּשׁ; την κατακεκομμενην [BℵAQ]; εις τον ολμον [Aq.], των ολμων [Symm.], εν τω βαθει [Theod.]), usually supposed to be the name of a quarter of Jerusalem where merchants and dealers resided (Zeph. 1 11), and to be so called because in configuration it resembled a mortar (RV^mg., 'the mortar'); cp Judg. 15 19 'the mortar (EV 'hollow place') that is in Lehi.' See MORTAR.

[1] In the main as Klost., who reads the name Me-rakkon.

The Tg. thinks of the Valley of the Kidron, most moderns of the Tyropœon (see JERUSALEM, § 23). The name, however, which is both odd in itself and nowhere else found, is not improbably corrupt. It is best to read הַר־הַמַּשְׁחִית (2 K. 23 13), or rather הַר־הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲוִים (see DESTRUCTION, MOUNT OF); the locality meant is the Mount of Olives. Observe that the 'gates' and the 'hills' are mentioned just before.

This may be illustrated by Neh. 13 15, where we read, according to a probable critical emendation of a corrupt text, that sellers of agricultural produce brought their goods into Jerusalem 'by the ascent of those who worship' (בְּמַעֲלֵה הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲוִים for ואעיר ביום מכרם ציר). Probably there were houses or shelters on the Mount of Olives for those sellers who could not return home in the day. Possibly, too, the phrase מַעֲלֵה הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲוִים is the original name of the הר הזיתים (Zech. 14 4): *i.e.*, זיתים (olives) may be a corruption of משתחוים ('those who worship'). In 2 S. 15 30 we find the phrase מעלה הזיתים ('the ascent of the olives'), for which we should perhaps read (cp *v.* 32) מעלה המשתחוים. Cp OLIVES, MOUNT OF. T. K. C.

MALACHI. According to the title (Mal. 1 1), the last book of the Minor Prophets contains 'the word of Yahwè to Israel by Malachi.' It would seem that a proper name is intended here, but the difficulty of understanding the word *malachi* (מַלְאָכִי, 'my messenger')[1] in this way has been felt since the earliest times. Even 𝔊^BNAQ has ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ, 'by *his messenger*'; a translation which (whether from מלאכי or מלאכו) would hardly have been possible at a time when the existence of a prophet Malachi was generally recognised. In fact, the prevailing tradition among the Jews for some time after Christ continued to reject the proper name.

1. Name.

The Jon. Targ. (Mal. 1 1) declares this 'messenger' to have been no other than Ezra the scribe, and Jerome adopts this view. Cp also Talm. *Megill.* 15*a*. The earliest Church Fathers generally regard the word as an appellative (see Reinke, *Malachi*, 6-9; Köhler, *Nachexil. Proph.* 4 4 *f.*; Nestle, *Sept. Stud.* 3 13, and cp 4 Esd. 1 40). In any case, it is hardly to be doubted that the superscription is the work of a later hand.[2]

When, finally, it is observed how the phrase 'my messenger' is employed in 3 1, at the beginning of the most striking passage in the book, the conclusion seems imperative that the proper name 'Malachi' originated in a misinterpretation of this word, aided perhaps by Hag. 1 13 as well as Mal. 2 7.

The book falls into two main divisions: (*a*) a rebuke addressed to the priests (1 6-2 9); (*b*) a series of oracles addressed to all the people (2 10-3 21 [4 3]).

2. Contents.

(*a*) The theme of the brief introduction (1 2-5), Israel God's peculiar people, plays a very important part in the book from beginning to end. See 1 6 2 10 3 6 *f.*, and cp 2 5 *f.* That the prophet should choose here as his sole illustration of this truth a reference to calamities that have recently come upon Edom, Israel's brother nation, is characteristic of the time at which he wrote (see below, § 6).

Of the charges brought against the priests, the foremost is one of gross misconduct in their performance of the temple service (1 6-13). They treat the sacred rites with indifference, and bring the most worthless offerings as good enough for the worship of Yahwè. They are further accused of betraying their trust as the official guides of the people in religious matters (2 4-9). As members of the priestly tribe, they are the bearers of the tōrāh (תורה) or (oral) teaching concerning the religion and worship of Yahwè. They have broken their covenant, however, and turned aside from the path; their teaching has become a stumbling-block to the people. In *v.* 9*b*, if the text is correct, still another accusation is unexpectedly introduced, namely that of *partiality* in the use of the 'teaching.' The meaning of the charge is not quite clear, and it is decidedly out of place as it stands.

(*b*) In the passage 2 10-16, with which the second main division of the book begins, nearly all interpreters since Jerome have seen the prophet's rebuke of two evils—marriage with heathen women, and divorce (so also Targ., though with a noteworthy variation in *v.* 16, due to the corrupt state of the Hebrew original; see also EZRA i., § 5). This interpretation fails to meet the requirements of the text (see below, § 4). The rebuke is rather directed against the encroachment of foreign worship in Israel (so 𝔊, Pesh.). Judah has dealt falsely with the wife of his youth, the covenant religion, and is wedding a strange cult. The people lament because their offerings fail to bring a blessing, and are strangely unable to see why ill-fortune has come upon them (*vv.* 13 14*a*).

The two sections 2 17-3 5 and 3 13-21 [4 3] are very much alike in character and contents. In each, the assertion of some of the people that Yahwè does not concern himself with human affairs is answered by the prophet's assurance that the great and terrible day will soon come, when the good shall be separated from the evil and the righteous shall finally triumph. These oracles are interrupted by a characteristic passage (3 6-12) in which the people are censured for neglecting to pay their tithes. The passage was begun in a quite different strain (see esp. *v.* 7), suggested by the catalogue of sins in *v.* 5. The way in which the prophet seizes upon this particular delinquency as it occurs to him, abandoning the main line of his reasoning altogether, illustrates both the hasty looseness of style into which he sometimes falls, and his present interest in matters connected with the public worship.

It is probable that 3 22-24 [4 4-6] is a later appendix to the book.[1] It has no natural connection with the preceding, but has all the appearance of an addition by another hand, having for its chief object the providing of an impressive close for the collection of the prophetic writings. It is hardly by accident that Moses and Elijah, the two great representatives of Israel's golden age, appear together in these isolated verses at the end of the last of all the prophets.

The most interesting passage in the book from the theological point of view is 1 11, with its assertion that all sincere worship of the one God, even among the heathen, is accepted by Yahwè, whose name is truly honoured (cp in the NT Rom. 1 19 *f.* [cp 2 10 *f.*; Wisd. 13 6-9]; Acts 10 35). This interpretation, which is now adopted by most OT scholars, is the one required by both the language and the context of the verse. See esp. Kuenen, *Hibbert Lectures* (1882), p. 180 *f.*; GASm. *The Twelve Prophets* (1898), p. 358 *ff.* But the passage stands alone in the OT. In Ps. 65 3 [2], which is perhaps the nearest approach to a parallel, the language is much less definite. Still, remarkable as the expression is, the idea was certainly not foreign to Judaism—it is quite in the spirit of the 'Wisdom' literature, for example—nor can it be said to be out of keeping with the character of this prophet as it appears in the rest of the book.

3. Heathen worship.

It has been remarked above that the current interpretation of 2 10-16 is untenable. The text of the passage is, unfortunately, corrupt;[2] but it is not difficult to recognise the nature of the charge brought by the prophet against his fellow-countrymen. The sin which he is attacking is one of unfaithfulness, of false dealing (verb *bāgad*). The accusation is stated definitely in *v.* 11*b*: 'Judah has *profaned the sanctuary of Yahwè*, which he loves, and has espoused a *bath 'ēl nēkār*' (בת אל נכר, 'daughter of a foreign god'). A few verses farther on (*vv.* 14 *f.*) the charge is made: 'Thou hast dealt falsely with the wife of thy youth, the wife of

4. Figurative interpretation of divorce.

[1] So far as the form is concerned, מלאכי might be a contraction of מלאכיה or מלאכיהו, 'messenger of Yahwè.' But the name is not a likely one, and there is no evidence of the occurrence of the longer form in any Hebrew text (to appeal to the later *Greek superscription*, Μαλαχίας, is absurd).

[2] Cp especially Zech. 9 1 (text incomplete) 12 1.

[1] [The phraseological evidence for this view has been collected by Böhme, *ZATW* 7 210 *ff.*—ED.]

[2] No one of the attempts to emend *vv.* 15*a* 16*a* can be called even partially successful.

thy covenant.' To treat these expressions literally, as referring to actual marriage and divorce,[1] involves us in insuperable difficulties. To assume, in the first place, that divorce of Israelitish wives stood in any necessary or even probable connection with the wedding of women from other nations is unreasonable. Many modern commentators, in the desire to avoid this difficulty, suppose a change of subject, from intermarriage with Gentiles to divorce in general (Köhler, Orelli, Wellh., etc.). It is not possible, however, thus to separate *vv.* 13-16 from *vv.* 10-12. The phrase 'wife of thy *covenant-religion*' (that *'ēšeth bĕrîthĕkā* [אשת בריתך] cannot mean 'wife of thy marriage vows,' Kraetzschmar, *Bundesvorstellung*, 240 *f.* has shown conclusively) is plainly contrasted with 'daughter of a foreign god'; 'with whom thou hast falsely dealt' (*v.* 14) refers to the charge made with the same word in *v.* 11; *bĕrîth* in *v.* 14 is repeated from *v.* 10. Better evidence of continuity could hardly be desired.[2] Another attempt to remove the apparent incongruities of the passage is that of G. A. Smith (*The Twelve Prophets*, 2 340 365), who proposes to strike out *vv.* 11 and 12—a desperate expedient. There is one, and but one, admissible interpretation, namely, that which recognises the use of figurative language here. 'Wedding' a foreign cult necessarily involved 'divorce' from the covenant religion. The figure employed by the prophet is very natural and effective, certainly better suited to his time than that introduced by Hosea.

5. Conditions. The book of Malachi gives us in small compass a many-sided view of the religious conditions in which the writer lived. Israel was beginning to feel the effects of her more intimate acquaintance with the great nations round about. The world had grown larger, and the perspective had changed. A new type of 'free thinkers' had arisen (2 17 3 13 *ff.*); a class too numerous, and perhaps too sincere, to be ignored. The feeling was gaining ground that the old beliefs and rites were outgrown. Hence the shameful conduct of some of the priests, and the readiness of many influential men among the people to 'betray' the nation (as the prophet insists, 2 10) by openly espousing foreign cults. On the other hand, the orthodox, the 'God-fearing,' formed a sort of church or party by themselves (3 16) in opposition to these tendencies. The situation closely resembles that which produced the two parties of the Pharisees and the Sadducees at a later day. The prophet's own position is that of one who can welcome the broader view, while remaining thoroughly loyal to the national religion. He declares without hesitation that heathen worship is accepted by Yahwè, but in the next breath appeals to the patriotism of his hearers, and to their hope of a Messianic time.

6. Date. As for the date of Malachi, it was certainly written in the Persian period (allusion to the 'governor' in 1 8) after the completion of the temple (3 10). Regarding the other criteria it may be said that they all point distinctly to a late rather than an early date.[3] The remarkable passage 1 2-5 (Edom *the* arch enemy of Israel) is to be classed with Am. 9 12 and Ob. 21;[1] the apocalyptic passages 3 1 *ff.* 19 (4 1) *ff.*, with their conception of the day of judgment as the day when 'the wicked' (רשעים) shall be destroyed out of Israel, remind us of the Psalms (Wellh.); the theological development presupposed by the book finds its nearest parallels in the Psalter and the Wisdom literature; and finally, the position of Mal. at the end of the collection of the Prophets may be adduced, though the argument is not weighty. We may, therefore, assign the book with some confidence to the first half of the fourth century.

To argue from the fact that Mal. calls the priests 'sons of Levi,' that he was not acquainted with the priestly law-book (Wellh. on Mal. 3 22 [4 4]; cp Now. 391) is hardly permissible. It is evident, from all parts of the book, that the writer (like many of the latest OT writers) is strongly influenced by Dt. Nothing could be more natural than that he should use its familiar phraseology. The same may be said of 3 22 [4 4] (probably by a later hand; see above) with its mention of Horeb instead of Sinai. Such expressions as 'the laws and statutes' which were 'enjoined by Moses upon all Israel' were, of course, associated with the name 'Horeb' (see, *e.g.*, Dt. 5 1 *f.*). Cp also Ecclus. 48 7 Ps. 106 19. From 3 10 (cp Nu. 18 21 *ff.*) it is natural to suppose that the priestly law of tithes was already codified, as it certainly was recognised.

7. Style. The diction of Mal. is pure, the style vigorous, though often prosaic and sometimes awkward. In more than one place, the meaning is seriously obscured by an abrupt transition, due apparently to the writer's impulsive haste. A personal peculiarity of his style is seen in his favourite way of opening an argument, by introducing the supposed objections of his hearers, which he then refutes (1 2 *ff.* 6 *ff.* 2 17 3 7 *f.* 13 *ff.*).[2] Originality and earnestness are marked characteristics of the book in all its parts. The estimate that pronounces it a monument of the degeneracy of Hebrew prophecy, the product of an age whose religious teachers could only imitate, but not attain to, the spiritual fervour of the old prophets (so esp. Duhm, Reuss) is decidedly unjust.

8. Literature. Among the special comms. on Mal. those of Edward Pococke, 1677 ((2), 1692), Reinke, 1856, Köhler, 1865, may be mentioned. Cp also Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* 2 128-138; and *JBL* 17 1-15, where the views expressed in this article, as now revised, are more fully set forth. [See also W. Böhme, *ZATW* 7 (1887) 210 *ff.*: Wi. *AOF* 2 531 *ff.*]

W. R. S.—C. C. T.

MALCHAM, RV **Malcam** (מַלְכָּם).

1. b. SHAHARAIM [*q.v*], in the genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 9† (*μελχας* [B], *-αμ* [A], *-ομ* [L]).

2. In Zeph. 1 5 (*τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν* [BℵAQ], *μολοχ* [Qmg.]) RVmg. has 'their king,' as in 2 S. 12 30 RVmg. has MALCAM for EV's 'their king.' See MILCOM.

MALCHIAH. See MALCHIJAH.

MALCHIEL (מַלְכִּיאֵל, 'God is King (or my king)' §§ 24, 36; on early history of name see MALCHIJAH; μελχ(ε)ιηλ [ADFL]; but in Nu. μελλιηλ [B*], in Ch. μελλειη [B]), an Asherite family, Gen. 46 17 Nu. 26 45 (where also מַלְכִּיאֵלִי, **Malchielite,** μελλιηλι [B]. μελχ(ε)ιηλ(ε)ι [B^ab AFL]) 1 Ch. 7 31. The same name is prominent in the correspondence of the Amarna tablets. Milkil (=Malchiel) was one of the chief enemies of the governor of Jerusalem (cp Jastrow, *JBL* 11 120; Sayce, *Pat. Pal.* 135, etc.). See ASHER i., § 1.

MALCHIJAH (מַלְכִּיָּהוּ, מַלְכִּיָּה, as if 'Yahwè is my king'; § 36); but possibly the original name was a

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[1] [The latest advocacy of the literal interpretation is to be found in Nowack's *Kl. Proph.* 389 410 *ff.*, and Che. *Jew. Rel. Life* (60). The most plausible reconstruction of the whole background of the passage (Mal. 2 10-16) on the same view is that of Stade (*GVI* 2 136 *f.*), who remarks, 'The connection shows that the writer has to do in the first place with matrimonial alliances which respected members of the community, who were already of a certain age, had contracted with rich and influential families of the peoples of the land. These persons were already married, and their non-Jewish fathers-in-law were able, in consequence of their social position, to make the new marriage conditional on a preceding divorce of the Jewish wife.' Against this, however, see Winckler, *AOF* 2 536 *ff.*—ED.]

[2] [It is, of course, *v.* 16 which may appear to break the continuity of Mal. 2 10-16. 'For I hate dismissal (of a wife), says Yahwè,' may seem too general and far-reaching to serve as an argument in this special case. But it is urged that reformers often do not see all that follows from the general principles which they invoke, which explains some of the strange inconsistencies in the later OT literature.—ED.]

[3] It has been customary, chiefly because of the traditional exegesis of 2 10 *ff.*, and the fact that mixed marriages are assailed in Ezra-Neh., to assign Mal. to the middle of the fifth century. [The precise position of the book in relation to Nehemiah and Ezra is a matter of controversy. Stade places it before the arrival of Ezra; Driver during the absence of Nehemiah at the Persian Court; Che. (*Jew. Rel. Life*) shortly before the arrival of Nehemiah, and consequently before that of Ezra. The question has passed into a new phase in consequence of recent critical study of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.—ED.]

[1] See *JBL* 17 16-20; also EDOM, § 9.

[2] It is a curious fact that many scholars, following Ewald, have seen in this (in itself by no means remarkable) habit of style a mark of the transition to the dialectic manner of the Jewish schools, although dating Mal. in the fifth century.

corruption of Jerahme'el; Hammelech and Harim (2 4-6) seem to be corruptions of Jerahme'el. Note also Malchijah the Rechabite (7, 8); cp MALCHIEL. That nos. 4-6, 7 and 8, and 9-11 represent only three individuals is highly probable. μελχ[ε]ια [BℵA], μελχιας [L].

1. Father of PASHHUR, *q.v.*; Jer. 21 1 MELCHIAH [AV], MALCHIAH [RV] (μελχιου [BℵAQ]), Jer. 38 1 EV MALCHIAH BℵA om., μελχιου ([Aq., Theod., in Q^mg.]).

2. b. Hammelech (RV 'the king's son,' but see above), into whose dungeon Jeremiah was cast; Jer. 38 6 EV MALCHIAH (μελχ[ε]ιου [BℵAQ]).

3. Ancestor of Adaiah the priest; 1 Ch. 9 12 (μαλχεια [B], μελχιου [A]); Neh. 11 12, AV MALCHIAH; probably to be identified with the Malchijah who gave his name to one of the twenty-four priestly lots; 1 Ch. 24 9 (μελχιηλ [L]); cp the occurrence of the name in the Asaphite genealogy in 1 Ch. 6 40 [25], AV MALCHIAH (μελχια [L]).

4, 5, 6. (AV MALCHIAH) b. Parosh, b. Parosh *secundus*, and (AV MALCHIAH) b. Ḥarim, laymen in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end); Ezra 10 25 [*bis*], 10 31 (BℵA om. the second Malchijah in 10 25 and add σαβια [ℵ], ασαβια [A], etc., see ASIBIAS; L for the first reads μιχαιας. In 1 Esd. 9 26 32 MELCHIAS). Malchijah b. Ḥarim was one of the repairers of the wall; Neh. 3 11 (μελχειας [BA]).

7, 8. (AV MALCHIAH) b. Rechab, ruler of the district of Beth-haccherem, Neh. 3 14; and 'one of the goldsmiths,' Neh. 3 31, both repairers. If Ben-rechab, the designation of the former, means 'Rechabite,' it shows that the Kenites still lived among the representatives of the old people of Israel. Cp Be.-Rys. *ad loc.*; E. Meyer, *Entst.* 167. And certainly 'Rechabite' *is* the meaning, if, in accordance with parallels almost innumerable, בן־הצרפי (*aurifex*) is a corruption of בן־צרפתי, 'son of a Zarephathite.' Observe that in Neh. 3 32 (by a 'necessary' emendation) the Zarephathites (הצרפתים) and the Jerahmeelites (הירחמאלים for הרכלים) are mentioned as co-operating in the repairs. See ZAREPHATH.

9, 10, 11. A supporter of Ezra at the reading of the law (see EZRA ii., § 13 *f.*; cp i. § 8, ii., § 16 [5], ii. § 15 [1] *c*), Neh. 8 4 (μελχειας [BℵA]), cp 1 Esd. 9 44 MELCHIAS; priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 3 [4]; and a priest in procession at dedication of wall (see EZRA ii., § 13 *g*) Neh. 12 42 (μελχειας [ℵ^c.a mg.; BℵA om.]). T. K. C.

MALCHIRAM (מַלְכִּירָם, § 41, 'my king is exalted'; perhaps an adaptation of a name corrupted (cp HAMMELECH, MALCHIJAH) from JERAHMEEL (Che.), one of the sons of Jeconiah; 1 Ch. 3 18 (μελχ[ε]ιραμ [BAL]).

MALCHI-SHUA (מַלְכִּי־שׁוּעַ, or in one word [Bab. MSS] as in 1 S.; NAMES, § 41; μελχισουε [ℵAL] but μελχιρουε [A], 1 S. 31 2; μελχισεδδι [L], 1 S. 14 49; μελχεισουε [B], 1 Ch. 9 39 10 2; μελχεσ. [B], 1 Ch. 8 33; μελχεισα [B], 1 S. 14 49 31 2; μελχισεδεκ [ℵ], 1 Ch. 10 2), son of Saul, said to have fallen with his father (1 S. 31 2). Both fact and name, however, are questionable.

As to the fact, see SAUL, § 4. As to the name, the second element שוע is a corruption of שאו, the first three letters of שאול dittographed. נרב in the preceding name נרב is evidently a variant of נתן in יונתן. The name of Saul's second son may have been either אבימלך (Abimelech) or, if אבי is merely a variant of יו (Marq.), מלכי is most probably a corruption of מחריאל (Maḥriel) = ירחמאל (Jeraḥme'el). The latter view is preferable. Cp MEPHIBOSHETH; SAUL, § 6. T. K. C.

MALCHUS (μαλχος [Ti. WH]), the name of the bond-servant of the high-priest whose right ear was struck off by Peter (Jn. 18 10). The name is of Semitic origin and not unfrequent (cp MALLUCH and see NAMES, § 57).

MALELEEL (Lk. 3 37), RV MAHALALEEL (*q.v.*).

MALLOS (2 Macc. 4 30), RV MALLUS (*q.v.*).

MALLOTHI (מַלּוֹתִי, § 23; *i.e.* 'I have fulfilled'; μαλληθι [L]; but in 1 Ch. 25 4 μεαλωθι [A], μανθει [B]; and in *v.* 26† μελληθι [A], μεθαθει [B]), one of the 'sons of Heman.' See HEMAN.

MALLOWS, RV **Salt-wort** (*mallūăḥ*, מלוח, αλιμα[1] Job 30 4†). The abject wretches who make Job their mock are described as cave-dwellers who feed miserably on the *mallūăḥ* and other desert plants. [See further JUNIPER, and for a recovered parallel to Job 30 4 (Job 6 6) see PURSLAIN.] *Mallūăḥ* comes from *mélaḥ*, 'salt,' and it is now agreed that the plant is that called ἅλιμος or ἅλιμον by the Greeks, viz. the sea orache, *Atriplex Halimus*, L. This was first shown by Bochart (*Hieroz.* 3 16), who quoted the statement of Ibn Baitar (d. 1248 A.D.) that the people of Syria in his time gave the name *mallūkh* to the ἅλιμον.

The plant is described by Dioscor. (1 120) as 'a hedge shrub, resembling a bramble, whitish, but thornless. Its leaves are like those of the olive, but broader and softer; they are used as potherbs and cooked for food.'

According to Tristram (*NHB* 466) the sea orache 'grows abundantly on the shores of the Mediterranean, in salt marshes, and also on the shores of the Dead Sea still more luxuriantly. . . . It forms a dense mass of thin twigs without thorns, has very minute purple flowers close to the stem, and small, thick, sour-tasting leaves which could be eaten, as is the *Atriplex hortensis*, or Garden Orache, but it would be very miserable food.' N. M.

[1] Aq. rendered 'oil' (ἄλειμμα); Sym. and Vg. 'bark' (φλοιούς, *cortices*).

MALLUCH (מַלּוּךְ, § 57; μαλουχ [BℵA], -κ [L]).

1. A Merarite; 1 Ch. 6 44 [29] (μαλωχ [BAL]); see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iii. *a*).

2. b. Bani, a layman in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end); Ezra 10 29 (αλουμ [B], αελουμ [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 9 30 MAMUCHUS (μαμουχος [BA]).

3. b. Harim, a layman in same list; Ezra 10 32 (μαδουχ [ℵ?], μαλωκ [L]); Neh. 10 27 [28] (μααλουχ [ℵ^vid.]).

4. A priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 4 [5]; the name occurs also in the list of those who returned with Zerubbabel; Neh. 12 2 (μαλουλ [B]). The head of the 'fathers' house' of MALLUCHI or the Malluchites in Joiakim's time was Jonathan (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*, § 11), Neh. 12 14 (מְלוּכִי Kt., but מליכו Ḳr. RV^mg. MELICU). See MALLUCHI. Both 'Harim' and 'Malluchi' suggest 'Jerahmeel' (Che.).

MALLUCHI, see MALLUCH, 4. (See EZRA ii., §§ 6 *b*, 11).

MALLUS (μαλλωται 2 Macc. 4 30). Mallus rebelled, along with Tarsus, against Antiochus Epiphanes about 171 B.C. Its earliest Greek name was Marlos (cp coins); in the Middle Ages it was called Malo. It was a town of some importance, lying on a height (ἐφ' ὕψους κειμένη, Strabo, 675), on the E. of the Pyramus (*Jihun*), for Alexander the Great had to bridge the river before reaching the town in his advance to Issus. The site lies about 1 hour SW. of the small village of *Kara-tash*. The Pyramus divides near its mouth into two arms, which flow respectively E. and W. of the short range of hills extending along the coast NE. of Kara-tash. In ancient times the western arm was the more important; but now it is almost dry and the real mouth of the river is at the opposite end of the chain, at the bay of Ayash (anc. Ægæ).

The conclusion as to the site given above, which is that of Ramsay (*Hist. Geogr. of AM*, 385; cp Murray's *Handbook to AM*, 190, with map), is controverted by Heberdey, the most recent authority. He holds that Kara-tash represents the ancient Magarsa (Strabo, 676), Mallus lying 150 stades farther inland, just at the point at which the Pyramus forks. Some support to this view is given by the coins, which show the goddess of the city between two river gods: the proposed site is now a marsh. The ancient authorities, however, combined with the presence of many inscriptions of Mallus at Kara-tash, would seem conclusive against this view—though undoubtedly the *Stadiasmus* in saying that Mallus lay 150 stades E. of Magarsa is greatly in error. W. J. W.

MALOBATHRON (Cant. 2 17† RV^mg.). See BETHER.

MALTANNEUS (μαλταννaιος [B]), 1 Esd. 9 33 RV = Ezra 10 33, MATTENAI, 2.

MAMAIAS, RV **Samaias** (σαμαιαν [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 44 = Ezra 8 16, SHEMAIAH, 17.

MAMDAI (μαμδαι [B]), 1 Esd. 9 34 RV = Ezra 10 35, BENAIAH, 9.

MAMMON. The word occurs four times in the NT in two passages, Mt. 6 24 Lk. 16 9 11 13, the last of these verses being parallel to Mt. 6 24. AV everywhere 'Mammon,' in Lk. 16 9 11 mg. 'Or, riches;' RV 'mammon.' Yet no critical editor

1. Spelling.

MAMMON

of the Greek now sanctions the *mm; μαμωνᾶ* is found as early as the Complutensian Polyglot and the first two editions of Erasmus; it is in editions 3-5 of Erasmus, in Stephens, and in Elzevir that we first find *μαμμωνα*, and this not in Lk., but only in Mt., 'c. min. ut vid. pauc.' (Tisch.).[1]

Though not found as yet in any uncial MS, this spelling is attested by several ancient versions, especially MSS of the O. Latin c, f, ff$_1$, g$_1$, h, Ulfilas in Mt. (*mammonin*, with the marginal gloss *faihu-þraihna = pecunia*; the latter word standing in Lk. in the text); the official Vulgate, with some ten of the MSS of Jerome as collated by Wordsworth-White, who now, with the greater number of older MSS, write *mamona*; the Sahidic (though in the Catena published by Lagarde everywhere [7 times] *μαμωνα*, p. 15, 160). In ecclesiastical literature *μαμμωνᾶς* is the prevalent spelling (Zahn, *Einl.* 1 12); but the editions of the fathers can only in part be trusted. For *μαμωνᾶς* see Clem. *ad Cor.* 6, 1; Clem. Al. (ed Dindorf, i. 98 5, iii. 314 3), Orig. *c. Cels.* 8 3 56 (ed. Koetschau, ii. 222 25, 273 13); Adamantius (ed. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, 56 23 *f.* 58 4 6); *Apost. Const.* 3, 7 (ed. Lagarde, 102 17 22; Pitra in both passages -*μμ*). There is an interesting passage in the newly discovered Latin *Didascalia* (ed. Hauler, p. 46), 'De solo *mammona* cogitant, quorum Deus est sacculus'; in the Syriac דממונא, 'they are only of (=for) the *mamon*, whose God is the purse and the belly' (p. 65, 8, 11); in the Greek: *ἀντὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ μαμωνᾷ λατρεύει τουτέστι δουλεύει τῷ κέρδει.* Origen (ed. Klostermann, iii. 53 28). *θεός σού ἐστιν 'ἡ κοιλία'* (Phil. 3 19) . . . *θεός σού ἐστιν ὁ μαμωνᾶς καὶ κύριος.*

The question of spelling is more important here than elsewhere because of the etymology (see below, §§ 3, 4); for the Greek the single *μ* seems to be certain (cp also Edward Miller, *Textual Commentary* 47, *μαμωνα*, Burgon, 'All Uncials and most Cursives'); the Latin 'mm' may be influenced by the analogy of *mamma* and *annona*; cp also *grabbatum* for *grabattum*, *Barrabas* for *Barabbas*, and similar cases.

2. Accentuation. The question of *accentuation* is also of unusual importance.[2] All modern editors write *μαμωνᾷ* in the dative, with 'iota subscriptum.' As the oldest MSS of the NT have no accents we cannot tell how far this iota rests on MSS authority; but the nominative *μαμωνᾶς* is found in the Onomastica Vaticana (Lag. 194, 59, *μαμωνᾶς πλοῦτος ἢ μῶμος, δῶρα ἢ πέμματα* with *ζ* [*ητει*] i.m. at the last word); in Suidas (ed. Bernhardy, 2679): *Μαμωνᾶς χρυσός, γήϊνος πλοῦτος οὐχὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ἀλλ' ὁ περιττὸς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν χρείαν.* As the word is already inflected in the earliest Latin writers (*e.g.*, Tertullian) we need not doubt that the nominative was *μαμωνᾶς* (not -*ᾶ*), like *Σατανᾶς*.[3] Certainly to Greek readers *μαμωνᾶς* must have had the ring of a masculine proper name, at least in such a connection as that of Mt. 6 24 = Lk. 16 13. The latest editor, Fr. Blass (*Evangelium secundum Matthæum cum variæ lectionis delectu*, Lipsiæ, Teubner, MCMI) returns to the spelling with a capital as WH had printed in their privately-distributed Gospels. As an impersonal neuter it would have been spelt *μαμῶνα* like *μάννα, πάσχα.* That it really is masculine as the dictionaries mostly state is shown by the passage from Origen, 3 53, quoted in § 1.[4]

Biblical Hebrew does not contain a word מָמוֹן or מַמּוֹן; it is met with, however, in MH, see, *e.g.*, *Pirḳē Ābōth* 2 12 (R. Jose used to say

3. Use and meaning. יהי ממון חברך חביב עליך כשלך, 'the mamon (riches) of thy neighbour shall be dear to thee as thy own'; or מלח ממון צדקה, 'the salt of mamon is almsgiving.'

Here Strack vocalises מָמוֹן even in the st. cstr., whilst Delitzsch punctuates מְמוֹן הָעַוְלָה in Lk. 16 11 [but in ed. 1892 מָמוֹנָהּ שֶׁל־עַוְלָה]; Pagninus gave מָמוֹנָא מַמּוֹן, Dalman (*Gram.* 135) gives מָמוֹן, Ex. 21 30 (Onk.). In the Syriac versions it is uniformly ܡܳܡܽܘܢܳܐ (*ā*), though Karmsedinoyo in the *Thesaurus Syriacus* mentions the spelling ܡܰܡܽܘܢܳܐ (*ă*) in the first syllable. In the Palestinian Syriac we have the spellings ܡܡܘܢܐ cod. B (in Mt.), C (in Lk. 11 13), ܡܐܡܘܢܐ cod. B (in Lk. 11 13), ܡܡܘܢܐ C (in Mt.), AC (Lk. 11 13). On the Mandaic forms מאנונא and מינונא (with נ), see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.* 50.

The LXX seems to have found the word in Ps. 36 (37) 3 for אמונה.[1] The word is especially frequent in the Targums and sometimes supplemented there by דשקר (= *τῆς ἀδικίας* of Lk.). The passages of this kind are marked in the following list with a star.

It corresponds to Heb. בֶּצַע in Gen. 37 26 Ex. 18 21 Judg. 5 19 *1 S. 8 3 *Prov. 15 27 *Ezek. 22 27. הוֹן in Ps. 44 13 [12] Prov. 3 9. הָמוֹן, Eccles. 5 9, Tg. and Pesh., Targ. with the addition יתיר; cp *ὁ περιττός* in Suidas above, § 2. חַיִל in Ps. 49 11 [10]. כֹּפֶר in Ex. 21 30 (also Pesh.); Nu. 35 31 *1 S. 12 3 *Amos 5 12. מְאֹד in Dt. 6 5 Onk. נכס (wherewith cp Ecclus. 5 8, נכסי שקר = *χρήμασι ἀδίκοις*). מְחִיר in Is. 55 1. צַו in *Hos. 5 11. רְכוּשׁ in Gen. 14 12 (Jon.). שֹׁחַד in *Is. 33 15 45 13.[2] In the Peshitta of Ecclus. the word is found 10 8 14 3 (𝔊, *χρήματα*), 31 5 8 (𝔊, *χρυσίον*). In the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus it is now found 31 8, not in 14 3 (where חרוץ). On the proposal to read ממון or מַמוֹן, also 40 26*c* (𝔊, *βοήθειαν*) see Schechter-Taylor, 55. In 42 9 we have בת לאב מטמנת שקר (marg., מטמון) = 𝔊, *θυγάτηρ πατρὶ ἀπόκρυφος ἀγρυπνία*, Pesh. ܡܛܫܝܐ ܡܡܘܢ. Strange that in Tg. it stands nowhere for מטמון (Tg. mostly = סִמְין, 𝔊 always *θησαυροί* Gen. 43 23 Job 3 21 Prov. 2 4 Is. 45 3 Jer. 41 8), from which many derive it.

The following are the chief etymologies which have been proposed. (1) From √אמן, the thing in which

4. Etymology. men *trust* or what is *entrusted* to man, or that which *supports* and nourishes men. The Syriac lexicographers favour the last view. In Lk. 16 11 there is an apparent play of words with this root (*πιστοί, τὸ ἀληθινόν, πιστεύσει*).

2. From √המה = מ(ה)מון, Eccl. 5 9 Ps. 37 16.

3. From √ממן, as contraction of מטמון. This explanation is much older than Gesenius (*Thes.*), being already quoted by Calovius and Castell-Michaelis. It is maintained also by Dalman (*Gram.* 135), who thinks that מַטְמוֹן = מַמּוֹן came as a Hebrew word to the Aramæans, and that its origin was considered to be of the form ḳāṭōl and consequently vocalised with ā and without dagesh.

4. From √מן in the sense of מנה = the *allotted portion*; thus Frz. Delitzsch (*ZLT*, 1876, p. 600). For a different view see Michaelis (Cast. *Lex. Syr.*).

5. Lagarde (*Mittheil.* 1 229 and *Übersicht*) maintained that it is = מעמן = Arab. *maḍmūn*.

6. It was even connected in early times with *μῶμος* (see *Onomastica* and Buxtorf); with *μαιμώω* (see Buxtorf, Castell); and in modern times, by G. Hoffmann, with *νόμισμα* (see details in his *Phön. Inschriften*, 43).

[1] Bengel quotes for *μαμωνα* the cursive MSS 83, 84, 86, 89, *evst* 24, et *multi alii*; for *μαμμ.* only 'editions.'

[2] Kautzsch (*Aram. Gramm.* 10) states that WH accentuate *μαμωνά*, but in fact—in all impressions—they have *μαμωνᾶ* as genitive and *μαμωνᾷ* as dative. This 'iota subscriptum' points to the fact that they consider the nominative to be *μαμωνᾶς*. It is strange too, that Baljon should give in the dictionary *μαμωνᾶ, ᾶ ὁ* (with Cremer(8), 632); in NT he himself gives the dative as *μαμωνᾷ*.

[3] Hence arises the question whether Lagarde was right when he inferred from the termination -*ας* that a word like *Σατανᾶς* was regarded as a proper name and not as an appellative. Schmiedel-Winer, § 6, n. 17, denied it, and we may compare *κορβανᾶν* beside *κορβᾶν*.

[4] Nic. de Lyra (on Mt.) remarks, in accordance with the Glossa Ordinaria, 'mammona syra lingua *divitiæ*,' adding that it was also said to be the name of a demon ('nomen dæmonis qui tentat de cupiditate divitiarum'; Glossa Ordinaria, 'qui præest divitiis'). In Lk. he takes the other course: 'Mammon est nomen dæmonis tentantis de divitiis male acquirendis et ideo nomen eius ad divitias significandas derivatur et potest esse primæ vel tertiæ declinationis dicendo mammona, mammonæ, vel mammon, mammonis.'

[1] Not, however (as is sometimes stated), in Is. 33 6, where *ἐν θησαυροῖς* corresponds to חסן. Nevertheless this passage is important, because *θησαυροὶ δικαιοσύνης* (אוֹצָרוֹ) later in the verse reminds us of the *μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας* in Lk.

[2] Cp, further, 1 S. 2 5 Ps. 112 9, 2 S. 14 14 (nothing to correspond in Hebrew), and ממון דרשע, Hab. 2 9 = בֶּצַע רָע. The plural does not seem to occur in the Targums; but in Jewish writings דיני ממונות, 'processes about *property*,' are distinguished from ד' נפשות.

Hoffmann's objection to Lagarde's explanation, that it does not fit the Punic meaning *lucrum*, known to Augustine ('Lucrum Punice mammon dicitur,' on the Sermon on the Mount, ii. 14 17) is scarcely to the point.

That there was a god (or as Nic. de Lyra said [§ 2, n. 3], a demon) called Mammon or Mamon, like the Πλοῦτος of the Greeks, does not follow from the words of Tert. *adv. Marc.* 4 33, 'iniustitiæ enim autorem et dominatorem totius sæculi *nummum* scimus omnes'; nor from those quoted above from the *Didascalia*, 'quorum Deus est *sacculus*.' The personification of riches lies close at hand.

Luther is apparently the first German translator of the Bible to give 'Mammon'; the early translators (like Ulfilas, and later translations like the French Martin) gave its equivalent. So far as we have hitherto been able to learn, it makes its first appearance in English in *Piers Plowman* (1392?): 'And of Mammonaes money mad hym many frendes' (11 87). The wide currency of the idea that Mammon is the name of a god is due to Milton (W. H. Bennett, in Hastings, *DB* 3 224).

See Thayer-Grimm, *Academy*, 1888, 2 416 c; Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, 40 *f.*; *ZA* 5 568; the Dictionaries of Levy and Jastrow.

Eb. N.

MAMNITANAIMUS, RV **Mamnitanemus** (ΜΑΜΤΑΝΑΙΜΟC [B], ΜΑΜΝΙΤΑΝΑΙΜΟC [A], ΜΑΤΘΑΝΙΑ [?] [L]), a corruption in 1 Esd. 9 34 of 'Mattaniah, Mattenai, and Jaasu' (Ezra 10 37).

MAMRE (מַמְרֵא; ΜΑΜΒΡΗ [ADEL]), a name closely connected with the legends of Abraham. The 'oaks' (or rather perhaps 'oak'; so 𝔊, Pesh.; cp Gen. 18 4, 'the tree') 'of Mamre,' for which AV constantly gives 'plains' (see PLAIN) are mentioned in Gen. 13 18 14 13 18 1 (all J, except 14 13).

1. References. In 14 13, as also in *v.* 24, Mamre is described as an Amorite, and as the brother of ANER and ESHCOL. In P (Gen. 23 17 19 25 9 35 27 49 30 50 13) Mamre is connected with Abraham's burial place, and is identified (23 19 35 27) with HEBRON [*q.v.*]. Jos. (*BJ* iv. 9 7) speaks of a large terebinth, as old as the world, which stood in his time six stadia from the city; doubtless it was traditionally associated with the oak of Mamre, and in the Jewish legends which sprang up later, Mamre plays a prominent part. Sozomen states that in his time it was called Τερέβινθος,[1] and was the scene of a yearly feast and fair (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 177, 193). We may admit, then, that Josephus's statement 'as old as creation' is not without an element of truth; the old, heathenish tree-worship survived, in an innocent form, even to Christian times. See further, NATURE-WORSHIP, § 2, and, on the name, cp MARY.

Winckler, however (*GI* 2 38 *f.*), thinks that the connection of Mamre with Hebron is due to misunderstanding. Mamre and Kirjath-arba were connected; but Kirjath-arba was in the far N., and may have been Dan. The terebinths of Mamre represent the sacred precinct of the sanctuary.

So far we have proceeded on the assumption that MT is correct in its readings.

2. Textual criticism. In the light of emendations, however, which have been suggested in other passages, we can hardly help emending באלני ממרא (Gen. 13 18 14 13 18 1) into בירחמאל 'in Jerahmeel,' or בבאר ירח׳ 'by the well of Jerahmeel.' This and the related critical emendations pour a flood of light on the legends of Abram or Abraham, whose name indeed possibly means 'The (divine) father loves' (properly Ab-raḥam), indicating that he represented originally the tribe of Jerahmeel ('God loves'?). The brothers of Mamre are Aner and Eshcol. For ענר, Aner, read ארבע, Arba[2] (probably from עֲרָב, 'Arabia,' and for אֶשְׁכֹּל, Eshcol, read חֲלָצָה, Ḥalāṣah (remembering that יצחק, 'Isaac,' not improbably comes from אחיחלץ, Aḥiḥeleṣ; see ISAAC).

[1] The τερέβινθος in *OS*(2) 297 36, is that of Gen. 35 4 (Shechem). 'There is also a Τρεμιθοῦς in Cyprus, explained from the trembling of the ground when Aphrodite set her feet upon the spot, but really, as Steph. Byz. says, Τρεμιθοῦς is Cypriote for Τέρμινθος, terebinth. The connection of the terebinth with Aphrodite is doubtless correct' (WRS, MS note).

[2] עֲנָק, 'Anak,' is suggested by Wi. (*GI* 2 40) as a possibility; but see SODOM.

It was probably at Rehoboth, not at Hebron, that the tall sons of Anak dwelt; cp 1 Ch. 11 23, which suggests that the Muṣrites were noted for their stature (see MIZRAIM). Rehoboth, Ḥalāṣah, and Beer Jerahmeel were all important places in the Negeb, and famous in legend (see NEGEB, HEBRON).

S. A. C., § 1; T. K. C., § 2.

MAMUCHUS (ΜΑΜΟΥΧΟC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 30; see MALLUCH, 2.

MAMZER (מַמְזֵר). This word, probably of popular origin (see below), became a technical term in later Judaism for one born of related persons between whom marriage is illegal (see BASTARD). An old Talmudic tradition, however, defines a Mamzer differently, as meaning a child born of a marriage of a non-Jew or a slave with a Jewess (see references in Geiger, *Urschrift*, 54). Geiger thinks that this is the original meaning, and that this is proved by Zech. 9 6, 'a *mamzēr* shall dwell in Ashdod' (cp Neh. 13 23 *f.*). It is highly probable, however, that ממזר in that passage is a corruption of an Assyrian loan-word *mindīdu*, 'measuring-clerk' (see SCRIBE), so that the passage means that Ashdod shall be subject to Assyrian functionaries. If so, the only OT passage containing *mamzēr* is Dt. 23 2; the ideas which gathered round the word, however, are alluded to in Jn. 7 49, which Nestle is probably right (against B. Weiss) in paraphrasing thus, 'We are no heathen, but the legitimate members of the assembly of God' (*Exp. T*, Feb. 1900, p. 235).

The origin of *mamzēr* seems far from being settled. Must it not be an old popular corruption, not of מֵעַם זָר, as Geiger thought, but of the lengthy Hebrew phrase עַם הָאָרֶץ, '*am hāāreṣ* (cp Jn. 7 49)? Dt. 23 2 *ff.* can hardly be pre-exilic. Nestle, 'Der Mamzer von Asdod,' *ZATW* 20 [1900], p. 166 *f.*, raises the question of a connection between Zech. 9 6 and Neh. 13 23 *f.*, but quite misses the sense both of ממזר and of מפסר. Cp the present writer's article, *PSBA* 22 [1900] 165 *f.*

T. K. C.

MAN, MEN. Five Hebrew words are thus rendered:—

1. אָדָם, *'ādām* (on possible root, see ADAM AND EVE, § 3 [*a*], and cp Del. *Prol.* 103 *f.*; Muss.-Arn. *Ass. Dict.* 20; Di. *Gen.*(6) 53 *f.*; in Sab. ארם means 'servant, vassal'). A collective term (properly with art.) for 'mankind' (Gen. 6 1 7) or 'men' as opposed to God (‖ אִישׁ or אֲנָשִׁים [Is. 2 17, and, without art., 9 11]). Also, 'a representative or typical member of the human race,' so אָדָם חַי, 'a living man,' Lam. 3 39 (but see LAMENTATIONS, § 4, end); אָדָם רָשָׁע, 'a wicked man' (Job 20 29 27 13 Prov. 6 12 11 7). In late usage, אָדָם can mean 'any man' (Neh. 2 10). If emendations suggested elsewhere are accepted, it is remarkable how liable this word is to corruption; consequently some very doubtful meanings have found their way into the lexicons. Examples are, Gen. 16 12 (see ISHMAEL); Is. 43 4 Jer. 32 20 Hos. 6 7 (see LOVINGKINDNESS); Job 31 33 Ps. 17 4 82 7 116 11. In J's narrative of creation, הָאָדָם is the first created man (see ADAM AND EVE). On the phrase 'son of man,' see special article. Cp MESSIAH.

2. אִישׁ, *'īš* (root uncertain; the plur. אֲנָשִׁים is evidently connected with אֱנוֹשׁ [3]). The word is used as a designation of the male sex (*e.g.*, Gen. 4 1 1 S. 1 11, and [of animals] Gen. 7 2). Also for a husband as opposed to a wife (Gen. 3 6 29 32 34 Ruth 1 11). Hence for Yahwè as Israel's husband (Hos. 2 7 [9] 16 [18]). Also, for an inhabitant of a city or country (Judg. 10 1 1 S. 7 11, etc.); generally as a collective (Josh. 9 6 Judg. 7 23, cp *MI* 1 10). Also for servants or soldiers (1 S. 23 3 12, etc.); cp the phrase 'man of God' = prophet. Whether בְּנֵי־אִישׁ and בְּנֵי־אָדָם in antithesis (Ps. 49 3 [2] 62 10 [9]; cp 4 3 [2]) mean 'low and high,' 'men of low degree,' and 'men of high degree' (so EV), is disputed. In Jer. 5 1 אִישׁ even acquires an ethical connotation.

3. אֱנוֹשׁ, *'ĕnōš* (possibly connected by the Hebrews with √אנשׁ, 'to be weak'; a mere *Volksetymologie*); cp Ass. *tēnišētum*, 'human beings' = 'mankind'; *nišu*, 'a people,' pl. *nišē*, 'people.' Properly a collective = the human race (Dt. 32 26 Job 7 17 15 14 Ps. 8 4 [5]); so also בֶּן־אֱנוֹשׁ (Ps. 144 3). Rarely of individuals (Is. 56 2 Jer. 20 10 Ps. 55 13 [14] Job 5 17 13 9). In Is. 8 1 חֶרֶט אֱנוֹשׁ, 'a man's pen' = 'in common characters' (RVmg.). In allusion to its supposed etymology אֱנוֹשׁ can mean 'frail (mortal) man,' as opposed to God; so in Job, Psalms, Is. 51 7 12 2 Ch. 14 10 [11]. Di. and Del. would thus explain Enos (Enosh) in Gen. 4 26; but see ENOS, and on Is. 8 1, see *Crit. Bib.*

4. גֶּבֶר, *gébher* (Aram. גְּבַר; *MI* 50 16, גברן and גברת, 'men' and 'women'; Arab. *jabr*, 'a vigorous young man'; cp

גִּבּוֹר, 'a strong man'). In the sing. only once in prose—viz., in Dt. 22 5 (opposed to אִשָּׁה, 'woman'); in plur. Ex. 10 11 12 37 Josh. 7 14 17 *f.* 1 Ch. 23 3 24 4 26 12. גְּבָרִים (the pl. form) is more definite than אֲנָשִׁים (see 2), which includes men, women, and children. גֶּבֶר is (*a*)=אִישׁ—*i.e.*, simply 'man' (Ps. 34 9 [8] 40 5 [4] 52 9 [7] 94 12 Jer. 17 5 7); (*b*) 'strong man,' like גִּבּוֹר (Job 38 3 Is. 22 17); (*c*)=זָכָר, 'male' (Jer. 30 6 31 22), also of a male child (Job 3 3); (*d*) 'husband' (Prov. 6 34); (*e*) 'warrior' (Judg. 5 30); (*f*) 'man' (=אָדָם), as opposed to God (Job 4 17 10 5 14 10 14 Prov. 20 24 Lam. 3 35).

5. מְתִים, *mĕthîm* (sing. מְתוּ, cp perhaps METHUSAEL, METHUSELAH; cp Ass. *mutu*, Eth. *met*, both meaning 'husband'), especially in the phrase מְתֵי מִסְפָּר, 'few people' (Gen. 34 30 Dt. 4 27 Ps. 105 12 1 Ch. 16 19), or the synonymous מְתֵי מְעָט (Dt. 26 5 28 62). Six times in Job (11 3 11 19 19 22 15 24 12 31 31); six times in Dt. (2 34 3 6 4 27 26 5 28 62 33 6). The only old passage is Is. 3 25, where it seems to mean 'warriors.' In Judg. 20 48 (see Moore, Bu.) מְתִם should be read for מְתֹם. T. K. C.

MANACLES (אֲזִקִּים), Jer. 40 1 AV^mg.; EV, CHAINS (*q.v.* 2).

MANAEN (ΜΑΝΑΗΝ [Ti.WH], *i.e.*, מְנַחֵם; cp readings of MENAHEM), a Christian prophet or teacher at Antioch called [RV] the 'foster-brother' [Vg. *collactaneus*] of Herod the tetrarch, Acts 13 1 (Ἡρῴδου τοῦ τετραάρχου σύντροφος). 'Foster-brother,' however, seems to say too much; σύντροφος is well attested as a court-title in Hellenistic Greek (Fränkel, *Alterthümer von Pergamon*, viii. 1, pp. 111 *f.*, quoting inscriptions and Polyb. v. 9 4 xxxii. 25 10; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 180 *f.*, cp 173). Manaen, then, was in the confidence of Herod Antipas; the title implies nothing as to his early life.

Μαναημος was also the name of an Essene who foretold that Herod the Great would one day become king (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10 5), and who is to be identified with the colleague of Hillel in the Sanhedrin (*Chăgigā*, 2 2; Geiger, *Jüd. Zt.*, 1869, pp. 176 *f.*). But the coincidence is accidental. The name would naturally be a favourite with those who 'waited for the consolation of Israel' (Lk. 2 25). Cp 'Manaim' (ISRAEL, § 101), a zealot. Acc. to Talm. Jer. *Ber.* 2 4, Midr. on Lam. 1 16, one of the names of the Messiah would be Menahem, 'comforter.' Cp MENAHEM. T. K. C.

MANAHATH (מָנַחַת, § 78; ΜΑΝΑΧΑΘ [A*D*L]).

1. One of the sons of Shobal the Horite, Gen. 36 23 (μανναχαθ [A], μαναχα [E]); 1 Ch. 1 40 (μαχαναμ [B], μαναaθ [L]). Cp the origin assigned to the Manahathites of Judah, 1 Ch. 2 52 54.

2. A place to which the Benjamites of Geba were compelled by other Benjamite clans to migrate, 1 Ch. 8 6 (μαχαναθει [B], μαναχαθι [A], μανουαθ [L]). This Manahath may be assumed to be the chief town or village of the MANAHATHITES of Judah [*q.v.*], and may reasonably be identified with (3).

3. (μανοχω [BAL], μαναχ [44 54 etc.], μανναχ [74 76 etc.], *Mānak* [Syrohex.].) One of the cities of Judah added by 𝔊 in Josh. 15 59 (cp *SBOT*); it follows BETHER (*q.v.*) as the last in the list. Perhaps the modern *Māliḥa* (*n* and *l* confounded, as often), a large village SW. of Jerusalem, near *Bittīr* (Bether). So Cl.-Gan. *PEFQ*, 1874, p. 162. See above, 2.

MANAHETHITES (הַמְּנַחְתִּי; ΜΑΛΑΘΕΙ [B], ΜΑΝΑΘ [A], -Ι [L]), 1 Ch. 2 54, and, by a virtual correction of the text, *v.* 52, RV 'MENUHOTH' (הַמְּנוּחוֹת; ΜΩΝΑΙΩ [B], ΑΜΜΑΝΙΘ [A] [1] om. L). AV's (virtual) harmonisation of *v.* 52 and *v.* 54 is fully justified (see Ki. *SBOT*); but the English form **Manahathites** in RV is preferable to Manahethites. 'Manahathite' is a gentilic noun from MANAHATH [*q.v.*]. The clan so called had Calebite affinities. The origin of one half of it is traced to the tribal hero Shobal, that of the other half to Salma. The locality of Salma's half is at and near Zorah—the well-known town of MANOAH [*q.v.*]—that of Shobal's is not mentioned, but presumably it was Danite. SHOBAL [*q.v.*], it should be remembered, is both Edomite and Judahite. There was also an Edomite MANAHATH (*q.v.*, 1). Note, too, that Salma (called in 1 Ch. 2 51, 'the father of Beth-lehem,'—*i.e.*, Beth-jerahmeel? [Che.]) is properly N. Arabian. See SALMAH.

[1] חצי המנוחות was unintelligible to the old translators (εσειρα μωναιω [B], εσει αμμανιθ [A]; L om.). Tg. makes הַמ׳ equivalent to הַמִּנְחָה.

MANASSEAS (ΜΑΝΑCCΗΑC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 31 = Ezra 10 30, MANASSEH (2).

MANASSEH.

Manasseh (מְנַשֶּׁה; § 62; on etymology see below, § 4; gentilic **Manassite**, מְנַשִּׁי [see § 4, end]; noun and adjective alike, ΜΑΝΑCCΗ [BAEDFL], ΜΑΝΝ. [A], ΜΑΝΑCCΗC [BAQRT]) is mentioned in Is. 9 20 as a part of Israel, engaged, or about to be engaged (Marti, *ad loc.*), in strife with Ephraim [1] (cp EPHRAIM, § 5, i. end). There is no other contemporary reference of a historical character.[2] In the genealogical schemes Manasseh ranks as a brother of Ephraim. Since Ephraim is practically synonymous with Israel (see EPHRAIM, § 1), if we could feel sure that the seniority ascribed by J, E (virtually), and P (see below, § 2) to Manasseh represented a real tradition, we should be tempted to believe that the people who held the highlands of N. Israel at an early date were called Manasseh.[3] Machir, who in Judg. 5 14 seems to represent Manasseh, is in Josh. 17 1 Manasseh's eldest son, and in Nu. 26 29 *ff.* (cp Gen. 50 23) his only son, and is therefore perhaps Manasseh himself (cp MACHIR, and below, § 5, end). It is not impossible, if 'Benjamin' was not originally mentioned in Judg. 5 14 [4] (cp BENJAMIN, § 4), that Ephraim and Manasseh (or Machir) were by poetical parallelism names for the same thing. This would explain how, when, at a later date (Graf, *Gesch. des Stammes Simeon*, 5; Ew. *Gesch.* 2 423 *ff.*), Western Israelites planted the name of Machir-Manasseh E. of Jordan (JAIR, MACHIR), the geographical name of EPHRAIM [*q.v.*, § 2] prevailed in the west. If the names ascribed to Manasseh (there is no definite territory: EPHRAIM, § 11) in Josh. 17 2 be taken to make probable the existence of some special Manassite clan or clans forming part of the population of the Ephraim country they may, before most of them migrated eastwards, have been influential enough to lend their name sometimes to the whole. How well Machir as an equivalent for Joseph would suit the Genesis narrative has been pointed out elsewhere (EPHRAIM, § 1). It may have been the comparatively early migration of most of these settlers that led to the western story of the seniority of Manasseh.

1. Application of name.

Whatever may have been the real history of the name (see § 1), then, at some time or other Manasseh was not identified with Ephraim, was in fact subordinated to it. The supremacy of Ephraim could not be denied. It was held to be the effect of the laying of the right hand of the blind old Jacob-Israel on the head of the eponymos of Ephraim (Gen. 48 14 *a*, J). J, however, evidently felt that there was something strange about the distinction falling to the lot of Ephraim. His explanation is the quaint story told in Gen. 48: Ephraim had not always been first.

2. Relation to Ephraim.

[1] Che., however ('Isaiah,' Heb. *SBOT*, 194), thinks that 9 20 [19] *a b* 19 [18] *c* 20 [19] *c* 21 [20] *a b* 'probably' come 'from another context,' and that 'Judah alone was referred to by the original writer [of the poem].' This would leave the date of the reference to Manasseh and Ephraim uncertain, for *v.* 21 [20] *a b* can hardly be brought into connection with 3 14; it would have to be a gloss.

[2] For a hypothetical mention see col. 2406, n. 5.

[3] Note that 'Manasseh' of Judg. 1 27 becomes 'Israel' in *v.* 28.

[4] Its mention *between* Ephraim and Manasseh would be strange.

MANASSEH

Original precedence is definitely ascribed to Manasseh by J (Gen. 48 14 and practically 18), and virtually by E (*v.* 20; followed by P, *v.* 5) in the adoption story, and by P quite explicitly (בכור) in Josh. 17 1, perhaps to account for Manasseh's inheritance being originally described by P (cp 16 4) before that of Ephraim (*v.* 5), not, as in our present book of Joshua, after it (17 1).

Apart from these passages there is no evidence excepting (1) the order in which the names of the two tribes occur in statements made about them, and (2) the order in which they are dealt with when all the tribes are treated in succession.

(1) In the case of passages dealing with the two tribes, Manasseh first is found (once) in P possibly (Josh. 16 4),[1] later (Steuernagel) in 14 4 certainly. Nor need J be opposed to this.[2] The Chronicler's five passages[3] give no positive light on his way of thinking, the order (Ephraim first) being merely geographical.

(2) In the case of passages treating of all the tribes, Manasseh is again first in the genealogical lists of this kind in P (which may belong to supplementary strands: Gen. 46 = Nu. 26), in P's list of dividers of Palestine, and in the arrangement adopted by the Chronicler in the first section of his book: Manasseh (1 Ch. 7 14), Ephraim (*v.* 20);[4] perhaps also in J[5]. All the other lists in P and in Chronicles give Ephraim first.[6]

There may possibly have been from the first, as Staerk (*Studien*, 2 23) suggests, two orders in use; but if those who repeated the story told by J and implied by E saw no underlying meaning, it would have been enough, as Winckler remarks, simply to say that Ephraim was the first-born. When a Vedic hymn says 'The Brahmana was his mouth, the Raganya was made his arms, etc.' the explanation may explain nothing; but there was something to explain. In addition to what is said elsewhere (EPHRAIM, § 5, i.; JOSEPH i., § 2), some considerations must be offered here.

3. Its explanation.

In favour of Jacobs' explanation as a survival of a 'junior-right' from a pastoral period (EPHRAIM i., § 5, i.) is the advantage it has of explaining so many other cases of the younger being preferred.[7] It is doubtful, however, whether the genealogical system is quite old enough to have retained a custom so antique. Still, though the whole question of the meaning and origin of the 'junior birth-right' where it is known to have prevailed is difficult, the suggestion that some at least of the old Hebrew genealogical relationships are due to it perhaps deserves more consideration than it seems to have received.[8] Reference is made below (§ 4, begin.) to the view of Winckler (*GI* 2 74 *f.*) that the two sons of Joseph, whom he regards as in some respects a solar character (above, col. 2582, n. 3), represent the two halves of the year, and that their exchange of places refers to a change in the mode of calculating the year that is known to have occurred (MONTH, § 3). This seems one of the least tempting mythical interpretations,[9] and appears to be uncalled for, as Winckler himself offers another explanation decidedly more plausible (*GI* 2 85).

Winckler suggests that there was much more than the story of Gideon-Abimelech to indicate an early importance of Manasseh. The fact that in one account the career of Saul began at Jabesh in Gilead he regards as one of several indications (*GI* 2 158) that Saul was from across the Jordan, probably a Manassite leader of a band of warriors who made the chieftainship of Benjamin a stepping-stone to the kingship of a Benjamin monarchy, which, through the expulsion of the Philistines, became a state of considerable dimensions (16 1 16 4). A forecast of this is given in the victory of Jephthah over Ephraim (2 14 1), which Winckler thinks originally made Jephthah king in Shechem (14 1), and with this he connects the story of Abimelech. Manasseh had thus the supremacy in a very real sense before it passed to Ephraim with Jeroboam. The theory that Saul's home was across the Jordan is strongly defended by Winckler. For Cheyne's reasons for rejecting it, and the emendations of the text on which his own theory partly rests, see SAUL.

Naturally the name as well as the status of Manasseh was popularly explained. It was connected with the verb to forget. Josephus says that the name means 'causing to forget' (*Ant.* ii. 6 1, § 92, ἐπίληθον): Joseph's present happiness made him forget his former misfortunes. The explanation intended by Josephus occurs in Gen. 41 51 (E), alongside of another version (J? so Gunkel) which makes the thing forgotten not Joseph's trouble (עמל [E]) but his father's house.

4. Meaning of name.

It is not very clear what is the point of the emphasis laid (41 50 [E]) on Manasseh and Ephraim being born in the fruitful years *before* the years of famine: it is doubtful whether it implies a special interpretation of the names—Manasseh = postponer (cp Arabic *nasa'a*), Ephraim = fruitful (cp EPHRAIM, § 1 *f.*). Such a popular etymology would fit admirably Winckler's (*GI* 2 74 *f.*) mythological account of Ephraim's taking the place of Manasseh as referring to the postponing of the new year from autumn to spring (see YEAR, §§ 6 8); but the theory is precarious (see above, § 3).[1]

The real etymology of the name is unknown. The abnormal vocalisation (נַשַּׁנִי) of the verb expressing E's explanation would confirm the traditional vocalisation of the name if we could be sure that it is not (so Ball, *ad loc.*) accidental. Fortunately Manasseh is one of the few tribe names that were early used by individuals, and so we have seventh-century evidence of the pronunciation.[2] It is, however, not quite decisive. In Esarhaddon's list of tributary princes the name is Menasē (Me-na-si-e); but in that of Ašur-bani-pal it is Minsē (Mi-in-si-e).

Noting certain other names ending in *sa* (שא), Siegfried in 1875[3] suggested that Manasseh was a compound name: Men-nasa (cp 𝔊A, *μαννασση*), 'Men sustulit' (cp Amasiah, עמסיה). Meni, who seems to have been, like Gad, a god of fate (see FORTUNE, GAD, § 1, end), found worshippers in Israel even in very late times (Is. 65 11, RV). If Meni has been shortened into -man in Ahiman, as Fürst suggested (cp AHIMAN), it is possible that it might be treated similarly even at the beginning of a word. It is not certain, however, that the names ending in *sa* support the theory. שא in תימשא may be a divine name like Dušara in תימדושרא, and in אלהשא it may be like Bēl in אלהבל (Ελαβηλος).[4]

It would thus be possible, indeed, to regard the name Manasseh as one of a class by no means small, the class namely of names that contain two divine titles.

[1] So MT, 𝔊L and Pesh.; but 𝔊BA gives Ephraim first.

[2] J seems to take the other side (Ephraim first); but it is only in appearance: in Josh. 17 17 the phrase is a gloss (𝔊L, 𝔊BA om.), and in Dt. 34 2 the same is probably true; although the passage is old enough to be found in 𝔊 (𝔊BAL), its place in the Sam. text is taken by one quite different.

[3] 1 Ch. 9 3 (dwellers at Jerusalem), 2 Ch. 15 9 (*gērīm* at Jerusalem: temp. Asa), 30 1 (letters), 30 10 (posts), 30 18 (at Hezekiah's passover: destruction of sanctuaries).

[4] Since he has already given Benjamin, the order cannot be geographical, as that in Ezek. 48 may well be in this part of it.

[5] The order, Manasseh first (*vv.* 27 *f.* and 29 in the account of the tribes in Judg. 1), may be due to R; and what to make of Judg. 5 (Ephraim [Benjamin] Machir) is not clear.

[6] Nu. 1 5 *ff.* (censors), 1 32 *ff.* (census), 2 18 *ff.* (camp), 10 22 *f.* (camp), 13 8 11 ('spies'), Josh. 21 5 = 1 Ch. 6 66 *ff.* (Kohathite cities), 21 21 25 = 1 Ch. 6 65 [where Ephraim is omitted] (priests' cities), 1 Ch. 12 30 *f.* (deserters to David), 1 Ch. 27 20 *f.* (David's tribal rulers [*nāgīd*]).

[7] Jacobs' list (*Bibl. Arch.* 50) is: Abraham, Isaac, Bethuel, Rebekah, Jacob, Rachel, Judah, Joseph, Benjamin, Ephraim, Moses, etc.

[8] Even Gunkel in his interesting note (*Gen.* 271 *f.*) does not refer to it.

[9] Cp Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. liv, n. 1.

[1] The suggestion of G. H. B. Wright (*Was Israel in Egypt?* 245) that we should connect the name with the story of a surviving remnant of Ephraim in Judg. 12 4 (פלטי אפרים, פלם being considered equivalent to נשם, whence Manasseh) is hardly consistent with a recognition of the fact (see Moore, Bu., Now. *ad loc.*) that the text of the passage is corrupt. (The use Steuernagel [*Wanderung*, 25] makes of the passage is more cautious.) Nor is there more to be said for a connection (Wright, *l.c.*) with נֵס, 'standard'; whatever the story of the 'witness'-altar in Josh. 22 may owe its origin to (see col. 2922, n. 3), it is hardly possible that a *nēs*-standard had anything to do with it; and moreover, even if we should incline to accept Steuernagel's acute suggestion (*Einwanderung*, 96) that originally it was only certain Josephites that were blamed (see REUBEN), 'Manasseh' does not seem to have been mentioned in the story originally.

[2] We must remember, however, the possibility that the pronunciation of the personal name may have reacted on the tradition of the tribal name.

[3] *ZPT* (1875) 366 *f.* He is followed by C. Niebuhr (*Gesch. Ebr. Zeit.*, 252 [1894]).

[4] On names in *sa* see S. A. Cook, *Exp. T* 10 525 *f.* (1899).

Min-še, which would be the exact Hebrew equivalent of Ašur-bani-pal's Minsē, would in that case contain the two divine names Men and Ša (cp BAASHA).

It would be natural then to conjecture that the strange name Nimshi ought to be Minshe (see, however, NIMSHI). Jehu, the founder of the third great post-Davidic northern dynasty, would thus be called 'ben Minshe'—a Manassite. It has been suggested elsewhere (ISSACHAR, § 4) that there are perhaps hints of a recognition of a deity Ša in N. Ephraim. If Men, on the other hand, were more at home on the east of the Jordan, the compound title Minše would be symbolical of the east and the west. Menahem, who was probably a Gadite (ben Gādī; see GADI, GAD, § 10), may have borne the name of the same deity: to judge from the spelling of the king's name in Tiglath-pileser's contemporary list of tributaries (Me-ni-ḫi-im-mē), Menahem may stand related to HAMUEL [*q.v.*] as JOAB to ABIEL.

If on the other hand we are willing to follow the old Hebrew etymology in regarding Manasseh as a participial form (see below), it will be plausible to find in it the name or title of a divine being honoured by Manassite clans. The unnamed god who vanished with the appearance of morning (Gen. 32 24 [25] *ff.*, JE) inflicted an injury in what *v.* 25 [26] calls גִּיד הַנָּשֶׁה[1] (EV, 'the sinew of' the 'hip'). In Arabia *nasiya* is to suffer, and *nasā*, to inflict, such an injury. Manasseh (the piel participle) would thus be the name of a supernatural being of whom the inflicting of such an injury was characteristic (so Land, *De Gids*, Oct. 1871, 'De wording van staat en godsdienst in het oude Israel,' 20).[2] Gunkel suggests that the story is connected with a local religious dance of a peculiar halting kind. It is worth noting that *taḥalluj*, 'walking in a loose manner, as though disjointed, . . . as though dragging a thing' is the effect of contact with *ǵinn* (*Ḥam.* p. 30, *l.* 4; compare the story in Abulf. *Ann.* 3 202). It is not certain, however, who it was that was lamed. Gen. 32 26*a* (E, Gunkel) certainly suggests that it was Jacob's antagonist, and 'Jacob' in *v.* 26*b* (J? Gunkel) may very well be an erroneous gloss. W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 163, n. 1) well compares *Iliad*, 23 725-727 (Odysseus' unfair wrestling). That this is really the view of J seems to be borne out by *v.* 29 (J) where Jacob has 'prevailed with gods and men.'[3] It would appear, therefore, that in the original story the epithet Manasseh was a fitting title of Jacob himself, which might be borne by his worshippers, as in the case of Gad. According to 1 K. 18 26 the N. Israelite prophets (priests?) were accustomed to perform certain religious dances which could be called limping[4] (RVmg.; וַיְפַסְּחוּ). There may have been something similar east of the Jordan, where it is commonly held that the wrestling scene is laid. Bernh. Luther, however, argues with some plausibility (*ZATW* 21 69 [1901]) that it really belongs to Bethel (Gen. 28). The question is of less importance in the present inquiry, since, if the story is connected with a real tradition of some kind, it refers to settlers on their way to the west.

It is perhaps in favour of this last explanation that there is some evidence that the name Manasseh was felt to be a participle, therefore in a sense an adjective, and consequently capable of being used with the article.

Manasseh occurs in the Hexateuch with the article some twelve times (D and P), in each case after the construct חצי שבט,[5] which occurs only thrice[6] (P)[7] without the article. Outside the Hexateuch on the other hand—*i.e.*, in Chronicles—חצי שבט (4 times) does not take the article,[1] and it is therefore at least quite possible that the abnormal המנשה is due to misreading המנשי in the archaic script, which may have continued in use in the Torah (and Joshua?) longer than elsewhere. This gentilic 'Manassite' (מְנַשִּׁי) occurs four times, always (quite normally) with the article[2] and always of the trans-Jordan tribe.

Reference has been made to the representation in Judg. 5 of a Machir (= Manasseh) settled in the highlands of Ephraim and the representation of J according to which the Machirites crossed the Jordan (?) and established themselves (Nu. 32 39 41 *f.*) in Gilead, the land of the Amorites. See further JAIR, NOBAH. Gad and Reuben, however, having been described in JE (Nu. 32) as being assigned their homes before their kinsmen settled in W. Palestine (cp GAD, § 11), it came to be said that Machir too received Gilead from Moses (*v.* 40). With this is connected the view of the Deuteronomic writers that the whole country from the Jabbok northwards—the half of Gilead (Josh. 12 25 13 31), *i.e.*, the part not given to Gad (Dt. 3 12), and all BASHAN, all the region of ARGOB, the kingdom of OG (Dt. 3 13)—was given by Moses to Manassites (cp Dt. 29 8 Josh. 12 6 13 8 [𝔊, Di. etc.] 30 *f.* 18 7 22 7; for Bashan Dt. 4 43 Josh. 20 8 21 6 27), who come to be called regularly 'half the tribe of Manasseh.' Naturally it became necessary to associate these Manassites with Gad and Reuben in helping their kinsmen (mentioned alone in Nu. 32) to effect a settlement in the west[3] (Josh. 1 12 4 12 [D_2]) and in the obscure story of the altar (Josh. 22; see GAD, § 11, and especially REUBEN). The view of P has often been supposed to be similar (cp Josh. 13 29 14 3?).

5. Legends of settlement.

According to Steuernagel, however, E and (so now also Holzinger, *Joshua*, p. xii) P recognise only Reuben and Gad in the east (*Josh.* 201); his view being based on the P parts of Nu. 32 and on the genealogy (216). From the fact that the Manassite genealogies in Nu. 26 29 *ff.*[4] and Josh. 17 1 *ff.* differ only in their account of Machir and Gilead,[5] Steuernagel argues that Machir and Gilead are a later insertion into P which knows nothing of any Machir—an insertion worked in in two ways (217 *f.*).

The confusion on this subject is perhaps past repair; but we venture to make the following suggestions. It appears that in Josh. 17 1*b* 2 as it now stands the sons—being called 'the rest' in opposition to Machir who figures as the father of Gilead—are regarded as settling in W. Palestine. Steuernagel reaches the same result, for when he cuts out the mention of Machir he cuts out also the words 'the rest of.' On the other hand it is just as certain that in P's list (Nu. 26 34) the sons are assigned to the east (on Nu. 27 1 36 1 see below). Kuenen argues that Gen. 50 23 (E) also held Machir to be the only son of Manasseh. Is it necessary, however, to suppose that E would have called Machir 'father of Gilead'? May not the 'sons of Machir' mean the 'tribe of Machir,' and the 'adoption' (St. *ZATW* 6 145 *ff.* [1886]) be E's acknowledgment of the equivalence of Manasseh and Machir? (so practically Gunkel). The names of some of the sons certainly suggest the west.

That is true of Abiezer, Shechem, and Hepher; perhaps also of Shemida (שְׁמִידָע), which may be connected in some way with Shamir, Shimron, Shomron; 𝔊 reads (mostly) *r* for *d*.[6] None

1 The critical analysis of the passage is still matter for discussion. Verse 25 [26] may be wholly late.

2 Land compares the Arabian *ǵinn*.

3 Cp Holzinger, *Gen.* 210; PENUEL. Of course J may have had a parallel to E's Mahanaim fragment 32 2 *f.*, which perhaps originally told of a (successful?) conflict of Jacob with divine hosts (so Gunkel).

4 The dancing of David (2 S. 6 14) is called 'whirling' (מְכַרְכֵּר), at least if the text is right (but cp DANCE, § 4 [4]).

5 After מטה (חצי), on the other hand, the article is never inserted. Is this due to the final ה of מטה?

6 Of course also in Nu. 32 33 before בן יוסף.

7 The ungrammatical השבט המנשה in Josh. 13 7 is no doubt a scribal error (probably homoioteleuton). König's explanation (*Lehrgeb.* 2 2, § 20*c*) itself needs explanation. Kautzsch's explanation (*Gramm.* § 125 *d*, n.) is not convincing.

1 In 1 Ch. 27 21 occurs חצי המנשה.

2 Dt. 4 43 לַמְנַשִּׁי, 2 K. 10 33 וְהַמְנַשִּׁי, and twice with חצי שבט, Dt. 29 8 [7] 1 Ch. 26 32. In each case Reuben*ite* precedes.

3 On the possibility of some historical reminiscence underlying this story (Steuernagel, *Einwanderung*, 94) see REUBEN.

4 Gen. 46 20 gives no genealogy of Manasseh (EPHRAIM, § 12, n. 1, and see below). 𝔊BAL inserts a notice agreeing with 1 Ch. 7 14: by an Aramæan concubine Manasseh begat Machir, who begat Gilead.

5 Machir's relation to Hepher, etc., is in Nu. that of grandfather, in Josh 17 2 that of brother (in *v.* 3, however, grandfather: see Kue. *Th. T* 11 487).

6 𝔊B reads שמרם in Josh.; but the μ may be a graphical error from α. In 1 Ch. 7 18 Ishhdod may possibly represent Shemida (so Benzinger, *ad loc.*) especially if the ע is not original.

suggests the east: Helek is unknown and so is Asriel, if indeed it be not an intruder, for it seems on the whole as probable as not that the writer of the words (17 5) 'And there fell ten parts to Manasseh [. . .][1] (*v.* 6) for the daughters of Manasseh received an inheritance amongst his sons' counted the brothers carelessly as five, including Hepher. How the name Asriel might come into existence we see from 1 Ch. 7 14 (see ASRIEL).

If the sons must then be assigned to the west are we to conclude that, as Dillmann (on Nu. 26) suggests, the writer who is responsible for the mention of Gilead had lost all hold of the geographical meaning of the name Gilead, or, believing that Gilead was conquered first, regarded the W. Manassites as offshoots of the E. Manassites?[2] It is on the whole more likely that the source of confusion is the word Machir. Sons were assigned to Machir-Manasseh (*e.g.*, Gen. 50 23, E), who was then mistaken for Machir-Gilead, and therefore called in a gloss 'father of Gilead' (see below, n. 3).

It seems natural to suppose that the five daughters (Nu. 26 33) are to be judged like the sons.

27 7 does not say that Moses actually gave the daughters their inheritance, nor does 36 2, whilst in Josh. 17 4*b* 'them' not 'us' shows that we are to regard the provision as having been carried out by Joshua—*i.e.*, in W Palestine.[3] The case had to be mentioned in Nu 27 36 because it was necessary that the legal decision should be attributed to Moses. The most natural explanation of the postponement of the carrying out to Josh. 17 is that the whole story was known to belong to the west. There is nothing in the five names as they appear in the present text to suggest the east: Tirzah, *Beth*-hoglah, and *Abel*meholah are in the west; Noah is probably, like Neah (Josh. 19 13), a corruption of something else (Naarah on the boundary of Ephraim?), and Milcah is obscure (see, however, the special articles). On the question who the father was, see below, § 9.

We must pass on to other aspects of the Manasseh question. On the assumption, which is universal, that Manasseh is a real tribe name, it is generally supposed that when the curtain rises the Manassites are part of the inhabitants of Mt. Ephraim.

Winckler's suggestion that the Gideon-Abimelech story is a monument of the arrival of Manasseh from the east has been mentioned above (§ 3). Steuernagel, conversely, remarks that Gideon's claim on Succoth and Peniel suggests that part of what he calls the Jacob-tribe —*i.e.*, what afterwards became Joseph (=Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh)—may have remained E. of the Jordan when the others entered Palestine (*Einwanderung*, 64).

Although it is also commonly supposed that Benjamin had already been constituted when Manasseh or Machir became distinct from Ephraim,[4] this is by no means certain (see BENJAMIN, §§ 1 *f.* 5, EPHRAIM, § 5, ii., JOSEPH, § 2). The expansion of Joseph seems to be dealt with in a much discussed passage in Josh. (17 14-18). The house of Joseph (see the comm.) complains that the blessing of Yahwè has made it too large for a single tribal portion: it finds the highlands too narrow and the plain inaccessible. The answer is: clear the forest and force a way into the plain. At the same time it is admitted to be entitled to more than one portion. If the plausible theory of Budde (*Ri. Sa.* 35 *ff.*), adopted by Kittel (*Gesch. Heb.* 1 240), that the forest to be cleared was in Gilead[5] (cp EPHRAIM, § 3), be adopted, it is natural to regard the spread of Machir-Manasseh to the E. (Nu. 32 39) as a further stage of the same expansion which produced West Manasseh. Steuernagel (*Einwanderung*, 97) finds an echo of the birth of Manasseh in the story of the advance of Joseph to

[1] The omitted words and the second part of *v.* 6 are probably from another hand (Steuernagel).

[2] So also E. L. Curtis, Hastings' *DB* 2 129*b* and perhaps Driver, 3 232.

[3] In Nu. 36 it is heads of the fathers' houses of the family of the children of Gilead (*v.* 1) that call Zelophehad their brother (*v.* 2); but in *v.* 5 the speakers are called 'the tribe of the sons of Joseph.' 'Gilead' and 'Machir,' therefore, in *v.* 1 are probably not original. According to Jos. *Ant.* iv. 7 5 it was the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh that told Moses of the death of Zelophehad.

[4] So Stade (*GVI* 1 160), Guthe (*GVI* 56), and others.

[5] Hitzig (*GVI* 106) found it in S. Ephraim, Knobel, Keil, and Steuernagel (*ad loc.*), in the N., Ewald (*GVI*(3) 2 243 *f.*) in the plain.

MANASSEH

Dothan.[1] He thinks that there were probably struggles with the Leah tribes Issachar and Zebulun who were making their way from the SW. of Ephraim where they had at first settled (see ZEBULUN).

Judg. 5 seems to imply that the whole of Manasseh was in West Palestine. When the Machirites are to be supposed to have crossed into Gilead of course we do not know. Steuernagel thinks that there was a conflict between (W.) Manasseh and Gad (*Einwanderung*, 24, below) which ended in the conquest of northern Gad (Gilead) by the Machirites (expedition of Gideon, conquest of Succoth and Peniel; see, however, GIDEON): when the Gileadites are called a Machirite clan they are thereby treated as dependent on Machir.

6. Other references.

The 'Blessing of Jacob' contains at present no mention of Manasseh (or Ephraim), treating it as part of JOSEPH (see, however, JOSEPH i., § 2, first small type, EPHRAIM, § 5, ii., second paragraph), and there is considerable confusion in the blessings connected with the adoption of Joseph's sons (see Carpenter-Battersby and the comm.). In the 'Blessing of Moses' on the other hand the last two lines of Dt. 33 17 where Manasseh is mentioned are a gloss. Who the 'first-born' (MT, בכור שורו) referred to in the first line is, is disputed; but in any case the reference is not to Manasseh.

It is improbable that 2 S. 20 26 tells us that David had a Manassite priest—having perhaps (Winckler) carried off some Manassite deity to his capital. Besides the question at what date 'Jairite' and 'Manassite' were equated (see § 9, ii.), there is the question whether the reading 'Jairite' is correct. In addition to what is said elsewhere (IRA, 3) is to be noted Winckler's suggestion (*GI* 2 241, n. 2) that Ja'irite has arisen from a variant Ja'ir for 'Ira. The sixth and the seventh in the list of Solomon's administrative districts (1 K. 4 13 *f.*) lay in the northern part of the trans-Jordan country. In Ps. 60 [7] (=108 8) Gilead and Manasseh represent the trans-Jordan district (‖ Ephraim and Judah); in 80 2 Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh are the representatives of the ancient northern Israel.[2] There is nothing to be learned from the Chronicler's list of seven Manassites who deserted to David at Hebron (1 Ch. 12 20).

7. Probable history.

It is now time to ask whether it is possible to get behind the legends and other data and arrive at any theory of the actual course of events. The centre of gravity of northern Israel in historical times appears to have been at Shechem (EPHRAIM i., §§ 4 10). There is no hint in the OT of any tradition of the southern Leah tribes ever having been farther north than Shechem. If we are to connect them, as seems probable, with the Ḥabiri of the Amarna letters,[3] the settlement of the Israelites proper (including 'Manasseh') in the Ephraim highlands will fall later (cp NAPHTALI, §§ 1 3). They contributed, as we have seen, to the struggle sung of in Judg. 5. It seems probable that the southern 'Benjamite' monarchy of Saul was made possible by earlier achievements farther north. It is not possible to distinguish definitely Manasseh from the rest of the Ephraim highlands which are dealt with elsewhere (EPHRAIM, i. 3 *f.*). There can be little doubt that there was always more or less communication with the trans-Jordan lands. The history of the northern portion of the trans-Jordan lands, which is traditionally regarded as Manassite, is very obscure. See GILEAD, BASHAN, ARGOB, ARAM, HAVVOTH-JAIR, JEPHTHAH. The most obvious fact written on the face of the records preserved to us is the series of struggles with Aramæans. If there were such, as no doubt there were, in the earlier days (see JACOB, LABAN), it is even more certain that they were frequent later (*e.g.*, Am. 1 3). On the contributions made to the history of Israel by the trans-Jordanic division see GAD, § 10. On East

[1] He combines with this the fight at the waters of Merom, which, following *OS* 278 99, he places near Dothan.

[2] Either Benjamin or Manasseh must be an addition—perhaps Manasseh, as best accounting for the strange order (cp Judg. 5 14).

[3] See above, col. 1316, n. 5. Since that was written Steuernagel has argued ably for this view in his very clever discussion of the settlement of Israel (*Einwanderung*, 115-123). On the general question see (besides NAPHTALI, § 1) SIMEON.

Manasseh's reputation for valour see Josh. 17 1 1 Ch. 5 18-22. According to the Chronicler the [eastern] half of Manasseh was transported by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch. 5 26); 2 K. 15 29 had said simply 'Gilead,' on which see NAPHTALI, § 3, n. In the fragment referred to below (next col.) we are told, if the reading is correct, that Geshur and Aram obtained possession of the Havvoth-jair (1 Ch. 2 23). The Chronicler is strangely fond of introducing references to Manasseh (see col. 2919, n. 3).

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the geographical data as to where Manassites were settled are perplexing. P's south border is dealt with elsewhere (EPHRAIM, §§ 5 11); the northern border is omitted (see JOSHUA, § 9), unless the last clause of *v.* 10, which has no grammatical subject, represents it. No list of Manassite cities is given (cp JOSHUA, § 9), only a list of those which might have been expected to be Manassite, but were not: Tappuah belonged to Ephraim, and five—viz., BETH-SHEAN near the Jordan, IBLEAM, TAANACH, and MEGIDDO on the S. edge of the great plain, and Dor[1] on the coast—remained in the hands of the Canaanites (on the text of *v.* 11 see ASHER, § 3). What the Naphoth in Issachar and Asher were we do not know (see NAPHTALI, § 2). Instead of a list of Manassite cities we have in *v.* 2 a list unparalleled in the book of Joshua: each item is 'the sons of—.' Some, however, if not all, of the names are names of towns; and the same is true no doubt, as Kuenen saw (*Th. T* 11 488 [1877]), of the daughters mentioned in *v.* 3 (see col. 2923, small type).

8. P's geographical data.

9. Genealogies.

i. The list just referred to (Josh. 17 1 *f.*), and the equivalent list in Nu. 26 34[2] has been discussed already (col. 2922) in its bearing on the Manasseh-Machir-Gilead question. As a genealogy it raises a further question. The brothers among whom the daughters received their inheritance (בתוך אחי אבינו; Josh. 17) are nowhere mentioned. The father himself is named in five passages (Nu. 26 = 1 Ch. 7 Nu. 27 Nu. 36 and Josh. 17); but nowhere is there any hint of his having any brothers. In fact, as Kuenen (for another object) has pointed out (*Th. T* 11 489), only if there were no such brothers could the daughters succeed to Hepher's inheritance. In Nu. 36 11, however, it is expressly said that the five daughters married sons of their uncles (בני דדיהן[3]). If the daughters' father were Hepher instead of being Hepher's son the difficulty would disappear. If we suppose that Nu. 26 33 originally began 'And Hepher had no sons,' and that later Hepher became corrupted into Zelophehad (ולחפר becoming וצלפחד), necessitating the gloss 'son of Hepher,' we clear up the matter and also get rid of the difficult name 'Zelophehad.' Cheyne very acutely treats Zelophehad as a corruption of a supposed Ṣalḥad (see SALECAH); but that assumes that we are to look in the E., and that view, it has been urged above (§ 5, mid.), is not without difficulty.

ii. The 10 (11) Manassite (?) names mentioned before (§ 5) reappear for the most part, though quite differently arranged, in what seems to be the Chronicler's main Manassite genealogy (1 Ch. 7 14-19): it comes between Naphtali and Ephraim. The passage seems to be deeply corrupt (see the separate articles).

Abiezer is a son (not an uncle), and Maḥlah a son or daughter (not a sister), of Milcah who is called Molecheth. Heleḳ (called Liḳḥi) and Shechem are sons (not brothers) of Shemida. Hepher is not mentioned, being represented by Zelophehad. Shemida has no brothers, two of them appearing as sons (Heleḳ and Shechem) among whom is also No'ah one of 'Zelophehad's daughters (in Joshua), of whom two (Ḥoglah and Tirzah) disappear, whilst two new names appear (Ahian son of Shemida, and Ishhod son of Moleketh).

The source of the names in *vv.* 16 17*a* (Peresh [which 𝔊B omits = Sheresh], Ulam [Benjamite in 8 39], Rekem [a Benjamite town, Josh. 18 27], and Bedan) cannot be conjectured. The same is true of the little list of seven names which some one has inserted, as a register of 'half the tribe of Manasseh,' 'who dwelt in the land,' to supplement the Reuben and Gad lists.

Since the famous JAIR [*q.v.*], called Gileadite in Judg. 10 3, appears to be assigned in Nu. 32 41 to Manasseh, it is strange that there is no mention of him in the genealogies. The Chronicler has perhaps repaired the omission: a fragment (1 Ch. 2 21-23) wedged into the Judah genealogy tells that a daughter of Machir had a grandson named Jair who had twenty-three cities in the land of Gilead. The closing words of *v.* 23 suggest that the fragment belongs to the obscure genealogy in 7 14 *ff.*[1] Whatever be the real meaning of that genealogy, however, it is not quite certain that anywhere else, at least, Jair is correctly made to be a Manassite. Dt. 3 14 is not a reliable passage; but it may mean this: no doubt Moses had given the territory mentioned in the context to half the tribe of Manasseh, but (read ויאר with 𝔊) Jair took all the region, etc. 'Son of Manasseh' was probably appended to 'Jair' after Nu. 32 41 had received its present form—*i.e.*, probably after the insertion of *v.* 40 about Machir *the son of Manasseh*. Originally *v.* 41 probably resembled *v.* 42 where Nobah has no patronymic. Jair was therefore Gileadite rather than exactly Manassite.[2]

The late passage Josh. 13 30 of course implies the later form of Nu. 32 41.

Whether we may venture to infer from 1 Ch. 2 21-23 that Jair was the outcome of a fusion of Reubenite (cp Ed. Meyer, *Entsteh.* 16) families (Hezron) with Gileadite families (sister of Gilead), that it was settled at first somewhat S. in Gilead (Judg. 10 3 *ff.*), and afterwards moved northwards (Nu. 32 41), mingling with Manassites (so Steuernagel, *Einwanderung*, 25), is less certain. See REUBEN. If SEGUB, Jair's 'father' (1 Ch. 2 22), is a corruption of Argob, which Jair is said to have conquered (Dt. 3 14), there may have been a theory to that effect.

On the problem connected with Manasseh see in addition to the commentaries, the histories, and the dictionaries, Kuenen, 'De stam Manasse' (*Th. T* 11 478-496 [1877]) and Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan* (1901), especially 21-28. H. W. H.

MANASSEH (מְנַשֶּׁה; ΜΑΝΑCCΗ(C) [BℵAL]).

1. King of Judah (692-639 B.C.), son of Hezekiah, and father of Amon; on his mother's name see HEPHZIBAH. Very little is recorded of his long and, it would seem, extremely prosperous reign. As we approach the final catastrophe, the editor feels it less important to communicate details, because of the reactionary character of the religion favoured by the latest kings. The sins of Manasseh, so we are assured—*i.e.*, first, his patronage of heathenish cults, and next, his shedding of innocent blood (as a persecutor of the prophets?)—were the true causes of the captivity. But how could this wickedness of the king be consistent with the long-continued prosperity which the annals appear to have recorded?

According to a long-assumed critical result (see Graf, *St. Kr.*, 1859, pp. 467 *ff.*; Kue. *Ond.*(2) i. 473; Wellh. *Prol.*(2) 215 [ET 207], and cp CHRONICLES, § 8 (*e*)), the Chronicler found a way of reconciling this inconsistency, which seemed to threaten his dogma of prompt retribution for sin, by supposing a Babylonian captivity of Manasseh (a sort of prophecy of the later captivity under Nebuchadrezzar), from which the king was only delivered through his repentance (2 Ch. 33 11-13). Schrader, however (*KAT*(2) 367 *ff.*), has given highly plausible arguments in favour of the accuracy of the Chronicler, so far as his facts are concerned. (i.) In the lists of twenty-two tributary kings of Canaan and the small neighbouring countries given alike by Esarhaddon and by Ašur-bāni-pal we find the name of Mĕnassê king of Jaudu—*i.e.*, Judah (*KB* ii. 149 239). (ii.) When Šamaš-šum-ukīn, king or viceroy of Babylon, rebelled against his royal brother (cp ASURBANIPAL, § 7), he obtained the support of the kings of the very region to

1 'Endor' which MT adds to the list as given in Judg. 1 27 and in 𝔊 (but see ENDOR) of Josh. 17 is to be omitted: see NAPHTALI, § 2.

2 On Gen. 46 see above, col. 1320, n. 1.

3 In estimating the value of this datum it must of course be remembered that *dōd* is a somewhat indefinite term.

1 See col. 2361, n. 3, and especially ZELOPHEHAD.

2 So also Cheyne (JEPHTHAH, § 3).

which the tributaries on the lists belonged (*KB* 2 185; cp 195). It is not known whether Manasseh was more cautious than the rest; but we have no reason to suppose this. (iii.) Even if we grant that Manasseh was suspected of being implicated in the revolt, he would certainly have been summoned by Ašur-bāni-pal to give an account of his actions, and there are inscriptions to prove that after the overthrow of Šamaš-šum-ukīn (647 B.C.), Ašur-bāni-pal received both kings and ambassadors in Babylon. Knowing, as we do, much better than Graf, how the Chronicler generally worked—viz., by adopting and modifying or supplementing earlier traditional material—we have no sufficient reason to doubt that Manasseh did go to Babylon at the call of his suzerain. Whether he was carried thither in chains, like Pharaoh Necho I., or whether this is a romantic addition to the story, we cannot venture to say. That the repentance of Manasseh was a fact, no historian could assert. The whole course of the later history is opposed to such a view (cp ISRAEL, § 36; Wi. *AT Unt.* 122 *f.*; M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 2 386, who boldly corrects 'Babylon' in Ch. into 'Nineveh'; Driver, in Hogarth, *Author. and Archæol.* 114-116).

The vagueness of the Chronicler's statement in 2 Ch. 33 11 may seem to support the idea that the narrative is an edifying fiction. But was the vagueness always there? One expression may lead us to doubt this—viz., 'took him *with hooks*' (so RVmg. for בַּחוֹחִים). This expression might pass in poetry (see 2 K. 19 28 Ezek. 19 4; cp Job 40 26 [41 2]), but hardly in sober prose. Yet the rendering 'in chains' (RV; so 𝔊, Vg., Tg.) does violence to usage. We must either render 'with hooks' or emend the text. A parallel passage (2 K. 25 5) suggests that חוחים may conceal the name of a place, and further, that the latent place-name may be Jericho (ביריחו; miswritten בחותי=בחוחים). If so, Manasseh fled to Jericho on the capture of Jerusalem, and was taken there. So, too, אשר may perhaps be a relic of [ל]אשרבנפל—*i.e.*, 'of Ašur-bāni-pal.' Observe that the parallel description of the imprisonment of Pharaoh Necho (Schr. *KAT* 371) says nothing of 'hooks.'

2. One of the B'ne Pahath-moab in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 10 30† (μαναση [Ba?]) = 1 Esd. 9 31 (μανασσηας [BA]).

3. One of the B'ne Hashum in same list, Ezra 10 33† = 1 Esd. 9 33.

4. In Judg. 18 30 [MT] (μαννασση [A]), ancestor of Jonathan the Danite priest. See, however, JONATHAN, MOSES.

T. K. C.

MANASSES (ΜΑΝΑϹϹΗϹ [BAL]).
1. 1 Esd. 9 33 = Ezra 10 30, MANASSEH ii. (3).
2. Tobit 14 10. See ACHIACHARUS, TOBIT.
3. Judith 8 2, the husband of JUDITH.
4. Mt. 1 10. See MANASSEH ii. (1).
5. Rev. 7 6. See MANASSEH i.

MANASSES, PRAYER OF. See APOCRYPHA, § 6.

MANASSITE (מְנַשִּׁי), Dt. 4 43 etc. See MANASSEH i. § 4, end.

MANDRAKES, RVmg. LOVE-APPLES (דּוּדָאִים; ΜΗΛΑ ΜΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΟΥ, Gen. 30 14; ΜΑΝΔΡΑΓΟΡΑΙ (-ΟΙ *AD* once), Gen. 30 15 *f.* Cant. 7 13 [14] [-ΡΕϹ A]†).

The Hebrew name, *dūdā'īm*, was no doubt popularly associated with *dōdīm*, דּוֹדִים, 'love'; but its real etymology (like that of μανδραγόρας) is obscure. It denotes the fruit—in Cant. 7 13 [14] possibly the flowers—of a plant of the same genus as the belladonna plant (*Atropa Belladonna*, L.). A Greek description of the mandrake will be found in Dioscorides (4 76); among its names he mentions κιρκαία.[1] Wetzstein, who on 9th May (1860) found the already ripe fruits growing profusely on a mountain in Ḥaurān (cp Del. *Hohelied u. Koheleth*, 439 *ff.*), argues for the plant of the OT being the *autumn* mandrake (*Mandragora autumnalis*, Bertol.), rather than the *spring* mandrake (*M. officinarum*, L.), because in Palestine the spring mandrake would have disappeared long before the time of wheat harvest (*ib.* 444 *f.*). It appears, however, that *M. autumnalis* is not a Palestinian plant at all; and the other species, which flowers from February to March, or in warm situations as early as Christmas, has, according to Tristram (*NHB* 468), the time of wheat harvest as its

[1] ἐπειδὴ δοκεῖ ἡ ῥίζα φίλτρων εἶναι ποιητική.

general period of ripening. Tristram describes the blossom as 'cup-shaped, of a rich purple colour. The fruit is of the size of a large plum, quite round, yellow, and full of soft pulp. It has a peculiar, but decidedly not unpleasant, smell, and a pleasant, sweet taste.' Tristram adds that the belief still survives in Palestine that the fruit when eaten ensures conception. A quite distinct tradition is that on which rests the use of the plant as an aphrodisiac (see Wetzstein, *l.c.*, and *Löw*, 188). Cp MAGIC, § 2 *a*, and see Starr, *Am. Antiq. and Or. Journ.*, 32 259-268 (1901).

[The connection of the story in Gen. 30 14 *f.* (on the origin of which see ISSACHAR, § 2) with heathen superstition is easily recognised. Like the mallow, the mandrake was potent in all kinds of enchantment (see Maimonides in Chwolson, *Ssabier*, 2 459, and the notes). The German name of the plant (Alraun; OHG. Alrûna) indicates the prophetic power supposed to lie in little images made from this root which were cherished as oracles. The possession of such roots was lucky (see Ducange, *s.v.* 'Mandragora,' and Littré).] N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

MANEH is given in EV once (Ezek. 45 12) for Heb. מָנֶה (√מנה, cp MENE; ΜΝΑ [BAQ]; Vg. *MINA* or *MNA*). In all other places where *māneh* or μνᾶ occurs (1 K. 10 17 Ezra 2 69 Neh. 7 71 *f.* 1 Esd. 5 45 1 Macc. 14 24 15 18 Lk. 19 13 16 18 20 24 *f.*)[1] EV has 'pound.' See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, KESITAH, POUND.

In Ezek. 45 12 MT is indefensible: the true form of the text is that in 𝔊A (so Co.). J. P. Peters (*JBL*, 1893, pp. 48 *f.*) has explained the motive of the ungrammatical emendation in MT, which 'succeeds after a fashion in making Ezekiel say that sixty shekels = one maneh, and so harmonising what was regarded as a prediction with fact.' The cause of this early emendation is now plain. 'The [true] text of Ezekiel places the maneh at fifty shekels, which seems to have been the old Hebrew ratio, and was actually retained in the silver coinage. But the maneh of fifty shekels gave way to the Babylonian maneh of sixty shekels.' The whole note in *JBL*, *l.c.*, is well worth reading.

MANES (ΜΑΝΗϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 21 RV = Ezra 10 21, MAASEIAH (*q.v.* ii., 11).

MANGER (ΦΑΤΝΗ), Lk. 2 7 12 16 EV; also Lk. 13 15 RVmg., EV 'stall.' See CATTLE, § 5; INN, end.

MANI (ΜΑΝΙ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 30 = Ezra 10 29, BANI, 2.

MANIUS (ΜΑΝΙΟϹ [AV]), 2 Macc. 11 34 RV, AV MANLIUS.

MANLIUS, RV MANIUS, TITUS (ΤΙΤΟϹ ΜΑΝΙΟϹ [AV], so Syr. and Vg.; ΜΑΝΛΙΟϹ [*al.*]), the name of one of the ambassadors who is said to have written a letter to the Jews, confirming whatever concession Lysias had granted them (2 Macc. 11 34). Four letters were written to the Jews, of which the last is from 'Quintus Memmius and Titus Manlius, ambassadors (πρεσβῦται) of the Romans.' There is not much doubt that the letter is a fabrication, as history is entirely ignorant of these names. Polybius (xxxi. 9 6), indeed, mentions C. Sulpitius and *Manius* Sergius, who were sent to Antiochus IV. Epiphanes about 163 B.C., and also (xxxi. 12 9) Cn. Octavius, Spurius Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who were sent into Syria in 162 B.C., in consequence of the contention for the guardianship of the young king Antiochus V. Eupator; but he entirely ignores Q. Memmius or T. Manlius. We may, therefore, conclude that legates of these names were never in Syria. The true name of T. Manlius may be *T. Manius* (cp RV), and, as there is not sufficient time for an embassy to have been sent to Syria between the two recorded by Polybius, the writer may have been thinking of the former.

The letter is dated in the 148th year of the Seleucidan era (= 165 B.C.), and in that year there was a consul of the name of *T. Manlius* Torquatus, who appears to have been sent on an embassy to Egypt about 164 B.C., to mediate between the two Ptolemies, Philometor and Euergetes (Livy, 43 11; Polyb. *Rel.* 32 1 2).

The employment of this Seleucidan era as a date, the absence of the name of the city, and especially the fact that the first intercourse of the Jews and Romans did not take place till two years later, when Judas heard of the fame of the Romans (1 Macc. 8 1, *seq.*), all prove that the document is far from authentic.

[1] 𝔊 87 in Bel 27 reads πίσσης μνᾶς τριάκοντα.

The three other letters do not merit serious attention (2 Macc. 11 16-33; cp Wernsdorff, *De fid. Libr. Maccab.*, sec. 66; Grimm, *Exeg. Handbuch*, *ad loc.*, also MACCABEES, SECOND, § 3).

MANNA (מָן; ΜΑΝΝΑ;[1] Ex. 16 15 31 [𝔊BAF ΜΑΝ in this cap. except A in 35*a*] 33 35 [composite, P and JE, see below, § 3], Nu. 11 6-9 [JE], Dt. 8 3 16 [D], Josh. 5 12 [P], Neh. 9 20 Ps. 78 24; also Jn. 6 31 49 Heb. 9 4 Rev. 2 17, and, in some MSS, Jn. 6 58†).

1. Meaning of word.

The origin of the name is still doubtful, though Ebers's derivation from an Egyptian word of the same meaning (*mennu*) is probable (*Durch Gosen*, 226 *f.*). A play on the name is suggested in Ex. 16 15; there can be little doubt that in that verse מָה=מָן, 'what,' though the use of an Aramaic pronominal form is peculiar.[2] The explanation of Ges. and others that it is there=Ar. *mann* 'gift,' is most unlikely (see Di. *ad loc.*); the Arabic use of the name *mann* is almost certainly due to Hebrew.

2. Identifications.

According to P manna was first given to the Israelites in the Wilderness of Sin on the 15th day of the 2nd month of the Exodus, from which point it continued to form their nourishment during the wilderness journey.

(i.) The indication of place and time and the description given of the substance itself have led to its identification as the exudation of a tree which is still common, and probably was formerly more abundant, in the E. of the Sinai peninsula—viz., a species of *Tamarix gallica*, L., called by Ehrenberg *mannifera*. Ebers (*op. cit.* 223 *ff.*), who visited the peninsula in 1871, journeying from N. to S. along the eastern side according to the recorded route of the Israelites, came upon these trees first in the W. Gharandel, and found them most plentiful in the W. Feirān and fairly plentiful in the W. esh-Sheikh (see SINAI). This agrees with the older accounts by Seetzen and Burckhardt. The former, visiting the district on 10th June 1809, found quantities of 'manna,' partly adhering to the soft twigs of the tamarisks, and partly fallen beneath the trees. At six in the morning it was of the consistency of wax; but the sun's rays soon melted it, and later in the day it disappeared, being absorbed into the earth. A fresh supply appears each night during its season (June and July). Burckhardt describes its taste as sweet like honey, pleasant and aromatic, and its hue as dirty yellow; others say that as it falls by night it is pure white. (See the accounts of these and other travellers collected in Ritter, *Erdk.* 14 665 *ff.*). In 1823 Ehrenberg discovered that the flow of manna from the twigs of the tamarisk was due to their being punctured by a scale insect which is now called *Gossyparia mannifera*, Hardn. Doubt has been thrown on this view by later travellers, who found manna at a season when the trees no longer bore traces of the insect; but there can be little doubt that Ehrenberg's explanation of the origin of this exudation is true. The quantity now produced in the peninsula is small—according to Burckhardt only between 500 and 600 pounds annually; but it may once have been much greater when the woods were thicker and more extensive.

(ii.) Another kind of 'manna' said to be found in the desert of Sinai is that yielded by the Camel's Thorn—*Alhagi camelorum*, Fisch.—a small spiny plant of the order *Leguminosæ*. The 'manna' used as a drug is derived from quite a different tree—viz., the manna ash, *Fraxinus Ornus*, L. On this and other sorts of manna, see Flück. and Hanb.(2) 409 *ff.*, and cp *ZDMG* 23 275 *ff.*, 35 254 on Turkish and Kurdish mannas.

(iii.) More recently has been put forward another view of the nature of the biblical manna which identifies it with lichen—viz., *Lecanora esculenta*, Eversm., and allied species. A good account is to be found in Kerner von Marilaun's *Nat. Hist. of Plants*, Eng. ed. 2 810 *ff.* It is met with in Arabia and many other parts of W. Asia, as well as in the Sahara and deserts of Algeria. It first forms thick wrinkled and warted crusts on stones, preferably on small fragments of limestone; the outer colour of the crust is a grayish yellow, whilst on breaking it appears as white as a crushed grain of corn. As they get older the crusts separate from their substratum, and become rolled back; ultimately the loosened piece forms an elliptical or spherical warted body. Owing to their extreme lightness these pieces are rolled about by the wind, and are carried hither and thither in the air, which in dry countries is the means of their distribution. Where, on the other hand, there are heavy rains the pieces are washed along by the water and deposited in great heaps, from which 'a single man can in a day collect 4-6 kilograms (about 12,000 to 20,000 pieces, varying in size from a pea to a hazel nut). In the steppe region and in the high lands of south-west Asia, the manna lichen is used as a substitute for corn in years of famine—being ground in the same way and baked into a species of bread. The so-called manna rains occur generally between January and March—*i.e.*, during the wet season.

The tamarisk manna consists chiefly of sugar (Flück. and Hanb.(2) 415) and it is difficult to see how this could by itself form the sustenance of human beings for any lengthened period. The manna-lichen, on the other hand, is said to be 'dry and insipid' (Teesdale in *Science Gossip*, 3 233), and so would not answer altogether to the description in Ex. 16 31 [P]; but the comparison of its taste to that of honey is wanting in JE (Nu. 11 6-9). It is conceivable, however, that both these substances may have been known and occasionally used as food by the Israelites.

3. Criticism of the narratives.

The passages relating to the gift of the manna are Ex. 16 and Nu. 11 6-9. The latter belongs to a chapter which is certainly pre-exilic, and of which *vv.* 4-15 are, with some confidence, to be ascribed largely to J. Ex. 16, 'one of the most perplexing battle-grounds of criticism,' consists of a few old fragments (4 15*a* 16*a* 19-21 35), the rest being P and R_P.[1]

The fact that the manna was given to assuage the hunger of the people, whereas the presence of food in the form of cattle is expressly mentioned in Ex. 17 3 19 13 24 5 32 6 34 3 might help us to ascertain the source of these fragments were it not that critics are not unanimous respecting them.[2]

The wilderness of Sin was the scene of the first appearance of the manna, according to P (§ 2 above). Where the older narrative placed it does not at first sight appear; at all events it comes immediately before the smiting of the rock at Massah and Meribah. In the article MASSAH AND MERIBAH (*q.v.*) the view has been taken that these names were originally distinct, and since we find that in Nu. 11 6-9 the account of the manna is wedged in between the events at Taberah (1-3), and Kibroth-hattaavah (31-35),[3] and that in Dt. 9 22 Massah is placed between these two names, it seems probable that in the older narrative in Ex. 16, the giving of the manna was located in Massah; cp the punning allusion to the name in Ex. 16 4 ('that I may *prove* them,' אֲנַסֶּנּוּ).[4] It is noteworthy that another tradition in Ex. 17 7*b* (gloss), Dt. 6 16,

1 𝔊 uses the same form repeatedly in the prophets to render מִנְחָה.

2 Field (on Ex. 16 15) cites (from 𝔊F) a Gk. version μαν αὐτό (cp Zenner, *ZKT*, 1899, p. 165 *f.*), 'is that manna?' [Parthey (*Vocab. Copt.-lat.* 106) gives a Coptic word ναμ='arbor similis tamarisco' (Schulte, *ZKT*, 1899, 570). Wi. *AOF* 2 322 *f.*, quoting a Palm. inscr. published by Clermont-Ganneau. *Ét. d'Arch. Or.* 1 129 explains מן (here ∥ לחם) to mean ambrosia, food of the gods (cp below, § 4).]

1 So, following Bacon, *Triple Trad. of the Exod.* 80-87, Addis, *Doc. Hex.* 2 246, n. 1. Otherwise Dr., and the *Oxf. Hex.*; cp also EXODUS, § 2, and the tables to Holz. *Einl.*

2 Dr. (cp also Kue., Co.) ascribes all to E. But 34 3 is ascribed to JE by Kue., and to J by Co., and the *Oxf. Hex.* Di., We., Bacon, on the other hand, find both J and E varyingly in these passages.

3 The election of the elders (*vv.* 16-17) belongs to a later phase of E (see ELDAD AND MEDAD) and may be safely passed over.

4 Cp also Ps. 78 18; 'they tempted' (וַיְנַסּוּ) God by asking for food.

associates the name not with the 'proving' of Israel by Yahwè, but with the 'tempting' of Yahwè by Israel (see Bacon, *l.c.*, also MASSAH AND MERIBAH).

4. Mystical interpretations. Manna is called 'heavenly corn,' and 'bread of the mighty' (דגן שמים, and לחם אבירים, Ps. 78 24 *f.*), 'heavenly bread' (ל' ש', Ps. 105 40), cp 4 Esd. 1 19 (*panis angelorum*), Wisd. 16 20 (ἀγγέλων τροφή), 19 21 *b* (ἀμβροσία τροφή), and 1 Cor. 10 3 (πνευματικὸν βρῶμα), phrases which bring us into touch with Jewish beliefs (cp *Bammidbār r.* 16, and see above, § 1, n. 2). With Wisd. 16 20*b*, 'bread . . . agreeing to every taste,' agrees the Rabbinical legend that the manna adapted itself to every one's taste; to him who preferred figs its taste was like a fig, etc. (cp Eisenmenger, *Entdeckt. Judenth.* 1 485). See also *Sib.* 7 149 (cp Rev. 2 17), *Apoc. Bar.* 2 98, Taylor, *Sayings of the Fathers* (2), 178 *f.* N. M., § 1 *f.*; S. A. C., § 3 *f.*

MANOAH (מָנוֹחַ, § 74; 'rest' or from מנח, 'to present a gift,' ΜΑΝΩΕ [BAL]; Jos. ΜΑΝΩΧΗϹ), the father of Samson, of Zorah (*q.v.*), 'of the clan (see DAN) of the Danites' (Judg. 13 28 *ff.* 16 31). See JUDGES [BOOK], § 11, THEOPHANY. Manoah is obviously the legendary eponym of the MANAHATHITES of Judah (or Dan); hence his burying-place can be also that of Samson (Judg. 16 31). The story in which Manoah plays a part should be compared with the parallel narrative in Judg. 6 11-24 (GIDEON), which is usually assigned to the same author. The story is that first Manoah's wife, and then Manoah himself as well, were visited by a messenger of Yahwè, who was sent to announce the birth of a son, and to give directions respecting his bringing up. It was this son (Samson) who should deliver Israel from the Philistines.

On the 'misleading' editorial alteration in Judg. 14 5*a* 6*b* see Moore's Commentary. Cp SAMSON.

MANOCHO (ΜΑΝΟΧΩ [BAL]), Josh. 15 59 𝔊. See MANAHATH, 3.

MANSLAYER (הָרֹצֵחַ, Nu. 35 6 12; ἀνδροφόνος, 1 Ti. 1 9). See GOEL.

MANTELET (סֹכֵךְ), Nah. 2 5, RV. See SIEGE.

MANTLE. In addition to what has been said generally in the article DRESS on the clothing of the Israelites a few supplementary remarks are necessary here on the mantle in particular. Under this heading are included not only the words so rendered (sometimes incorrectly) by the EV, but also and more especially, those Hebrew terms which appear to denote any outer garment, cloak, or wrapper. It will be prudent for the present to keep the archæological evidence—the sculptures of Assyria and Egypt, and Muḥammadan usage—quite distinct from the very insufficient evidence afforded by the OT alone.

1. Archæology. One of the difficulties associated with a discussion of the kinds of outer-garment worn by the Israelites is the question whether it was worn over the loin-cloth, or skirt (see GIRDLE) alone, or over the tunic alone, or over both. The Roman *toga* was apparently worn at first over the loin-cloth or *subligaculum* only, and the same, probably, was frequently the case with the Israelite[1] mantle. On the other hand, the first caliph Abu Bekr, distinguished for his simplicity of dress, is once described as wearing the *šamla* (cp *śimlah*, § 2 [1], below) and *'abā'a*—the latter a striped and ornamented mantle with short sleeves; and his successor Omar, equally simple in his tastes, wore a woollen *jubba* (a garment reaching to the knees, sewn down the front with the exception of the extreme top and bottom) and the *'abā'a*. Here we have to do with tunic and mantle. No mention is made of a primary garment corresponding with loin- or waist-cloth. Finally, Muḥammad himself wore *ḳamīṣ* (tunic),[2] *sirbāl* (trousers), and above both a *jubba* bordered with silk. Among Arabian[3] outer garments of a finer sort are the *ḥabara*, specifically a striped and spotted garment, and the *burd*, often simply an oblong dark piece of thick woollen cloth, or plain with dark stripes close together (called *musayyaḥ*). The poorest and meanest of garbs is the *kisā*, the mark of a poor man, an oblong cloth, sometimes cut and sewn.

On the Egyptian outer garment see EGYPT, § 39. Its use was established by the eighteenth dynasty, though priests still retained the primitive tunic or skirt. The upper garment was a short shirt sometimes with a left sleeve and a slit for the right arm. Gala dresses were of course common, and it is worth noticing that men's garments were usually more ornamented than the women's, whose earliest clothing consisted of a simple foldless garment reaching from below the breasts to the ancles.

In the regions of Assyria and Babylonia, on the other hand, so far as can be judged from the sculptures, the ordinary dress is a tunic from neck to knee, with short sleeves down to above the elbow. Very frequently the outer garment reaches only from the waist, and is elaborately ornamented.[1] A girdle encircles the waist, and not uncommonly the skirt is so draped as to fall below the ancle of the right foot, whilst the whole of the left from just above the knee-cap downwards is bare.

The upper part of the body is often bare, save only for various kinds of ornamented bands, etc. Occasionally, however, the garment seems to be thrown over the left shoulder (leaving the right arm bare). Most striking is the mantle sculptured upon the royal statue in the Louvre (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Ass.* 2, pl. 6).

Turning finally to representations of the inhabitants of Palestine and their nearer neighbours, we note the over-garment with cape worn by the princes of Lebanon (see above, col. 1225, fig. 5). The Asiatics depicted above, col. 1221 *f.*, fig. 3, wear the garment wound round their bodies. Jehu's tribute-bearers[2] show a mantle with ornamented borders, and short sleeves, and Jehu himself[3] is clad more simply in a long garment, fringed round the bottom. The artist represents the people of Lachish quite differently. They wear a long shirt or mantle, which seems to have a slit for the right arm.[4] The people of Tyre and Sidon in Shalmaneser's inscription are dressed only with a skirt, whilst Ašur-bani-pal's Arabians fight in a waist-cloth. Noteworthy is the rich clothing of the N. Arabian 'Amu women depicted on a Beni-Ḥasan tomb.[5] It reaches from neck to ancle, and the right arm is left bare. The men on the other hand have simply a skirt, apparently of skin.

2. Terms. Leaving to the article TUNIC what may have to be remarked upon the under-garment of the Israelites, we proceed now to a discussion of the Hebrew terms which fall to be considered

1. שִׂמְלָה (*śimlāh*; less frequently שַׂלְמָה, *śalmāh*; 𝔊, ἱματισμός, ἱμάτιον [=Rom. *pallium*]), the garment of both sexes (of women in Ex. 3 22 Dt. 22 17 Ru. 3 3 Cant. 4 11), though, as Dt. 22 5 implies, there was a difference between them; probably the woman's was longer and perhaps characterised by some colouring. It was something more than a mere tunic. Ruth (3 3) puts one on before going out-of-doors, and a man could dispense with it, at all events, in the day-time (Ex. 22 26 *f.* Dt. 24 13). Its folds (*ḥēḳ*, lit. 'bosom,' Ex. 4 6 *f.* Prov. 6 27) were adapted for bearing loads or for wrapping round an object (Judg. 8 25 Ex. 12 34 1 S. 21 10 Prov. 30 4; cp *béged* 2 K. 4 39),[6] and we may assume, therefore, that it was primarily nothing more than a rectangular piece of cloth. The *śimlah*, accordingly, would correspond with the Roman *toga*, or better still, the *pallium*. On the other hand, the term is sometimes used apparently of clothing in general (cp Job 9 31 Cant. 4 11)—*e.g.*, of a prophet (1 K. 11 29 *f.*;

[1] The priests, however, according to Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7 1-4 wear breeches (מכנסים), tunic (כתנת), an outer girdle, and a turban. To these the high-priest adds the mantle.

[2] Etymologically the same as our word chemise.

[3] See generally Dozy, *Dict. détaillé d.noms d.vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), H. Almkvist in the 8th Orient. Congr. (Stockholm and Christiania, i. 1 303 *ff.*, 315 *ff.* [Leyden, 1891]), and L. Bauer, *ZDPV* 24 32-38 (1901).

[1] For a specimen see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art. in Ass.* 2 153, fig. 75.

[2] Cp fig. in Moore, *SBOT* 'Judges,' 58.

[3] Cp Ball, *Light from the East*, 166.

[4] Cp Ball, 192, where, however, this slit does not appear.

[5] Cp Ball, 74, WMM *As. u. Eur.* 296.

[6] In Ezra 9 3 5, *béged* and *me'īl* (see no. 6) are named together. Since the *me'īl* was certainly a mantle (see no. 6), *béged* may perhaps be used of the inner garment.

on his usual garb see below 5), and of a warrior (Is. 9 5 [4]), who, we may be sure, would hardly go into battle clad in a long flowing garb. Another, probably similar, outer garment was the

2. כְּסוּת, *kᵉsûth* (cp Ar. *kisā*, § 1 above), used generally (see DRESS, § 1 [4]), but also specifically Ex. 22 26, and Dt. 22 12, where the appending of FRINGES [*q.v.*] is commanded.

3. מִטְפַּחַת, *mitpāḥath*, Ruth 3 15 (AVmg. 'sheet, or apron,' περίζωμα; Is. 3 22; but cp 𝔊), a large wrapper, which could be gathered up for bearing loads. It is possible that this word is to be read in Ezek. 13 18 21, instead of כְּסָתוֹת (EV wrongly 'kerchiefs'), on which see DRESS, col. 1141.

4. סָדִין, *sādīn* (cp Ass. *sudinnu*), probably a rectangular piece of fine linen cloth; cp Judg. 14 12 *f.*, where AV 'sheets' (mg. 'shirts,' RV 'garments'). The *sādīn* was an article of domestic manufacture (Prov. 31 24), worn also by women (Is. 3 23). In Mish. Heb. it is used of a curtain, wrapper, or shroud. Levy, *Chald. WB*, *s.v.*, cites *Men.* 41 *a* where the *sādīn* is styled a summer garment, the שרבלא on the other hand, being used in winter. It has, probably, no connection with σινδών[1] which in 1 Macc. 10 64 is used of Jonathan's regal garment (𝔊A, but 𝔊ℵV πορφύραν, cp Syr.), and in NT of a garment worn next the skin (Mk. 14 51 *f.*), or of a shroud (Mt. 27 59, cp Herod. 2 86).

5. אַדֶּרֶת, *addéreth* (lit. 'glory'? or cp Ass. *adru* 'purple,' Muss-Arnolt, 22 *b*), denotes a garment of the richest as well as of the simplest description. On the one hand, it was the distinctive garb of the prophet (1 K. 19 13 19 2 K. 2 8 13 *f.*, μηλωτή); it was of hair (cp א' שֵׂעָר Zech. 13 4 and אִישׁ בַּעַל שֵׂעָר 2 K. 1 8).[2] On the other hand, the *addéreth* was worn by kings (Jon. 3 6, EV 'robe' στολή), and one was found and coveted by Achan in the spoil of Jericho (Jos. 7 21). If the reading in Josh. 7 21 is correct, the best mantles came from Babylonia. Possibly we should read שֵׂעָר for שִׁנְעָר (see, however, SHINAR).

6. מְעִיל, *mᵉʿīl* (deriv. uncert., see BDB), an outer garment worn by men of high degree (1 S. 18 4 24 5 12 [4 11] Job 1 20), also by Samuel (1 S. 15 27 28 14 cp 2 19), and Ezra (Ezra 9 3 5). It had flowing ends (1 S. 15 27, etc., *kānāph*, see FRINGES). In 2 S. 13 18, where the *mᵉʿīl* would seem to have been worn by females, the text is corrupt (read מֵעוֹלָם, see the Comm.), and in 1 Ch. 15 27 (מעיל בוץ) where David is said to have worn it before the ark, the ‖ 2 S. 6 14 (בכל עז) warns us against accepting the MT too readily.

The *mᵉʿīl* (or *mᵉʿīl* of the Ephod) is a recognised term for the high-priest's extra garment worn upon special occasions. The descriptions (Ex. 28 31 *ff.*, 39 22 *ff.*, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7 4, *BJ* 5 7, cp Ecclus. 45 7-9 [Heb.]) make it a long seamless garment of blue (תְּכֵלֶת, ὑάκινθος [Jos.]), with an open bordered neck. At the foot were bells and pomegranates arranged alternately. See further EPHOD, § 3.

7. The precise meaning of מַחֲלָצוֹת, *maḥălāṣōth* (pl. only), of high priest (Zech. 3 4) and of females (Is. 3 22) is uncertain. EV understands some change of garments, removed or taken off (cp √*ḥālaṣ*, Dt. 25 9 Is. 20 2) in ordinary life. According to Orelli they were 'state dresses which the wearer "takes off" and places on some honoured guest.' With this agrees the specific meaning of *ḥălīṣāh* (2 S. 2 21 Judg. 14 19), and the analogy of the Ar. *hilʿa*[3] (√pull off).

Another term usually taken to mean some change of garments is—

8. חֲלִיפָה, *ḥălīphāh*[4] (Judg. 14 19; with שמלות Gen. 45 22, with בגדים Judg. 14 12 *f.*, 2 K. 5 5 22 *f.*); cp 9. Such changes were necessary for purification (Gen. 35 2), after a period of mourning (2 S. 12 20), or more especially as honorific gifts. In ancient Arabian custom the gift should consist of the donor's own personal clothing, though naturally in course of time supplies were kept for the purpose. Such gifts are still considered an honour—a scarlet cloak, in particular, being held particularly flattering.[5]

9. פְּתִיגִיל, *pᵉthīgīl* (Is. 3 24, EV 'stomacher,' χιτὼν μεσοπόρφυρος), usually interpreted 'mantle,' is obscure. This foreign-looking word resembles the Tg. פתגא, 'over-garment,' with which, indeed, Levy (*Chald. WB*) actually connects it; Che. (*Crit. Bib.*) would read, חֲלִיפוֹת (ח and נ confounded).

10. מַעֲטָפוֹת, *maʿăṭāphōth*, Is. 3 22 (EV 'mantles'), cp Ar. *iṭāf* and *miʿṭāf*, a long-sleeved robe.

11. רְדִיד, *rᵉdīd*, Cant. 5 7 Is. 3 23, EV 'veil' is appropriate, though primarily it is, probably, a wide loose mantle. Tg. on Gen. 24 65 uses רדידא to render:—

12. צָעִיף, *ṣāʿīph*, Gen. 24 65. It is also used as a woman's article of clothing (EV 'veil'), but etymologically it means properly some square garment.

13. תַּכְרִיךְ, *takrīk*, Esth. 8 15 AV 'garment,' RV preferably 'robe,' in MH a shroud.

14. סַרְבָּל, *sarbāl*, probably correctly rendered 'mantle' by AVmg. in Dan. 3 21 (AV 'coats,' RV 'hosen'); see BREECHES. In MH it denotes some garment reaching from the neck downwards.[1]

15. כַּרְבְּלָא, *karbᵉlā*, Dan. 3 21, for which RV has 'mantles,' is more likely 'hats' (AV) or 'turbans' (AVmg.), the supposed denom. 1 Ch. 15 27 (מכרבל, as though 'wrapped in a mantle') being insecure (‖ 2 S. 6 14 מכרכר); see *J. Ph.* 26 310, and cp TURBAN.

Some of the common classical mantles are referred to in the Apoc. and NT:—

16. στολή, Mk. 16 5 (common also in MH in the form איצטלא; cp Tg. for חליפות Gen. 45 22). Both στολή and Lat. *stola* primarily had a general meaning; on the specific use of *stola* to designate the garb of the Roman matron, see *Dict. Class. Ant.*, *s.v.*

17. ἱμάτιον (=Rom. *pallium*), Mt. 9 20, etc., distinguished from the χιτών (tunic) in Mt. 5 40 Lk. 6 29 Acts 9 39.

18. ποδήρης, Rev. 1 13, EV 'garment,' one reaching down to the feet.

19. περιβόλαιον, Heb. 1 12 (AV 'vesture,' RV 'mantle'), a wrapper or cover.

20. χλαμύς, Mt. 27 28 31, a military mantle (Rom. *paludamentum*), fastened by a buckle on the right shoulder so as to hang in a curve across the body. Cp 2 Macc. 12 35 AV 'coat,' RV 'cloke.'

21. φελόνης, 2 Tim. 4 13 (Ti.WH; prop. φαινόλης=*pænula*), worn on journeys. It was a long sleeveless mantle of durable cloth. Sometimes, but wrongly, taken to be a receptacle (esp. of books, cp Syr.). I. A.—S. A. C.

MAOCH (מָעוֹךְ), 1 S. 27 2. See MAACAH, 4.

MAON (מָעוֹן; ΜΑΩΝ [AL], ΜΑΑΝ [B]; but in Josh. 15 55 ΜΑΩΡ [B], in 1 S. 23 24 *f.* 25 1 Η ΕΡΗΜΟϹ Η ΕΠΗΚΟΟϹ [L]), a town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 55), interesting from its twofold connection with the story of David (1 S. 23 24 *f.* 25 1 *f.* [if in *v.* 1 we read 'Maon' for 'Paran' with 𝔊B; but see PARAN]). As Robinson has shown, it is the modern *Tell Maʿīn*, which is about 10 m. SSE. from Hebron, and 2 m. S. from the ruins of *el-Kurmul*. Eastward of the ridge on which it stands is an extensive steppe, called in 1 S. 23 24 and perhaps (but see PARAN) 25 1 [𝔊B], 'the wilderness of Maon.' The greater part of this district is waste pasture-land, rough rocks with that dry vegetation on which goats and even sheep seem to thrive—though a little corn and maize is grown in the valleys (Conder, *PEFQ*, 1875, cp p. 46). It slopes towards the Dead Sea. Cp the MAON of Chronicles.

Genealogically, Maon (μεων [B]) is represented as a descendant of Hebron through Rekem (*i.e.*, Jerahmeel?) and Shammai, and as the 'father' or founder of Beth-zur (1 Ch. 2 45).

In Gen. 10 13 (if for עֲנָמִים, Anamim, we should read מְעוּנִים, Meonim) the clan of Maon is represented as a son of מצרים (*i.e.*, Miṣrim, not Miṣraim). See MIZRAIM. Observe that, according to this view, Maon and Carmel (see LUD, LUDIM, 1) are grouped, as in Josh. 15 55. T. K. C.

MAON (מָעוֹן; ΜΑΔΙΑΜ [BAL], ΧΑΝΑΑΝ [Symm.]; *CHANAAN* [Vg.]; 'Ammon,' Pesh.), EV [rather boldly] **Maonites**, a people mentioned in Judg. 10 12 in conjunction with the Zidonians and Amalekites as early oppressors of Israel. Tradition is silent elsewhere as to Maonite oppressors, and some critics (including Be., Gr., Kau., Buhl, and [*SBOT*, but not *Comm.*] Moore) would therefore adopt 𝔊BAL's reading 'Midian.' To this course, however, there are objections.

(1) It would be strange that the familiar 'Midian' should be corrupted into the unfamiliar 'Maon.' (2) The 'Zidonians' and 'Amalek' are only less troublesome than 'Maon' in this context; the text needs to be more thoroughly criticised. The list of names in *vv.* 11 *f.* is probably partly made up of corrupt doublets. The Zidonians, Amalekites, and Maonites of *v.* 12

[1] So in Syr. we should probably distinguish the rare native word *sĕdīnā* from the foreign *seddōnā*.

[2] Later an ascetic's garb. The founder of the Jacobite church in Asia, Jacob bar Theophilus, was surnamed Burdĕʿānā because his dress consisted of a *bardaʿthā* or coarse horse-cloth (Wright, *Syriac Lit.* 85).

[3] A connection with חלצים 'loins'—as though primarily a loin-cloth—seems out of the question.

[4] √to pass away or change (of garments, Gen. 35 2 Ps. 102 27 [26]). Note, however, Ass. *ḫalāpu* 'be clothed,' *ḫalluptu* 'covering, trappings' (cp IRON, § 2).

[5] Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 41 348 2 20 35 55 310 351. According to Doughty (2 19) an outfit consists of a tunic, a coarse worsted cloth, and a kerchief for the head.

[1] See *J. Phil.* 26 307.

correspond to the Misrim, the Amorites, and the benē Ammon of *v.* 11. The true text appears to the present writer to be, 'Did not the Miṣrites and the Jerahmeelites oppress you, and when ye cried unto me, I saved you,' etc. מעון is a conjectural emendation of, or a scribe's error for עמון (Ammon); עמון, as in some other passages, is a corruption of עמלק (Amalek), and עמלק is an early popular distortion of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel). אמרי is also miswritten for ירחמאלי (Jerahmeelite); צידונים is an error (cp צידון in 1 K. 17 9, Joel 3 4 for מָצוּר, Miṣṣur = Miṣrim for מצרים). Cp MIZRAIM.

The result, if it be accepted, is highly important, and must be taken in connection with Judg. 10 6, where, for 'Aram, Zidon, Moab, Ammon, Philistines'—errors due to an age which had forgotten early history—we should certainly read 'Jerahmeel, Miṣṣur (twice), Amalek (= Jerahmeel), and Zarephathites.' Cp JERAHMEEL, ZAREPHATH. It is an anticipation of the 'sin of Jeroboam,' which consisted in falling back on Miṣrite religion. Cp MOSES, § 11 (*a*). For a different view, proposed by Hommel, see MEUNIM. T. K. C.

MARA (מָרָא, 'bitter'), Ruth 1 20. See NAOMI.

MARAH (מָרָה; in Ex. 15 23*a b* ΜΕΡΡΑ [BAFL]; in *v.* 23*c* ΠΙΚΡΙΑ [BAFL]; in Nu. 33 8 *f.* ΠΙΚΡΙΑΙ [BAFL]; *MARA*), the name of a well of brackish water, mentioned in connection with the wilderness of Shur or (see SHUR) Beer-sheba. Cp EXODUS i., MASSAH AND MERIBAH, WANDERINGS.

There is no need to trouble about identifications. Later writers fancied a locality for the well of Marah; but really Marah belongs to the realm of the imagination. We are familiar with a localisation (in the Negeb?) of the land that flows with milk and honey (see HONEY). Wi. (*Gesch.* 2 93, n. 3) has recently illustrated this by the mythic lake (pseudo-Callisthenes, 2 42), with waters as sweet as honey, beside which Alexander the Great encamped, and corresponding to which is mentioned a river with waters too bitter to drink (*ib.* 3 17). 'After some had died, weeping and wailing arose beyond measure' (cp Ex. 15 24). See also the Syriac *Hist. of Alexander* (Budge), pp. 96 *f.* Cp also the πικρὸν ὕδωρ (the Hellespont), introduced by Herodotus into the story of Xerxes (Herod. 7 35; Mücke, *Vom Euphrat zum Tiber*, 90 94), and see SALT SEA. T. K. C.

MARALAH (מַרְעֲלָה; ΜΑΡΑΛΑ [L]), a place on the SW. border of Zebulun, and apparently E. of Jokneam, Josh. 19 11† (ΜΑΡΑΓΕΛΛΑ [B], ΜΑΡΙΛΑ [A]).

The reality of the name is, however, very doubtful. The Paseḳ (vertical line) before לְיָמָּה warns us to suspect the text. ומרעלה very possibly comes from יָמָּה וְעָלָה where ימה is of course a mere dittogram. If so, Maralah passes out of existence. T. K. C.

MARANATHA, in RV **Maran Atha** (ΜΑΡΑΝ ΑΘΑ. Ti. [DcL, etc.], WH; as one word [M, etc.]; ΜΑΡΑΝΝΑΘΑ [FG**], *MARANATHA* [vet. Lat.; Vg.]; *MARATHANA* [*r*]; *IN ADVENTU DOMINI* [*g*; cp Æth. vers.]), an Aramaic expression used in 1 Cor. 16 22†.

Although it has been proposed to regard the expression as a single word,[1] there can be little doubt that it represents two, and the only question is where to make the division, and how to explain the component parts. Most scholars, however (*e.g.*, Dalman, *Gram.* 120, n. 2; Nöld. *GGA*, 1884, p. 1023; Kau. in Siegfr. *ZWTh.*, 1885, 128; N. Schmidt, *JBL*, 1894, 55 *ff.*, etc.) have accepted the explanation propounded in 1884 by Bickell (*ZKTh.*, 1884, p. 403, n. 3), that it means 'our Lord, come,' and the restoration, proposed in the same year by Halévy (*REJ* 9 9), Wellhausen (Nöld. *l.c.*), and Duval (*REJ*, 1884, p. 143), of מָרַנָא תָא, *mārănā thā*, as the original form,[2] though Schmidt argues strongly for מרן אתא, *māran ethā*. Rev. 22 20 makes it likely that some such formula (verb in the imperative) was in use in early times, and the Aramaic expression itself is found in the *Didaché* (10 6), where the invitation to approach the Lord's table runs thus: εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω· μαραναθά. ἀμήν.

On the suggested possibility of a similar formula having been in use among Jews, see *JQR*, Oct. 1896, p. 18 *f.*, and for a discussion of the whole question, cp N. Schmidt, *JBL*, 1894, pp. 50-60. See, further, under BAN, § 3, EXCOMMUNICATION, § 2. J. H. Thayer, in Hastings' *DB* 3 241-243, deals at some length with the history of interpretation. H. W. H.

[1] For example, by Bullinger.

[2] For the philological evidence see Dalman (*op. cit.* § 74, 1 *f.*). The form adopted in RV is that rendered by the Church Fathers (Chrys., Theod., etc.), ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἦλθεν, etc. (cp gloss on Codex Coislin, ὁ κ. παραγέγονεν) 'our Lord is come' (cp Arab. vers. 'Mārān athā—*i.e.*, "the Lord is already come"'), and it is apparently a feeling that this does not fit well into the context that has led to the substitution, so often found in later commentators (but also already, *e.g.*, in Euseb. *OS*(2) 195 65), and reproduced on RVmg., of a present-future for the past tense. For an account of other (not very plausible) hypotheses, and a careful exegetical discussion of the passage in 1 Cor., see Klo.'s essay in his *Probleme im Aposteltexte* (1883), pp. 220-246. His own theory, that Māran āthā means 'our Lord is the sign' and was a formula used in connection with the fraternal kiss (*v.* 20), is very ingenious, but does not carry conviction. See also Schmidt, *l.c.*

MARBLE. In three passages in the OT the EV suggests that in their architecture the Hebrews were acquainted with the use of marble of different colours (1 Ch. 29 2 Cant. 5 15 Esth. 1 6). The mention of marble in these late books need not surprise us; but the references being so few, and the passages in which they occur bearing traces of corruption, the question is involved in great obscurity.

In 1 Ch. 29 2, where the allusion is supposed to be to stones of white marble (AV; RV 'marble stones'; MT אַבְנֵי־שַׁיִשׁ), the word translated 'white marble' is probably misplaced.[1]

Again, in Cant. 5 15, the author, influenced by his characteristic fondness for trees (see CANTICLES, § 15), probably compares the legs of the bridegroom to 'pillars of acacia'[2] rather than to 'pillars of white marble' (עַמּוּדֵי שֵׁשׁ).

Finally, in Esth. 1 6, if with EV we are to follow MT, three other species of marble (besides the supposed 'white marble,' שֵׁשׁ) are mentioned. The versions, however, point to a different text. Following these we should perhaps read

ועמודי שִׁטָּה מטות זהב וכסף על־רצפת בהט־ודר
וּמִפְרְשֵׂי שֵׁשׁ בִּרְקְמָה לְסָחֹרֶת

'and pillars of acacia, couches of gold and silver upon a pavement of alabaster and mother-of-pearl-like stone, and screens of fine linen in the form of shields (or 'round about').'[3]

According to this view of the text, only two species of stone were used for the pavement (see PAVEMENT, § 1) on which the couches of silver and gold rested in the improvised banquet-room of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1 6). Of these stones, one, *dar* (דַּר), would seem to have possessed the brilliance of 'mother-of-pearl' since the same word (*durr, durrat*) in Arabic and Persian means 'pearl,' or even 'mother-of-pearl' itself. For in spite of the fact that pearls were used by the ancients in decorating the walls of apartments in royal palaces, we have no warrant for assuming their use in the case of pavements. We must, therefore, with Kautzsch (*HS*), Wildeboer (*KHC*), and the Variorum Bible suppose the word to mean in this passage 'mother-of-pearl-like stone.'[4] The other stone, *báhaṭ* (בַּהַט), was probably, as Ges.-Buhl (comparing Ar. *bahut*) and Kautzsch (*HS*) suggest, 'alabaster.'

Even now the two words (בהט־ודר) are perhaps to be taken closely together, and are really only meant to suggest one species of stone, the *Alabastrites* of Pliny (*HN* 36 7 8)—a kind of *alabaster* with the gloss of mother-of-pearl.[5] It was found, according to Pliny, in the neighbourhood of Damascus. M. A. C.

[1] For שַׁיִשׁ (Syr. *sīšā*) Ges.-Buhl, cp Assyr. šaššu; but, according to Del., the Assyrian word is of doubtful meaning. ורקמה is probably out of place and should be read after שֵׁשׁ (for שַׁיִשׁ), וְאַבְנֵי being corrupt for וְאֹרְגֵי. Translate: 'and weavers [or 'woven work'] of fine linen and chequered work in abundance' (cp Ex. 28 32 2 K. 23 7). See, however, PRECIOUS STONES.

[2] Read עַמּוּדֵי שִׁטָּה, the word שִׁטָּה being a more likely parallel to אֲרָזִים. See also below on Esth. 1 6.

[3] The words וּמִפְרְשֵׂי . . . בִּרְקְמָה (cp Ezek. 27 7) dropped out of the text or were illegible, and שֵׁשׁ and דר were transposed. עַמּוּדֵי שִׁטָּה is suggested by the Syriac. The additional phrase appears in 𝔊 as καὶ στρωμναὶ διαφανεῖς ποικίλως διηνθισμέναι κύκλῳ ῥόδα πεπασμένα—where κύκλῳ should be read with what precedes, ῥόδα πεπασμένα being a gloss on בִּרְקְמָה. An addition of the kind proposed above is also presupposed by Vulg., Syr., and Targ. (ed. Lagarde).

[4] So 𝔊 (πιννίνου λίθου); Syr. omits; Targ. (ed. Lag.) has דורא, 'pearl.' Siegfried (*HK*) has 'mother of pearl.'

[5] J. D. Michaelis suggested that דַּר alone was used to denote this stone. 𝔊BאA* renders בהט by [λιθοστρώτου] σμαραγδίτου λίθου (λιθ. σμαραγδίτου [L^{β}], λιθ. σμαραγδου [AL^{α}]); Vulg. has smaragdinus; Targ. (ed. Lag.) קרוסטלינין, 'crystal,' but Syriac apparently omits. BDB proposes 'porphyry' (so RVmg.), comparing Eg. *behiti*, *behet*, *behat*.

MARCABOTH, in the compound name BETH-MARCABOTH [*q.v.*], a place in the territory of Simeon (Josh. 19 5 1 Ch. 4 31). Most probably a corrupt expansion of Rehoboth (רְחֹבוֹת), suggested by the following name HAZAR-SUSAH (or -SUSIM).

No one has attempted to identify Beth-marcaboth, and with good reason. The confusion between רחב and רכב was easy; cp Raḥab and Rechab (see RAHAB). So C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 1 356). T. K. C.

MARCHESHVAN (מַרְחֶשְׁוָן, *Ta'ăn*, i. 3 4). See MONTH, § 5.

MARCUS (μαρκος [Ti. WH]), Col. 4 10 Philem. 24 1 Pet. 5 13, RV MARK.

MARDOCHEUS (μαρδοχαικης), 2 Macc. 15 36, AV MORDECAI.

MARESHAH (מָרֵשָׁה; μαρηcα [A]; but Josh. 15 44 מָרֵאשָׁה, βαρcηα [L]; βαθηcαρ [B]), the μαρηcα of Eusebius (*OS*(2) 279 27), a city in the shĕphēlah of Judah. The Chronicler mentions it in 1 Ch. 2 42*b*[1] (*μαρεισα* [B], *μαρισα* [A]), 4 21 (*μαρισα* [L], but *μαιχα* [B]), as having Calebite and Jerahmeelite connections; for Mareshah is a son of Caleb, on the one hand, and, on the other, of Jerahmeel, son of Shelah (אבי לכה ולערה is an expansion of fragments of ירחמאל). The Chronicler also gives Mareshah a genealogical superiority to Ziph, and even to Hebron (neighbouring places). Coming down to the historical period, he states (2 Ch. 11 8, *μαρ(ε)ισα* [BAL]) that Mareshah was fortified by Rehoboam, and that Asa won his victory over Zerah, the Cushite, in a valley defined (probably) as north of Mareshah (2 Ch. 14 9*f.*, *μαρισηλ*, *μαρεισα* [B], *μαρισα* [L]; see ZEPHATHAH, ZERAH). It was the home of one of the Chronicler's prophets, Eliezer b. Dodavah (2 Ch. 20 37, *μαρεισα* [B], *μαρισα* [A], *μαρισα* [L]); also of the prophet Micah, if 'Moresheth' and 'Mareshah' mean the same town (this, however, depends on a critical emendation of the MT of Mic. 1 14*f.*, on which see MORASTHITE, but also MORESHETH-GATH).

Mareshah is the *Μαρισσα* of Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8 6), and was Idumæan in the Maccabæan period (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 1). It was plundered by Judas the Maccabee (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 6; 1 Macc. 5 66, where read 'Marissa' for 'Samaria'; cp RVmg., also 2 Macc. 12 35, *μαρισα* [VA], EV MARISA). John Hyrcanus captured it (*Ant.* xiii. 9 1; cp 10 2); Pompey restored it to the Idumæans (*ib.* xiv. 4 4; *BJ* i. 7 7); Gabinius refortified it (*Ant.* xiv. 5 3); and finally the Parthians destroyed it (*ib.* 13 9). Eusebius (*Onom.* 279 27) describes it as in his time 'desert.' Its place in history is now taken by ELEUTHEROPOLIS [*q.v.*]. T. K. C.

MARIMOTH, a name in the genealogy of Ezra (4 Esd. 1 2). See MERAIOTH, 1.

MARINER occurs as a rendering of two Hebrew terms:—

1. מַלָּח, *mallāḥ*, Ezek. 27 9 Jon. 1 5.

2. In pl. שָׁטִים, *šāṭīm*, Ezek. 27 8; in RV and in *v.* 26 'rowers.' See SHIP.

MARISA (μαρicα [AV]), 2 Macc. 12 35. See MARESHAH.

MARISH (גֶּבֶא), Ezek. 47 11. See CONDUITS, § 1 (2).

MARK (μαρκος [Ti. WH]) is the surname of that John whose mother Mary (see MARY, § 27) according to Acts 12 12 had a house in Jerusalem.

1. Name. He is again referred to by both names in Acts 12 25 15 37, but only by that of John in 13 5 13, while in Acts 15 39 Col. 4 10 Philem. 24 2 Tim. 4 11 1 Pet. 5 13 he appears only as Mark (AV, thrice, MARCUS). The name of Mark, it is clear, had been assumed only for use in non-Jewish circles (cp BARNABAS, § 1, end; NAMES, § 86). That this name, selected to be borne in the Greek fashion as a sole name, should have been a

[1] 'Mareshah' ought to be read also in 1 Ch. 2 42*a*, where MT has Mesha; the context, as well as 𝔊BA, requires this. However, this correction is not enough. Either *v.* 42*b* is incomplete, or, 'the sons of Mareshah,' should be omitted. The second view is preferable. 'Mareshah' is a correction of 'Mesha,' and 'the sons of' is an insertion made after the marginal correction 'Mareshah' had intruded into the text. Thus neither 𝔊 nor MT is quite correct.

Roman prænomen need not surprise us; the name Titus also is so employed in the NT in the Grecian region, whilst the prænomen GAIUS [*q.v.*] is met with in three or perhaps even four cases. That of Marcus is met with in a similar way also in inscriptions (cp Swete, *Expos.* 1897 *b*, p. 81); it ought to be accented, not as in all editions of the NT, *Μάρκος*, but *Μᾶρκος*.[1]

In the 'captivity' epistles of Paul, Mark figures as the apostle's 'fellow-worker' (*συνεργός*, Philem. 24, Col. 4 11); he is commended to the good-will of the Colossians (Col. 4 10: 'Mark . . . touching whom ye received commandments; if he come unto you receive him') and in 2 Tim. 4 11, Timothy is bidden 'take Mark and bring him with thee; for he is useful to me for ministering' (*εὔχρηστος εἰς διακονίαν*).

2. Relation to Paul. This last statement is noticeable because we read (Acts 15 38; less precisely in 13 13) that on the apostle's first journey Mark had withdrawn from him at Pamphylia, for which reason he was not taken as a companion on the second journey (15 37-39). It is, however, quite possible that in the course of the years intervening between the journeys, this breach may have been healed and Mark have reinstated himself in Paul's confidence. Moreover, the story of the separation between Paul and Barnabas on Mark's account is not free from suspicion (see COUNCIL, § 3, end). Possibly, therefore, the cause of the separation between Paul and Mark on the first journey may not have been so serious as to cause lasting alienation. In any case the fact mentioned in Col. 4 10, that Mark was a cousin of Barnabas, would supply a sufficient explanation why Barnabas should have been willing to take Mark on the second journey, and ultimately did take him with him to Cyprus, in spite of his premature withdrawal on the first occasion (Acts 15 39).

The epistles to the Colossians and Philemon, which profess to have been both written at the same period, agree in what they say as to Mark's being with Paul; in 2 Tim., on the other hand, Mark is represented as at a distance from him. Even, however, if we assume the genuineness of these epistles,—or, at least, in Col., that of the personal notices in 4 7-15 and in 2 Tim. that of 4 9-18—we cannot here discuss, any more than in the case of Luke (see LUKE, § 1), the question as to the captivity to which they respectively belong.

That Mark was the constant companion of Peter seems to be vouched for by 'the old church teacher' (*ὁ πρεσβύτερος*) whose words are quoted by

3. Papias on Mark. Papias (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 39 15): *καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μᾶρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ*, κ.τ.λ.[2] (cp GOSPELS, § 65 *b*). Perhaps the authority thus referred to by Papias may have been the 'presbyter' John (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 4), but possibly also he may have been some other person; for we do not possess the preceding context.

True, the words just quoted have sometimes been quite differently explained[3] as meaning that by writing his gospel Mark became *ἑρμηνευτής* of Peter, that is, the publisher of his oral communications regarding the life of Jesus. This view of

[1] The length of the *α* is vouched for by the spelling *Maarcus* found both in Latin and in Greek inscriptions. See Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 1872, p. 136, n. 1; Viereck, *Sermo graecus senatus Romani*, 57 (Göttingen, 1888); Eckinger, *Orthogr. latein. Wörter in griech. Inschriften*, 8-11 (Zürich, 1892); Schweizer, *Gramm. der pergamen. Inschriften*, 42 *f.* (1898); Blass, *Gramm. des neutest. Griech.*, § 4, 2, end.

[2] [And the 'presbyter' was wont to say this: Mark, who had been the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately as many things as he recalled to remembrance (or, repeated by word of mouth: see below, § 3 end)—not, indeed, in order—the things either said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord, nor accompanied him, but afterwards, as I was saying, he accompanied Peter, etc.]

[3] Most recently by Zahn, *Gesch. des Kanons*, 1 878-882, *Einl.*, § 51, n. 12-15 = 2 206-210 215-220. As against the first-cited of these passages, see Link, *St. Kr.* 1896, pp. 405-436.

the passage presents two great advantages for conservative theology. (1) It gives free scope for the supposition that Mark was for the greater part of his time the companion of Paul or Barnabas, a supposition which might otherwise seem difficult to reconcile with the belief that he was for very long the companion of Peter; (2) it obviates the necessity of inferring that Peter, owing to his ignorance of Greek, could not possibly have written —in Greek at least[1]—the two epistles attributed to him. Assuredly, however, this explanation is not the correct one. It is very forced to say 'Mark having become the publisher of the oral communications of Peter, wrote' etc. The participial clause, in fact, in such a case becomes wholly superfluous. The reverse order would be the only right one: 'By his writing Mark became publisher of the oral communications of Peter.' Moreover, such an interpretation would not enable us to dispense with the supposition that Mark had spent a long time in the company of Peter; for not only are we expressly told in the sequel that Mark did accompany Peter, but it lies in the nature of the case that Mark can have become the ἑρμηνευτής of Peter only by committing to writing discourses which he had repeatedly heard. The 'as I was saying' (ὡς ἔφην) would be decisive if only we could be sure that the expression is still part of the quotation from the 'presbyter'; in that case its reference could be sought only within the limits of the citation, since otherwise Papias would have omitted the two words. In fact, they could only be taken as referring to what he has stated at the beginning of the fragment before us (ἑρμ. Πέτρου γεν.), and that in turn would have the same meaning as the words by which the reference is made back to it: παρηκολούθησε Πέτρῳ (so Link). It is, however, better to suppose, with Zahn, that the words of the 'presbyter' close with πραχθέντα, and that those which follow belong to Papias, although he does not expressly indicate this. The supposition has indeed the disadvantage that according to it we cannot tell what it is that Papias is referring to by his 'as I was saying' (ὡς ἔφην); but as it is only a fragment that we have before us, this is intelligible enough. What ought to turn the scale in favour of this view is that only thus is justice done to the imperfect (ἔλεγε) 'the presbyter was wont to say.' According to Papias' own statement (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 4), the communications of the presbyter to him were exclusively by word of mouth, not in writing; the 'as I was saying' (ὡς ἔφην) would then be inappropriate if attributed to the presbyter.

The translation ought to run: 'Mark, who had been the interpreter of Peter, wrote,' etc. That γενόμενος can mean 'who had been' just as easily as 'who had become'—a rendering less suitable to the context—is shown by Link (420-425). Whether ἐμνημόνευσε means 'he recalled to remembrance' or 'he repeated by word of mouth' (see GOSPELS, col. 1811, n. 1) is not of decisive importance for the main question here.

As for the credibility of the statements of the 'presbyter,' the most important of them all—that our second

4. Mark's relation to Peter.

gospel rests upon oral communications of the apostle Peter—does not stand, and the second, that it was written by Mark, remains doubtful (GOSPELS, § 148). But this does not necessarily involve our giving up the third, that Mark was an interpreter of Peter. It may have originated independently of the other two, and if the informant of Papias was a personal disciple of Jesus, or, at all events, a man of great age, he could very well have been adequately informed upon such a fact as this. Thus, 1 Pet. 5 13 seems to gain in probability when it says that at the time when the letter was being written, Mark was with Peter, and describes him as being Peter's son.

If this last expression is to be taken literally, the reference cannot be to the person named in Acts 12, for the house where Mark lived, and to which Peter betook himself on his deliverance from prison, would then have been described as Peter's, not as Mary's. It is, however, quite possible to take the word 'son' in a spiritual sense, in accordance with 1 Cor. 4 15 17 Philem. 10 Phil. 2 22 1 Tim. 1 2 18 2 Tim. 1 2 2 1 Tit. 1 4. On this view, one very willingly supposes that Mark as a youth, most likely in his mother's house, may have had opportunities of listening to Peter, and even may have been converted and baptised by him.[2] It is no serious objection to this last interpretation of the word 'son' (υἱός) that, in the other passages cited, it is 'child' (τέκνον) that is always used; yet the first—that Mark was a hearer of Peter—suffices, Swete (*Expos.* 1897 *b*, p. 86 *f.*) adding that Mark honoured Peter as a second father.

[1] Lightfoot's view (*Apostolic Fathers*, 1 2, revised ed. p. 494), that Mark translated the discourses of Peter into Latin is utterly improbable. According to Gal. 2 9, Peter directed his missionary activities to Jews, and doubtless continued to do so to the end of his life (COUNCIL, § 9); but the Jews even in Rome itself spoke Greek: Latin was necessary only in dealing with the lower classes in Italy. Moreover, even if Peter addressed himself at all to the Latin-speaking Gentiles, or visited Italy at all (see PETER), he did not do so exclusively; and Mark was his follower (παρηκολούθησεν)—that is to say, accompanied him on journeys to various places. Furthermore, the Second Gospel, even if not by Mark, is nevertheless, notwithstanding the fact of its being intended for Latin-speaking readers (GOSPELS, § 108, middle), written in the Greek language.

[2] This last is expressly said in the 'Præfatio vel argumentum Marci,' from the first half of the third century, given in Wordsworth and White's *NTLat.* 1 171; cp LUKE, § 5.

MARK

It has to be borne in mind, however, that the genuineness of 1 Pet. cannot be maintained, and that most probably it was not written before 112 A.D. (see CHRISTIAN, § 8; for a less definite date, PETER [EPISTLES], § 7). Thus, the statement that Mark was with Peter when the epistle was being written must be given up. Moreover, even if the doctrinal contents of the epistle should not be held to be due to the desire to effect a compromise between Paulinism and primitive Christianity, the Tübingen school may still possibly be right in holding that two well-known companions of Paul—Silvanus and Mark—are transferred to the society of Peter with the object of bringing into prominence that accord between Peter and Paul, of which Acts also is full (see ACTS, § 4). The designation of Mark as the 'son' of Peter has little independent value, even if there is no disposition to question it.

There is a difficulty in the statement of the 'presbyter' that Mark ever was a companion of Peter, even if we leave

5. More than one person?

the epistle out of account. It is a difficulty that can be met, indeed, as long as it is regarded as chronological only. As we do not know for how long a time Mark was the travelling companion of Barnabas alone, there remains between his first and second association with Paul an interval of several years, in the course of which he might very well have been a companion of Peter, and there is no necessity even to assume with Swete (*Expos.* 1897 *b*, pp. 87-89) that he was not so till after the death of Paul. Still less are we compelled to interpret the 'presbyter' or the quotation of Eusebius (*HE* vi. 14 6) from the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria to the effect that Mark had followed Peter πόρρωθεν (=from of old) in the sense that he had accompanied Peter on *all* his journeys. In fact, we learn from the same authority (Clem. *Strom.* vii. 17 106, end) that Peter had yet another interpreter, Glaukias by name. The question of the identity of the companion of Paul with the companion of Peter becomes more serious, however, when we take into account the well-known differences of temperament, of opinion, and even of practice, which separated the two apostles (Gal. 2 11-21; COUNCIL, § 3). Did Mark, when in the society of Paul regard himself as free from the law of Moses, and when in that of Peter as bound by it? In the one case did he teach that it had ceased to be valid, in the other that it had not? By way of softening this last difficulty it can indeed be urged that in Paul's society Mark took only a subordinate place, both according to Acts 13 5 (ὑπηρέτης), and according to 2 Tim. 4 11 (εἰς διακονίαν), and that thus he perhaps was not called upon to teach at all. Nevertheless, the identity of the companion of Paul with the companion of Peter remains surrounded with such difficulty, that one is readily inclined to suppose them to have been distinct persons, if unwilling to doubt the statement of the presbyter altogether.

For other reasons, most of them quite inadequate, scholars in the last centuries have sometimes assumed two, three, or four, persons of the name of Mark (see Lightfoot on Col. 4 10); indeed, at a much earlier date we even find in the list of apostles of the pseudo-Dorotheus (5th cent.), designated as A by Lipsius[1] (1 23, 202), as many as three distinct Marks—the evangelist, to whom, on account of his having been personally unacquainted with Jesus, it gives a place along with Paul and Luke between the twelve and the seventy disciples; next, the cousin of Barnabas, who, later, became bishop of Apollonias; and, lastly, John Mark, who subsequently became bishop of Byblos. The two last-named are both enumerated among the seventy (Lipsius, ii. 2 328).

Further statements regarding Mark, which apply to him only in so far as he can be regarded as author of

[1] For all that follows, cp Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.*, especially ii. 2 321-353; also Zahn, *Einl.* § 51, and Swete, *Expos.* 1897 *b*, pp. 268-277.

the Second Gospel, in view of the uncertainty of his authorship (§ 4), need only be mentioned here, and do not call for discussion. He has been identified with the unnamed young man of Mk. 14_{51}*f.*, or with the unnamed water-bearer of 14_{13}.

6. Mark as author.

This agrees with that interpretation of the opening words of the Muratorian fragment, which takes the words 'quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit' as warranting the inference that Mark, though not in any strict sense a follower of Jesus, was present at certain incidents in his life. On another interpretation, however, it has been held that the incidents at which Mark was present, in the view of the author of the fragment, were events after the resurrection. On this view, the words 'et ita posuit' are taken as explaining why the account of the resurrection in Mk. 16_{9-20} constitutes an appendix to the Gospel, Mark as distinguished from Luke (l. 3: post ascensum Christi) having written his gospel *before* the ascension of Jesus. For other statements in the fathers regarding the composition of the Second Gospel see GOSPELS, § 147. Most difficult of all is a third interpretation of the Muratorian fragment—viz., that it was at the narratives (of Peter) that Mark was sometimes present, sometimes not.

Dionysius of Alexandria (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* vii. 25_{15}) being unable to attribute the Apocalypse to the apostle John, thinks of John Mark as a possible author, but rejects the supposition on the ground—a very insufficient one, it is true—that Mark travelled with Paul and Barnabas only so far as to Pamphylia, not as far as Ephesus. Hitzig (*Joh. Marcus u. seine Schriften*, 1843) would have Mark to be really the author of the Apocalypse. Spitta (*Offenb. des Joh.*, 1889, see especially pp. 502-504) would make him author, at least, of one of the sources, which he calls 'Urapocalypse' (cp APOCALYPSE, § 29).

In the **Περίοδοι Βαρνάβα**, written according to Lipsius (ii. 2, p. 297) shortly after 485 A.D., Mark comes forward as the author, speaking in the first person.

In other lists of the 'seventy,' apart from that mentioned in § 5, the evangelist Mark is also enumerated (first in Adamantius; cp LUKE, § 4, n. 1). Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 6 428*a*) reconciles the personal discipleship implied in this with Mark's filial relation to Peter by explaining that Mark had been one of the seventy-two disciples of Jesus, who according to Jn. 6_{66}, fell away from him, but that he was afterwards reclaimed by Peter. The ancient prologue given in Wordsworth-White (see above, col. 2939, n. 2) speaks of Mark as 'sacerdotium in Israel agens, secundum carnem Levita' (this is plainly an inference merely from his cousinship with Barnabas the Levite, Acts 4_{36}), and adds (p. 172 *f.*) that 'amputasse sibi post fidem pollicem dicitur ut sacerdotio reprobus fieret.' Doubtless the designation **κολοβοδάκτυλος** given to Mark in the nearly contemporary *Philosophumena* (7 30, begin.) has reference to this. According to the first preface in the Codex Toletanus (*ap.* Wordsworth-White, 171), the defect was a natural one. The view of Tregelles that the word means 'a deserter,' and is applied with reference to Mark's premature return from Pamphylia, is rightly rejected by Swete (*Expos.* 1897 *b*, p. 276 *f.*). The prologue first cited goes on to say that in spite of this mutilation, Mark became bishop of Alexandria. Eusebius, in reliance on older sources (Lipsius, ii. 2, pp. 323), gives the date of Mark's arrival there as 42 A.D. (*Chron.* ad ann. Abrah. 2057 [ed. Schöne, 2 152]; cp *HE* ii. 16_1). According to Epiphanius (*l.c.*), Mark was sent from Rome to Alexandria by Peter after he had written his gospel; according to the **Περίοδοι Βαρνάβα** (24-26), he went to Alexandria from Cyprus after the death of Barnabas (Lipsius, ii. 2, pp. 284 *f.*). Eusebius has it (*Chron.* ad. ann. Abrah. 2077 [ed. Schöne, 2 154]; *HE* 2_{24}) that Anianus, or Annianus, succeeded Mark in the see of Alexandria in 62 A.D. Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 8) places the death of Mark in the same year. He does not speak of any martyrdom. The earliest mention of a martyrdom is in the *Acta Marci*, which, according to Lipsius (ii. 2, pp. 344-346), were written in Alexandria towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. Mark is there spoken of as a native of the Pentapolis in North Africa, to which Cyrene belonged. The legend which names him as founder of the church at Aquileia first makes its appearance in the seventh century; the similar legend which associates him with Venice is still later (Lipsius, ii. 2, pp. 346-353). P. W. S.

7. Later traditions.

For the **Gospel according to Mark**, see GOSPELS.

MARKET (מַעֲרָב), Ezek. 27_{13} AV, RV 'merchandise'; (αγορα) Mk. 7_4 etc.; and **Market-Place** (αγορα), Mt. 20_3 etc. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

MARKS (קַעֲקַע [כְּתֹבֶת]), Lev. 19_{28}. See CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 6.

MARMOTH (μαρμωθι [B]), 1 Esd. 8_{62} = Ezra 8_{33}, MEREMOTH.

MAROTH (מָרוֹת; οδυνας [BAQ], η παραπικραινουσα [Symm.]), a place mentioned by Micah (1_{12}), and supposed by some to be near Jerusalem (so Hi., Now.), and by G. A. Smith to be in the maritime plain. Perhaps it is Jarmuth that is meant. The prophet's paronomasia has been misconceived; it is not 'bitterness' that the name of the place referred to suggests to him, nor can we infer from the following words that Jerusalem was close to Maroth.

Probably we should emend the text thus, 'Yea, sick unto death has Jarmuth's community become' (חָלְתָה לָמוּת יוֹשׁ' יַרְמוּת; so Che. *JQR*, July, 1898). G. A. Smith (*ad loc.*) renders the text, 'The inhabitress of Maroth trembleth for good, for evil has come down from Jehovah to the walls of Jerusalem.'

MARRIAGE

Legally considered, the marriage relation was formed by the act of betrothal—that is to say, by the payment, on the bridegroom's part, of the *mōhar* to the parent or guardian of the bride; with this she passed into the possession of her husband. To betroth a wife to oneself (אֵרַשׂ, *'ēraś*), meant simply to acquire possession of her by payment of the purchase-money: the betrothed (מְאֹרָשָׂה, *me'ōrāśā*) is a girl for whom the purchase-money has been paid (see FAMILY, § 4; and cp We. *GGN*, 1893, p. 435). The betrothal once effected, the husband can take his wife home and celebrate his nuptials when he will (Gen. 24_{49} *ff.*, Judg. 14_7 *f.*).[1] The girl's consent is unnecessary and the need for it is nowhere suggested in the law. Ordinary human affection would, no doubt, lead the parents generally to allow their daughters some voice in the matter (Gen. 24_{58}); but the arrangements about the marriage, and especially about the *mōhar*, belonged to the province of the father or guardian (Gen. 24_{50} *ff.*, 29_{23} 34_{12}). The girl herself sometimes (but evidently not always) receives presents (מַתָּן, *mattān*) from the suitor.

1. Betrothal and *mōhar*.

In Eliezer's negotiation for Rebekah these gifts are given at the betrothal and before the actual union (Gen. 24_{53}); thus they have here the character of a gift made in confirmation of the betrothal contract (so also Gen. 34_{12}), not, like the *ṣadāk* of the Arabs, that of a *morgengabe*.[2] In Samson's case such a 'morgengabe' to the wife is also mentioned (Judg. 15_1), and there can be little doubt that such was originally the meaning of the 'gift' made to the bride.

As to the amount of the *mōhar* we unfortunately have but little information. Dt. 22_{29}, compared with Ex. 22_{15} [16] *f.*, tells us that in the time of D the average was fifty silver shekels (about £4; see SHEKEL). The *mōhar* did not, however, require to be paid in money. It could be paid in personal service (so in Jacob's case, Gen. 29_{20} $_{27}$). Maidens were given in marriage to heroes for their prowess in war (Josh. 15_{16} Judg. 1_{12} 1 S. 17_{25}): David bought Michal for a hundred foreskins [unless this is due to corruption of the text; see MOSES, § 6 n.].[3]

The Homeric heroes paid in cattle; hence the complimentary epithet, 'oxen-bringing' as applied to maidens (παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι, *Il.* 18 593). The same may have been the practice with the nomad Israelites.

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[1] Samson's marriage, however, was exceptional in various respects. See SAMSON, KINSHIP, § 8.

[2] Or 'morning gift,' referring to the German custom by which the bride receives a present from the bridegroom on the morning after the marriage.

[3] In view of this last narrative it is surely ill-judged on the part of Keil (*Archäol.* 541) and others to treat the *mōhar* as 'morgengabe' presented to the bride.

The *mōhar* in time gradually lost its original meaning of 'purchase money' as the custom arose of giving it, not to the father but to the wife herself. There was a similar development among the Arabs; in the Koran it is assumed to be usual to give the *mahr* to the wife. Even in E (Gen. 31 15) it is mentioned as a reproach against Laban that he had spent entirely upon himself the price paid for his daughters.

The requirement that the bride should bring something to her husband at her marriage or should receive a dowry from her parents is not according to ancient Hebrew custom. The case of Pharaoh's daughter is evidence only for Egyptian practice. At the same time, the genealogical legend of Josh. 15 16 *ff.* (cp Judg. 1 12 *ff.*) shows that parting gifts to the daughter on leaving her home were not unknown. Leah and Rachel receive their female slaves at their marriage (Gen. 29 24 29; cp 16 1). This, however, is no 'dowry' brought by the wife to her husband; such gifts remain the personal property of the wife. Conveyance of property through the wife cannot strictly be made, simply because daughters had no right of inheritance (see FAMILY, § 5); and even at a comparatively late date heiresses were subject in their marriages to certain restrictions designed to prevent the alienation of land to outside clans (see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 18). In post-exilic times a dowry somewhat in the modern sense seems to have been usual (Tob. 8 21 Ecclus. 25 22), and mention is also made of written marriage-contracts (Tob. 7 14).

2. Choice of Bride.

(1) *In early times.*—In ancient Israel the choosing of the bride was the business of the man's father or, rather, of the head of the family (cp Gen. 24 2 *ff.*, 38 6 28 1 *ff.* 21 21). This is intelligible enough when we recollect that the person chosen was to become a member of the clan. It was regarded as unbecoming (though not impossible) that a son should be so self-willed as to insist on marrying a wife whom his family were unwilling to receive (Gen. 26 34 *f.* 27 46; cp Judg. 14 2). Now and then it did indeed happen that love-matches were made (1 S. 18 20 Judg. 14 1 *ff.*), and that the inclinations of the parties chiefly concerned were consulted. Esau marries as he does against the will of his parents (Gen. 26 34 *f.*); Rebekah is asked by her brother for her consent to the marriage (Gen. 24 58). Opportunities for the formation of romantic attachments were not wanting, the social relations of the sexes being under no specially severe restrictions. In the patriarchal history we find in this respect the same customs as are still to be seen amongst the modern Bedouins: women and girls are kept in no severe isolation. Meetings occur easily and naturally where the flocks and herds are being pastured, or at the wells.

The feeling of a certain degree of independence and of an equality of right with men to pursue their daily tasks gives the girls confidence and freedom; they do not shun conversation with a stranger, willingly accept useful help, and are ready to render reciprocal service (Gen. 24 15 *ff.* 29 10 Ex. 2 16 1 S. 9 11). Jacob's acquaintance with Rachel began at the well (Gen. 29 1 *ff.*). No doubt there are risks of rudeness or even of outrage (Ex. 2 16 *ff.* Gen. 34 1 *ff.*); but, on the whole, good manners and good morals are an effective safeguard (cp also Ex. 22 16 [15] Dt. 22 23 *ff.* 28 *f.*).

In these pictures the manners of the narrator's time are reflected; but passages like Judg. 14 1 *ff.* 1 S. 9 11 18 20 *ff.* show to what an extent nomadic customs continued to hold their ground among the settled Israelites.

It was in accordance with ancient custom for the man to look for his wife in the circle of his own family and clan. Such endogamy is not original in baal-marriages, which at an earlier time were marriages by capture (see KINSHIP, § 11); but it is easily explicable from the position of the woman, who became the property of her husband. To give away one's daughters into another tribe was equivalent to sending them beyond the protecting influence of their own family; and a wife married within her own clan might naturally be expected to enjoy a better position than as an alien abroad. The principle is clearly stated by Laban (Gen. 29 19): 'It is better that I give her to thee than that I should give her to a strange man.' Marriages outside the tribe occurred indeed, but were discouraged (Gen. 26 34 *f.* 27 46 Judg. 14 3). As the coherence of the tribe depended on the sense of kinship (see KINSHIP), it was also really best that marriage relationships should not be entered into with other tribes, at the risk of embarrassing one's feeling of relationship with one's own tribe. The marriage of Moses cannot be quoted against this; he was a fugitive and compelled to seek the shelter of another tribe. If, too, the genealogy-legend allows Judah and others to make marriages with Canaanites, this is in full agreement with what we know to have been the state of matters after the settlement, but proves nothing as regards ancient exogamy. The many instances of marriages of kinsfolk in the patriarchal history show that on this point the older views were different from those which afterwards became prevalent. Abraham married his half-sister on the father's side (not on the mother's; see KINSHIP § 5 *f.*), and even in David's time such a marriage in the king's family would, it seems, have been regarded as unusual, indeed, yet not as wrong or reprehensible (2 S. 13 13). Moses himself was the fruit of a marriage between nephew and (paternal) aunt (Nu. 26 59, P). On marriage with a father's wife (other than one's own mother) see below (§ 7). A cousin on the father's side was considered a particularly eligible bridegroom—a view that survives to the present day among the Bedouins and partly also among the Syrian peasantry. Compare the cases of Isaac and Rebekah (Gen. 24 4), Jacob and Leah-Rachel (Gen. 29 19).

(2) *Later.*—At the time when the patriarchal history came to be written, matters had indeed altered in one respect; the settlement, and the changes it had wrought in the tribal relationship, had altered the ancient custom in regard to marriages also, and alliances with Canaanites and other aliens soon came to be regarded as quite natural (Judg. 3 6).

In the post-exilic genealogy of David we find the name of Ruth the Moabitess; and David himself married a daughter of the king of the Geshurites (2 S. 3 3). Solomon is said to have married not only the daughter of Pharaoh but also Moabite and Ammonite princesses (1 K. 11 1); Ahab was the husband of the Phœnician Jezebel (1 K. 16 31); the two murderers of Joash were sons of an Ammonitess and of a Moabitess respectively (2 Ch. 24 26; see JOASH).

There are instances also of Israelite women marrying foreigners—in the recorded cases doubtless under some stipulation that the husbands should make Israel their adopted country. Thus Uriah was a Hittite (2 S. 11 3), Jether, the husband of David's sister Abigail, an Ishmaelite (1 Ch. 2 17 against 2 S. 17 25; see JETHER). We know of one instance—doubtless there were many unrecorded—in which an Israelite woman married abroad; Huram-abi, the Tyrian artificer, was the son of a Hebrew mother (1 K. 7 14; see HIRAM).

Here again with D there comes in a change, which allows marriage indeed with foreign women taken in war (Dt. 21 10 *ff.*), but forbids, on the other hand, any marriage-alliance with Canaanites (7 1 *ff.*) or with other heathen peoples (23 4 [3] *ff.*; Ex. 34 15 has probably been deuteronomistically redacted). The motives are religious; such women might seduce their husbands to idolatry. It is conceivable that in actual fact this objection to connubium with Canaanites may have arisen out of a change of feeling under the monarchy—friendly tolerance having been gradually superseded by fierce antipathy. Whether this be so or not, the prohibition in D cannot be dissociated from a certain particularistic narrowness. We are no longer in possession of the reason for the exemption of Edomites and Egyptians from the general condemnation (Dt. 23 7 *f.* [8 *f.*]). That the enforcement of the precepts of D met with much opposition, and in the first instance was a

failure, is shown by the narrative in Ezra 9 *f.* (see EZRA).

D also seeks to introduce reforms with regard to the marriage of related persons. It expressly prohibits marriage with a father's wife (22 30 [23 1] 27 20), with a sister or half-sister (27 22), or with a mother-in-law (27 23). Here again the force of custom proved too strong for the law; in Ezekiel's day marriage with a stepmother, with a daughter-in-law, or with a sister, seems to have been frequent (Ezek. 22 10 *f.*).

P places among the prohibited degrees marriage with (1) mother, or father's wife generally; (2) sister and half-sister; (3) granddaughter; (4) maternal and paternal aunt; (5) uncle's wife on the father's side; (6) mother-in-law; (7) daughter-in-law; (8) brother's wife; (9) two sisters at the same time (Lev. 18 6-18; cp 20 11 *ff.*). The prohibition of marriage with a daughter has no doubt fallen out by a copyist's carelessness. Marriage is permitted between uncle and niece, between nephew and widow of uncle on the mother's side, and between cousins. On the whole these ordinances come very near the prescriptions of pre-Islamic Arab custom which were made statutory by Mohammed.

Here again the motives of the legislation are not quite apparent. From what has been said above on the custom of old Israel it is evident that the prohibitions cannot rest on the view that what they prohibit is destructive of the essence of blood-relationship; just as little can they rest on a perception of the injurious effects of marriage between near relations. Not to refer to other prohibitions with which they appear to be classed, it is enough to quote the words of Am. 2 7, a man and his father 'go unto the same maid, to profane the name' of Yahwè, which doubtless imply the formation of some unholy bond between father and son. With regard to levirate marriages (see below, § 8) no reason is apparent why they should have been abolished on moral grounds: here again it is highly probable that some religious idea was at work.

As to the marriage-festivities our information is but small. The central and characteristic feature was the solemn bringing of the bride to her husband's house, in which act the significance of marriage as an admission of the bride into the clan of her husband found expression.

3. Marriage Festivities.

In wedding attire (Is. 61 10; see DRESS), and accompanied by his friends (Judg. 14 11 *f.*; cp Jn. 3 29 and parall.), the bridegroom marched on the festal day to the house of the bride. Thence she was led, in bridal garments, but veiled (Jer. 2 32 Is. 49 18, etc.), accompanied by her companions as the bridegroom was by his (Ps. 45 14 [15]), to his parent's house (Jer. 7 34 16 9 25 10 Cant. 3 6 *ff.*). It was no doubt at eventide and by the light of torches that such processions were held (Mt. 25 1 *ff.*). Occasionally—but this was rare—the bride was led to meet the bridegroom (1 Macc. 9 37 *f.*). The custom now is for the guests in the procession to sing songs in praise of the bride and bridegroom, and this may well have descended from antiquity; indeed, the Song of Solomon may perhaps be formed out of a collection of such marriage lays (see, further, CANTICLES, DANCING), and in Ps. 45 we have a song composed for and sung at the marriage of a king. In the bridegroom's house was then held the great nuptial feast, which with the rich and great might last for seven, or even fourteen, days (Gen. 29 27 Judg. 14 12 17 Tob. 8 20). The same custom of fetching the bride existed also among the ancient Arabs, though as a rule without the pomp that was customary with the Israelites—a survival perhaps from the days of marriage by capture (Robertson Smith, *Kins.* 81). The consummation of the marriage was in the home of the bridegroom; among Hebrews and Arabs this was regarded as the more civilised arrangement; otherwise the bride was regarded as a mere captive about whom little ceremony was observed (We. *GGA*, 1893, p. 442).[1]

As a valuable chattel (to say the least) of her husband (see FAMILY, § 4) the wife was carefully looked after. Of the strict isolation observed throughout Islām we find, it is true, no trace in the ancient time.

4. The home.

The women had indeed in the innermost part of the house their own apartments to which access was not permitted to men (Judg. 15 1 16 9), or, in the case of wealthy people or people of rank, they had a separate house to themselves (2 S. 13 7 1 K. 7 8 2 K. 24 15 Esth. 2 3 14). This, however, does not hinder them from taking part in the ordinary duties of the household; they spin, sew, weave, make garments, fetch water, bake bread, and tend the flocks and herds (Gen. 29 9 Ex. 2 16 1 S. 2 19 8 13 2 S. 13 8 Prov. 31 10 *ff.*). They are not shut off from the outside world of men, and they even take part in feasts (Ex. 21 22 Dt. 25 11 Ruth 2 5 *ff.* 1 S. 9 11 2 S. 20 16 Mt. 9 20 12 46 26 7 Lk. 10 38 Jn. 2 1 *ff.* 4 7). Women and girls shared in public rejoicings with song and dance (Ex. 15 20 *f.* Judg. 16 27 1 S. 18 6 *ff.* Judg. 21 19 *ff.*). Whilst, however, fidelity on the husband's part was in no way enforced, law and custom were very strict as regarded the wife (cp Dt. 22 21). Adultery on her part was by very ancient usage punishable by stoning (Dt. 22 22 *f.*; cp Ezek. 16 40 Jn. 8 5 7), unless, indeed, the injured husband (as he was entitled to do) took the vindication of his honour into his own hand. A like punishment befell the wife who at her marriage was found not to have been a virgin (Dt. 22 21)—a custom which is to be interpreted in the same sense as the punishment for transgression on the part of a betrothed maiden (see FAMILY, § 4). How fierce was the jealousy with which men regarded their wives is shown by the laws which sought to protect women against false accusations, and by the very inadequacy of these laws. One of them punishes false accusations brought against a wife with a money fine and withdrawal of the right of divorce (Dt. 22 13 *ff.*); another, no less naively conceived, lets the man go free even after false accusation—he can compel his wife to submit to the ordeal of jealousy (see JEALOUSY), but, whatever the result, 'the man shall be free from blame' (Nu. 5 11-30). 'Mistrust and jealousy, not about love but about a property-right, are conspicuous characteristics of the Arabs' (We., *l.c.*, 448). This is to a considerable degree true of the Hebrews also. Yet, in spite of all this strictness, the prophets have to raise a continual protest against the prevalence of adultery (Jer. 7 9 23 10 Hos. 4 2 Mal. 3 5, and often).

The man who owns his wife as a chattel can on the same principle own as many as he pleases—as many, that is to say, as he can afford to buy and keep.

5. Polygamy.

The luxury of a great harem was of course attainable only by the wealthy. These, so far as we can judge, made ample use of their privilege: witness the notices about Gideon's seventy sons (Judg. 8 30 9 2), David's wives (2 S. 5 13 etc.), Solomon's harem (1 K. 11 1 *ff.*), and the like. The law of the kingdom forbidding the possession of many wives has manifestly a side-reference to the actual king (Dt. 17 17). The Talmudists formulate the rule that no Jew may have more than four wives; kings may have at the most eighteen. The ordinary Israelite at all times, like the modern Syrian peasant, would doubtless have to be content with one secondary wife in addition to the principal wife, or at most with two wives. The last-named arrangement seems to receive the sanction of widely-diffused custom (1 S. 1 2 Dt. 21 15 2 Ch. 24 3; cp the case of Jacob). When the first wife proved childless, polygamy, to this extent at least, was regarded as a necessity. The examples of Sarah, of Leah, and of

[1] The naive method, employed even at the present day throughout the whole of the East, for satisfying curiosity as to certain physical details, dates from a very remote antiquity (Dt. 22 13 *ff.*).

Rachel, show how little the *amour propre* of the childless wife was wounded by any such arrangement.

To turn to the other side of the picture: polygamy carried with it its own hardships and inconveniences. The lot of the childless wife, when she had to live under the same roof with the mother of sons, was hard (1 S. 1 1 *ff.*). Even the concubine was sometimes known to exalt herself over the wife (Gen. 16 4 *ff.*; cp Gen. 30), and the situation was not always so simple as in the case of Sarah and Hagar, where the mistress could send her rival away; more usually she had no alternative but to submit. Very eloquent are the words that the language provides for the two wives—אֲהוּבָה, *ăhūbāh*, 'the loved one,' and שְׂנוּאָה, *śĕnūāh*, 'the hated one.' The later legislation found it necessary to intervene on behalf of the superseded wife (Dt. 21 15-17). The prohibition of the old practice of marrying two sisters at the same time (see above, § 2) is doubtless intended to obviate the subversion of sisterly relations through jealousy. Such also is the drift of the whole development towards the monogamy which, if never legally insisted on, was yet so extensively practised in the end. Gen. 2 18 *ff.* unmistakably discloses the view that monogamy, properly speaking, is the normal arrangement. When the prophets represent the relation of Yahwè to his people under the figure of a marriage, it is of course a monogamous marriage that is thought of; for Yahwè had entered into no similar relation with any other nation besides Israel. Finally, the praise of the virtuous woman in Proverbs and the many incidental references to woman and to marriage, both here and in Ecclesiasticus (Ps. 128 Prov. 12 4 18 22 19 14 31 10 *ff.* Ecclus. 25 1 8 26 1 *f.* 14 etc.), show that the practical wisdom of the later age had settled that monogamy was the only ideal kind of marriage.

6. Divorce. The woman being a man's property, his right to divorce her follows as a matter of course. As in doing so he must return the *mōhar*, no injustice is done either to her or to her family. The divorcée returns to her family and can, if circumstances favour, be married a second time from there. No moral stigma of any kind arises from the mere fact of her being divorced. Yet, we can well suppose that from the first the family of the woman would be disposed to look with disfavour upon such treatment, and the account which the husband was bound to take of the views and feelings of the wife's blood-relations (see above, § 2) laid from the very beginning a considerable restraint upon absolute freedom of divorce. The deuteronomic law has unmistakably the intention of limiting in some degree the liberty too frequently exercised, without at the same time curtailing in any respect the rights of the husband.

The expression עֶרְוַת דָּבָר, *'erwath dābār* (AV 'uncleanness,' RV 'unseemly thing') can hardly be taken, with the stricter school of Shammai, in the ethical sense and interpreted as meaning unchastity (though this is certainly favoured by such a detail as the going forth with uncovered head); had the law intended such a very considerable curtailment of the general right of the man to dismiss a wife with whom he was dissatisfied, this ought to have been stated in much more definite terms.

Some restriction, however, was at the same time laid upon divorce by the mere fact that a writing ('bill of divorcement') was now required by law (Dt. 24 1 *ff.*). Further, it is enacted in D that the divorced wife, if, after divorce, she has married again and been separated from the second husband in turn by divorce or by his death, cannot again be taken back in marriage by her first husband. The old practice as to this was quite different (Hos. 3 3; cp 2 S. 3 14), and was similar to the old Arab custom; the Koran in fact lays it down as a condition that the wife can be taken back only if in the interval she has been the wife of another man. The manifest purpose of D and of the Koran alike is to put some kind of check upon rash and inconsiderate divorce. Lastly, D withdrew, as a penalty, the husband's right of divorce in two cases—those, namely, in which he had falsely accused his wife of not having been a virgin when he married her (Dt. 22 19), or in which he had been compelled to marry a virgin whom he had wronged (Dt. 22 28). This last innovation in the law is also directly contrary to the ancient practice, which did not even demand marriage as a compensation for the injury done. Here also we see the advance we have already noted, point by point, towards the securing of a higher position for the wife. Mal. 2 (see MALACHI, §§ 2, 4) condemns divorce in the strongest terms. The wife is the mother of 'seed of God': if there are children the end of marriage has been fulfilled. It is to Yahwè a hateful thing that a man should put away the wife of his youth and the mother of his children simply because she has grown old and has ceased to be personally attractive.[1]

The right of divorce belongs of course only to the husband. The wife has no means of freeing herself from her husband, apart from the means employed also by the Arabs—namely to make herself so objectionable to her husband as to force him to send her away. We do not know whether a thing of common occurrence among the Arabs ever happened also among the Hebrews—that a man sent his wife away at her own request or at the request of her relations on repayment of the *mōhar*. Salome the daughter of Herod might take the freedom of sending a bill of divorce to her husband Costabaros; but this was condemned as a foreign indecency (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7 10).

7. Widows. Traces of evidence are not wanting that with the older Hebrews, as with the Arabs before Mohammed, a man's widow could be inherited exactly like his other property. The grasping Reuben—so ran the legend—sought to seize this inheritance even in his father's lifetime (Gen. 35 22); the rebellious Absalom comes forward publicly as heir and successor to his father by taking possession of his harem (2 S. 16 20 *ff.*)—an act which does not in itself at all shock the moral sense of the people. Abner by appropriating Saul's concubine Rizpah infringed the rights of Ishbosheth (2 S. 3 7 *ff.*); and when Adonijah asks the hand of Abishag he is asking a portion of the inheritance of Solomon, who at once infers his ulterior designs (1 K. 2 22; cp *v.* 15). As already said, in spite of the deuteronomic prohibition such marriages of son with step-mother were not unusual down to Ezekiel's time (Ezek. 22 10). The genealogical register of Chronicles mentions a further case: Caleb marries Ephrath, the wife of his father (1 Ch. 2 24 𝔊; We., *De Gent.* 14; see CALEB, EPHRATH, 3). On the kindred subject of levirate marriage, see below, § 8.

This inheritance of widows, however, was by no means a general custom in historical times. As a rule the lot of the widow is even harder than that of the divorcée. It was always open to her, indeed, to go back to her family; but it is not to be supposed that she could always count on a welcome there. D interests itself to the utmost on her behalf. Judgment must be executed for her justly, with fairness and promptitude (Dt. 10 18 24 17 27 19; cp the corresponding exhortations of the prophets, Is. 1 17 10 2 Jer. 7 6 22 3 etc.). Widows are to be bidden as guests to the sacrificial meals and feasts (Dt. 14 29 16 11 14 26 12 *f.*); the gleanings of the fields and vineyards and oliveyards are to be left for them (24 19-21; cp Ruth 2 2). Of their remarriage the law says nothing, except in the case of levirate marriage. Later usage seems, however, to have conceded to the widow certain claims over the property of her deceased husband; the rabbins laid down very exact rules as to this (cp Selden, *De success. ad legem hebr. in bona defunct.*; Saalschütz, *Mos. Recht*,

[1] This teaching, it must indeed be sorrowfully admitted, proved ineffective. We need only recall the practice in the time of Christ, which was entirely in accord with the school of Hillel in the interpretation of Dt. 24 1 *ff.* (see above), according to which divorce was left open to any man on any ground he chose, although specially (of course) on the ground of misconduct (cp also Ecclus. 7 26 25 26 42 9).

MARRIAGE

831 *ff.* 860 *f.*). On widows' garments see MOURNING CUSTOMS.

As a relic of the ancient right to inherit the widow—a right which belonged to the son or rather to the agnates —the custom of levirate marriage (which is not exclusively Israelitish) survived down even to post-exilic times. D, which elevates the custom into a law, enacts that when a man dies without sons (not without children, as the Jews afterwards read it, Mt. 22 24) his brother must marry the widow. The first son of this marriage shall be reckoned the son of the deceased brother, so that his name be not blotted out of Israel (Dt. 25 5 *ff.*). In this form the law essentially changes the old custom. The story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38, esp. *v.* 26) shows that in certain circumstances—namely, when there was no brother—it became the duty of the father of the dead man to come forward and marry his daughter-in-law. What seems plain from this narrative—that it relates to a duty involved in the right of agnates to inherit—is confirmed by the book of Ruth. The whole course of the story here rests upon the postulate that the agnate who claims the inheritance must take over the widow together with the land of the deceased; and in point of fact the story deals with somewhat remote kinsmen. This certainly is in accordance with the older use. The story, however, goes on to represent the whole as a *right* of inheritance which the man can relinquish if he choose. Over against this would be the corresponding right of the woman to refuse the marriage and to go back to her own relations instead (as Orpah does). Ancient custom, however, so far as exhibited in Gen. 38, would seem not to sanction withdrawal on any pretext whatever. Which of the two representations is the correct one we have no means of determining: they will harmonise in the end, if we are allowed to suppose that only the remoter agnates had the right of refusal. The origin of this compulsory character, which certainly did not attach to the original right of inheritance, will appear later.

8. Levirate marriage.

According to D, the purpose of the whole custom is that the man's name be not blotted out of Israel. This is certainly, in the sense which the law attaches to it, at the best but a secondary and subordinate consideration. For what D has in view is the preservation of the family property. When the first son of a levirate marriage is reckoned son of the deceased brother he becomes thereby his heir, he inherits the land, not of his actual father but, of the deceased. The effect of this is not only that the family property is prevented from passing into the hands of outsiders, but also, in particular, that it is preserved as such, and the family belonging to it does not die out. An interest of this kind—to secure the continuance of the property not only within the clan but also as an independent family property—can, of course, have come into being only in connection with questions of landed property, in other words, after the settlement. The same effort led on another side to this, that anyone who found himself compelled to sell his land always retained a right of redemption and preemption—which right also passed over to the agnates entitled to inherit (Jer. 32 8 *ff.*). In the story of Ruth this is also what we find; the near kinsman, the *gō'ēl* (see GOEL), must first buy back the alienated land in virtue of his right of inheritance and redemption (Ruth 4 3 *ff.*).

With P also this preservation of landed property within the family is the one consideration present in its revision of the older law (see below, § 2). It is noticeable that in Ruth a somewhat different matter is placed in the foreground as the object primarily aimed at. Naomi's purpose is not to secure posterity for her son, but to gain a husband for her step-daughter; not the continuance of the name of Mahlon, but the well-being of Ruth is her real desire (1 11 *ff.* 3 1). The first son of the marriage actually is in the end regarded, not as the son of Ruth's first husband, but as the son of his real father Boaz. Here too we doubtless have a correct reminiscence. In the old law about the right of heirs to widows of deceased men it was by no means contemplated that the heir should in all cases himself marry the widow; it was open to him to marry her to another man. To the right of inheritance, however, was always attached the corresponding duty of caring for the women so inherited. At the same time, the practice in old Israel will doubtless have been similar to that of Arabia: when the widow was not desirable, or was looked upon only as a burden, she was simply neglected. So with Tamar, and so with Ruth (We., *l.c.* 456, and compare what has been said already as to the lot of widows). Judah nevertheless—notwithstanding all his neglect—holds fast by his rights; if Tamar has gone astray with a man of another clan, she has been guilty of 'adultery' (Gen. 38 21 *ff.*).

The reckoning of the son of such a marriage to the deceased husband is nevertheless an ancient custom, not an innovation of D. In D, however, it has undergone a not-unimportant alteration; in Gen. 38 9 all the children (not only the first son) are to be reckoned to the dead man. Modern scholars explain this for the most part from ancestor-worship. The dead childless man has his right to have this ordinance observed (Gen. 38 8 *f.*), and it is for contempt of it that God slays Onan. What the dead man is defrauded of by its non-observance is the reverence and worship of his posterity (cp 2 S. 18 18). Stade (*GI* 1 394) points out that marriages of this kind are customary precisely among those peoples who have ancestor-worship also—Indians, Persians, Afghans, and so forth. It was when the religious consideration was added that the right of inheriting (which resulted from the very nature of baal-marriage) became also a duty. It is not necessary therefore to resort, with Robertson Smith, to an old form of polyandry for an explanation (see KINSHIP, § 10).

D, for whom the old religious meaning of the matter has become obscured, is able on that account to relax the stringency of the demand and give release from it under certain conditions. The refusal to comply with it brings, however, open shame to the unwilling brother-in-law. The practice here referred to, which is of very great antiquity and not quite rightly understood by D, again clearly exhibits the ancient connection with the right of inheriting. The contemned sister-in-law is to go up to the place of justice before the competent court (the elders of the city) and, loosing her brother-in-law's shoe from off his foot, is to spit in his face, saying 'So shall it be done unto the man that will not build up his brother's house,' and ever after his family is to be called the barefoot family. This loosing of the shoe was, according to Ruth 4 7, customary at every transaction in landed property. The seller gave his shoe to the buyer in token of renunciation of his right in the object sold (see SHOES, § 4). So, in the story, when the near kinsman divests himself of his title to the inheritance he plucks off his shoe. In D this no-longer-understood custom, which probably had survived only in connection with the matter of levirate marriage, is construed into an insult, ever to be remembered, not only against the renouncing kinsman but also against his whole family.

In process of time this class of marriages underwent still further restrictions, when daughters became capable of inheriting in default of sons. Henceforward they could be thought of only in cases where there were no children at all; for to marry the widow when the inheritance had fallen to the daughters was not in consonance with the meaning of the institution. The object of keeping the property within the clan was secured by prohibiting heiresses from marrying outsiders. Such becomes the law in P (Nu. 27 4), and marriage with a brother-in-law is forbidden as incestuous (Lev.

18 16 20 21 ; see above, § 2). Whatever the successes of P as a whole, however, it does not seem to have permanently triumphed at all points. In this respect in particular ancient custom seems to have been stronger than written law (cp Mt. 22 24).

9. Literature. See, in addition to works cited under FAMILY, Frohmüller, *De vidua Hebr.*, 1714 ; Benary, *De Hebr. leviratu*, 1835 ; Redslob, *Die Leviratsche bei den Hebräern*, 1836. On the customs of the Syrian fellāḥīn of the present day see Klein, *ZDPV* 4 62 *f.* 6 81 *f.*, and Baldensperger 'Woman in the East,' *PEFQ St.* 1899, pp. 132 *ff.*; 1900, pp. 171 *ff.*; 1901, pp. 90 *ff.* 167 *ff.*; on historical points, Kalisch, 'The Matrimonial Laws of the Hebrews,' *Leviticus*, 2 354 *ff.* I. B.

MARS' HILL (αρ[ε]ιου παγου [Ti. WH]), Acts 17 22 AV, RV AREOPAGUS (*q.v.*).

MARSENA (מַרְסְנָא, perhaps μαλησεαρ [BℵAL$^{\beta}$]; see ADMATHA), one of the 'seven princes' at the court of Ahasuerus (Esther 1 14). His name (with which cp MERES) has been connected with Old Persian Marduniya —*i.e.*, Mardonius (the name of the commander at Marathon). Compare also the Mardi and Mardontes (Herod. 1 125 7 80). Marquart (*Fund.* 69), however, suggests מנכרא and compares the name Μανίσαρος (Dio Cass. 67 22). Some scepticism, however, is justified (see ESTHER, § 3 ; PURIM, § 6).

MARSHAL. For—1. טִפְסַר, *ṭiphsar*, Jer. 51 27 Nah. 3 17 RV, and

2. סֹפֵר *sōphēr*, Judg. 5 14 RV ('marshal's staff'), see SCRIBE ; and for

3. רַב־טַבָּחִים, 2 K. 25 8 AVmg., see EXECUTIONER (1)

MARTHA (μαρθα [Ti. WH], § 57 ; Aram. מרתא, 'lady,' 'mistress'), sister of Mary, and friend of Jesus (Lk. 10 38 *ff.* Jn. 11 1 *ff.* 12 2).

1. Name. 'Martha' is pretty common in the Talmud (Zunz, *Ges. Schriften* 2 14, Jastrow's *Dict.* 834 *b*, and cp Orig. *c. Cels.* 5 62, Epiph. *Hær.* 19 2). In the Aramaic inscriptions in Part II. of the *CIS* we find the proper names מריא and מרתי (Cook, *Aram. Gloss.* 78) ; the former of these would probably be Latinised as Marius, the latter as Martha. By a curious coincidence Martha was the name of the Syrian prophetess who accompanied Marius in his decisive campaign in Provence against the Cimbri and Teutones (Plut. *Mar.* 414). See Hall (Bullock), *Romans on the Riviera* (121), who adds that both Marius and Martha are still amongst the most popular 'Christian' names in Provence. The legends respecting St. Martha, with all their picturesqueness, cannot claim a share of our space. Cp LEPROSY, § 5, end, MARY, § 21.

2. Traditions. (*a*) In Lk. 10 38 *ff.*, we are told that, as they journeyed, Jesus and his disciples arrived at a certain village (of course not Bethany, cp Lk. 19 29) where it was convenient to halt. Here there dwelt a woman who received Jesus into her house, and whose sister, named Mary, instead of helping Martha in preparing the meal, 'sat at the Lord's feet and heard his word.' WH (so, too, B. Weiss) give the following as the best supported reading of the answer of Jesus to Martha's complaint : 'Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things but there is need of few things, or of one (ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός· Μαριαμ γάρ), for Mary has chosen the good part, one which will not be taken away from her.' The TR, however, to which Tregelles and Tischendorf adhere, gives the central words in a different form, 'there is need of one thing' (ἑνὸς δέ ἐστι χρεία)—*i.e.*, of only one thing. The latter reading seems to have been framed out of regard to Christian supernaturalism, which took offence at the suggestion of a few things (plural) being really needful. The reading, 'of few things, or of one,' which Plummer (*St. Luke*, 292) by no means makes probable, seems to stand midway between the original reading and the more definite reading which afterwards became prevalent, and the original text probably read, 'there is need of few things.' The idea that 'few dishes' are meant, though supported by many Greek and some modern interpreters, is unsatisfactory. The 'few things' must surely be those of which Jesus speaks in the 'Sermon on the Mount,' and of which he says that they are not to cause us any anxiety. Jesus was presumably, according to the intention of the evangelist, speaking of the kingdom of God. The passage is a gentle reminder that man's earthly wants are few, and that, having a Father in heaven, men need not be anxious about these wants, and the 'good part' chosen by Mary is a share in the kingdom of God. It is also probable that the answer assigned to Jesus is a combination of two sayings, one relative to the many and the few things, and the other relative to the truly good possession (cp Ps. 16 6). These sayings were both floating in tradition, when the story received its present form, and to understand Lk. 10 41 *f.* we must analyse it into its two component parts.

A Dutch critic, reviving a very old interpretation, supposes that, though very possibly historical, the incident was recorded in Lk. to emphasise the contrast between the Pauline doctrine of faith and a Judaising doctrine of works (Scholten, *Het Paulinisch Evangelie*, 334). But this presupposes the reading ἑνός.

(*b*) In Jn. 11 1 5 19, etc., we hear again of 'Martha and Mary' (*v.* 19) or of 'Mary and her sister Martha' (*v.* 1) ; but their house is in the 'village of Bethany.'

There is a certain similarity between the descriptions of Martha in Lk. and Jn. respectively. In both Martha appears as a devoted friend of Jesus, though there is nothing in Lk. to suggest that Martha regarded Jesus as more than a great teacher of the things concerning 'the kingdom,' whereas in Jn. she professes her belief in Jesus as 'the Christ, the son of God.' In both, too, Martha is the more forward of the sisters. 'Martha was distracted with much ministration.' 'Martha, as soon as she heard that Jesus was coming, went and met him.' 'Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith to him, Lord, . . . he hath been dead four days.' And though nothing is said of hospitality in Jn. 11, the omission is repaired in Jn. 12 2, where we are told that 'they made him a supper, and Martha ministered.'

The great difference in the place of residence assigned to Martha and Mary by the respective narrators need not here be discussed. The question is complicated—for those at least who hold that there was but one anointing of Jesus in the primitive evangelical tradition—by the fact that Lk. and Jn., who differ so widely as to the place of residence of the two sisters, differ in exactly the same way as to the scene of the anointing of Jesus (cp Lk. 7 36-38 Jn. 12 1-3), which is placed by Lk. in Galilee and by Jn. at BETHANY (*q.v.*), not to refer here to other differences in the narratives. See MARY (§ 25); GOSPELS, §§ 44, 59; LAZARUS. T. K. C.

MARTYR (μαρτυς), Rev. 17 6 EV; Acts 22 20 Rev. 2 13 AV, RV WITNESS (*q.v.*).

MARY

1. Etymology. μαριαμ, in the LXX the name of the sister of Moses (see MIRIAM), reappears in the NT as a woman's name. One Græcised form is Μαρία (see § 2), another is Μαριάμ(μ)η, used by Josephus. All forms agree in having *a* in the first syllable. According to the Massorah to the Targum of Onkelos (ed. Berliner, 1875) on Ex. 15 20, Mariam was also the Targumic pronunciation. Thus we have one of the many cases in which MT has preserved a

later pronunciation (Miriam). Hebrew analogies point to the change from *a* to *i*, not conversely from *i* to *a*.

It was accordingly quite proper that, from the earliest Christian times, when the etymology of the name was being discussed, the form Mariam was assumed. A variety of interpretations are already met with in the *Onomastica Sacra*. As might be expected, they are almost all of them impossible, resting as they do on utter ignorance of Hebrew. We shall here briefly record only a few of the more important, referring for further details to the excellent monograph of Bardenhewer (see below, § 22).

The name is taken as a compound of adjective and substantive when rendered 'bitter sea' (מַר יָם); as a substantive with related genitive in the renderings 'drop of the sea' (מַר יָם; after Is. 40 15 where מַר=*stilla*), or 'star of the sea,' which in the form *stella maris* appears in all printed editions and almost all MSS of Jerome, and for which support has recently been sought in מְאוֹר יָם, cp Gen. 1 14 *f.* (although Jerome probably wrote *stilla maris*), or 'myrrh of the sea' (מֹר יָם), or 'teacher of the sea' or 'jaculatrix maris,' or 'early rain of the sea' (the last three renderings assume a derivation from מוֹרֶה יָם—in the first two cases appropriate, obviously, only to a man), or 'lady of the sea' (from Aram. מָר, the fem. of which is in fact Martha) or 'lady of the day' or 'lady of the sieve' (יָם in New Hebrew meaning *cribrum*) or 'seal of the master' (which would seem to demand a Persian etymology). The name was taken as a single word when some Rabbins interpreted it as meaning 'bitterness' (√מרר) or when others took it to mean 'lady' or 'mistress' (מָרְיָא, status emphaticus of Aram. מָר, masc.). Whilst in these two instances there are called into requisition roots which have also been employed to explain the word when its composite nature is assumed, the other interpretations of it as a single word have recourse to derivations not hitherto met with. The hiphil of ראה is suggested by the rendering 'the enlightener' or (with suffix) 'their enlightener';[1] the hophal by 'the enlightened.' רום is assumed in the rendering 'exalted,' possibly also in the rendering 'gift' (if תְּרוּמָה occasioned the suggestion).

There are but two alternative roots that can be seriously considered: מרה, 'to be rebellious,' and מרא, 'to be fat' (whence מְרִיא, 'fatling'; Job 39 18, the only place where the verb occurs, must be left out of account owing to the uncertainty of the sense). The א of מרא might, before the *a* of *-ām*, pass into י, which, in the case of מרה, is already the third consonant. The termination *-ām* indicates substantives of an abstract meaning as well as adjectives, and is especially common in the case of proper names. Mariam, then, might mean either 'the rebellious' or 'the corpulent.' Even apart from any theological interest that might seem to be involved, we may safely say that we can hardly conceive any possible motive for giving a name of the former meaning to a girl unless there were difficulties in her birth. The case would be different if the name had been bestowed on the sister of Moses expressly because it is recorded that she was rebellious on one occasion (Nu. 12 1-15); that, however, is by no means the only circumstance, nor yet the most prominent one, which we learn regarding her. The derivation from מרא, on the other hand, accords excellently with the whole analogy of Semitic names; it is associated with the Semitic idea of feminine beauty. Bardenhewer compares also the masculine name Mamre (מַמְרֵא).

Both forms, **Μαριαμ** and **Μαρια**, interchange frequently and with little seeming regularity in the NT texts.

2. Mariam or Maria in NT?

For the mother of Jesus, wherever the genitive is required (Mt. 1 16 18 2 11 Mk. 6 3 Lk. 1 41) **Μαριας** is invariably used. In the dative there is always an apposition with the article which makes the case clear; the name accordingly, both in Lk. 2 5 and in Acts 1 14, is given as **Μαριαμ** (Lachmann, however, has **Μαρίᾳ** in the latter passage). For the accusative in Mt. 1 20 WH give in their text **Μαριαν**; for the nominative in Lk. 2 19 all the editors enumerated in Weymouth, *Resultant Greek Testament*—except TR and WH on the margin—have **Μαρια**, in 1 38 Lachmann alone has it. In all other instances the nom. (Mt. 13 55 Lk. 1 27 34 39 46 56), acc. (Lk. 2 16 34), and voc. (Lk. 1 30) is **Μαριαμ**. Again, **Μαρια** is used for the mother of Mark, who is mentioned only in the genitive (Acts 12 12), and for the mother of James (the Less) and of Joses, who in all passages (Mt. 27 56 61 28 1 Mk. 15 40 47 16 1 Lk. 24 10) occurs in the nominative. For Mary of Clopas Ti. in Jn. 19 25 (nominative) has **Μαριαμ**, almost all the other editors have **Μαρια**; so also in the case of the Mary greeted by Paul in Rom. 16 6 (acc.). Mary Magdalene is generally **Μαρια**; but variants are wanting only in five of the fourteen passages where she is named (Mk. 15 47 16 1 Lk. 8 2 24 10 in nom.: Mk. 16 9 in dat.). She is **Μαριαμ** in the vocative in Jn. 20 16; elsewhere always in the nom.; in fact, in Jn. 20 18 (as also in 20 16) only TR and Lachmann have **Μαρια**, and on the other hand in 19 25 20 1 11 only Ti. has **Μαριαμ**, in Mk. 15 40 only WH have **Μαριαμ**, in Mt. 27 56 only WH have (on the mg.) **Μαριαμ**, in 27 61 WH Ti., etc., have **Μαριαμ**, in 28 1 WH (mg.) Ti., etc., **Μαριαμ**. Finally, the name of the sister of Martha is met with in the gen. **Μαριας** without variant only in Jn. 11 1; elsewhere she is usually **Μαριαμ** in acc. (in 11 19 28 31 45 where in each case only TR has **Μαριαν**), whilst in the nom. only WH in Lk. 10 42, only WH (text) in Jn. 11 20, only WH and Treg. in Jn. 11 2, 12 3 have **Μαριαμ**, and in this form WH and Ti. agree against Treg. and Lachm. only in Lk. 10 39, and with Treg. against Lachm. in Jn. 11 32.

Of course all the women named, with the possible exception of the Mary named in Rom. 16 6, were really known as Mariam in the Aramaic surroundings in which they lived. Any distinction between Mariam and Maria can at the earliest have been introduced by the evangelists; but hardly with the irregularity which our present texts display. Plainly we must reckon with the fact that one copyist preferred the one form, another the other, and that in the collation of any two codices the readings of the one were introduced into the other, yet without any fixed system being followed by copyists or collators.

It is open to us to conjecture that one evangelist may have uniformly preferred the form Mariam for all persons of the name, and another, similarly, that of Maria. Yet the conjecture cannot be said to be confirmed even after we have assumed a large number of later alterations by copyists. We might in like manner conjecture that the evangelists reserved perhaps the ancient form Mariam for the mother of Jesus, and bestowed the more modern form Maria upon all the others. But this, too, it would be difficult to carry out. What we can discern most clearly is rather this, that our best codices, in those places where two persons of the name are mentioned, for the most part call Mary Magdalene Mariam, and the mother of James and Joses almost invariably Maria, although the two women have already been sufficiently distinguished by the additions to their names (Mt. 27 56 61 28 1 and parallels). All that can be said to be made out with clearness is the rule, valid also for other indeclinable proper names, which makes the genitive declinable.

I. **The mother of Jesus.**—In the case of Mary the mother of Jesus our chief interest concentrates itself on the doctrine of the virgin birth.

3. Jesus on his own birth.

Let us first listen to Jesus himself. According to the first three gospels, to which we turn in seeking to ascertain his place in history, we find that he never makes any appeal to the manner of his birth. This, however, must not be pressed; for it can be urged that the silence arises from a delicate reserve which would be easy to understand. On the other hand, however, we find expressions used by him which seem directly to exclude the idea of a virgin birth. In Mt. 12 28 he declares that he casts out devils by the spirit of God. This rests upon the conception that the spirit of God fills his being, that it has been bestowed upon him, but not upon the conception that it is by the divine spirit that he has been begotten. Surely, too, the hard saying (Mk. 3 33 = Mt. 12 48), 'Who is my mother, and my brethren?' would have been an impossibility if Jesus had possessed the consciousness that his mother had been deemed by God worthy of a position so exalted and so singular as we are now speaking of; and it will hardly be suggested that his mother could have concealed from him until now the happy secret. In Lk. 8 20 *f.* the hard saying is no longer preserved; all the more certainly on this account must it be regarded as genuine, for no evangelist would have invented it (GOSPELS, § 131).

The saying of Jesus just referred to (Mk. 3 33 = Mt. 12 48)

[1] At this point may be registered the somewhat bold attempt of Rösch (*St. Kr.*, 1888, pp. 265-297, especially 280-282) to explain such interpretations as 'enlightener,' 'myrrh of the sea' (according to him, due to confusion with 'myrtle of the sea'), 'star of the sea,' 'bitter sea,' 'lady,' as due to combination of Mary with the goddess Astarte.

stands directly connected with a circumstance preserved only in Mk. (3 20 *f.*), whilst in Mt. it is much disguised, and in Lk. altogether omitted.

4. Mk. on virgin birth.

The 'kinsmen' (οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ) of Jesus 'went out to lay hold of him; for they said, he is beside himself' (GOSPELS, § 139 and 116 *b*, end). Who these kinsmen exactly were we learn from Mk. 3 31 *f.* = Mt. 12 46 *f.* = Lk. 8 19 *f.*; they were his mother and his brethren. For the passage is the continuation of Mk. 3 21; they set out from Nazareth and reach Jesus immediately after he has had a controversy with the scribes (Mk. 3 22-30). Even should we choose to regard it as possible that Mary had kept a life-long silence with her son regarding the secret of his birth, and by this assumption to deprive Mk. 3 33 ('who is my mother, etc.?') of the force assigned to it in the preceding paragraph, 3 21 ('he is beside himself') would still be decisive; had Mary known of the supernatural origin of Jesus, as set forth in Lk. 1 35, could anything have induced her to say that he was beside himself? The 'family secret,' of which apologists speak, did not exist. The saying of Jesus in Mk. 6 4, 'a prophet is not without honour save in his own country and among his own kin and in his own house,' is also germane to the present subject. The words 'and among his own kin' (καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ) have very significantly been omitted by Mt. (13 57) and Lk. (4 24). We may also refer to the narrative of the baptism of Jesus. It involves the view, which we have already (§ 3) seen to be that of Jesus himself in Mt. 12 28, that he first received the holy spirit when he was baptized. It is a view that could never have arisen if that of the virgin birth had been in existence from the first (NATIVITY, § 15).

We are able, however, to advance a step further. Whole sections of the first two chapters of Lk. bear witness against the virgin birth.

5. Lk. 2 on virgin birth.

(*a*) Were it presupposed it would be indeed a very singular thing that, according to Lk. 2 33, the parents of Jesus should have marvelled at the words of Simeon (and according to 2 18 *f.* at those of the shepherds), and have been unable (2 50) to understand his words as a boy of twelve. Still more important is it to notice that in 2 27 41 43 his 'parents' (γονεῖς), and in 2 33 48 his *father* and his mother are mentioned.

It is very noteworthy that six old Latin codices in 2 41 have *Joseph et Maria* for 'his parents' (οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ); most uncials in 2 33 substitute 'Joseph' ([ὁ] ιωσηφ) for 'his father' (ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ); Syr. Cur. has 'we' instead of 'thy father and I' (ὁ πατήρ σου κἀγώ) in 2 48; and four old Latin codices omit the subject altogether.

(*b*) In 2 22 we read, further, that the days of *their* purification were fulfilled. This is based upon an archæological error; it was only the mother who was made unclean by a birth; in the case of a male birth, according to Lev. 12 1-4, the uncleanness lasted forty days. This error, however, serves to show that the writer regarded Joseph as the actual father of Jesus; otherwise he could not have thought of him at all as unclean.[1] Thus there is no occasion to lay stress upon the further consideration that there could have been no thought of any uncleanness on the mother's part if the birth had been brought about by supernatural means. (*c*) Still clearer on this point than either of the preceding considerations is the indubitably original reading of 2 5, 'with Mary his wife'—which is vouched for, not merely by old Latin codices, as well as by Syr. sin., but even more by the manifest impossibility of its ever having arisen by later correction (see NATIVITY, § 16, middle). The whole of Lk. 2, accordingly, not only knows nothing of the virgin birth, but rests upon the opposite presupposition.

Further, it has to be pointed out that even in Lk. 1, only two verses—*vv.* 34 *f.*—contain the idea of the virgin birth clearly and effectively; and these disturb the connection so manifestly that we are compelled to regard them as a later insertion.

6. Lk. 1 and virgin birth.

(*a*) In the first place, Mary's question, 'How shall this be, seeing I know not a man'? is on any assumption inappropriate. 'Know' (γινώσκειν) being here in the present tense, it cannot mean the act of concubitus for which the word is so often employed (mostly of the male—Gen. 4 1 Mt. 1 25 etc.—but sometimes of the female—Gen. 19 8 etc., and in Nu. 31 17 *f.*, with full explanation of the euphemism). We are equally precluded, however, from taking it in the quite general sense which it has, for example, in Acts 19 15 ('Jesus I know . . . but who are ye'?), a sense which would be quite meaningless in the present context. The true interpretation is the intermediate one; I have no such acquaintance with any man as might lead to the fulfilment of this prophecy. But the exact opposite of this is involved in the actual situation; Mary is betrothed to Joseph (Lk. 1 27) and must necessarily have looked to the fulfilment of such a prophecy through her marriage with him—unless indeed her doubt had been not about the birth of a son, but about the high dignity that son was to attain in after life. This latter doubt, however, is precisely what she does *not* express.

(*b*) Another point which has to be noticed is that Mary takes the words of the angel as referring to a fulfilment in the way of nature. Had she interpreted them otherwise, then her objection 'I know not a man' would be meaningless. And the interpretation of the angel's words now suggested is not, as one might be tempted to think, unsuitable inasmuch as the angel is supposed in 1 35 to express only with greater clearness what he has already said in 1 30-33. On the contrary, *vv.* 30-33 admit without any difficulty of being understood as referring to the birth of the Messiah from a human marriage. In particular, 'son of the highest' (υἱὸς ὑψίστου, *v.* 32) need not mean a son of God in the physical sense, but only a son of God in the ordinary OT sense of one who places himself wholly at the service of the divine will, and is supplied and supported by God with special powers. This is also true of the Messiah. Also the endless duration of the dominion of the Messiah as an individual person, as distinguished from the reign of an endless dynasty, announced in *v.* 33, even if nowhere certainly set forth in any of the messianic prophecies when historically interpreted, at any rate lay very close at hand in such passages as Is. 9 5 [6] Ezek. 37 25 *Sibyll.* 3 49 *f.* (under Cleopatra, ἥξει δ' ἁγνὸς ἄναξ πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσων εἰς αἰῶνας πάντας). What, however, must never be lost sight of is that the notion of a supernatural birth never at any time attached to the idea of the Jewish Messiah. As late as in the *Dialogue* of Justin (*circa* 155 A.D.) we still find Trypho the Jew saying (49 begin.), 'We all expect the Christ to be a man of men' (πάντες ἡμεῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶμεν γενήσεσθαι). The alternatives before us, therefore, are either to suppose that the author of the chapter as a whole has put a wholly inappropriate utterance into Mary's mouth, or to assume that in *vv.* 30-33 an unsupernatural birth—a possible interpretation—is actually intended, and that in *v.* 34 *f.* a supernatural birth has been substituted for it by another hand, and accordingly that 'son of God' (υἱὸς θεοῦ) (*v.* 35) is to be taken in a physical sense, otherwise than the 'son of the highest' (υἱὸς ὑψίστου) in *v.* 32. It is well worth noticing that Bernh. Weiss, on account of this difference, takes the words of 1 35*c* (διὸ καὶ . . . θεοῦ) to be an addition made by the redactor to his source. The same

[1] The expedient of taking the reference as being to the purification of mother and child does not hold. As no plural immediately precedes, 'their' (αὐτῶν) must be referred back to the subject of the verb (ἀνήγαγον), where unquestionably the father and mother are intended. Moreover, according to Lev. 12, no uncleanness attaches to the child any more than to the father. D, with 'his' (αὐτοῦ) for 'their' (αὐτῶν), makes the purification refer to the child, but in doing so comes into conflict with the sense of Lev. 12.

consideration must, however, be extended to 1 34 *f.*, in which case the virgin birth disappears from the source altogether.[1]

(*c*) The words in 1 32 to the effect that David is the father of the son to be born of Mary (τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ) could, on the presupposition of a virgin birth, have been written only if Mary's own descent were held to be from David. But as, according to 1 36, she is a kinswoman (συγγενίς) of Elizabeth, who in turn, according to 1 5, is a Levite, the words in 1 32 constitute an independent proof that the fatherhood of Joseph is presupposed. We are not in a position to say to what tribe it was that Mary really belonged; but that the author of Lk. 1 held her to be a Levite is certain. The conjecture has been hazarded, it is true, that she was Levite on the mother's side, but on the father's side a descendant of David. This, however, ought to have been expressly stated. Far from this being the case, the idea that Mary was a descendant of David is expressly excluded by what we read in 1 27 (the angel Gabriel was sent . . . 'to a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David'); for otherwise the continuation would not have run, 'and the virgin's name was Mary,' but simply, 'and her name was Mary' (καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Μαρία). In 2 4, moreover, we are expressly informed of Joseph only that he was descended from David, though his descent was a matter of no moment on the assumption of the virgin birth. In this case, however, it is only Syr. sin. that substitutes the words 'because they were both of the house of David.' See further, NATIVITY, §§ 5, 9, end.

(*d*) Another circumstance that speaks for our regarding *vv.* 34 *f.* as an interpolation is the fact that Mary's speech expresses doubt of the truth of the angel's message, and yet she is not so much as blamed, whilst Zacharias is actually punished for a like doubt (1 20). Moreover, the case of Elizabeth to which the angel points in *v.* 36 is no evidence of the possibility of a supernatural conception; it has evidential value only if what has happened to Elizabeth is more wonderful than what is being promised to Mary—namely that she, in the way of nature, is to become the mother of the Messiah. Note, further, that apart from 1 34 ἐπεί ('since') is not met with either in the third gospel or in Acts.

7. Genealogies and virgin birth.

The two genealogies of Jesus in Mt. 1 1-17 and Lk. 3 23-38 (see GENEALOGIES ii.) differ so greatly that recourse has often been had to the supposition that they relate, one to Joseph, the other to Mary. Not only, however, is this in flat contradiction to the express statements which refer both of them to Joseph; the reference of either to Mary is further from the outset excluded as soon as it is observed that according to Lk. 1 36 Mary is a kinswoman of the Aaronite Elizabeth (§ 6 *c*). Even if, however, it were true that one of the two 'genealogies' related to Mary, the other would still be that of Joseph, and thus by the mere fact of its existence would furnish the proof which in reality both of them afford, that when they were drawn up there was no thought of the virgin birth of Jesus. Therefore within a gospel which teaches this doctrine the insertion of 'as was supposed' (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) (Lk. 3 23) was quite indispensable. But had such an insertion been contemplated from the outset, it would not have been worth while to construct the genealogy at all.[1] On Mt. 1 16, see §§ 13-15.

[1] The same result is arrived at, in a somewhat different way, when Kattenbusch (see below, § 22), and with him Weinel (*Ztschr. f. NTliche Wissensch.*, 1901, pp. 37-39), takes only the last words of 1 34 (ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω) as editorial insertions, and assigns to the descent of the holy spirit upon Mary no other operation than that of making her child to be from the womb filled with the Holy Spirit—as in 1 15. In 1 35 'son of God' (υἱὸς θεοῦ), would then have the same OT meaning as 'son of the highest' (υἱὸς ὑψίστου) in 1 32, and Mary's question have the same meaning as we already (under *a*) have seen to be appropriate to the situation. Such an interpretation, however, of the words 'shall come upon' (ἐπελεύσεται) and 'shall overshadow' (ἐπισκιάσει) is difficult to carry through, especially as no similar expression is found in 1 13-17 with reference to Elizabeth.

8. Paul and virgin birth.

One testimony, that of Paul, is unquestionably older than that of our canonical gospels. (*a*) At the very outset, his statement in Rom. 1 3 that Jesus was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, is irreconcilable with the virgin birth. Otherwise reference must certainly have been made to the share which the Holy Ghost (who is also mentioned) had in his generation. Now, 1 4, the antithesis to 'according to the flesh' (κατὰ σάρκα) not being strictly adhered to, proceeds to define what Jesus has become in virtue of his resurrection. In this reference, however, the Holy Spirit does not figure as the author of the being of Jesus at his birth but as the higher and, strictly speaking, the abiding element of his being—in short, as what in an ordinary mortal constitutes the soul. (*b*) In Rom. 8 3 God sends forth his son 'in the likeness of sinful flesh' (ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας). Since the apostle in Rom. 5 12 traces the sinfulness of mankind to its descent from Adam, such a statement would certainly be impossible, the virgin birth being held. (*c*) The most important passage, however, is found in Gal. 4 4. Not indeed because the expression runs 'made of a woman' (γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός) and not 'made of a virgin' (γενόμενον ἐκ παρθένου); for after all a 'virgin' (παρθένος) is also a 'woman' (γυνή) and it could reasonably be urged that Paul was under no compelling necessity to lay emphasis on the idea of παρθένος. The force of the passage for the present discussion lies in what follows: 'born under the law, that he might redeem them which were under the law.' Here what is shown is that in order to become their redeemer it behoved Jesus to be completely like those he came to redeem. Thus also the phrase 'born of a woman' denotes a birth differing in no essential particular from ordinary human births.

(*d*) It will perhaps be urged that, inasmuch as Paul attributes pre-existence to Jesus, the virgin birth has less interest for him, but that his silence in the matter does not prove that he was unacquainted with it. As against this it has to be pointed out that the doctrine of the pre-existence of Jesus is one that has not been handed down to him; on the contrary he is the first to formulate it—unless indeed one were to regard the utterances of the Johannine Christ regarding his pre-existence as historical. Now the pre-existence of Jesus, so far as Paul is concerned, is clearly an inference from his present exalted condition; the apostle therefore regards the pre-existent one also as a heavenly *man*, not as a divine being (cp the present writer's excursus on 1 Cor. 15 49 in *HC*). If, however, the doctrine of the virgin birth had been handed down to him, he would hardly have framed a doctrine of the pre-existent state so hard to reconcile with such a tradition received from the original apostles.

9. Ep. to Heb. and virgin birth.

The Epistle to the Hebrews in 7 14 gives prominence to the fact that 'our Lord sprang out of Judah, as to which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priests.' In this the sole object is to make out the inferiority of the OT priesthood as compared with the high-priesthood of Jesus. We have nothing to lead us to suppose that the author wishes any conclusion to be drawn with respect to the birth of Jesus; but for all who find themselves compelled to believe that Lk. rightly attributes a Levitical descent to Mary Heb. 7 14 testifies unquestionably and with emphasis against the doctrine of the virgin birth.

10. Fourth Gospel and virgin birth.

The Fourth Evangelist regards Jesus as being the externally existing Logos, and one could believe the doctrine of the virgin birth to have been of less importance in his eyes as predicating something far less exalted concerning Jesus. (*a*) At the same time, Jesus

[1] Should it prove to be the fact that Syr. sin. and D take the ὡς ἐνομίζετο as a correct supposition, and not, like the canonical texts, as a false one (GOSPELS, § 22 β), this would only be evidence of a reaction against the alteration of the original view caused by the insertion of the ὡς ἐνομίζετο; the ὡς ἐνομίζετο could never have been the insertion of any one who still held to the original view of the genealogy that Jesus was really the son of Joseph.

in this gospel says a great deal not only about his previous existence with God but also about his entrance into this earthly life in virtue of his mission by his Father. In this connection it would assuredly have been of great importance to have been able to say, in support of his exalted dignity, that he had been born in an altogether exceptional way. Instead of this, what do we find? That in Jn. 1 45 Philip, in 6 42 the Jews, call him the son of Joseph, that in 1 45 7 41 *f.* 52 Nazareth is spoken of as his birthplace, whilst yet Bethlehem is said to be of necessity the birthplace of the Messiah; and Jesus says nothing to the contrary. It is acknowledged that in the Fourth Gospel the objections of the Jews against Jesus continually proceed upon misunderstandings (see JOHN, § 25 *c*). But here the misunderstanding plainly lies not in any error as to the actual birthplace of Jesus or as to the manner of his birth, but only in the opinion that these facts exclude the Messiahship of Jesus.

(*b*) No direct polemic, however, against the virgin birth of Jesus can be discovered in Jn. 1 13.

True, it would in fact have been in full accord with the subtle manner of the Evangelist if he had taken occasion to declare of all the elect that they are born 'not of blood nor of the will of man but of God' precisely in order to hint that he did not find it applicable to Jesus alone, in whose case it had naturally and of necessity to be taken literally. As, however, he makes the declaration with regard to all the elect, who nevertheless are born as men, his purpose cannot have been to exclude a human birth; rather must we take him to mean that they are born 'not so much of . . . the will of man as, rather, of God' (Winer, § 55 8*b*); that is to say, it is not their human birth that matters so much as their provenience from God, in other words their election. But on this interpretation the saying loses all polemical force against the supposition of the virgin birth of Jesus.

(*c*) Nevertheless it is not impossible that the Fourth Gospel contains a tacit rejection of the doctrine in question. It would be quite in accordance with the spirit of its author if the doctrine appeared to him too slight and too external for the Logos—if only we may suppose that he knew it. In favour of the supposition is (i.) the fact that the doctrine is already in full currency in Justin's time (152 A.D.) although he gives some details differently from the canonical form (see *e.g.*, below, § 21 *a*, n.); and, further (ii.), the point registered under GOSPELS, § 151, end, even though it does not treat directly of the passage on the virgin birth. On the other hand the view put forth in NATIVITY, § 12, is also very attractive, that Jn. 7 41 *f.* 'reveals the hidden path by which Bethlehem had found its way into the gospel tradition' as the birth-place of Jesus. We shall do best perhaps if we combine both views by the supposition that an older, perhaps oral, form of this manner of reasoning gave occasion to the relative portions of Mt. and Lk. and laid the foundation for Jn. 7 41 *f.*

What has been said in § 3 *f.* renders it antecedently probable that from Mt. as well as from Lk. the theory of the virgin birth of Jesus was originally absent.

11. Mt. and virgin birth. The expression in Mt. 13 55 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' points in the same direction. Unless the phrase is to be understood in the first of the senses suggested under JOSEPH (ii., § 9) as being exactly equivalent to the parallel in Mk. 6 3 'Is not this the carpenter?'—and we may perhaps point to the continuation in Mt., 'Is not this his mother called Mary?' as favouring the view that his father is really intended—then the passage [which is here assumed to represent in the main rightly what was originally told of the questionings of those in Jesus' 'own country'] directly contradicts the theory of the virgin birth.[1] Nay, more, even chap. 2 itself admits of a complete understanding without the presupposition of the virgin birth. The fact that Bethlehem is not mentioned at all till 2 1 is reached thus becomes significant. 1 18-25 thus appears not only to be later than chap. 2, but also to have been somewhat heedlessly introduced, otherwise Bethlehem would have been mentioned at an earlier point.

On Mt. 1 18-25 all that need here be said is that in it the theory is set forth from first to last with full deliberation. The only somewhat indeterminate expression in it is the word 'wife' (γυναῖκα) in *vv.* 20 24, since it is still in question whether Joseph is to take (παραλαβεῖν) Mary or not. For this expression does not refer to concubitus (see, rather, 1 25) but to the completion of the marriage. Yet after all the word 'wife' (γυνή) instead of 'betrothed' (ἐμνηστευμένῃ; cp 1 18) is not more unprecise than ἀνήρ (1 19) for bridegroom; both alike rest upon the fact that betrothal already constitutes an obligation binding in law, even before the marriage has been concluded in due form (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, 1[10] 149 *f.*).

We are now in a position to sum up and complete the results arrived at regarding the composition of Mt. 1 *f.* and Lk. 1 *f.*

12. Composition of Mt. 1 *f.* and Lk. 1 *f.* (*a*) The narrative of Mt. 1 18-25 is not by the same hand as 1 1-17 (§ 7), and in fact is later than the genealogy, which could never have been drawn up after Joseph had ceased to be regarded as the real father of Jesus. Moreover, 2 1 *ff.* would seem to have been written without being preceded by 1 18-25 (§ 11). In chap. 2, further, according to the statement given in GOSPELS, § 151 (end), the story of the Magi does not seem to have been originally present. Further, the words 'in those days' (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις) in 3 1 have absolutely no relation to anything contained in chaps. 1 2, the contents of which relate to a period thirty years earlier. Hillmann (*JPT*, 1891, 259 *f.*) conjectures that originally immediately before these words there stood some note as to date similar to what we now have in Lk. 3 1 *f.*, which was afterwards removed when Mt. 1 2 were prefixed. That the author of Lk. should have made use of Mt.—according to GOSPELS, § 127, a very probable hypothesis—becomes all the easier to believe if at that time the first two chapters of our Mt. were still wanting, and entirely so; otherwise Lk. who so often coincides verbally with Mt. would not have diverged from him in 1 *f.* so completely as he does.

(*b*) The statement of the virgin birth in Lk., as well as that in Mt., was introduced last of all—by the insertion of 1 34 *f.* (or only 1 34*b*) and of 'as was supposed' (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) into 3 23 (§ 6 *f.*). Whether the insertion is due to borrowing, or to an oral source, need not be discussed. In Lk. 2 the contents of Lk. 1 are not presupposed, except in 2 21*b*: 'which was so called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.' This backward reference to 1 31 can easily have been inserted when the two chapters were being joined together. On this hypothesis we can imagine more readily—what in itself is in accordance with the nature of things—that the glorification of the Baptist by means of a narrative of his birth took place at a later date than the similar glorification of Jesus. This would hold good also if with Völter (see below, § 22) we were to assume the kernel of the 'Benedictus'—*i.e.*, 1 68-71-75 76 *f.* 79*b*—to be drawn from an 'Apocalypse of Zacharias' in which Zacharias sang the praises of his son John as forerunner of the day of Yahwè (not of the Messiah). As in the case of Mt. with regard to chap. 2, so also in that of Lk. with regard to chap. 1 particularly, the question has to be asked (though it cannot be exhaustively discussed here) whether certain portions may not have been later additions.

An indication pointing in this direction may perhaps be seen in the fact that the marriage of Mary with Joseph, and the date of the conception of her first-born son are nowhere mentioned. Both ought to come between 1 38 and 1 39. With this supposition agrees also 2 21. In 1 27 which requires no textual change[1] Mary is still betrothed, in 2 5 she is wife (§ 5 *c*; NATIVITY, § 16, middle).

1 [In JOSEPH ii., § 9, an attempt is made to go behind the Aramaic phrase for 'Jesus the carpenter.' The supposition that Jesus was a carpenter might have arisen out of a misapprehension of 'Jesus the Nazarene' which really meant, neither 'Jesus the Nazarene' nor, as some supposed, 'Jesus the carpenter,' but 'Jesus the Galilæan' (cp NAZARETH, § 3).]

1 Harnack (*Ztschr. NTliche Wissensch.* 1901, p. 56) would delete 'virgin' (παρθένον) (and also τῆς παρθένου?) by the side

Finally, as in the case of Mt. so also in that of Lk. we must conjecture that the gospel once was without the first two chapters (1 5-2 52). Lk.'s proem (1 1-4) speaks in favour of this presumption (see NATIVITY, § 13) as also do the facts that the Baptist is in 3 2 introduced like a person who has never yet been mentioned, and that Jesus at Nazareth (4 16-30) appeals in his own vindication simply to his possessing the gift of the Holy Spirit; so also the further fact that the Baptist (7 18 *f.*) allows the question to be raised whether Jesus be the Messiah or not, without knowing anything of the complete information which, according to 1 41-45, his mother possessed. See, especially, Thomas (below, § 22), 364-400.

As in the Third Gospel it is in 3 23 (§ 7), so in the First Gospel it is in 1 16 that the theory of the virgin birth had, well or ill, to be brought into harmony with the presupposition of the genealogies.

13. New readings in Mt. 1 16*b*.

(a) When the text of Syr. sin., 'Joseph, to whom was espoused Mary the virgin, begat Jesus who is called the Christ,' was first made known, great surprise at such a departure from the canonical text was expressed.

Some thought that we had suddenly come into possession of a text which completely changed the entire situation. In this they were mistaken. No doubt, Syr. sin. contains the words 'Joseph . . . begat Jesus,' but not without a parenthesis. Similarly, it reads in 1 21: 'she shall bear *to thee* a son' and in 1 25 'and she bore *to him* a son,'—this too in place of the longer phrase 'and knew her not till she had brought forth a son,' so that the birth of the son connects itself directly with the words 'and took unto him his wife.' Syr. sin., however, contains at the same time the canonical text of 1 18-20. Taken as a whole, accordingly, this recently discovered translation brings in no new era; of an older text it contains only traces, and these are overlaid by the canonical text.

The error would, however, be equally great if with others we were to imagine that all we had to do in order to save the ecclesiastical dogma was to dispose of these innovations in Syr. sin. either by holding them for heretical falsifications or by taking the 'begat' (*ἐγέννησεν*) in 1 16*b* in a different sense from that in which it is taken in 1 2-16*a*. Apart from the consideration that all such methods are illegitimate, Syr. sin. is not the only document with which we have to deal. Long ago it was known that there was a mass of variants; only, no attention was paid to them. This is hardly to be wondered at when it is remembered that even Ti. in his *editio critica major* disposes of them all in two lines, partly with a mere 'similiter.' Long ago critical theology had insisted that the original text was this: 'and Joseph begat Jesus' (Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν).[1]

(b) This original text was first actually discovered in the 'Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila' edited by Conybeare in *Anecd. Oxon. Class.* ser. 8, 1898, p. 76 *(fol. 93 r of the Codex); cp pp. xix-xxii: Jacob begat* Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus who is called Christ, and Joseph begat Jesus who is called Christ. (Ἰακὼβ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός, καὶ Ἰωσὴφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν).

This is expressly cited by Aquila the Jew as being the text of Mt.'s gospel, and as Timothy the Christian immediately afterwards declares that it does not escape his vigilance when the Jew seeks to conceal anything, we are bound to assume with Conybeare that the text as given above actually stood in the author's gospel according to Mt. Conybeare goes farther and maintains this to have been the basis from which all existing readings started. The canonical text arose by omission of the second half, the other variants by omission of the first half and alteration of the second (see below, § 14). In the opinion of the present writer an altogether different construction ought to be put upon the facts. How can we suppose that an evangelist deliberately added the second half to the first? Why say twice over that Jesus had been begotten? Why twice over call him 'who is called Christ' (ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός)? Why say 'and' (*καί*) before 'Joseph,' when what follows is something not additional but explicative? True, the Jew adds an explanation of this double statement of the same fact: *φησὶν ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας*—*i.e.*, by the word 'begat' the evangelist means 'of Mary.' By this, however, is explained not the *addition* of the second half to the first, but rather the *insertion* of the words 'of whom was born, etc.' (ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός),—as Conybeare also (p. xxi) has quite clearly perceived: 'in order to make it clear that it was out of Mary and not out of any previous wife that Joseph begat Jesus.' But was the idea of a previous *wife really so very likely to suggest itself (cp § 21 c)?* And if it required to be set aside was such an elaboration necessary?

In a word, in the view of the present writer, the Mt. used by the author of the dialogue contained not one text of Mt. 1 16*b* but two, of which one may have been supplemented out of a second copy. And, in fact, it is precisely the youngest text and the oldest which in this manner have found a place peaceably side by side in one and the same line.

Let us now attempt to arrange the existing forms of the text in the order in which they may be supposed to have arisen out of one another in logical sequence,[1] irrespective of the question as to whether they belonged to a form of Mt. or to a source of Mt.

14. Genealogy of text of Mt. 1 16*b*.

a. And Joseph begat Jesus (Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν). *Dial., ut supr.*, 76, fol. 93 *r*. On the continuation (τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν), see col. 2961, n. 1.

b. Jacob begat Joseph *the husband of Mary* (cp below, *f*), *who of her* begat Jesus. Vat. MS of Diatess.[2]

c. And Joseph, *to whom was espoused Mary the virgin*, begat Jesus. Syr. sin. This form would be still more ancient without the addition 'the virgin,' yet this is wanting only under *d* α and *f*.

d. (Jacob autem genuit Joseph)

- α. cui desponsata [without erat] Maria genuit Jesum. Old Lat. *q*.
- β. ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαριαμ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν. Five MSS of the Ferrar group, 346, 788, with 543, 826,[3] 828,[3] (Gregory) = 556, 624,[3] 626[3] respectively (Scrivener), and Old Lat. *a*, g^1, *k*.
- γ. to whom *was* espoused the virgin Mary, *who* (fem.) begat Jesus. Syr. cur.
- δ. cui desponsata [without erat] virgo Maria, *Maria autem* genuit Jesum. Old Lat. *c*.
- ε. cui desponsata *erat* virgo Maria, *virgo autem Maria* genuit Jesum. Old Lat. *b*.

In *d* α β by the participial construction with μνηστευθεῖσα, in *d* γ by the relative pronoun, in *d* δ ε by the repetition of her name, Mary is made the subject of ἐγέννησεν or genuit. As these verbs may indeed be used in speaking of a woman, but strictly speaking are applicable to a man, two corrections arose.

e. (Jacob autem genuit Joseph)
cui desponsata virgo Maria *peperit* (Christum) Jesum. Old Lat. *d*.

f.
- α. (Ἰακὼβ δὲ τὸν Ἰωσὴφ)
ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα Μαρία, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς. *Dial., ut supr.*, 76, fol. 93 *v*. (Modified from *d* α, hence μνηστευθεῖσα for ἐμνηστεύθη).
- β. (Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσὴφ)
τὸν μνηστευσάμενον Μαριαμ ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χριστὸς (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ). *Dial., ut supr.*, 88, fol. 113 *r*.
- γ. (Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσὴφ)
τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς. *Dial., ut supr.*, 76, fol. 93 *r*, and canonical Mt.

Conybeare holds *f* α and β to be 'a mere bit of

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of 'betrothed' (ἐμνηστευμένην), in the mistaken presupposition that ἐμνηστευμένη ought to be read in 2 5 and here—consequently also in 1 27—means 'wife.'

[1] Whether or not there were added the words 'who is called Christ' (τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν) or some such addition is comparatively unimportant, and we therefore leave this difference out of account both here and in what follows.

[1] Cp GOSPELS, § 22 α; van Manen, *Th.T*, 1895, pp. 258-263.

[2] According to Hogg (cited in col. 1779, n. 4), this is the only possible translation of the Arabic text (as 'who' is masculine), but since Syriac, from which language this Arabic version was made, does not distinguish gender in the relative pronoun, the meaning may also be: of whom (fem.) was born Jesus (unvocalised WLD = 'begat' or 'was born'). This would be the canonical form. Even in this case, however, it would be remarkable that the Arabic translator [or scribe?] should not have shrunk from writing a word which diverged from the accepted meaning so markedly.

[3] See Lake, *J. Theol. Stud.* 1 (1899 *f.*) 119; Cod. 788 according to a private communication. Codd. 13 and 69 are deficient here.

botching due to a reviser of the dialogue' in the period previous to the definitive fixation of the text, in order to avoid the 'husband' (ἄνδρα), which he found offensive. We must explain the word in the same way as the 'husband' (ἀνήρ) of 1 19 in § 11.

Epiphanius (*Hær.* 30 14) tells us that Cerinthus and Carpocrates endeavoured to prove from the genealogy in Mt.'s gospel that Christ was of the seed of Joseph and Mary (ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Μαρίας εἶναι τὸν Χριστόν). According to Eusebius (*HE* 6 17) the Ebionite Symmachus in his writings seems to rest upon Mt.'s gospel his heresy that Christ came of Joseph and Mary (τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξ Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγονέναι). Eusebius uses the expression 'seems' (δοκεῖ) manifestly because he had not himself seen the writings in question; he mentions Origen as stating that he had received them for a certain Juliana. All these indications serve to confirm the conclusion we have reached, that Mt. 1 16*b* originally described Joseph as the actual father of Jesus.

15. Ebionitic alteration of Mt. 1 16?

At the same time it is open to anyone to attempt to draw from these very indications an argument against the originality of this reading. Those who maintain the view in question are Ebionites. What if it was they who first introduced the reading into the text of Mt. by falsification? It is possible to think in this manner as long as we refrain from considering seriously who the Ebionites were. The Church fathers describe them as a 'sect,' and with the word 'sect' we traditionally associate the idea of that which is erroneous and objectionable. Just as we have already long ago learned, however, to recognise as regards the Montanists that they merely adhered to the original arrangements of the Christian Church, and in particular to that in virtue of which every member had the right to speak who could claim to be moved by the Spirit, and that they were unable to acquiesce in the innovation which reserved this right exclusively to certain Church officials, so also we shall have to recognise with regard to the Ebionites that they merely represent the continuation of one of the earliest tendencies of Christianity. Before the end of the second century no one ever heard of the Ebionites as a sect, for the simple reason that they still represented a party or tendency within the Church itself. Even Justin (*Dial.* 48, end) says: There are of our number some who admit that he is Christ but declare that he was a man born of men (εἰσί τινες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον ἀποφαινόμενοι). What occasion, we may ask, moreover, could have led in the second century to the rise of new opinions such as theirs, if the Church had never taught anything else than the Godhead of Jesus, and that, too, in the most thorough-going manner?

As soon as we have satisfied ourselves, however, how gradually and step by step the Church arrived at the doctrine of the Godhead of Jesus, and in particular how neither Jesus, nor his mother, nor Mark, nor the author of Mt. 3-28 or of Lk. 3-24, nor yet the authors of Lk. 2 or of 1 5-33 36-80 or of Mt. 1 1-17 or of chap. 2 were acquainted with the virgin birth, it were indeed too absurd an anachronism to attribute to falsification by a sect the fact that in Mt. 1 16 Joseph figures as the father of Jesus; or shall we say that the Ebionites with their falsifications are responsible also for the 'parents' (γονεῖς) of Lk. 2 27 41 43 or for 2 33 48 and for Mk. 3 21 33 Mt. 12 48, etc., as we now find them in our canonical text?

Rather must it be our task to explain how it was that the old view preserved by the Ebionites came to be given up and the doctrine of the virgin birth put in its place. See, as to this, NATIVITY, §§ 12, 14 *f.*, 17, 20. Paul being unacquainted with the doctrine, scholars long reckoned it to be Jewish-Christian. That, however, was a mistake.

16. Origin of theory of virgin birth.

However freely the OT may speak of sons of God in the figurative sense (cp SON, FATHER), the loftiness of the OT conception of God precludes the supposition of physical sonship. In point of fact, in the NT it is not God who is represented as the father of Jesus, but the Holy Ghost. This representation, however, is merely an expedient, for we have no analogous instance in which the Holy Spirit is said to beget a man in a supernatural way.[1] And, in fact, the proposed expedient is not Jewish Christian, for in Hebrew the Spirit is generally feminine, on which account he appears in the Gospel of the Hebrews as the mother of Jesus (GOSPELS, § 155). Nor would Is. 7 14 have been sufficient to account for the origin of such a doctrine unless the doctrine had commended itself on its own merits. The passage was adduced only as an afterthought, in confirmation. Moreover, it is fitted to serve the purpose at all only in the LXX, and the rendering 'virgin' (παρθένος) must be rejected all the more because pregnancy before marriage is punishable with death according to Dt. 22 20 *f.* 23 *f.*, a law which certainly is not later than Isaiah's time (cp, further, IMMANUEL). Thus the origin of the idea of a virgin birth is to be sought in Gentile-Christian circles. For numerous analogies see Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Unters.* 1 (1889) 70-75; Seydel, *Evang. von Jesu*, 1882, pp. 110-133; J. M. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, 1900, pp. 317-319, and *passim* (the last-named author rejects the historicity of Jesus altogether).

Whilst, however, it was to be expected that the Church's worship would naturally lead onwards on an ascending line from the general idea that as Messiah Jesus must have been the son of David to the genealogies, and from the general idea that he was in an ethical sense the son of God, and belief in his having been filled with the Holy Spirit at his baptism to the idea of the supernatural birth, next to that of his pre-existence, and lastly to his identification with the Logos, we have seen that pre-existence (from Paul onwards) and possibly identity with the Logos (§ 10) were attributed to him earlier than a supernatural birth. Both together are first met with in Justin (see below, § 17 *a*) and Ignatius (*ad Magn.* 6 1 8 2; *ad Eph.* 7 2; *ad Smyr.* 1 1, etc.); the NT writers have, all of them, still the correct consciousness that the two theories are incompatible. He who has already lived the life of a divine being in heaven does not need to be ushered into the world in any such manner. To state the point more precisely: the theory of the virgin birth and the theory of the pre-existence must be regarded as attempts on parallel lines; the virgin birth, however, does not raise Jesus so high in the sphere of the divine as the pre-existence does. As, nevertheless, the theory of the virgin birth came into being at a later date, it must have arisen within circles to which the idea of the pre-existence was unknown, or to which (for it could not always remain unknown) it was not acceptable, that is to say in circles which were not affected with Paulinism. Here once more, as formerly in the case of the Council of Jerusalem (COUNCIL, § 12), we arrive at a point where we can clearly perceive the number of tendencies in early Christianity to have been greater than the Tübingen school once believed. Amongst Gentile influences, those of Buddhism must also be taken into account as possible (GOSPELS, § 124 *d*).

The Church assigns the highest value to the doctrine of the virgin birth. (*a*) Why it did so may be best seen, perhaps, in Justin. He declares, for example (*Apol.* 1 54 or *Dial.* 70), that the myths regarding the multitude of sons of gods, and especially the myth regarding the virgin's son Perseus, had been invented by the demons in order to rob the manifestation of Jesus the true Son of God of its importance. In *Apol.* 1 21 he insists that with their doctrine of the virgin birth of Jesus, of his passion, and of his ascension, the Christians were affirming nothing new as compared with what was alleged of so-called sons of Zeus, just as in *Apol.* 1 22 he says that if the Christians called Jesus the Logos, here, too, was another point which they had in common with the Gentiles who also called Hermes the word of Zeus. Such arguments may have impressed many people who heard them at that time; but they also show to what a level Jesus can be (not raised but) lowered by the doctrine of his virgin birth.

17. Value of theory of the virgin birth.

(*b*) A value for the doctrine was sought in quite another direction when it was connected with the sinlessness of Jesus. In a general way it is possible that, even at an early date, satisfaction may have been found in some such contemplation as that adduced from Philo elsewhere (GOSPELS, § 21, ii.[1]). In this connection there was present also the notion, found also in Rev. 14 4,

[1] Not even in Job 33 4. Cp the exhaustive survey of Briggs in *JBL*, 1900, pp. 132-145.

[1] Reference may perhaps also be made to the passage in the *Neuentdeckte Fragmente*, ed. Wendland, p. 68, quoted (*Acad.*

that sexual intercourse is in itself sinful. But it was not until the doctrine of original sin had been fully developed that the theory of the virgin birth became important with regard to Jesus. It was not enough, however, that a human father should have no part in his generation; for sin could also be transmitted through his mother. The only logical consequence of this line of thought is that which appears in the dogma promulgated by Pope Pius IX. on 8th Dec. 1854 to the effect that Mary herself was conceived immaculately by her mother—not, of course, in the sense that she had no human father, but in the sense that original sin did not pass over to her, or rather, to be more precise, in the sense that the Holy Ghost at the moment after conception forthwith cleansed the resultant embryo from its original sin. Nevertheless, in the Roman doctrine, the body of Mary did bear the stain of original sin, however short the period. Cp Hase, *Polemik*, ii. 3 B, (4), 331-341.

The other points in the narrative of the birth of Jesus, in so far as they relate to Mary, must now be briefly considered.

18. Other points in the birth-history.

(*a*) If we may venture upon any affirmation at all as to the place of the birth,[1] it must be that it was at Nazareth (NATIVITY, § 11 *f.*; GALILEE i., § 5), which, according to Lk. 2_{39}, was for the parents of Jesus 'their own city' (πόλις ἑαυτῶν). In Lk.'s narrative they are brought to Bethlehem only by means of the narrative about the census of Quirinius (2_{1-5}), which in every point is untenable (see QUIRINIUS; CHRONOLOGY, § 59 *f.*; NATIVITY, § 10; GOSPELS, § 22, col. 1780, n. 2). (*b*) As to the day, see NATIVITY, § 10, end. (*c*) If Bethlehem was not the birthplace, essential motives in the stories of the wise men and the flight into Egypt (Mt. 2_{1-15} $_{19-23}$) fall away. Even apart from their connection with Bethlehem, however, their historicity is open to the gravest doubts (NATIVITY, § 18 *f.*; GOSPELS, §§ 22, and 151, end). The passage (Hos. 11_{1}) cited in Mt. 2_{15} has reference to the exodus of Israel (LXX rightly, τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ, not τὸν υἱόν μου) from Egypt under the leadership of Moses. (*d*) The presentation of the new-born son in the temple (Lk. 2_{22-24}) is nowhere enjoined in OT (GOSPELS, § 124 *d*). This affects what we read regarding Simeon and Anna (Lk. 2_{25-38}). (*e*) So much having already been shown to be untenable it will perhaps be the more readily conceded that the story of the shepherds (Lk. 2_{8-20}), though one of great poetic beauty, cannot be regarded as historical. (*f*) Mary's journey to Elizabeth, her salutation by the latter, and the leaping of the unborn babe in his mother's womb (1_{39-45} $_{56}$) belong to the same category, and are, moreover, irreconcilable with Mk. 3_{20} *f.* (see § 4). (*g*) The *Magnificat* (Lk. 1_{46-55}) has absolutely no relation to the situation of Mary; but even as regards Elizabeth, to whom in accordance with the 'noteworthy rejected reading' of WH it has recently been again assigned by Völter, Harnack (see below, § 22), and Conrady (see § 21, begin.), it can at best be said to be somewhat more appropriate so far as 1_{48} is concerned, though on the other hand 1_{51-55} are quite as unsuitable to her case as to that of Mary. Hillmann (whose contribution to our present question is of primary importance throughout) has rightly perceived here also (*JPT*, 1891, pp. 197-206) that the song fits best the case of a Jewish mother whose son has returned from successful war for his country. Yet Hilgenfeld's suggestion (*ZWT*, 1901, pp. 205-215) also deserves to be considered,—that 'Judith' (6_{19} 8_{32} 9_{3} 15_{6}, etc.) is the model (of Hannah's song [1 S. 2_{1-10}], the Magnificat in reality has but few echoes), and that the warlike deeds in the poem ought thus to be attributed to the singer herself in so far as she personifies the Jewish people.

In close association with the birth-narrative we have (*a*) that of the finding of the boy Jesus in the temple.

19. Other incidents in life of Mary.

Although containing nothing inherently impossible, the story very readily suggests the conjecture that it too may owe its origin to pious legend. The astonishment manifested at the appearance of Jesus in the synagogue of his native town (Mk. 6_{2} *f.* = Mt. 13_{54-57} = Lk. 4_{22}) would be very remarkable if the incident of his twelfth year had been known. (*b*) It is thoroughly credible on the other hand that Mary, after the birth of her first-born son (Lk. 2_{7}), became the mother of other sons and daughters (CLOPAS, §§ 3-5). (*c*) The only other absolutely authentic scene in Mary's life is that recorded in Mk. 3_{20} *f.* $_{31-35}$, with regard to which see above (§ 3 *f.*) (*d*) If, as we see from this, she failed to recognise Jesus as the Messiah when in the heyday of his activity, it still remains a possibility that she did so soon after his death, as we are expressly informed (1 Cor. 15_{7}) her son James did. Much less confidence is to be placed in the statement of Acts 1_{14} that before the first feast of Pentecost Mary was already present in Jerusalem. Acts is entirely dominated by the idea that the primitive Church consolidated itself in Jerusalem immediately after the death of Jesus. This hangs together with the representation of Lk. that the apostles remained in Jerusalem after the death of Jesus and there beheld their risen Lord. In reality, however, the first appearances were in Galilee (GOSPELS, § 138 *a*). This being so, there is little likelihood that the disciples and adherents of Jesus would forthwith have left house and home and betaken themselves to the capital where the danger of persecution was so great. (*e*) What is related in Jn. 19_{25-27} about Mary at the cross being committed to the care of John the son of Zebedee is utterly irreconcilable with the synoptic parallels set forth under CLOPAS (§ 2), as also with the fact that Mk. (15_{34}) and Mt. (27_{46}) know only one saying of Jesus spoken from the cross. In Rev. 12_{1} *f.* $_{5}$ *f.*, in accordance with OT ways of thinking, the Church figures as mother of the Messiah. The narrative in Jn. is thus an expression, as beautiful as it is transparent, of the thought that the departing Messiah committed to the beloved disciple the care of his Church. It is of course true that no similar allegorical meaning can be given to the presence of the other women at the foot of the cross (CLOPAS, § 2, end). If it is deemed necessary on this account to set aside the possibility of allegory in the case of the mother of Jesus, we shall have to assume that the intention of the author was to exhibit in a beautiful light the concern of Jesus for his earthly mother. Such concern, however, was unnecessary; for Mary had other surviving sons (Acts 1_{14})—among them James, the future head of the Church in Jerusalem. (*f*) The miracle of the wine at Cana is shown at once to be unhistorical by the express statement that Jesus definitely refused to work 'signs' (σημεῖα) such as this is expressly called in Jn. 2_{11} (GOSPELS, § 140 *a*). On the symbolical meaning of the narrative, and the part taken in it by the mother of Jesus, see GOSPELS, § 54 *a*; JOHN, § 35 *e*.

(*g*) Along with this narrative must also be given up the notice in Jn. 2_{12} that Jesus removed along with his mother, his brethren, and his disciples, from Cana to Capernaum. (*h*) There remains, lastly, the indirect mention of the mother of Jesus by the woman whose words are given in Lk. 11_{27}. The answer of Jesus in 11_{28} is a counterpart to that which he gave when his mother held him to be beside himself (Mk. 3_{34} *f.* and parallels).

If any attempt is to be made to sum up in a few words the character of Mary, it is obvious in the first place that we must set aside from the outset any traits, however beautiful, which are discovered only in passages ascertained to be legendary. Even within NT times

20. Character of Mary.

June 29, 1895, p. 547) by Conybeare, who finds it very significant.

[1] [For a consideration of the question of the birthplace of Jesus from another point of view, see NAZARETH.—ED.]

legend was busily occupied in glorifying the mother of Jesus. By way of compensation, however, we are, on the other hand, absolved from any obligation to decide on the question whether the words of Jesus in Jn. 2 4, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee'? in any way go beyond the limits of filial piety. We are on firm ground only as regards what we read in Mk. 3 20 *f.* 31-35, from which passage we learn at least this: that, at a time when many had already come to recognise the greatness of her son's mission, Mary, at all events, had still failed to understand it; and we hardly need his own blunt word 'Who is my mother?' in order to feel how deeply this must have grieved him. Indeed, it is impossible, however much we may desire it, to think otherwise than that, if he had the feeling of homelessness, the responsibility for this must in a great measure lie with her.

This once said, it by no means follows that none of Jesus' utterances had any attraction at all for his mother. It still remains conceivable that what repelled her and suggested to her the suspicion of mental disorder was not so much the substance of his teaching as his appearance in public, his *rôle* of teacher, his air of authority and the risk of persecution involved in this, or else the unsettled life, the association with questionable people, the carelessness with regard to daily bread. It is nevertheless possible, however, that Mary resolutely closed her mind also against all that was new in his teaching. Yet, even on this last assumption, we are not precluded from supposing that, although confined within the ancient forms, her piety was nevertheless deep and genuine, and exercised an effective influence upon her child. In proportion as this simple woman, sprung from the people, above all in Galilee, may be supposed to have been untouched by any of the evil aspects of the Pharisaism of the day, it becomes the easier to believe that her religion, with all its intense conservatism, may have been genuine and pure. From some source or other we must believe Jesus to have derived alike that holy severity and that triumphant joyousness of a deep faith in God which, in the end, made him great; and however large the share of this which we must attribute to his own spiritual personality we still find it necessary to seek for it some source within his immediate surroundings.

21. Later traditions.

Of the extra-canonical accounts of Mary (*a*) the most important would be the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (APOCRYPHA, § 27, 1; NATIVITY, § 6) if Conrady (*Quelle der kanonischen Kindheitsgeschichte*, 1900; cp *St.Kr.*, 1889, 728-784) were right in his assertion that it was written in Hebrew in Hadrian's time and that it constitutes the sole source of Mt. 1 *f.* and Lk. 1 *f.* This, however, is a view which cannot be maintained. According to Harnack (*ACL* ii. [= *Chronologie*] 1 598-603) it dates from the end of the second, or even from the beginning of the third, century.[1]

In the *Protevangelium* it is related how Anna, the wife of Joachim, after long barrenness received the promise of a child. From her third to her twelfth year her child (Mary) is reared in the temple, and then she is handed over to the protection of an aged widower and father of several sons, Joseph, after a white dove has flown out of his staff and thereby indicated him out of many others as the proper guardian. During an absence of Joseph from home an angel announces to her in the words of Lk. 1 35 the birth of Jesus. On his return Joseph finds her pregnant, and is minded to put her away secretly from his house, but is enlightened by an angel in the words of Mt. 1 20. Brought before the high-priestly council, both purge themselves of the charge of immoral intercourse by drinking, unharmed, of the water of jealousy (Nu. 5 11-31). On account of the census decreed by Augustus they set out for Bethlehem. On the way Mary brings forth Jesus in a cave which is lighted by a miraculous light. A woman who arrives, Salome by name, satisfies herself by tactual examination that Mary is still a virgin. The hand of Salome is burned, but is healed when it touches the child. And so forth. That Mary brought forth Jesus *utero clauso* is stated also in the latest interpolation in the *Ascensio Isaiæ* (11 9), which Harnack (573-579) assigns to a period before the middle of the third century (Charles, however, *Asc. Isa.* xxii., xlv., thinks that the whole of the 'very important passage 11 2-22' is derived 'from the archetype G,' which he regards as 'belonging to the close of the first century').

[1] The coincidences with Justin pointed out by Zahn (*Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons*, 1 485 499 502 504 539; cp 2 774-780) are easily accounted for, some of them by the existence of oral tradition, others by the priority of Justin. The cave mentioned by Justin, in agreement with the *Protevangelium*, but inconsistently with Lk. 2 7 16, is even (in *Dial.* 78), inconsistently with what is said in the *Protevangelium* (below, § 21 *a*), selected only after it has been found that no other lodging is obtainable in Bethlehem. Still less weight ought to be given to Zahn's assertion that on account of its priority to the *Thomæ evangelium* the *Protevangelium* must be assigned to the beginning of the second century. See Harnack, 593-595.

(*b*) Other writings relating to Mary are the *Evang. Pseudo-Matthæi* (= *de ortu beatæ Mariæ et infantia salvatoris*), and the *Evangelium de nativitate Mariæ*, both in the main further decorations of what is contained in *Protev. Jac.* The gnostics possessed a γέννα Μαρίας, Great Questions of Mary, and Little Questions of Mary, on which see Epiphan. *Hær.* 26 8 12. Regarding an *Evang. Mariæ* (= apocryphum Johannis) found in a Coptic translation, Carl Schmidt (*SBAW*, 1896, 839-847) reports that it is the same gnostic writing as was used—but in a very unsatisfactory manner—by Irenæus (1 27-29 [= 29-31]). The latest stratum of the Ignatian literature (5th cent.) contains a Latin letter of Ignatius to Mary in a few lines as also an equally brief answer by Mary. The most important writing still remaining to be mentioned is Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου λόγος εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς θεοτόκου and two different Latin adaptations of it under the title *Transitus Mariæ*. The apostles, in the second year after the death of Jesus, are miraculously brought, some of them on clouds, from the distant lands where they are carrying on their missions, to the deathbed of Mary. She is buried in Gethsemane. Three days later her body is no longer to be found, only a sweet odour. In some recensions her assumption, here hinted at, is directly stated. Moreover, she receives from Christ immediately before her death the assurance 'whosoever invokes thy name shall not be put to shame.'[1] Other traditions (in Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* 1 13) specify the eleventh, fifteenth, twenty-second, or twenty-fourth year instead of the second after Jesus' death. According to Ephesian tradition (Lipsius, 448) Mary followed the apostle John to Ephesus. According to the Acts of Prochorus (first half of 5th cent.), on the other hand, when the other apostles dispersed on their various missions John remained at Jerusalem with Mary until her death (Lipsius, 366 *f.* 406 *f.*).

(*c*) In the church fathers the most important stages are as follows. None of Justin's predecessors makes mention of Mary at all, and even by Justin (see above, § 17 *a*) she is mentioned, not on account of herself, but simply in connection with the birth of Jesus. So also with Ignatius (see above, § 16) and Irenæus, with special reference to the Docetæ. At the same time, however, Irenæus (iii. 32 1 [= 22 4], end) ascribes to her obedience, a redeeming power from the effects of the disobedience of Eve; so also Tertullian (*de carne Christi*, 17): 'quod illa credendo' (*i.e.*, by believing the word of the serpent) 'deliquit, hæc credendo delevit.' Irenæus means the same thing when he says (v. 19 1): 'si ea (Eva) inobediret deo, sed et hæc suasa est obedire deo, ut virginis Evæ virgo Maria fieret advocata'; the last word, therefore, is not intended to designate her as intercessor. For the rest, the whole of this antithesis between Eve and Mary, which is found also in Justin (*Dial.* 100), is certainly intended to be taken rhetorically rather than in all dogmatic seriousness. Tertullian (*de carne Christi*, 20) declares against the birth *utero clauso*, stating his physiological reasons with vigour. On the other hand, Clem.Alex. (*Strom.* vii. 16 93 end, p. 889 end; Potter) attaches value to the fact that, as we are informed by some, Mary was found still a virgin after she had been delivered. Origen[2] declares the 'brethren of Jesus' to have been sons of Joseph by a former marriage. Whilst Chrysostom allows the human features of Mary to come into view, Augustine declares her to have been free from actual sin and employs the false reading of Vg. in Gen. 3 15 'ipsa [for ipse] conteret caput tuum' to prove her the devil's conqueror. With the introduction of the designation θεοτόκος for Mary, as against Nestorius who wished to designate her as Χριστοτόκος only, may be said to begin an endless Mariology which need not be pursued further here. See Benrath (below, § 22).

(*d*) According to the Talmud[3] and according to Celsus[4] Jesus was the child of the adulterous intercourse of Mary with a soldier Stada or Pandera (Πάνθηρ, Πανθήρας). Such was the answer of the opponents of Christianity to the Church doctrine which denied the fatherhood of Joseph. Further, according to

[1] On the various recensions cp Bonnet, *ZWT*, 1880, pp. 222-247; the texts in Tischendorf's *Apocalypses apocryphæ*, 1866; and Wright, *Contributions to the apocryphal literature of the NT*, 1865. Other texts: Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*(2), 1876; Conybeare, *Am. Journ. of Theol.*, 1897, pp. 424-442.

[2] *Comm. in Matth.* 10 17, on Mt. 13 55, ed. de la Rue, 3 462 *f.*, and still more definitely in his seventh *Hom. in Lc.*, de la Rue, 3 940 *a*, C, which, however, we possess only in the redaction of Jerome.

[3] Best account in Laible, *Jesus Christus im Talmud*, 1891 = *Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin*, no. 10, pp. 9-39, with appendix; cp also Zahn, *Forschungen*, 6 (1900) 266-269.

[4] Orig. *c. Cels.* 1 32 *f.* 69, ed. de la Rue, 1 349-352 and 384.

the Talmud, Mary was a braider of women's hair (*m^e gadd^e la n^e shayya*), which was not held a very reputable calling. Cp § 26, and MAGDALA.

22. Literature.

For literature see NATIVITY, § 21; NAZARETH. Also Thomas, *Our Records on the Nativity*, 1900; Völter, 'Die Apokalypse des Zacharias im Evang. des Lc.' in *ThT*, 1896, pp. 244-269; Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol*, 2 (1900) 562-625; Harnack, 'Das Magnificat der Elisabeth nebst Bemerkungen zu Lc. 1 *f.*' in *SBAW*, 1900, pp. 538-556, and 'Zu Lc. 1 34 *f.*' in *Ztschr. f. NTliche Wissensch.*, 1901, pp. 53-57; Hilgenfeld, 'Geburts- u. Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu, Lk. 1 5-2 52' in *ZWTh*, 1901, pp. 177-235, also 313-317 466-468; Zahn, *Forschungen*, 6 225-364 ('Brüder u. Vettern Jesu,'); Barrows, 'Mythical and legendary elements in the NT' in *New World*, 1899, pp. 272-299, especially pp. 290-293; Bardenhewer, *Der Name Maria = Bibl. Studien*, ed. Bardenhewer and others, 1 (1895) 1; Benrath, 'Zur Gesch. d. Marienverehrung' in *St. Kr.*, 1886, pp. 7-94, 197-267.

23. Mother of James.

2. **Mary, the mother of James (the Less) and of Joses** appears among the women at the cross in Mt. 27 56 Mk. 15 40 and, under the shorter designation, 'Mary of Joses,' in Mk. 15 47, or, 'the other Mary' (with Mary Magdalene) Mt. 27 61, as observing the burial place of Jesus; as 'Mary of James' in Mk. 16 1 Lk. 24 10 or 'the other Mary,' in Mt. 28 1, she beholds the empty grave. In Syr. Sin. she is always called 'daughter of James' (Mk. 15 40: James the Less); in Mt. and Mk. besides, 'Mother of Joseph.' As to the historical character of the events of the resurrection day see GOSPELS, § 138 *e, f.* As has been shown under CLOPAS, this Mary's sons were neither 'brethren of Jesus' nor apostles, and she herself is known only as mother of her sons, unless, indeed, she be identical with

24. Mary of Clopas.

3. **Mary of Clopas.**—This Mary who appears in Jn. 19 25 at the foot of the cross is not to be identified with the sister of the mother of Jesus mentioned immediately before in that passage, nor with the mother of the sons of Zebedee, mentioned in the like situation in Mt. 27 56, who, according to Mk. 15 40, is Salome (CLOPAS, § 2). All the more certainly, therefore, does she appear to be identical with the only remaining one of the women at the cross—Mary the mother of James (the Less) and Joses (see above, § 23). This identification, however, can be carried out only if we may regard Clopas as a person otherwise unknown. In that case, Jn. would be recording the name—not given by the synoptists—of the father or grandfather of James (the Less) and Joses (according as we take Mary to be the wife or, what accords better with linguistic use, as the daughter of Clopas). It is much more likely, however, that Clopas is the brother of Joseph and thus the uncle of Jesus (cp CLOPAS, § 3 *f.*); in which case Mary also, whether she was the wife or the daughter of Clopas, was a near relation of Jesus. As the synoptists, however, do not speak of the mother of James and Joses as being a kinswoman of Jesus, it must be doubted whether Jn. was correct if he sought to identify the two (Mary of Clopas and the mother of James and Joses). Perhaps he was following another tradition here also, as well as when he named the mother of Jesus and her sister (CLOPAS, §§ 2-5) as witnesses of the crucifixion. If so, Mary of Clopas is known to us only from Jn. 19 25.

25. Sister of Martha.

4. **Mary, sister of Martha,** appears in Lk. 10 38-42 as the eager listener at the feet of Jesus, in Jn. 11 as the sister of Lazarus. As the raising of Lazarus cannot be regarded as history (JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 20 *a*, 35 *b*, 37 *a*; cp LAZARUS) what is stated regarding Mary in that narrative must also be set aside. The statement that Bethany was her home is also contrary to the representation of Lk., who assumes (9 52 13 22 17 11) that this is to be sought in Samaria. As, however, Lk.'s account of the Samaritan journey is untrustworthy throughout (GOSPELS, § 133 *a*), one might be inclined in this point to give the preference to Jn. In this evangelist, however, the naming of Bethany rests upon the fact that he identified (12 1-8) Mary with the woman who, according to Mk. 14 3-9 Mt. 26 6-13 anoints Jesus in Bethany. He does not name the house of Simon the leper; but he clearly shows that he has in mind the same scene as Mk. and Mt. when he designates Lazarus, not as the master of the house, but only as one of the guests. Nevertheless, it might still be conceivable that Jn. had correctly supplemented Mk. and Mt., were we not precluded from this supposition by the fact that he combines their narrative also with that of the sinful woman of Lk. 7 36-50, in so far as he represents her as anointing not Jesus' head but feet and wiping them with the hair of her head.[1] Furthermore, Jn. says very infelicitously that Mary wiped the ointment from Jesus' feet, whereas the only fitting version is that of Lk. 7 38, which says that she anointed the feet of Jesus after having wiped from them her tears. Even if it be assumed, therefore, that the same event underlies the narrative of Lk. as underlies those of Mk. and Mt.—and the point does not require to be discussed here; see GOSPELS, § 10—the two forms of the narrative, as they now run, differ fundamentally as to time, place, purpose, and details of the anointing. If, then, we are compelled to recognise that the narrative of Jn. is composed of portions that cannot be united, it becomes impossible for us to be certain on the one point that the woman who anointed was Mary, and thus that her home was Bethany. Possibly, even before the evangelist's time, some one may have formed the conjecture that the unnamed woman in Bethany, who wrought so significant a work upon Jesus, and received from him such high commendation, may have been no other than this most prominent of his female disciples; but this does not establish the fact (cp JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 35 *a g*). Legend has it that in consequence of the persecution mentioned in Acts 8 1 Mary (with Martha and Lazarus) removed to Provence, where she lies buried at St. Baume. See MARTHA.

26. Mary Magdalene.

5. **Mary Magdalene** appears at the cross and at the grave of Jesus in all the passages where we find the mother of James and Joses (see above, § 23), also in the parallel Jn. 19 25 and 20 1, where, however, she goes to the grave alone. There Jesus appears to her (20 11-18). This narrative goes a step farther than the already unhistorical account of the synoptics (GOSPELS, § 138 *e f*). In the later appendix to Mk. (16 9) there is a reminiscence of the Johannine account, and, at the same time, of Lk. 8 2. According to this last thoroughly credible passage Mary Magdalene belonged to the number of those women who accompanied Jesus and ministered to him. As for the seven devils which had been exorcised from her see GOSPELS (§ 144 end). Her designation 'Magdalene' implies Magdala as her place of origin. See MAGDALA.

As Magdala in Mt. 15 39 (for Magadan) and still more in Mk. 8 10 (for Dalmanutha) is read only by inferior MSS, and as no such place is named anywhere else in the NT, Lagarde (*GGN*, 1889, pp. 371-375) hazarded the conjecture that the second name was derived not from a place but from a misunderstanding of the Aramaic *magd^e lānyā* = braider of hair (from the participle *magd^e lā* = a braider [fem.]). In the Talmud (see above, § 21 *d*) the designation is applied to the mother of Jesus. This might be due to a confusion of persons. Lagarde's hypothesis must, however, be set aside, being neither probable nor necessary. Even if no Magdala is found in the NT there are many places in Palestine which derive their name from a tower (migdal).

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[1] Assuredly Jn. thinks of Mary much too highly to intend that she should personally be identified with the sinner. Strictly, it is true, he appears to do this in 11 2 which reads, 'Mary was the woman who anointed,' etc. Such a woman had up to this point nowhere been mentioned in any of the gospel histories apart from Lk. 7 36-50. There need, however, be no difficulty in believing—in the case of an author who says in 3 22, and denies in 4 2, that Jesus baptized—that in 11 2 Jn. intends to refer to an event which was chronologically later and which he himself does not describe till chap. 12 is reached. Jn. means, accordingly, not 'the woman who had anointed the Lord on an occasion previous to the time with which I am now dealing,' but 'the woman who is known to have once upon a time anointed him.' It would not have been in keeping with the tone of his gospel to have said (as would have been correct) 'concerning whom I shall presently have to describe how she anointed the Lord.' It should be added that Naber, *Mnemosyne*, 1881, p. 287, maintains Jn. 11 2*a* (ἦν to αὐτῆς) to be a gloss.

The identification of Mary Magdalene with the sinner of Lk. 7 36-50 cannot be called felicitous. Its sole foundation lies in the circumstance that the name of Mary Magdalene occurs soon after the mention of the nameless woman. The penitent Magdalene has a large place in art, but in history none whatever. Even less happy, however, is the identification of Mary Magdalene with the sister of Martha. It is simply due to the identification of both with the sinner in Lk. It is in this way that, for example, Kaulen[1] weaves the whole romance of her life. She had been the handmaid of sin in Galilee, had repented and received forgiveness from Jesus, and thenceforward had ministered to him; in Bethany, whither she had betaken herself from Galilee, she anointed him a second time, and she was the first to see him after his resurrection.

27. Mother of Mark.

6. **Mary, mother of Mark,** according to the only passage (Acts 12 12) in which she is named, possessed a house in Jerusalem which served as a meeting-place for the early Christians. From this it would seem that she had a distinguished place in the church there. Evidently her husband was no longer alive, otherwise he would have been named as master of the house. Since the fourth century the scene of the Last Supper, of the meeting on the evening of Christ's Ascension, and of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost has been laid in the house of Mary (Mk. 14 14 Acts 1 13 2 2; cp Zahn, *Einl.*, § 51 7).

28. Mary of Rom. 16 6.

7. A woman named Mary is greeted by Paul in Rom. 16 6. According to the readings 'on you' (*εἰς ὑμᾶς*) (ℵABC*) or 'among you' (*ἐν ὑμῖν*) (DG) she laboured much in the interests of her companions; the reading 'on us' (*εἰς ἡμᾶς*) of C²L Chrys. suggests that she laboured equally in the interests of Paul. To judge by her name she was by birth a Jewess. We are not precluded from this inference by the mere fact that after her name we do not find an addition similar to that which we find in 16 7 11 21 ('my kinsmen'), by which, on account of the largeness of their number, we ought in all probability to understand Jews merely, not actual blood relations of the apostle. In the case of Aquila and Prisca also (16 3, cp Acts 18 2) this addition is wanting, because Paul had something more special to say regarding them. According to a very probable conjecture Rom. 16 3-16 is a fragment of an epistle addressed to Ephesus. If Mary is to be looked for in Ephesus the reading 'on us' (*εἰς ἡμᾶς*) will mean that she had interested herself in the welfare of Paul during his three years' sojourn in that city (Acts 19 8 10 20 31). P. W. S.

MASALOTH (μαισαλωθ [ℵV]), 1 Macc. 9 2 AV; RV MESALOTH. See ARBELA.

MASCHIL (מַשְׂכִּיל; συνεσεως or εις συνεσιν [BℵART]; Aq. *ἐπιστήμονος, ἐπιστήμης, ἐπιστημοσύνης*; Symm., Theod. *σύνεσις*; Tg. שכלא טבא [cp 2 Ch. 30 22]) is a term found in the headings of Pss. 32 42 44 (om. A but insert in 43) 45 (om. A) 52 (*ψαλμός* [R]) 53-55 74 78 88 (with שִׁיר and מִזְמוֹר) 89 142 (תְּפִלָּה follows); also 47 7 [8] (EV 'with understanding,' *συνετῶς* [BℵART]; Aq. Sext. *ἐπιστημόνως*; Jer. *erudite*).

To render the term 'didactic poem' (Ges.) is inconsistent with the subject-matter of most of the psalms to which it is prefixed; 32 and 78 alone would be suitably thus described. As a rule the participle *Maśkīl* is an attribute of persons; it is applied in 2 Ch. 30 22 to the Levitical musicians. Hence Grätz considers *Maśkīl* to be an epithet even in the psalm-headings; taking it with *lam-mᵉnaṣṣēaḥ*, למנצח, he renders 'To a skilled precentor'; his version of Ps. 47 7*b* [8*b*] is 'sing praise, ye that are skilled in song' (משכילים). This is at any rate more plausible than the rendering of RVmg. and of Wellhausen in *SBOT*, 'sing ye praises in a skilful song [psalm].' Cheyne (*Psalms*(2)), however, reads for משכיל in Ps. 47 7 [8] לְמַלְכֵּנוּ,[1] 'Sing ye praises to our king' (similar errors abound in the Hebrew Psalter), and regards משכיל (*Maśkīl*) in the headings referred to as an alternative to למנצח, and as, equally with this, a corruption of מְשֻׁכָּן, 'deposited.' See MUSICIAN [THE CHIEF].

It is worth noticing that in the titles of Ps. 44 45 54 55 88 משכיל is separated from למנצח by some intervening words, that in Pss. 54 55 משכיל לדוד is one of two rival headings, that in Ps. 88 משכיל להימן is one of three rival headings, and that in Ps. 32 𝔊B's heading *συνέσεως τῷ Δαυειδ* (משכיל לדוד) is more correct than MT's לדוד משכיל. T. K. C.

MASH (מַשׁ; μοσοχ [AEL]; *MES*), an Aramaic people, mentioned together with Uz, Hul, and Gether, in Gen. 10 23, and also (as Ki. thinks) in 1 Ch. 1 17. See GEOGRAPHY, § 20, where Dillmann's view is adopted. Perhaps, however, 'Gether' should be 'Geshur'—*i.e.*, GESHUR (2). 'Hul' is a fragment of 'Jerahmeel.' 'Uz' is explained elsewhere (see UZ). The 'Meshech' of 1 Ch. is probably more correct than 'Mash,' and like Shechem in Ps. 60 8, probably comes from Cusham (see CUSH, 2, CUSHAN, SHECHEM). T. K. C.

MASHAL (מָשָׁל), 1 Ch. 6 74. See MISHAL.

MASIAS (μεισαιας [B], μασιας [A]), a group of children of the 'servants of Solomon' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA ii., §§ 9, 8*c*), one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5 34 (om. L, or ?=*αμεει*) after Pochereth-hazzebaim of ∥ Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59. [In the light of the article SOLOMON'S SERVANTS, we can hardly help emending Masiah or Misaiah (see 𝔊B) into Ishma'eli (Ishmaelite). Cp. Amasa, Amasiah, Maaseiah. T. K. C.]

MASMAN (μαασμαν [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 43 = Ezra 8 16, SHEMAIAH, 17.

MASON (חֹצֵב, etc.), 1 Ch. 22 2, etc. See HANDICRAFTS, §§ 1, 3.

MASPHA. 1. (μασσηφα [AℵV]) 1 Macc. 3 46 AV, RV MIZPEH (*q.v.*).

2. (*μα[α]φα* [AℵV]) 1 Macc. 5 35 AV, RV MIZPEH (*q.v.*).

MASREKAH (מַשְׂרֵקָה; μασεκκα [ADEL], in Ch. 𝔊B om., 𝔊L μασερικα; Theod. in Gen. [εκ] μασσηφας), the home of the Edomite king SAMLAH (*q.v.*), Gen. 36 36 1 Ch. 1 47. The name should mean 'place of choice vines' (cp SOREK), but is probably corrupt, Samlah being probably a doublet of Šaul (*m* and *v* interchanged), and Šaul's city being Rehoboth, Masrekah very possibly comes from מִצֻּר רקם, Miṣṣur of Reḳem or Jeraḥme'el. T. K. C.

MASSA (מַשָּׂא; μασση [AEL]), a son of Ishmael (Gen. 25 14, *μανασση* [*D*]; 1 Ch. 1 30, *μανασση* [B], *μασσα* [L]). See ISHMAEL. For the Massa of Prov. 30 1 (RVmg.) and Prov. 31 1 (RVmg.) see AGUR and LEMUEL.

MASSAH AND MERIBAH (מַסָּה וּמְרִיבָה; 𝔊 generally translates πειρασμος or πειρα, etc., λοιδορησις, or αντιλογια or παραπικρασμος, etc.), a place in the wilderness of wanderings, the scene of a miracle (Ex. 17 7).

1. Ex. 17 and Nu. 20.

In its present position the episode stands wedged in between the sweetening of the waters of Marah, the giving of the Manna (Ex. 15 22-16), and the fight at Rephidim (17 8-16), where it is actually located by P (17 1). The position is not wholly fortuitous. The tradition relates that the bnē Israel, thirsty and murmuring, demand water. Moses is commanded to take with him [seventy ?] of the elders of Israel and to strike the rock *in Horeb* upon which Yahwè stands, and water shall come forth. This Moses does, and the place receives the above names, 'Temptation' (or 'Proving') and 'Chiding' (or 'strife'), because of the 'striving' (ריב) of the people, and because they 'tempted' (עַל־נַסֹּתָם) Yahwè.

Closely related to this is the tradition preserved in Nu. 20 1-13 (almost wholly P). The people are at Kadesh, and suffer from want of water. They 'strive' (וירב, *v.* 3*a*) and murmur against Yahwè. Moses and Aaron go to the tent of meeting where 'the glory of

[1] Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlex.*(2), 8 735-739.

[1] The letters were disarranged, and נו mistaken for שׁ.

Yahwè'[1] appears unto them. They are bidden to speak to the *rock* (here mentioned for the first time). Moses addresses the Israelites as 'rebels' (הַמֹּרִים), strikes the rock twice, and water flows in abundance. Hence the name 'waters of Meribah' (*v.* 13) because of the 'striving of Israel.'[2]

2. Two distinct traditions. With the solitary exception of Ex. 17 7, the names Massah and Meribah never denote *one* place. They stand in parallelism in Ps. 95 8 (cp Dt. 33 8 Heb. 3 8), but, elsewhere, are mentioned separately (viz. Massah, Dt. 6 16 9 22, Meribah, Ps. 81 7 [8] 106 32). It is, therefore, highly probable that the two names are to be kept distinct, and that their fusion in Ex. 17 7 is due to editorial conflation of two sources.

The Meribah story is located at Kadesh (Nu. 20 1); note the fuller name MERIBATH-KADESH (מְרִיבַת קָדֵשׁ), Nu. 27 14 Dt. 32 51[3] Ezek. 48 28 (βαριμωθ καδης [BA], but μαρ. κ. [QΓ]), once MERIBOTH-KADESH, Ezek. 47 19 RV (μαριμωθ καδημ [B, but καδης AQ]), and the probable allusions to Kadesh in Nu. 20 12 *f.* (ויקדש להקדישני), Dt. 32 51 (קדשתם). The site of Massah is not clearly indicated (see Dt. 9 22). The context points to Horeb (Ex. 17 6, if not a gloss), or Rephidim (Ex. 17 1 8). For the view that the story of the manna, which Yahwè gave that he might *prove* (Ex. 16 4) Israel, belonged to Massah, see MANNA, § 3. It is not improbable that other episodes were connected with the name. In Ex. 15 25*b* Bacon find's E's account of the origin of the name Massah. The verse may be already conflate, the giving of a statute and ordinance may well refer to Ex. 20 (cp esp. *v.* 20: 'Elōhīm is come to *prove* [נסה] you'), the covenant traditionally placed at Horeb.[4]

3. Other references. From a critical consideration of the OT references to these names it would seem that they played a far more important part in the early traditional history of Israel than appears on the surface. If it is Israel who contended against Yahwè at Meribah (Ex. 17 7), and tempted him at Massah (*ib.* 3, 7), it is Yahwè on the other hand who proved them at the former place (Ps. 81 7 [8]), and tested them at the latter (Ex. 15 25 16 4).[5] With this tradition, where Yahwè is the subject, we must probably connect Dt. 33 8, where the two names are in some way connected with the earliest history of the Levites. The language is obscure; it is evident that the reference is creditable.

Further, it is not so easy to account for the tradition that Moses and Aaron sinned at Meribah and were prohibited from entering Canaan (Nu. 20 12). The tradition is elsewhere referred to by P (Nu. 20 24 27 14 Dt. 32 51), and a curious allusion is made to it in Ps. 106 33; nevertheless, so thoroughly has P abbreviated his older sources in Nu. 20 1-13, in his endeavour to soften the guilt of the leaders, that he has omitted to record its origin.

The whole story of Massah and Meribah forms one of the most complicated problems in JE's account of the Exodus. This account, as modern criticism has proved, passes from Ex. 34 to Nu. 10 29 *ff.*, and, as has been elsewhere indicated, has suffered considerable adjustment (EXODUS i., § 5, JETHRO, n. 2, col. 2455). Moreover, it has been argued that underlying Ex. 32-34 is the account of a theophany and law-giving at KADESH [*q.v.* § 2].[6] One of the most striking incidents in it is the reluctance of Moses to take charge of the people, and a fragment of his speech seems to have found its way into Nu. 11 10*b*-15 (see Bacon, and *Oxf. Hex.*, *ad loc.*). The reason for the adjustment may be easily guessed: a redactor found the words (originally, perhaps, as Bacon suggests, after Ex. 33 3 and before 33 12) so distasteful that he transferred them to a context where the expostulation of Moses (which really amounts to a renunciation of his responsibility) might appear more excusable. If now our view that Ex. 32-34 was originally placed at Kadesh (*i.e.*, Meribah) be correct, it may be conjectured that it is to this 'babbling' that the difficult words of Ps. 106 33 (ויבטא, EV, 'and he spake unadvisedly') refer. It is noteworthy that the fragment (Nu. *l.c.*) has been transferred to a context which in all probability is to be connected with a 'Massah' tradition. Is it, moreover, a mere coincidence that an editor should have found the present context a convenient one for introducing E's account of the institution of the seventy elders to lighten Moses' burden (Nu. 11 16 *f.*), or that the judicial organisation which Jethro institutes in Ex. 18 should be placed immediately after the story of Massah and Meribah (Ex. 17)?

1 Perhaps originally 'Yahwè' alone.

2 Bacon, noting the command in *v.* 8*b* (*speak* to the rock), compared with *v.* 11 (Moses . . . *smote* the rock), finds traces of a double tradition (*Triple Trad. of the Exodus*, 196 *f.*).

3 Also Dt. 33 2 [3] (Ew., Di., Wellh., Dr., etc.).

4 It is also possible that the name JEHOVAH-NISSI given to the altar on the 'hill' at Rephidim was popularly associated with Massah.

5 For these references see end of § 2, and cp MANNA, § 3.

6 Cp the emended text of Dt. 33 2 '[Yahwè] came to Meribath-Kadesh.' Massah and Meribah, too, seem to have been noted for a theophany (Ex. 15 25 Nu. 20 6).

Granted that the sin of Moses (that Aaron was later included in the charge is only natural) lay in repudiating his responsibility, the antecedents of this act have yet to be ascertained. In the absence of direct evidence it must suffice to indicate what appear to be faint traces of traditions which may be associated with the episode. In the first place, since we can scarcely sever the old torso Ex. 32 25-29 from Ex. 32-34, we may conjecture that the oldest tradition placed the selection of the Levites[1] at Kadesh, and that allusion to this is made in Dt. 33 8 *f.*, where the renunciation in *v.* 9 seems to be connected with the severance of family ties in Ex. 32 27. That the oldest tradition of the selection of the Levites had anything to say about the golden calf is improbable for several reasons. Taken in the light of Dt. 33 8 *f.*, it seems more likely that the narrative (Ex. 32 25-29) recounted a *contending* on behalf of Yahwè, a separation of his worshippers from idolaters. What this may have been must naturally be the purest conjecture. It is possible, too, that the sending of the spies from Kadesh (Nu. 13) once belonged to this narrative; the promise to Caleb *alone* suggests a connection with the 'Levitical' tradition,[2] and, indeed, according to D's tradition, it was owing to the people's disobedience on this occasion that Moses incurred guilt (Dt. 1 37 cp Dr. *Deut.* 27). But the absence of the name of Moses (and of Aaron) seems to imply that the order prohibiting them from entering the promised land had already been made. Finally, the name Meribah may give us another clue. May it not, on the analogy of HEPHZIBAH and OHOLIBAH [*qq.v.*], be an abbreviation of some such form as Merib(b)aal, in which case (cp Judg. 6 31 *f.*) we may suppose that the sanctuary Kadesh was the scene of a contending on behalf of Yahwè, a separation of the 'Levites' from the servants of Ba'al?[3] The supplanting of such a tradition by the later not distantly-related episode of the calf-worship would be intelligible. For another treatment of the traditions in Nu. 20 1-13, see MOSES (§ 15, etc.). S. A. C.

MASSEBAH,

Stone Pillars, and Other Sacred Stones.

NAMES (§ 1).

a. *Ében.*	*d.* *Bēth'ēl.*	*g.* *Margēmāh.*
b. *Maṣṣēbah.*	*e.* *Ṣiyyūn.*	*h.* ארגב (?).
c. Ḥammānim.	*f.* *Gal.*	*i.* Gilgal.

Holy stones and stone worship (§ 2).	*Maṣṣēbah* and altar (§ 5).
Among the Semites (§ 3).	Significance of Maṣṣēbahs (§ 6).
Cultus (§ 4).	Holy stones in OT (§ 7).

Maṣṣēbāh (see below, § 1 *b*) is the Hebrew name for an upright stone, stele; specifically for such a stone as the abode or symbol of a numen or deity. It has been found convenient to include in the present article the other aniconic stone agalmata mentioned in the OT obelisks, bætyls, cairns, cromlechs.[4]

We proceed to a survey of the Hebrew words in use.

1. Names. *a.* The common word *'ében*, pl. *'ăbānīm* (אֶבֶן, אֲבָנִים),[5] 'stone,' is frequently used in connections where the context or the history shows that a holy stone is meant. Thus Joshua sets up a great stone under the holy tree (אֵלָה) in the sanctuary of Yahwè at Shechem (Josh. 24 26), probably the same stone which in Judg. 9 6 is called a *maṣṣēbāh* (MT מֻצָּב). The twelve stones set up by Joshua at Gilgal after the passage of the Jordan (Josh. 4 3 8 20) are the stones of the cromlech which gave the place its name (see below, *i*).

1 On the probable significance of the term 'Levite,' see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [v], KADESH, § 3.

2 Caleb was the most important of the clans which ultimately settled in S. Judah. There were others, indeed (see JERAHMEEL, §§ 1, 3), but they never attained to the same prominence. Another narrative which turns on selection and contention is the complicated narrative of the revolt of Korah, phases of which appear to have been traditionally located at Kadesh. The burning in Nu. 16 35 suggests that it may once have been connected with TABERAH (*q.v.*). The murmuring of the people certainly presupposes an early stage in the march from Kadesh.

3 The later story of the sin of Moses, however, would hardly find a place in this tradition.

4 On iconic representations of the gods see IDOL; on the wooden sacred poles or masts, ASHERAH; for other objects of worship see IDOLATRY and NATURE WORSHIP.

5 On *'ében maskith* see IDOL, § 1 (*f.*).

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Cp, further, 1 K. 18 30-32 with Ex. 24 4; and see also Dt. 27 2 *ff.* Josh. 8 30 *ff.* In Ex. 24 4 𝔊 and Sam. substitute *'ăbānīm* as a harmless word for the original *maṣṣēbōth;* the same change may, in some instances, be suspected in Hebrew. Proper names of places such as Eben-ha-'ezer (1 S. 4 1 5 1, cp 7 12), Eben-ha-zōḥéleth (1 K. 1 9, at a sanctuary), Eben-bohan (Josh. 15 6 18 17; see BOHAN),[1] may attest the presence of an old holy stone, perhaps a natural rock of singular form rather than a *maṣṣēbāh*. The great stone at Beth-shemesh (1 S. 6 14-18) was doubtless a sacred stone; so also probably the great stone at Gibeon (2 S. 20 8).

In the prophets, *stone* (*ében*) is sometimes used opprobriously for stone agalmata (*maṣṣēbāhs*) or idols; thus in Jer. 2 27 the people say 'to the stock (עֵץ, masc.), Thou art my father, and to the stone (אֶבֶן, fem.), Thou hast brought me forth'; see also 3 9 Hab. 2 19 2 K. 19 18 Wisd. 13 10 14 21, *Sibyll.* 4 7 *f.* etc.

b. Maṣṣēbāh (מַצֵּבָה, 𝔊 στήλη, Pesh. *ḳāyemthā*, stele, image, Tg. *ḳāmā, ḳāmĕthā;* Vg. in the patriarchal story and in Ex. 24 4 2 S. 18 18 Is. 19 19, *titulus;* in the laws, historical books, and prophets, where the stigma of idolatry attaches to the word, *statua*, rarely *simulacrum*); AV, following Vg. in its discrimination, 'pillar,' 'image,' respectively; RV consistently 'pillar,' with mg., 'or obelisk,' in the second class of passages.

The word *maṣṣēbāh*, from נצב (Niph., Hiph., cogn. יצב), 'stand or set upright, erect,' is properly an upright object (cp στήλη, *statua*), in usage always of stone,[2] 'standing stone.' Derivatives of the same root with the same or similar meanings are found in most of the Semitic languages.

Cp Phœnician and Punic נצב, מצבת, *cippus*, grave-stone, often votive stele; Aram. (Zenjīrli) נצב, stele, statue, cp n. pr. Nisibis (in Assyr. inscriptions Naṣibina, Syr. Naṣībīn), Philo Bybl. Σημαίνει δὲ . . . Νάσιβις τὰς στήλας (*FHG* 3 571)[3]; Palmyr. מצבא, statue; S. Ar. נצב, מצב, stele (Hommel, *Südarabische Chrestomathie*, 128); Ar. *naṣiba*, monument, grave-stone (Goldziher, *Muham. Studien*, 1 234), *nuṣb* or *nuṣub*, pl. *'anṣāb*, standing stone as an object of worship, stone idol (*Lisān*, *s.v.*).

The word was thus variously applied to the upright stone block or post as an object of worship; as a votive stone, with or without a dedication; as a boundary stone, especially around a sacred place; or as a gravestone. It continued to be employed when the primitive rude stone gave place to the obelisk or other geometrical form, or by the statue (see below, § 2).

In the OT the *maṣṣēbāh* is most frequently a holy stone at a place of worship (high place). It may, however, be a sepulchral stele, as in Gen. 35 20, where Jacob erects a *maṣṣēbāh* over the tomb of Rachel, and in 2 S. 18 18, where the name (*maṣṣébeth*) is applied to the monument (*yad*, cp 1 S. 15 12 [note the verb *maṣṣīb*] Is. 56 5, and see HAND, *a*) which Absalom is said to have erected in his lifetime to perpetuate his memory.[4] [Cp Lagrange, *Études*, 19 *f.*] Several recent scholars think that Gen. 35 14 in its original form followed immediately after *v.* 8; Jacob set up a *maṣṣēbāh* at the grave of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, just as in *v.* 20 at the grave of Rachel;[5] the interest of this conjecture lies in the fact that, if it be correct, the verse bears witness to the custom of offering a libation at the tomb.[6] We may also note the use of the word *nĕṣīb* in the story of Lot's wife who became 'a pillar of salt' (Gen. 19 26), and the columns (στύλοι, עמודים) at the graves of the Maccabees (1 Macc. 13 29).

The *maṣṣēbāh* may also mark a boundary, as in Gen. 31 45 [see GALEED, GILEAD, § 4], where Jacob sets up such a stone in Gilead on the Aramæan frontier (cp *v.* 52); in this sense many interpret Is. 19 19*b*. The sacredness of boundary stones is well known.[1]

Later the word *maṣṣēbāh* sounded of idolatry, and where the erection of a *maṣṣēbāh* by a hero of religion is narrated scribes sometimes substituted a less obnoxious term.

Thus in Ex. 24 4, as remarked above, Sam., 𝔊 have merely 'stones'; in Gen. 33 20 the verb shows that מַצֵּבָה has been supplanted by מִזְבֵּחַ. In 1 K. 18 31 *f.*, also, an altar has taken the place of twelve *maṣṣēbōth* (below, § 7). In Hos. 3 4, 𝔊 Pesh. read 'altar' instead of *maṣṣēbāh*. Other instances in which this substitution is suspected are Gen. 35 7 (Wellh.), 2 K. 12 9 [10] (Stade; cp 𝔊ᴬ αμμασβη, etc.). The converse change is suspected in 2 K. 3 2 10 27. It is likely that in some cases the change is accidental rather than deliberate.

c. Ḥammānīm[2] (חַמָּנִים, the sing. does not occur in OT, 𝔊 τεμένη [Ezek. 6 4 6, so Aq. Symm. Theod. in Is. 27 9], ὑψηλά [2 Ch. 34 4 7], elsewhere ξύλινα χειροποίητα [Lev. 26 30], εἴδωλα, βδελύγματα; Vg. *delubra, simulacra, statuæ;* Pesh. 'idols' [*deḥlāthā, pĕthakhrē, gĕlīphē*]; Tg. חֲנִיסְנַיָּא, a word not satisfactorily explained; AV 'images,' RV uniformly 'sun-images.' The passages in which the word occurs are Ezek. 6 4 6 Lev. 26 30 [dependent on Ezek.] Is. 17 8 27 9 2 Ch. 14 5 [4] 34 4 7[3]).

The *ḥammānīm* are associated with the high places, and the altars of the baals, and are named, together with the sacred posts (*'ăshērīm*) and graven images (*pĕsīlīm*), as adjuncts of an idolatrous worship; like the *maṣṣēbāhs* and *'ăshērahs* they are to be shattered (שבר), or hewn or cut down (כרת, גדע); they were, therefore, like these, objects of stone—or possibly of metal or wood[4]—which stood at the holy places. Since the *ḥammānīm* are mentioned in connections in which we elsewhere find the *maṣṣēbāhs*, while the two words never occur in the same context, it is a probable inference that the *ḥammānīm* were a species of *maṣṣēbōth*, perhaps of peculiar form or specific dedication; and inasmuch as the word is found first in Ezekiel and appears not to be of Hebrew formation, it may be surmised further that the *ḥammānīm* were introduced in the latter part of the seventh century from some foreign cult.

Outside the OT an inscription of the year 48 A.D. on a Palmyrene altar dedicates 'this *ḥammānā* (חמנא) and this altar' to the sun (שמש);[5] the *ḥammānā* was presumably an obelisk or stele which stood by, or upon, the altar (cp 2 Ch. 34 4). In *Mechilta* the word *ḥammānīm* is used repeatedly with apparent reference to Egyptian idolatry;[6] not improbably the obelisks, which in Jer. 43 13 are called *maṣṣēbōth*, are meant. *Siphra* speaks of *ḥammānīm* on the roofs of houses.[7] Many scholars have connected the word with the ἀπόκρυφα ἀμμουνέων γράμματα in the adyta of Phœnician temples from which, according to Philo of Byblos, Sanchuniathon derived his authentic wisdom,[8] the ἀμμούνεοι being conceived to be inscribed *ḥammānīm;*[9] but this is not probable.

Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages derived the name *ḥammānīm* from the (poetical and late) Heb. *ḥammāh*, 'sun,' and interpreted, images or other objects of idolatrous veneration belonging to the worship of the sun (Rashi), or shrines of sun worship (Ibn Ezra).[10] This etymology, which does not seem to have suggested itself to ancient interpreters, has been widely accepted,[11] and the word *ḥammānīm* is accordingly translated 'sun images,' 'sun pillars'—*i.e.*, obelisks

1 Eben ha-'eṣel, 1 S. 20 19, is an error in the text; see EZEL, and below, *h*.

2 In 2 K. 10 26, which speaks of burning the *maṣṣēbāhs* of the temple of Baal, we should read 'the *'ăshērāh*,' in conformity with 1 K. 16 32 *f.* (Sta. *ZATW* 5 278 [1885]; for an alternative see JEHU, col. 2356, n. 5). Is. 6 13, even if we should not question the text, cannot be cited in support of a wooden *maṣṣēbāh*.

3 A town נְצִיב in Judah, Josh. 15 43.

4 The text is difficult, but hardly seems to require such radical measures as Wellhausen and Klostermann resort to.

5 So Co. *ZATW* 11 15-20 (1891), Gunkel, and others.

6 See below, § 4, and cp AGRICULTURE, § 5, col. 80.

1 Dt. 19 14 27 17 etc., Plato, *Laws*, 842 E *f.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, 2 641; Dion. Hal. 2 74; see Pauly-Wissowa, 2 726 *f.*

2 Spencer, *De legibus ritualibus*, ii. ch. 25; Pocari, 'De simulacris solaribus,' in Ugolini, *Thes.* 23 726-749; other literature *PRE*(3), 2 330.

3 Lagarde introduces the word by conjecture in Is. 1 30, Graetz in Hos. 3 1, Che. in Mic. 1 7 also.

4 That they were of wood is too positively concluded by Ḳimḥi from the verbs גדע and כרת.

5 De Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale*, no. 123 *a*.

6 *Mechilta*, Bō., Par. 11 (on Ex. 12 21); Yithrō, Par. 5 (on 20 2) 6 (on 20 5).

7 Behār, Perek 9 (on Lev. 26 1); cp Rashi on Ezek. 6 4.

8 Philo Bybl. frag. 1 5, *FHG* 3 564.

9 Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, 125; E. Meyer in Roscher, *Lex.* 1 2870. The two words had been long ago combined, in a different interpretation, by Bochart, *Geog. Sacra*, i. ch. 17.

10 So also Arabs Erpenii, *šamsāt*, 'suns'; the Persian version of Lev. 26 30 in the Polyglot should not be quoted for this interpretation. Older Jewish explanations are 'divinations' (*Siphra* on Lev. 26 30, Tg. Jer. 1, *ib.*, *Leḳach Ṭōb*, *ib.*); 'divining arrows' (gloss in Abulwalid, *s.v.*, cod. R.); 'idols' (Saadia), etc.

11 Among recent authors who have rejected it may be named Halévy and E. Meyer.

dedicated to the sun,[1] or steles with the solar disk in relief,[2] and the like.

Others, deriving the name directly from the root חמם, 'be hot,' explained *ḥammānīm* as equivalent to πυραθεῖα,[3] πυρεῖα, shrines of sacred fire, which, as among the Persians, were associated with the worship of the sun.[4] It has more recently been suggested that the *ḥammānīm* may have been a kind of metal candelabra or cressets, such as are represented on some Assyrian and Phœnician reliefs,[5] for example, on the stele of Lilybæum, *CIS* 1 138, Pl. xxix.,[6] and on coins of Paphos showing the temple of Aphrodite.

The *ḥammānīm* are thought by many modern scholars to belong specifically to the worship of *Ba'al-ḥammān* (or *-ḥammōn*),[7] a god whose name appears on hundreds of Carthaginian votive steles in the stereotyped formula 'to the Mistress TNT and the Lord Ba'al-ḥammān,' and without the companion goddess in many inscriptions from the dependencies of Carthage.[8] In Phœnicia itself the name Ba'al-ḥammān or El-ḥammān has thus far been found in only the two inscriptions from 'Umm el-Awāmīd[9] and Ma'ṣūb;[10] the name of the place Ḥammōn in Asher (Josh. 19 28) is perhaps connected in some way with that of the god (see HAMMON, and BAAL, § 3). The common opinion is that the *ḥammānīm* were so called because they were sacred to Ba'al-ḥammān;[11] some scholars, however, entertain the contrary view, that the name of the god is derived from the steles, signifying 'the deity to whom the *ḥammān* belongs.'[12]

d. Bēth'ēl (בֵּיתְאֵל). The oldest object of worship at Bethel was a holy stone, which, according to the sacred legend, had been discovered by Jacob, who set it up as a *maṣṣēbāh* and poured oil upon it (Gen. 28 11 *f.* 17 *f.* 22; cp 35 14). The name *bēth'ēl*, which afterward was given o the sanctuary and the city (Gen. 28 19 35 6 48 3 etc.), primitively belonged to the holy stone itself as the abode (ἕδος) of a numen, as in 33 20 where Jacob erects a *maṣṣēbāh*[13] and gives it the name El-ĕlōhē-Israel; cp also Gen. 35 7 Ex. 17 15 Judg. 6 24. If the text of Gen. 49 24 be sound, the words 'the stone of Israel'[14] may naturally be understood of the holy stone at Bethel; so also in Jer. 48 13, where Bethel, the confidence of the Israelites, corresponds to Chemosh in whom the Moabites put their faith, the holy stone (*bēth'ēl*) itself may perhaps be meant, rather than the golden bull idol *at* Bethel, as it is usually explained.

In the OT only indistinct and ambiguous traces of this primitive meaning of *bēth'ēl*—a stone in which dwells a numen—have survived; fortunately we have indubitable evidence from other quarters.[15] In Phœnicia the name *baityl* (בתאל*, βαίτυλος, βαιτύλιον)[16] was given to certain 'animated stones' (λίθοι ἔμψυχοι) invented by

1 See Plin. *NH* 36 64: 'trabes ex eo [syenite] fecere reges . . . obeliscos vocantes, Solis numini sacratos. Radiorum eius argumentum in effigie est.' See also EGYPT, col. 1228.

2 G. Hoffmann and others.

3 Strabo, xv. 3 15, p. 733; Procop. *De bello Persico*, 2 24.

4 So Scaliger, Grotius, Vossius, Bochart, and others.

5 WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 488 *f.*

6 See also Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 182 *f.*

7 Kopp, de Quatremère, Gesenius, *Monumenta*, 1 170; Schröder, *Phöniz. Sprache*, 125, and others.

8 See Baethg. *Beitr.* 25 *ff.*

9 *CIS* 1 no. 8.

10 *Rev. Arch.* 3 sér. 5 380 (1885); G. Hoffmann, *Über Einige phön. Inschriften*, 20 *ff.* (1889).

11 The many conjectures about the origin of this name, connecting it with Ammon, or with Ḥammon (a supposed name of Africa), or with Mt. Amanus, etc., cannot be discussed here.

12 WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 93, n. 6; Ba'al-ḥammān may be primarily 'Lord of the sun pillar'; E. Meyer in Roscher, *Lex.* 1 2869 *ff.*

13 So the verb requires us to read (see above *b*, end), MT 'altar.'

14 The parallelism requires at least מִזְרַע אבן ישראל; see Bacon, *Genesis of Genesis*, 219.

15 For the literature see Hoeck, *Kreta* 1 166 *ff.*, Baudissin in *PRE*(2), *s.v.* 'Male'; Reisch, in Pauly-Wissowa, 2 2779 *ff.*; Lenormant, 'Les Bétyles,' in *RHR* 3 31 *ff.* (1881).

16 The ancient etymology which derives βαίτυλος from Cretan βαίτη, 'goat,' 'goat-skin,' though revived by Svoronos and Maximilian Mayer, is untenable on historical grounds.

Ouranos;[1] in Sanchuniathon's theogony Βαίτυλος is a son of Ouranos and Gē, brother of El (Kronos), Dagon, and Atlas.[2] Descriptions of such stones are given by Pliny, *NH* 37 135 (from Sotacus of Carystus), and especially by Damascius, *Vita Isidori* (in Photius, *Bibl. Codicum*, cod. 242, p. 348 Bekker; see also p. 342). The Lebanon region was noted for the numbers of bætyls found there. Another name for the bætyl is *abaddir* (Priscian, 6 9; August. *Ep.* 17; cp Zonaras, 371), also a word of Phœnician origin ('majestic father?'). The *bætylia*, at least in the period from which all our descriptions come, were small stones, which were believed to have fallen from heaven; they were probably sometimes aerolites, but it has been proved that they were often prehistoric stone implements.[3] Such stones were perhaps enclosed in the Israelite ark (see ARK OF THE COVENANT, § 10); the connection of the ark with the oracle would then be clear.[4]

e. Ṣīyyūn (צִיּוּן; σημεῖον [Ezek.], σκόπελον, σκόπελος [𝔊L], σκοπός, σκοπιά [Aq., Sym. 𝔊 in Jer. σ[ε]ιων; Vg. *titulus*, *specula* [Jer.]), 2 K. 23 17 Ezek. 39 15 Jer. 31 21; RV 'monument,' 'sign,' 'waymark.' In the first two passages the *ṣīyyūn* marks a tomb, or the spot where an unburied body lies; in Jer. it is a waymark. The word is used in MH of the whitewashed stone which shows where there is a grave (cp Mt. 23 27), and has developed a denominative verb צַיֵּן, 'mark a grave.' The root, which is not otherwise represented in Heb., is found in Syr. *ṣĕwāyā*, heap of stones, cairn, Arab. *ṣūya*, 'waymark' in the desert (monolith or cairn), pl. (*'aṣwā'*) also, in a tradition, 'graves.'[5] Probably the older meaning is 'cairn'; at a grave and as a waymark the stone or stone heap had originally religious significance.[6]

f. Gal (גַּל; βουνός [Gen.], σωρός; Vg. *tumulus* [Gen.], *acervus;* Pesh. *yagrā;* Tg. *dĕgōrā;* EV 'heap'), a pile of loose stones, cairn;[7] cp GALLIM, the name of more than one place in Palestine. In Gen. 31 46 *ff.* the cairn in one source serves the same purpose as the pillar (*maṣṣēbāh*) in the other (see *v.* 45); *v.* 54 supposes a sacrifice. In Josh. 7 26 8 29 2 S. 18 17 a heap of stones is reared over the bodies of Achan, the king of Ai, and Absalom respectively (cp *ṣīyyūn*, 2 K. 23 17 Ezek. 39 15, above, *e*). Here also the cairn serves the same purpose in marking the grave as the *maṣṣēbāh* in Gen. 35 20 (above, *b*);[8] it is probable, however, that the heaping of stones upon the body of the traitor, the hated foe, and the sacrilegious man who had fallen under the ban, originally not only expressed aversion and contumely, but was meant to prevent their wicked spirits from wandering and doing more harm.[9]

Heaps of stones of various significance are common in the religions of the ancient as of the modern world. In Greek they were called ἑρμαῖα, ἑρμαῖοι λόφοι, ἕρμακες, words closely connected with the ἑρμῆς pillar.[10]

In the Talmud they are frequently mentioned under the name *markūlīs*—*i.e.*, Mercurius = Hermes—which term includes also table-stones (dolmens); see *'Abōdā-zārā*, 50*a*. Cairns at the crossways seem to be chiefly meant; the traveller passing by threw his stone upon the heap:[11] as a religious act this falls under the condemnation of idolatry (*M. Sanhedrīn*, 7 6). On corre-

1 Philo Bybl., frag. 2 8, *FHG* 3 568 *f.*: ἐπενόησε θεὸς Οὐρανὸς βαιτύλια, λίθους ἐμψύχους μηχανησάμενος.

2 *FHG* 3 567.

3 See Lenormant, *RHR* 3 48; De Visser, 28; Ratzel, *Hist. of Mankind*, 2 152 (Mexico); J. Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements*, 62 *ff.*

4 See the passage from Damascius cited above.

5 See Abulwalid, *s.v.*; also Schulthess, *Homonyme Wurzeln im Syrischen*, 57.

6 Cairns as waymarks (*manṭar*), Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 77.

7 It is possible that (like *markūlīs;* see below) the name *gal* was also applied to a dolmen.

8 Cairns at Arab graves, see *Aghānī*, xiv. 131 26; Goldziher, *Muham. Studien*, 1 233 *f.*; stone barrows, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 447, and elsewhere.

9 See Wellh. *Ar. Heid.* 109 *f.* ((2) 111 *f.*); cp Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 3 8 *ff.*, who prefers a different explanation (10 *f.*).

10 Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*(4), 1 401, cp 386 n.; Roscher, *Lex.* 1 2382; Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 3 11; De Visser, 80 *ff.*

11 See Cornutus, *De natura deorum*, ch. 16; ed. Villoison-Osann, 72 *f.*, cp 282 *f.*

sponding customs among other peoples see Haberland in *Zeit. f. Völkerpsych.* 12 289 *ff.* Cairns are now very abundant E. of the Jordan.[1]

g. Margēmāh (מַרְגֵּמָה, Prov. 26 8†, 𝔊 σφενδόνη, similarly Pesh. Tg.; AV 'sling,' RV 'heap of stones'), according to the Talmud (*Ḥullīn*, 133 *a*), a synonym of *marḳūlis*; Jerome translates, 'sicut qui mittit lapidem in acervum Mercurii.' Abulwalid compares Ar. *rajma*, heap of stones, particularly at a grave; the ancient stone tumuli in Ḥaurān and far into Arabia are now called by the Bedouins *rijm* (pl. *rijūm*).[2] It is doubtful whether the difficult context admits this interpretation; see Toy, *Proverbs* (*ICC*), *ad loc.*

h. In 1 S. 20 19 41 many modern critics, following 𝔊 εργαβ, αργαβ and -οβ, read הארגב, and comparing the name ARGOB [*q.v.*], interpret 'stone heap' (so 𝔊L, 1 S. 20 19),[3] rude monument of stone, or 'mound of earth' (cp *rĕgābīm*, Job 21 33 38 38); see EZEL.

i. Gilgal (הַגִּלְגָּל, always with the article [except Josh. 5 9 in an etymology]; treated by the versions as a proper noun, 𝔊 Γαλγαλα, cp גַּלְגַּל, 'wheel'), a stone circle, or 'cromlech,' such as has given its name to several places in Palestine (see GILGAL). The origin of the most famous of these, near Jericho, is told in Josh. 4 3 8 20; Joshua, after crossing the Jordan, set up at Gilgal twelve stones taken from the bed of the river (cp GILGAL, § 2; QUARRIES). Numbers of stone circles are found E. of the Jordan,[4] many of them megalithic—though not often of colossal size—and, like the menhirs and dolmens of the same region, monuments of a prehistoric population;[5] others erected by the Arabs in recent times around graves.[6] Cromlechs are found also in Galilee, but are very rare in other parts of western Palestine (see GILGAL). A diminutive circle, only 7 ft. in diameter, the stones standing little more than 1 ft. high, was discovered by Schick at 'Artūf.[7]

2. Holy stones and stone worship.

The worship of holy stones is one of the oldest forms of religion of which evidence has been preserved to us, and one of the most universal.[8] It has frequently persisted in venerable cults in the midst of high stages of civilisation and in the presence of elevated religious conceptions, while its survivals in popular superstition have proved nearly ineradicable, even in Christendom.[9]

The holy stone was primitively a rude block, ordinarily oblong, roughly cylindrical or rectangular in section, frequently rounded or pointed at the top;[10] sometimes a prehistoric megalith, sometimes of inconspicuous dimensions. Later, the tapering rectangular block became an obelisk or a pyramid, the cylindrical pillar was shaped to a cone with rounded top (*meta*) or an *omphalos.*[11] As the conception of deity became more anthropomorphic, rough outlines of members of the human body were carved upon the stone as attributes, or a natural likeness was worked out more or less completely into a head and bust;[1] simple indications of drapery on the lower part of the cylindrical or conical stone prepared the way for the final development, the statue of the god in human form. On the other hand, the rectangular cippus or the column might become a monolithic altar, as the cairn or dolmen became an altar of loose stones.[2] Columns of metal sometimes took the place of columns or obelisks of stone.[3]

A sanctuary might have but one holy stone, or a pair[4] or triad,[5] or a greater number standing in a group or ring. The presence of several such stones does not imply that as many different deities were primitively worshipped at the place,[6] though this was doubtless the prevailing explanation in later times.[7] Especial holiness attached to certain small stones of peculiar form and colour which were believed to have fallen from heaven, and to possess the power of motion and—sometimes, at least—of speech, with many other marvellous properties (*bætylia*).

3. Among the Semites.

On no race has this form of idolatry had a deeper or more lasting hold than on the Semites. Among the nomadic branches of the stock the sacred stone was the universal object of veneration. 'The Arabs worshipped a stone,' writes Clement of Alexandria in an often-quoted passage,[8] and his words are abundantly confirmed by the testimony of early Moslem authors concerning the religion of their forefathers.[9] Besides the rude or partly fashioned blocks which bore the names of particular gods, the *nuṣb* (pl. *'anṣāb*: see above, 1 *b*) or, as it is also called, *gharīy*, was found everywhere. About the Phœnicians in the mother-country and the colonies, we have not only the testimony of the OT (see Ezek. 26 11, 'thy mighty *maṣṣēbāhs*') and of Greek and Roman writers, but also that of the native historian, Philo of Byblos ('Sanchuniathon'),[10] and considerable monumental evidence besides. In Phœnician temples the old sacred stone was not, even in later times, superseded by an anthropomorphic idol.

Thus, at Paphos the goddess (Aphrodite-Astarte) was a round stone tapering upwards like the turning-post in the circus.[11] On the island of Gozo, near Malta, such a stone has been found about a metre high, shaped like a sugar loaf; it stood between two upright posts which supported a slab.[12] A coin of the age of Macrinus shows the principal temple at Byblos; in the court is a conical stone upon an altar-like basis.[13] Similar stones appear on many coins of cities in the Lebanon and on the Syrian coast.[14]

A stone obelisk found in Cyprus bears on its base an inscription beginning: 'This *maṣṣébeth*, etc.'[15] From the OT we know that the *māṣṣēbāh* was regularly found at the holy places of the Canaanites (*e.g.*, Ex. 34 13;

[1] *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, 1 205 *ff.*

[2] See Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 385 *f.* 447; cp Goldziher, *Muham. Studien*, 1 233 *f.*

[3] Ewald, Thenius, Wellhausen, W. R. Smith, and others.

[4] See *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, 1 11 *f.*, and elsewhere.

[5] See Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, 1872; Keane, *Ethnology*, 123 *ff.*; Joly, *Man before Metals*, 144 *ff.*

[6] See, for example, Schumacher, *ZDPV* 9 271 (in Jōlān).

[7] *ZDPV* 10 143 and Pl. IV. Similar small circles in Australia, Girard de Rialle, 18 *f.*

[8] See Girard de Rialle, *Mythologie comparée*, 1 12-32 (1878); Tylor, *Primitive Culture*(3), 2 160 *ff.*

[9] The history of Greek religion is peculiarly instructive; see Overbeck, 'Das Cultusobject bei den Griechen in seinen ältesten Gestaltungen,' *Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, 1864, pp. 121 *ff.*; Reisch, in Pauly-Wissowa, 2 723 *ff.* (ἀργοὶ λίθοι), where other literature will be found; cp 1 909 *ff.* (Agyieus); Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 1 13 *ff.* 102 *f.* 205 *f.* etc.; De Visser, *De Græcorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam*, 36 *ff.* (1901). For acts of councils and synods in Europe condemning stone worship and cognate superstitions, see Girard de Rialle, *op. cit.* 28; Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Petra'; Tylor, 2 166 *f.*

[10] Examples of these various types will be found in *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, 1, *passim*, and in Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, Plates.

[11] The last-named types are frequently represented upon coins, especially of Paphos, and of several cities in the Lebanon region and on the Syrian coast (Emesa, Chalcis, Byblos, Seleucia Pieria, etc.); see below, § 3.

[1] On the development of the human figure on omphali and conical stones, see esp. Gerhard, *Über das Metroon zu Athen*, 1851 (= *ABAW*, 1849, p. 459 *ff.*).

[2] See below, § 5.

[3] So at Tyre (Herod. 2 44), and Jerusalem (see JACHIN AND BOAZ).

[4] So in many places, two obelisks.

[5] See votive steles from Hadrumetum, Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 205, Evans, *JHS* 11; at Medāin Ṣāliḥ, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 121 187.

[6] See Ex. 24 4, cp Herod. 3 8, seven stones smeared (by the Arabs) with blood in honour of Dionysos and the heavenly goddess; Wellhausen, *Ar. Heid.*(2) 102; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 210 n.

[7] So the thirty stones at Pharai, with the names of individual gods, Pausan. 7 22.

[8] *Cohort.* 100 4 (p. 40, Potter).

[9] See Wellh. *Heid.*(2); WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 200 *ff.* 210. On the stones at Taif, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 515 *f.*; WRS *Kinship*, 292 *ff.*

[10] See esp. frg. 1 7, *FHG* 3 564 B); 2 8 (566 B).

[11] Tacitus, *Hist.* 2 3; cp Head, *Hist. Num.* 628.

[12] Perrot and Chipiez.

[13] Mionnet, *Supplem.* 8 252 *f.* (no. 74 *f.*, Pl. 17 no. 2); Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 177; Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 200.

[14] Seleucia Pieria (near Antioch), *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, Pl. XXXIII. 8; cp 3 *f.* 7; Emesa (Herodian, v. 3 10), *ib.* Pl. XXVII. 12 *ff.*, cp 28 1; Chalcis (sub Libano?), *ib.* Pl. XXXIII. 10, etc.

[15] *CIS* 1, no. 44; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, Pl. LXXX. 5, and 175

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see below, § 7): two such stones have recently been discovered standing *in situ* by the ascent to the high place at Petra. The prohibition of cutting the stone of an altar in the old law Ex. 20 25, doubtless applied equally to the *maṣṣēbāh*. It expresses partly a religious scruple—the use of a tool upon the sacred stone was, as it were, an assault on the numen,—partly religious conservatism in opposition to the artificial altars and obelisks of the Canaanites.

4. Cultus.[1]

The rites of stone-worship were preserved in their most primitive form among the Arabs. Victims were slaughtered at the sacrificial stones (*nuṣb*, pl. *'anṣāb*),[2] upon which blood was smeared—whence their other name *ghariy*. At the foot of the stone, or near it, was, at least in some cases, a hole into which the blood was poured or allowed to flow (*ghabghab*);[3] votive offerings were also cast into it—we read of garments, silver and gold, and incense being found in such a pit. The flesh was cooked and consumed in a feast;[4] the god had no part but the blood. Meal was thrown into the pit of Al-Uḳaiṣir, together with an offering of hair at his feast.[5] The anointing of certain stones at Medina with oil was, of course, a foreign rite. When no offering was made, reverence was shown the sacred stone by stroking it with the hand (*tamassuḥ*). Votive offerings, particularly garments or weapons, were hung upon the stone, or deposited in the pit or well beneath it.

Elsewhere oil was poured or smeared upon the holy stones (hence λιπαροὶ λίθοι, Theophrast. *Char.* 16; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7 4, p. 843 Potter); this was the custom at Bethel, initiated by Jacob (Gen. 28 18 31 13, cp 35 14), and it was general in the Greek and Roman world.[6] A libation is made by Jacob, Gen. 35 14 (? at a tomb). At some sanctuaries the stones were decorated at festivals with garlands and fillets (see, *e.g.*, Pausan. x. 24 6—raw wool), and they are frequently so represented on coins; they were sometimes draped or swathed in garments.[7]

5. Maṣṣēbāh and Altar.[8]

We have seen in our examination of Arab customs that the rites of sacrifice attached to the sacred stone (*nuṣb*). In the OT these rites are performed at the altar,[9] upon which the victim's blood is smeared or dashed, in a sink at the foot of which the rest of the blood is poured, while the *maṣṣēbāh* stands beside the altar without any clearly defined place in the cultus. There can be no doubt that this difference is to be ascribed to the prevalence among the settled population of Canaan of offerings by fire; but the course of the evolution is a matter of uncertain speculation, for the differentiation was complete long before our earliest testimony. The altar may be conceived as merely a table of offerings or a sacrificial hearth before the deity represented by the old standing stone (*maṣṣēbāh*). Or the altar may itself have been a primitive holy stone, the monolithic altar having developed out of a flat-topped block, others out of dolmens or cairns, the form of which permitted their being used to burn the fat of the victim on, as well as

1 See Wellh. *Ar. Heid.*(2); WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2).

2 A traditional account of such a sacrifice by Mohammed before his conversion, *Lisān*, ii. 256 20.

3 On the word see Wellh. 100 *f.*, but cp G. Hoffmann, *ZA*, 1896, p. 323.

4 See SACRIFICE.

5 Wellh. *Heid.*(2) 63.

6 See, *e.g.*, Arnobius, *Contra gentes*, 1 39; Verwey, 'De unctionibus,' in Ugolini, *Thes.* 30 1362 *ff.*; Reisch, Pauly-Wissowa, 2 727. A theory of the origin of the practice, WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 232 *f.* 383 *f.*, controverted by Weinel, *ZATW* 18 48 *ff.*

7 So the *bætyl* described in Damascius (above, 1 *c*); see Lenormant, 'Les Bétyles,' *RHR*, 3 44 *f.*, and cp Tylor(3), 2 167. Cp DRESS, § 8, col. 1141.

8 See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 200 *ff.* 377 *ff.*; cp ALTAR.

9 It should be borne in mind that the Hebrew word for 'altar' (*mizbēaḥ*) denotes only 'slaughter-place.' An example like 1 S. 14 32-34 shows that the stone might be designated *ad hoc*, but that it was indispensable; the offering by fire was not.

to receive its blood;[1] the *maṣṣēbāh* upon this hypothesis being the tapering or pointed stone which could not be so used.[2] The peculiar holiness of the altar—as seen, for example, in the right of asylum—together with the fact that the blood was, so far as we are informed, applied exclusively to it, never to the *maṣṣēbāh*, makes it probable that the latter alternative is the true explanation of the origin of the altar; whilst it may be regarded as certain that the former view was the one commonly entertained by worshippers in the times in which the OT books were written. It is not without importance to observe that the comparative detachment of the *maṣṣēbāh* from the cultus made it easier to interpret the old holy stones at Israelite sanctuaries as mere monuments (see below, § 7).

6. Significance of the maṣṣēbāhs.

Two theories which have had some currency may be briefly dismissed. The opinion that the holy stones are representations or symbols of sacred mountains,[3] probably suggested by such examples as the conical stone of Zeus Kasios on coins of Seleucia Pieria, is an inference vastly too wide for the facts on which it relies, even on the supposition that they are correctly interpreted, and is connected with an untenable theory of primitive religion (see NATURE-WORSHIP). Nor—for the latter reason—is the view much more acceptable that standing-stones and cairns erected by men are the representatives of natural rocks which were regarded as divine.[4] An explanation which has found much wider currency and tenacious adherence, particularly among amateurs in the history of religion, is that the stone pillars, obelisks, cones, and the like, as well as the wooden posts or poles (see ASHERAH) are phallic emblems.[5] Aside from the awkward fact that the standing stone may be a goddess as well as a god, the notion that religion begins with a symbol of the reproductive power in nature is singularly wide of the mark. That a late writer like the author of the *Dea Syria* describes the twin columns before the temple at Hierapolis as *phalloi* can hardly be seriously offered as evidence of the ideas of the worshippers at the temple, much less, of those of their remote ancestors when they set up their rude stone pillars.[6] For an explanation of stock and stone worship upon the general premises of animism (fetishism) the reader is referred to Tylor;[7] for one adapted to the totemistic hypothesis, to Jevons.[8]

It hardly falls within the scope of this *Encyclopædia* to discuss the ultra-empirical question. It must suffice to observe that in some instances the stone was undoubtedly believed to be alive. The bætyl, as we have seen, was an animated stone; late writers discussed the doubt whether divine or demonic. On the other hand, it is probable that when men set up a *maṣṣēbāh* it was not because they had discovered by some sign that a numen dwelt in it, but rather to furnish an abode or resting-place for the spirit or deity, that it might thus be present at the place of sacrifice, receive the blood of the victim, and fulfil the wishes of the worshippers.[9] It was thus an artificial sanctuary,[10] the rude precursor of the temple and the altar as well as of the idol.

In the patriarchal story *maṣṣēbāhs* are erected by Jacob at Bethel (Gen. 28 18-22, cp 31 13) and near

1 See the description of an Arab sacrifice in Nilus, *Narr.* 3 (Migne, *Patr. Græca*, 79, col. 612); cp Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*(2), Taf. 1 5.

2 Cp Apollo Agyieus and the Agyieus altar; Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*

3 So, *e.g.*, Baudissin, *Studien zur Semit. Rel.-gesch.* 2 146 219 242, esp. 266.

4 See against this theory WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 209.

5 Cp, *e.g.*, Movers, *Phönizier*, 1 570 *ff.*; see De Visser, 23 *f.*

6 See on this point also WRS, *l.c.*, and 456 *ff.*

7 *Primitive Culture*, 2 160 *ff.*

8 *Introd. to the History of Religion*, 131 *ff.*; see also WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 200 *ff.*

9 This distinction is said to have been first clearly made by Grimmel, *De lapidum cultu*, Marb. 1853.

10 See IDOLATRY, § 4.

Shechem (33 20, MT 'altar'), on the Aramæan frontier in Gilead (at Ramoth? 31 45 *ff.*), at the tomb of Rachel (35 20), and perhaps at that of Deborah (35 14, see above, § 1*b*). The *maṣṣēbāh* in the sanctuary of Yahwè at Shechem was set up by Joshua (Josh. 24 26 *f.*, cp Judg. 9 6), the stone at Ebenezer by Samuel (1 S. 7 12).

7. Holy stones in the OT.

Moses, before the covenant sacrifice at Horeb, erects twelve *maṣṣēbāhs* at the foot of the mountain, beside or around the altar (Ex. 24 4);[1] the cromlech at Gilgal was attributed to Joshua (Josh. 4 20); Elijah set up twelve stones on Carmel in the name of Yahwè (1 K. 18 31 *f.*).[2] It has been noted that all these instances are in Ephraimite sources; they make it clear that down to the eighth century the *maṣṣēbāhs* stood unchallenged at the sanctuaries of Yahwè. Hosea speaks of the *maṣṣēbāh*[3] as an indispensable part of the furnishing of a place of worship (3 4); when their land prospered the Israelites made fine *maṣṣēbāhs*, which shall be destroyed with the altars (10 1). There is no reason to think that it was otherwise in Judah.[4]

Of the prophets, Amos and Isaiah do not speak of the *maṣṣēbāhs*, though the latter inveighs against idols; Hosea's words have been cited above; Mic. 5 11-13 predicts the destruction, in the coming judgment, of idols (*pĕsīlīm*), *maṣṣēbāhs* and *'ăshērāhs*, together with magic and sorcery; but it is doubtful whether the passage is by the eighth century prophet.[5] Jeremiah speaks only of Egyptian obelisks (43 13); Ezekiel of the mighty pillars of Tyre (26 11); the same prophet begins the denunciation of the *ḥammānīm*. Is. 19 19 (late) foretells the erection of a *maṣṣēbāh* to Yahwè in the border of Egypt. Is. 57 6, as generally interpreted, gives evidence of the persistence of the old rites of stone worship in the Persian period.

The laws in Ex. 34 13 23 24[6] command the destruction of the Canaanite *maṣṣēbāhs* with the dismantling of their sanctuaries (see also Dt. 12 3 7 5). The seventh century legislation further prohibits the erection of *'ăshērāhs* and *maṣṣēbāhs* to Yahwè (Dt. 16 22 Lev. 26 1). The deuteronomistic historians set at the head of their catalogue of the sins which brought ruin on the northern kingdom the *'ăshērahs* and *maṣṣēbāhs* which the Israelites had reared on every high hill (2 K. 17 10); Judah was in the same condemnation (1 K. 14 23); it is a mark of wicked kings that they erected *maṣṣēbāhs* (2 K. 3 2, cp 1 K. 16 32); good kings removed or destroyed them (2 K. 3 2 10 26 18 4 23 14).

For the religious history see HIGH PLACE, § 7; ISRAEL, § 26.

Most of the books dealing with the subject have been cited in the several paragraphs of the article. Here may be added:—

8. Literature.

Zoega, *De obeliscis* (1797); Dozy, *De Israeliten te Mekka*, 18-32 (1864); H. Pierson, *Heilige Steenen in Israël*, 1864; *Bætyliendienst*, 1866; H. Oort, 'De Heiligdommens van Jehovah te Dan en te Bethel vóor Jeroboam I.,' *Th.T* 1 285-306 (1867); Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, 1 390-395; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 144 *ff.*; v. Gall, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten*, 1898; Arthur Evans, *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* (1901); Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques; enceintes et pierres sacrées* (*Extrait de la Revue Biblique*, Avril 1901). G. F. M.

MASSIAS (ΜΑΣΣΙΑΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 22 = Ezra 10 22, MAASEIAH, 12.

MAST (תֹּרֶן), Is. 33 23 Ezek. 27 5; also Is. 30 17 EVmg.. See BEACON, SHIP.

MASTER AND SERVANT. See SLAVERY.

MASTER AND SCHOLAR. See EDUCATION, § 16.

[1] If the verse is a unit; see EXODUS ii., § 4, iv.

[2] In *v.* 32 he builds an altar of the twelve stones; but the altar has already been repaired (*v.* 30); the parallel to Ex. 24 4 is obvious.

[3] 𝔊 Pesh. 'altar.'

[4] That there was a *maṣṣēbāh* in the temple in Jerusalem in the days of Joash has been inferred from 2 K. 12 𝔊A, cp 9 [10]. So Stade, *ZATW* 5 289 *f.* (1885), Kittel, and others.

[5] See MICAH, § 3 *f.*

[6] Probably not earlier than the seventh century.

MASTERS OF ASSEMBLIES (בַּעֲלֵי אֲסֻפּוֹת), Eccles. 12 11† EV, RVmg. 'collectors of sentences' (*παρὰ τῶν συνθεμάτων* [BC], *π. τ. συναγμάτων* [ℵ*A], *π. τ. συνταγμ.* [ℵc.a]). See WISDOM LITERATURE.

MASTIC TREE, EV **mastick tree** (ΣΧΙΝΟΣ [87 and Theod.]), Sus. 54†, the *Pistacia Lentiscus*, L., the most likely source of the OT *ṣŏrī* (EV 'balm'). It is described as 'a diœcious evergreen, mostly found as a shrub a few feet high; but when allowed to attain its full growth, it slowly acquires the dimensions of a small tree having a dense head of foliage' (*Pharmacogr.*(2) 161).

'Mastic' appears in RVmg. in Gen. 37 25 as an alternative to 'balm' (צְרִי), and is probably the better rendering. See BALM.

MATHANIAS (ΜΑΤΘΑΝΙΑ[Σ] [AL]), 1 Esd. 9 31 = Ezra 10 30, MATTANIAH, 8.

MATHELAS (ΜΑΘΗΛΑΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 19 RV = Ezra 10 18, MAASEIAH, 10.

MATHUSALA (ΜΑΘΟΥΣΑΛΑ [Ti.WH]), Lk. 3 37 AV; RV METHUSELAH.

MATRED (מַטְרֵד), apparently the mother of Mehetabel, wife of HADAD II., king of Edom, Gen. 36 39 (ΜΑΤΡΑ[Ε]ΙΘ [AD], -ΡΕΘ [L], ΜΑΡΑΙΘ [E]) 1 Ch. 1 50 (ΜΑΤΡΑΔ [A], -ΡΗΘ [L], om. B). Probably, however, the text is corrupt; Mehetabel was *bath miṣṣur*, *i.e.*, a Muṣrite (N. Arabian). See ME-ZAHAB.

MATRI, RV **The Matrites** (הַמַּטְרִי), the Benjamite family to which Saul belonged (1 S. 10 21 *bis*, ΜΑΤΤΑΡΕΙ [BA], -ΕΙΤ [A once], ΑΜΑΤΤΑΡΙ [L], *METRI* [Vg.]).

The name seems to be corrupt. Marquart (*Fund.* 14) suggests בִּכְרִי (BICHRI) as a correction. מָכִיר, Machir, might also be thought of (see BECHORATH), and this is nearer the probable ultimate source, Jeraḥmeel (Che.). See MERAB, RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM, SAUL, § 6.

MATTAN (מַתָּן [common in Ph.], cp NAMES, §§ 15, 50; ΜΑΤΘΑΝ [BAL]).

1. The priest of Baal slain by the people at the instigation of Jehoiada (2 K. 11 18, *μαγθαν* [B], *μαχαν* [A]; 2 Ch. 23 17). His full name was possibly Mattan-ba'al ('gift of Baal'), a well-known Phœnician name (cp Muthum-balles [Plautus, *Poen.* v., 2 35] and Schr. *KAT*(2), 104). At the same time, in the light of the present writer's theory of the original ethnic affinities of Nathan, Nethaneel, Nethaniah, and many other names which as they now stand, admit of a religious meaning, it is more probable that Nathan is a modification either of Ethan or of Temani (from which indeed Ethan may perhaps come). Observe that MATTAN, 2, is the father of a Zephathite; note also the ethnic relations of the Nethaniahs. T. K. C.

2. Father of SHEPHATIAH [*q.v.*] (Jer. 38 1, *ναθαν* [BℵA], *μαθθᾱ* [Qmg.]).

MATTANAH (מַתָּנָה, 'a gift'; ΜΑΝΘΑΝΑΕΙΝ [BAF1L], ΜΑΝΘΑΝΙΝ [A in *v.* 18], *μανθανεν* [F* and Fmg.]), if the text is right, a station of the Israelites between BEER and NAHALIEL (Nu. 21 18 *f.*). The definition of its situation in the *Onomastica* (277 82 137 30) as on the Arnon, 12 m. E. of Medeba, is useless, because the Arnon flows S. of Medeba, and modern identifications are purely fanciful. For several reasons, however (note, for instance, that 𝔊L omits *καὶ ἀπὸ μανθαναειν* in *v.* 19), it is not improbable that Mattanah is not a proper name at all, but belongs, with the meaning 'a gift,' to the last line of the Song of the Well, which was misunderstood. The initial misapprehension led to a tampering with the text of the itinerary in *vv.* 18*b* 19, which should perhaps be corrected as proposed by Budde (see BEER, 1; NEBO). T. K. C.

MATTANIAH (מַתַּנְיָה, [מַתַּנְיָהוּ, in nos. 4, 5]), 'gift of Yahwè'; §§ 27, 50; cp Mattaniama on a cuneiform tablet from Nippur [5th cent. B.C.], but see MATTAN, MATTITHIAH; ΜΑΘΘΑΝΙΑΣ [B], -ΤΘΑ [AL]).

1. The earlier name of king ZEDEKIAH (2 K. 24 17, *μαθθαν* [B], *ματθ.* [Bab], *μεθθανιαν* [A]).

2. b. Micah, an Asaphite Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA ii., § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1]) (Neh. 11 17

μαθανια [B], *-ς* [L], *μαθθανιας* [ℵ c.a A]). He appears as the chief singer in the post-exilic temple,[1] the second and third places being occupied by BAKBUKKIAH and Abda (see OBADIAH, 9) respectively. By a conventional fiction each is traced back to one of the three chiefs of the Davidic singers (see ETHAN, 2, etc.; cp GENEALOGIES, § 7 [ii.]), though an attempt seems to have been made to incorporate two of them at least with the b'ne Heman (see 5; and cp ABIASAPH). The enumeration of these three among the door-keepers in Neh. 12 25 (*μαθθανιας* [ℵ c.a mg. sup. L, om. Bℵ*A]) is clearly not original, as a comparison of 1 Ch. 9 17 Ezra 2 42 Neh. 7 43 will show. The mention of them ought to precede *v.* 24 (ואחיהם לנגדם וגו׳). A great-grandson of Mattaniah is mentioned in Neh. 11 22 (*μαθθανιου* [ℵ c.a (mg.) L]) as the overseer of the Levites (see UZZI), and another appears among the sons of the priests at the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12 35; see ZECHARIAH, 13, 26). The obvious irreconcilableness of the supposed dates of the passages in which this famous singer appears (*e.g.*, Neh. 12 8, time of Zerubbabel; Neh. 11 17, time of Nehemiah) may warn us of the instability of the post-exilic genealogies, and of the uncertainty of the name-lists in Ezra-Neh. (see GENEALOGIES i., § 7; EZRA ii., §§ 5, 6).

3. An Asaphite Levite, the great-grandfather of Zechariah the father of JAHAZIEL (2 Ch. 20 14, *του μαθθανιου* [L], *-νθ.* [B]). The number of links between Mattaniah and Zechariah agrees with Neh. 12 35 (cp 2 above). This, perhaps, is not accidental, and we may suppose that Jahaziel is the name of one of the Chronicler's famous contemporaries (see GENEALOGIES i., § 6, and § 7 [ii. *c*]).

4. Another Asaphite Levite, mentioned together with ZECHARIAH (2 Ch. 29 13, *ματθανιας* [Bab]).

5. One of the b'ne Heman, mentioned together with Bukkiah and others (cp Bakbukkiah and see 2 above), 1 Ch. 25 4 16 (*μανθανιας* [B]).

6, 7, 8, and 9. Names in the list of those with foreign wives (EZRA i., § 5, end): viz.,

6. One of the b'ne ELAM (*q.v.*), Ezra 10 26 (*μαθανια* [Bℵ], *μαθθα.* [A]) = 1 Esd. 9 27 MATTHANIAS (*ματαν* [B], *μαθθανιας* [L]).

7. One of the b'ne ZATTU (*q.v.*), Ezra 10 27 (*αλαθανια* [B], *βαλαθανιαν* [ℵ], *μαθθαναι* [AL]) = 1 Esd. 9 28 OTHONIAS (*οθονιας* [BA], *ματθανια* [L]).

8. One of the b'ne PAHATH-MOAB (*q.v.*), Ezra 10 30 (*μαθανια* [B], *αμαθανεια* [ℵ], *μαθθανια* [AL]) = 1 Esd. 9 31, MATHANIAS, RV MATTHANIAS (*βεσκασπασμυς* [B], *ματθανια* [L]).

9. One of the b'ne BANI (*q.v.*, 2), Ezra 10 37 (*μαθανια* [Bℵ], *μαθθανια* [AL]) who appears in ‖ 1 Esd. 9 34 in the corrupted form of MAMNITANAIMUS, RV MAMNITANEMUS.

10. Grandfather of HANAN (*q.v.*), Neh. 13 13 (*ναθανια* [B], *μ-* [ℵ*], *μαθθανια* [ℵ c.a], *-ιου* [AL]). S. A. C.

MATTATHA (ΜΑΤΤΑΘΑ [Ti. WH]), a name in the genealogy of Jesus (Lk. 3 31). See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

MATTATHAH, RV **Mattattah** (מַתַּתָּה, for Mattithiah; see NAMES, § 27), b. Hashum, a layman in the list of those with foreign wives (EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 33 (*αθα* [Bℵ], *μαθθαθ* [L], *-α* [A]). In ‖ 1 Esd. 9 33 the name is MATTHIAS [AV], or MATTATHIAS [RV] (*ματταθιας* [BA], *ματθιας* [L]).

MATTATHIAS (ΜΑΤΤΑΘΙΑΣ [BℵAL], § 6; see MATTITHIAH).

1. 1 Esd. 9 43. See MATTITHIAH, 4.

2. The father of the Maccabees (1 Macc. 2 1-49 14 29). See MACCABEES i., § 3.

3. b. Absalom, a general who with Judas Chalphi stood by Jonathan the Maccabee in the fight against Demetrius (1 Macc. 11 70).

4. b. Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 16 14). See SIMON.

5. One of Nicanor's envoys (2 Macc. 14 19, *ματταθειαν* [A]).

[1] In Neh. 12 8 *μαχανια* [Bℵ], *μαθ.* [A], *μαθθανιας* [L] he is said to have been 'over the thanksgiving' (on the reading see CHOIR). In Neh. 11 17 RV styles him 'the chief to begin the thanksgiving in prayer' (רֹאשׁ הַתְּחִלָּה יְהוֹדֶה לַתְּפִלָּה). This, however, disregards the strong indications of overgrowth in the text. יהודה (𝔊 ℵ c.a mg. L) *ιουδα(ς)* springs from תהלה, which is a correction of תחלה. תפלה, 'prayer' is a variant to תהלה, 'song of praise.' Substitute therefore for RV 'leader of the song of praise' (𝔊 ℵ c.a mg. *ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ αἴνου*; 𝔊 L *ἄρχων τ. αἰ.*). See Che. *JBL* 18 210 *f.* [1899]. On the ‖ 1 Ch. see HERESH.

6 and 7. Names appearing in the GENEALOGIES OF JESUS [*q.v.*, § 3] (Lk. 3 25 *f.*).

MATTENAI (מַתְּנַי, abbrev. of מַתַּנְיָה, or from Temani [Che.]; ΜΑΘΘΑΝΑΙ [ℵ c.a mg. inf. AL]), a post-exilic name.

1. A priest temp. Joiakim (EZRA ii., § 6 *b*, § 11), Neh. 12 19 (*μαθθανια* [L; BℵA om.]).

2. and 3. In list of those with foreign wives (EZRA i., § 5 end), viz.,

2. One of the b'ne HASHUM, Ezra 10 33 (*μαθανια* [Bℵ], *μαθθανιαμ* [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 33, ALTANEUS, RV MALTANNEUS (*μαλταννaιος* [B], *αλτ.* [A]).

3. One of the b'ne Bani, Ezra 10 37 (*μαθαναν* [B], *μαθθανα* [ℵ], *-νια* [AL]). See MAMNITANAIMUS in ‖ 1 Esd. 9 34.

MATTHAN (ΜΑΘΘΑΝ [Ti. WH]), a name in the genealogy of Jesus (Mt. 1 15). See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

MATTHANIAS. 1. 1 Esd. 9 27 = Ezra 10 26, MATTANIAH, 6.

2. 1 Esd. 9 31 RV = Ezra 10 30, MATTANIAH, 8.

MATTHAT (ΜΑΘΘΑΘ [Ti.], -Τ [WH *v.* 29], ΜΑΤΘΑΤ [WH *v.* 24]), two names in the genealogy of Jesus (Lk. 3 24 29). See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

MATTHELAS (ΜΑΘΗΛΑΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 19 = Ezra 10 18, MAASEIAH, 10.

MATTHEW (ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟΣ [Ti. WH], ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ [TR]), according to our earliest gospel (Mk. 3 18) one of the Twelve Apostles, and placed there seventh in order, between Bartholomew and Thomas.

1. Name.

The writer of the first gospel (Mt. 10 3) transposes Matthew and Thomas and adds 'the tax-gatherer' (*ὁ τελώνης*) after 'Matthew.' This must be taken in connection with the fact that for the Levi son of Alphæus of Mk. 2 14 Mt. (9 9) substitutes Matthew. It is clear that the writer of the first gospel intended his readers to understand that Matthew the apostle was that Matthew the publican whom Jesus called from the receipt of custom. If we do not fall back upon the theory of corruption in the text of Mk. from which Mt. was copying we must acquiesce in the identification Matthew the apostle = Matthew the publican = Levi the publican. There is abundant justification for the double name. The meaning of 'Matthew' (*Μαθθαῖος*) is uncertain.

Dalman (*Gram.* 142, *Worte Jesu*, 40) connects the name with the late Jewish מתיה, מתתיה, מתתיהו; cp the Palmyrene מתבול (בעל=בול), מתא. Nöldeke, however (*GGA*, 1884, p. 1023), with Ewald, Hitzig, Schmiedel, takes it to be the abbreviated form of אֲמִתַּי or אֲמִתְּיָ. Grimm (*Clavis Nov. Test.*) derives it from מַת = 'man.' In any case it is probably, like Levi, a Semitic name. But there are analogies for the bearing of two Semitic names, *e.g.*, Simeon = Cephas.

In Lk. 6 15 Matthew comes seventh in the list as in Mk.; but in Acts 1 13 he has fallen to eighth as in Mt.

The only other fact in the Gospels about Matthew Levi is contained in Mk. 2 15 = Lk. 5 29 = Mt. 9 10. It has been much debated whether the house here spoken of belonged to Jesus or to Levi. Lk. says plainly that it was the house of Levi; but he has, probably, misinterpreted Mk.'s narrative.

2. Mk. 2 15 = Lk. 5 29 = Mt. 9 10.

The *συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ* of Mk. 2 15 *b* is practically equivalent to 'sat at table in the house of Jesus.' Cp Lk. 14 10 *τῶν συνανακειμένων σοί* = 'thy guests,' Mk. 6 22 *τοῖς συνανακειμένοις* = 'his (Herod's) guests.' The *αὐτόν* in Mk. 2 15 *a* = *τὸν Ἰησοῦν*.

It is quite in accordance with Mk.'s style to begin a narrative without specifying the subject of the sentence; cp 2 23 where 'him' (*αὐτόν*) again = 'Jesus' (*τὸν Ἰησοῦν*). There Jesus is the speaker of the preceding words; but in 2 14, and frequently, the subject of the verb is *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* understood, though the preceding words referred to others than Jesus. If Mk. leaves it doubtful whether the house was that of Jesus or of Levi, Mt. seems certainly to have interpreted him in the former sense. For Mt. omits 'his' (*αὐτοῦ*) after 'house' (*οἰκίᾳ*) just because, being equivalent to 'of Jesus,' it seemed superfluous. Moreover, Mt. who in 4 13 speaks of Jesus as settling in Capernaum, and in 9 1 of Capernaum as 'his own city,'

can hardly mean by the simple 'in the house' (ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ) of 9 10 any other than Jesus' own house. It seems probable, therefore, that the scene of Mk. 2 15-17 was the house of Jesus in Capernaum, and that this narrative has no connection with the account of Levi's call other than the common subject of Jesus' familiarity with 'tax gatherers' (τελῶναι).

3. Post-biblical literature.

In the post-biblical literature Matthew and Levi are sometimes distinguished. Heracleon, quoted in Clem. *Strom.* iv. 9 71, says that Matthew, Philip, Thomas, and Levi died natural deaths. The same distinction is found in Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 62. Origen says that Levi (ὁ Λευής, ed. Koetschau) the publican was not of the number of the twelve except in some of the copies of the Gospel according to Mark. Since no known authorities have the name Levi in Mk.'s list of Apostles, it would seem that Origen read 'James' for 'Levi' in Mk. 2 14, where this reading is found in D a b c e ff.(2) g(1). Matthew and Levi are also distinguished in Ephrem, *Ev. Conc. exp.*, ed. Mösinger, 287, apparently in the *Arabic Diatessaron* 6 46 7 9 (cp Hamlyn Hill, *Earliest Life*, 67, n. 4), and in the *Syr. Didascalia*, ed. Lag., 89 1, where it is said that Christ appeared 'to Levi and then he was seen also by us all'—*i.e.*, by the apostles. Amongst modern writers Resch (*Paralleltexte*, 3 829 *f.*) identifies Matthew Levi with Nathanael (cp MATTHIAS), but on insufficient grounds.

4. Literature.

For the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* (Matthias, *q.v.*), cp Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* 1 546 *ff.* (*Acts and*) *Martyrdom of Matthew* have been re-edited by Bonnet in Lipsius, *Acta Apost. Apok.* 2 216-262. Cp Harnack, *Gesch. Altchristl. Lit.* 139; Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* 2 2, 108-141. For the tradition which connects Matthew with the first gospel, cp GOSPELS, §§ 65, 71.

W. C. A.

MATTHEW (GOSPEL). See GOSPELS.

MATTHIAS. 1. (ΜΑΘΘΙΑϹ [B*D Ti. Treg. WH], ΜΑΤΘΙΑϹ RV, abbrev. from ΜΑΤΤΑΘΙΑϹ, ΜΑΤΘΑΘΙΑϹ, ΜΑΘΘΑΘΙΑϹ = מַתִּתְיָה, Mattithiah) was elected by drawing or casting of lots to supply the place of Judas Iscariot (Acts 1 23-26). Zeller (*Contents and Origin of the Acts of the Apostles*, 1 168) denies the historical character of this narrative on two grounds: (*a*) its assumption that the apostles remained at Jerusalem; (*b*) its connection with the account of the Feast of PENTECOST (*q.v.*). The latter objection cannot be dealt with here. In answer to the first it has sometimes been urged that the Galilee of Christ's appearances was not the northern province, but a district near Jerusalem. So, recently, Zimmermann, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1901 447. Resch (*Paralleltexte* 1 381 *ff.*) has attempted to strengthen this theory by supposing that Galilee in the gospel narratives of the Resurrection is a transliteration of the Heb. גלילה = περίχωρος.

Resch appeals to the gospel of Peter ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῆς περιχώρου, to Tertullian, *Apol.* 21 (Galilæam Judææ regionem), to the *Acta Pilati*, and to the tradition of a Galilee near the Mount of Olives, which is frequently found in the Itineraria. To the references given by Resch may be added the following from the publications of the Pal. Pil. Text Society. Felix Fabri, 1 482 (Galilee, a village on the Mt. of Olives); Saewulf, 19; *Anonymous Pilgrim*, 5 1; Theoderich, 41; Fetellus, 4 (Galilee, a chapel on Mt. Sion); John Poloner, 8, 9; *Guide-Book to Palestine*, 16, 17 (Galilee, a mount near Jerusalem). John of Würzburg, 29. Cp also *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. Geyer 155.

The Acta Pilati, however, and these Itineraries are too late to be valid as evidence; cp Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, ET, 6 380. It is unlikely that Tertullian had in mind any other Galilee than the northern province. And proof is required before it can be admitted that גלילה in a first-century writing could have any other meaning than that of 'Galilee' the northern province. It is noticeable that the LXX never translates גליל or גלילה by περίχωρος. But Zeller's objection is without good ground. Even if the author of Acts 1 supposed that the apostles remained in Jerusalem, and even if he were wrong in this supposition, nevertheless his statement that they were there not long after the death of Christ may be true in point of fact. The NT tells us nothing further of Matthias. Eusebius (*HE* 1 12) supposed him to have been one of the 'Seventy.' Clement (*Strom.* iv. 6 35) says that some identified him with Zacchæus. In the *Clem. Recogn.* (1 60) he is identified with Barnabas (Syr. ed. Lag., Barabbas). The Syriac translator of Eusebius four times substitutes Tholmai for Matthias. Amongst modern writers Hilgenfeld (*NT Ext. Can.* 105) identifies him with Nathanael.

The following were ascribed to Matthias: (*a*) a gospel, cp Orig. *Hom.* 1 *in Luc.*, Eus. *HE* 3 25; (*b*) παραδόσεις Clem. *Strom.* ii. 9 45 iii. 4 26 vii. 13 82; (*c*) according to Hippol. *Philos.* 7 20, Basilides and his son Isidore appealed to λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι of Matthias. Zahn (*Kanon*, 2 751 *ff.*) identifies all three. Cp against this Harnack (*Chronol.* 597 *ff.*).

The *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* have been edited by Bonnet (*Acta Apost. Apoc.* 2 1, 1898), in Syriac by Wright (*Apoc. Acts*). For the MSS and translations cp Harnack, *Gesch. Altchrist. Lit.* 127. Lipsius thinks that *Matthias* has been confused with Matthew; cp *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 2 258-264. In the Greek Acts, Matthias journeys to the city of the Cannibals. He is there cast into prison, and Christ promises to send Andrew to deliver him. In accordance with this promise Andrew is miraculously brought to the city of the Cannibals. He frees Matthias by a miracle and causes him to be removed on a cloud to a mountain where Peter was. Andrew, meanwhile, remains in the city and is imprisoned and tortured. At length Christ appears to him and heals him; and after founding a Christian church in the city, he finally leaves it in peace.

2. 1 Esd. 9 33, RV Mattathias. See MATTATHAH.

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MATTITHIAH (מַתִּתְיָה, and in 1 Ch. 15 21 מַתִּתְיָהוּ; see MATTAN, MATTANIAH and NAMES, §§ 27, 50, and on vocalisation, § 6; cp Mitinti, the name of a king of Ashdod; probably of ethnic affinities [Che.]; ΜΑΤΤΑΘΙΑϹ [BℵAL]).

1. b. Shallum b. Korah a Levite (1 Ch. 9 31 ματτθιας [B^b vid.], ματθαθ. [L]).

2. An Asaphite Levite, a musician, 1 Ch. 15 18 21 (ιματταθια; μετταθιας [B]; ματταθια, μετταθιας [ℵ]; cp 16 5 ματθαθιας [L]) who appears among the sons of Jeduthun in 1 Ch. 25 3 21 (μαθθαθιας [L], in *v.* 21 ματθιας [AL]). See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (ii.).

3. One of the b'ne NEBO (*q.v.*), Ezra 10 43 (θαμαθια [Bℵ], μαθθαθιας [A], ματθ. [L]); in 1 Esd. 9 35, MAZITIAS (μαζιτιας [A], ζειτιας [B], μαθθαθιας [L]).

4. A priest who was present at the reading of the law by Ezra (Neh. 8 4, ματθαθιας [ℵ*], μαθθιας [L]); in 1 Esd. 9 43, MATTATHIAS.

MATTOCK. 1. (מַעְדֵּר, *ma'dēr*; Vg. *sarculum*; 𝔊 has ἀροτριώμενον ἀροτριαθήσεται; Is. 7 25†) an implement used in vineyards; cp Is. 5 6 (σκαφῇ). See AGRICULTURE, § 3.

2. מחרשה, 1 S. 13 21*a*, corresponding with מחרשת in *v.* 20*a* where EV renders 'share.' See SHARE. In *v.* 20*d* the emended text reads 'goad' for 'mattock.' See *SBOT*.

3. חֶרֶב, *ḥéreb*, 2 Ch. 34 6 Kr., so AV; RV, preferably 'in their ruins round about.' Both Kt. and Kr. are 'mere guess-work' (Ki.).

MAUL (מֵפִיץ, *mēphīṣ* [perhaps better מַפֵּץ, from נפץ to break], ροπαλον [Bℵ^{c.a}A] ροπανον [ℵ*]), Prov. 25 18 EV. For cognate synonyms, see BATTLE-AXE, 1; and cp WEAPONS.

MAUZZIM, GOD OF (אֱלֹהַּ מָעֻזִּים; ΜΑΩΖΕΙ[Ν] [Theod. BAQ], ΙϹΧΥΡΑ? [87]; Pesh. apparently read אלהים עזים, 'strong gods'), Dan. 11 38 AV^mg., the name of a god, variously rendered 'God's protectors,' 'god of munitions' (AV^mg.), . . . 'forces' (AV), . . . 'fortresses' (RV). Most moderns have taken the reference to be to Jupiter Capitolinus (so Gesenius, Lengerke, Driver, Marti), in whose honour Antiochus began to build a temple in Antioch (Livy, 41 20). G. Hoffmann (*Ueb. einige Phön. Inschriften*, 29), on the other hand, thought of Ζεύς Πολιεύς, and Che. (*SBOT* 'Is.' Heb. 92) suggests the easy reading *mĕḥōzīm* (מְחוֹזִים) 'cities.'[1] But since *mā'uzzīm* means primarily 'refuges' (cp Sym. *confugia*) it may be more probable that the true reference is to Jupiter Hospes (Ξένιος); cp 2 Macc. 6 2*b*, and see HOSPITALITY, JUPITER.[2]

Prof. Cheyne points out that the curious rendering 'God's protectors' (AV^mg.) is explained by Matthew Poole's remark, 'It signifies demons, or gods' protectors, whom the Romans would worship with Christ, such as saints and angels.'

A fresh line is taken by E. R. Bevan, *Journal of Hell. Stud.* 20 26-30 (1900), who argues that Antiochus Epiphanes assumed divine honours, and finds in the 'god of Mauzzim' Zeus Olympios, with whom the king identified himself; cp *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1901, pp. 625-639.

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[1] See further the comm. of Behrmann, Driver, and Marti, *ad loc.* For another view, see MODIN.

[2] Hi.'s suggestion מָעוֹז יָם '[the god of] the fortress of the sea,'—*i.e.*, the Tyrian Melkart—is worthy of mention if only for the circumstance that there are several points of contact between this deity and Jupiter Hospes (cp *Rel. Sem.*(2) 376).

MAZITIAS (ΜΑΖΙΤΙΑϹ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 35 = Ezra 10 43, MATTITHIAH, 3.

MAZOR (מָצוֹר), RVmg. 2 K. 19 24 Is. 19 6 37 25 Mic. 7 12†, where RV has 'Egypt,' and AV 'besieged places,' 'defence,' or 'fortified cities.' See MIZRAIM, § 1.

MAZZALOTH (מַזָּלוֹת; ΜΑΖΟΥΡΩΘ [BAL]), 2 K. 23 5†.

Not 'the signs of the Zodiac,' which are called 'the pictures (חֻקּוֹת) of heaven' in Job 38 33, but rather those stars and planets which were called 'mansions' (Ass. *manzalti*) of the great gods (STARS, § 3 *d*). See MAZZAROTH.

MAZZAROTH (מַזָּרוֹת; ΜΑΖΟΥΡΩΘ [BℵA]), Job 38 32†). See STARS, § 3 *d*.

Duhm doubtfully explains as 'the signs of the Zodiac,' but this has perhaps another designation (see MAZZALOTH). Cheyne finds a corruption of Zibanitu—*i.e.*, the Balance, α and β Libræ (see Hommel, *ZDMG* 45 597; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 68). Another technical term Mĕzārīm (מְזָרִים Job 37 9†) may be a corruption of Bab. *miśri*, 'the northern (star)'—*i.e.*, Tartaḥ (the corrupt מַחוּ of Job 38 36*a*). See Cheyne, *JBL* 17 [1898] 103 *ff.*

MEADOW. 1. RV REED-GRASS (אָחוּ; Gen. 41 2 18). See FLAG, 2.

2. AV PAPER-REEDS (עָרוֹת; Is. 19 7†). See REED, 2.

3. Judg. 20 33, RVmg. See MAAREH-GEBA.

MEAH (TOWER) (מִגְדַּל הַמֵּאָה), Neh. 3 1 12 39. See HAMMEAH.

MEAL OFFERING (מִנְחָה), Lev. 6 14, etc. RV. See SACRIFICE.

MEAL (קֶמַח; ἄλευρον; *farina*), 1 K. 4 22 [5 2], etc. See FOOD, §§ 1, 2.

MEALS

No universally recognised early Hebrew term for 'meal' seems to have been in use. 'At meal-time' in Ruth 2 14 (EV) is, literally, 'at food time' (לְעֵת אֹכֶל); to 'dine' (Gen. 43 16), is literally to 'eat' (אכל); more frequently the word 'bread' (לֶחֶם) is added (*e.g.*, Gen. 43 25 Ex. 2 20). 'Dinner of herbs' in Prov. 15 17 should according to RVmg. and BDB be rather 'a portion of herbs' (*i.e.*, a slender meal); but Che. (*Exp. Times*, Aug. 1899), pleads for the rendering 'meal.' Post-biblical literature, however, uses *sĕ'ūdāh* (סְעוּדָה) for 'meal,' and the word may have been known earlier, its root *sā'ad* (סָעַד) 'to sustain,' being a good OT word (see Gen. 18 5 Judg. 19 5). In the NT EV speaks of dining and dinner[1] (Mt. 22 4 Lk. 11 37 *f.* 14 12—cp Jn. 21 12 15), of supping and supper[1] (Lk. 14 12, etc.); but RV gives a more correct rendering in one of these passages—'break your fast' (Jn. 21 12 15, AV 'dine').

As to the time of the meals, the principal one was postponed to the period just before or after sunset.

1. Division of the day. Thus, in the Gospels, master and servant alike take their meal after they are 'come in from the field' (Lk. 17 7 *ff.*; cp Ruth 3 7), which, in the seasons of harvest and vintage at least, would hardly be before sundown. In like manner the noon-tide heat, which suspends all out-door work, suggests a simple meal for the resting labourer (Ruth 2 14), and not for him alone (cp Joseph's dinner 'at noon,' Gen. 43 16). If we add to these the morning 'snack,' a morsel of bread and some simple relish, with which the peasant still breaks his fast, we have the ordinary meals of the population of early Palestine.

In the second Christian century the immemorial custom of three meals a day, even on the Sabbath, is illustrated by a provision of the later Jewish law. On the outbreak of a fire on the Sabbath, the Jews were allowed to rescue sufficient provisions to furnish *three* meals (מְזוֹן שָׁלֹשׁ סְעוּדוֹת) if the fire takes place in the night seasons of the Sabbath (בְּלֵילֵי שַׁבָּת); sufficient for *two* meals, if it takes place in the forenoon; for *one* meal only, if it takes place in the afternoon (*Shabbāth* 16 2). The first of the three was a slight refreshment, scarcely constituting a meal in the proper sense of the word, to which Kamphausen (in Riehm, *HWB*(2) 955*a*) finds a reference in Prov. 31 15 (in the 'Praise of the Virtuous Woman').[1] The Talmud calls this the פַּת שַׁחֲרִית, the 'morning morsel.' It is the ἄριστον πρωϊνόν or early breakfast of classical writers; it is referred to in Jn. 21 12 15, and nowhere else (see RV).

The two proper meals of the day (cp Ex. 16 12 1 K. 17 6) were taken, the one about noon, the other and more elaborate of the two, about sunset. The former is the Greek ἄριστον, the latter the Greek δεῖπνον.[2]

2. The principal meals.

These were the meals to which guests were generally invited (Lk. 14 12; cp 11 37 14 16, etc.). To 'eat no bread,' is synonymous with partaking of μήτε ἄριστον μήτε δεῖπνον (said of Ahab 1 K. 21 4 = Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13 8; Niese, § 356).

(*a*) *The ἄριστον.* It is scarcely possible that there was a uniform hour for the ἄριστον, despite the odd reading of 𝔊 (1 S. 14 24; see HONEY, col. 2104, n. 4), '*all the land* was breakfasting.' The duties of the market (Mk. 7 4) and the synagogue had first to be attended to. There is a Talmudic statement (*Shabbāth* 10*a*) that 'the fourth hour' (about 10 A.M.)[3] 'was the meal time of ordinary persons, the fifth hour, of labourers, the sixth hour, of the learned.' The noontide meal at which Joseph entertained his brethren (Gen. 43 16 25) is called by the Greek translators (about 250 B.C.) 'breakfast'; this was also, in their opinion, the meal to which a sovereign would invite a guest after the morning service at the altar of Bethel (1 K. 13 7, 𝔊 'come and breakfast with me': Heb. סְעָד, EV 'refresh thyself'; see above).[4]

It was to breakfast rather than to dinner (as EV) that Jesus was invited by the Pharisee of Lk. 11 37 *ff.* In ordinary cases it was a very simple meal; for field labourers, bread dipped in vinegar with a handful of parched corn (Ruth 2 14) or 'pottage and bread broken into a bowl' (Bel 33; 𝔊87 adds 'a cruise of wine'), or bread with fish, dried or roasted, as relish (Jn. 21 9 13; cp Tob. 6 6 [𝔊BℵA], and see FISH, FOOD).

(*b*) *Evening meal.*—The principal meal of the day, however, was undoubtedly the evening meal (δεῖπνον), which was taken by rich and poor when 'the burden and heat of the day' were past (cp Judg. 19 21 with *v.* 16), that is in the late afternoon, before or just after sundown (see above, § 1). It would naturally fall later than 'the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice' (1 K. 18 36 41 Ps. 141 2); in NT times this took place daily about the ninth hour, which was consequently 'the hour of prayer' (Acts 3 1). The Hebrews are represented as having their chief meal in the evening as early as the time of the Exodus (Ex. 16 12), and the passover was from the first an evening meal. Josephus represents the spies dining with Rahab 'a little before sunset'—which was also the royal dinner hour (*Ant.* v.

[1] For the corresponding terms in the original, see below, § 2.

[1] [The words וַתָּקָם בְּעוֹד לַיְלָה, 'and she rises while it is night,' make the first line of the ו distich overlong; Bickell may be right in omitting them: note Paseḳ. The sense then becomes clear, 'Having obtained a good supply of provision, she assigns to each his due amount of food.']

[2] The renderings 'dinner' and 'supper' respectively, adopted by EV, obscure the relative importance of the two meals, which would be better expressed by 'breakfast,'—'lunch' we fear is too modern—and 'dinner' corresponding to the French *déjeuner* and *diner*, with 'breakfast' and 'dine,' in place of 'dine' and 'sup' for the corresponding verbs. Delitzsch, we may add, is obliged in his Hebrew NT (*e.g.*, Lk. 14 12), to make use of the circumlocutions סְעוּדַת צָהֳרַיִם (noontide meal) and ס׳ עֶרֶב (evening meal).

[3] Precisely 10 only at the equinoxes, at other times varying from about 9.40 to 10.20 A.M. according to the season of the year.

[4] Cp Susanna 7 13; also 2 S. 24 15, in 𝔊 ('till breakfast time'), where Pesh. renders 'till the sixth hour.' Josephus (*Vit.* 54) tells us that the Jews of his day felt bound to breakfast (ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι) at noon on Sabbaths. The practice of the Essenes was to work from sunrise till the fifth hour (about 11 A.M.), when they repaired, after an interval spent in the bath, to breakfast in the common dining-hall (δειπνητήριον) of the brotherhood (Jos. *BJ* ii. 8 5).

1 2). The meal (*δεῖπνον*, *ibid.* vi. 4 1) referred to in 1 S. 9 13 was late in the afternoon when the maidens were fetching water from the village fountain; it was a sacrificial meal (see SACRIFICE). When the meal was over it was time to retire to rest (*κοίτης ὥρα Ant. l.c.*; cp 1 S. 9 25 [𝔊] and Driver's note), as many instances besides this clearly show (Tob. 8 1 *ff.*; Jos. *Ant.* ii. 6 7 xiv. 15 11; *Vit.* 44; cp Eccl. 5 12 [11]). The time of the first miracle of the loaves and fishes was 'when the evening had come' (Mt. 14 15; cp Lk. 9 12), and it was 'toward evening' that Jesus reclined at dinner with the two disciples at Emmaus[1] (Lk. 24 29 *f.*).

3. Posture.

(*a*) *Tables.*—In the earliest times, the Hebrews, like their Bedouin kinsmen, must have sat upon the ground at meals, as in the idyllic scene, Gen. 18 1 *ff.* (so Judg. 6 19, 'under the oak'; cp Judith's attitude, Jud. 12 15). This was the custom also in the lower ranks of the ancient Egyptians, among whom several varieties of the posture were in vogue (see illustrations in Wilk. *Anc. Eg.*, 1878, 1 419, cp 2 44). The Bedouins in some parts first spread on the ground a small mat of plaited straw or grass, or a round disc of leather (*sufra*; cp WRITING), round the edge of which a string has been inserted. By drawing the atter, the *sufra* becomes a bag, like a schoolboy's satchel, to hold the provisions for subsequent meals. On the outspread *sufra* is placed a large wooden bowl in which the meal is served; the guests sit round[2] and help themselves with the right hand from the steaming mess. Now the etymology of the ordinary Hebrew word for 'table' (šulḥān)[3] shows that it was originally identical with the *sufra*, a fact which throws light on the early Hebrew customs at meals. In course of time, however, it was found more convenient to raise the bowl or bowls in which the food was placed a few inches from the ground by means of a stand.

The stand must have resembled the stand or table composed of a tapering shaft about six inches high (Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 193, fig. 185) supporting a flat circular top largely used by the Egyptians, since the name of the round leather '*šulḥān*' was extended to it (for illustrations, see dining scene in Wilkinson, *loc. cit.*). This circular table, when introduced into Rome from the East, received the name *monopodium* (illustr. and reff. in Rich's *Rom. and Gk. Antiq. s.v.*). All the tables of the ancients strike us as uncomfortably low (for Jewish tables note the table of shewbread on the arch of Titus, which according to the measurements in Reland's plate [*De Spoliis Templi*, 70] is twenty inches in height).

(*b*) *Seats.*—From the time that they came under Canaanitish influence the Hebrews appear to have sat at meals on chairs or stools (*mōšāb*, EV 'seat,' 1 S. 20 25); probably these differed but little in style from those in use in Egypt (see Wilk. *op. cit.* 1 408 *ff.*) and Assyria. The place of honour in Saul's time was the 'seat by the wall' (מוֹשַׁב הַקִּיר, 1 S. 20 25)—*i.e.*, probably, by the wall opposite the entrance (as usually now). The fashion of sitting, however, gradually gave way before that of reclining on couches or divans (see BED, § 5).

'Reclining at meals was apparently not usual among the Assyrians (any more than among the Egyptians or the Homeric Greeks). In the famous garden scene (Brit. Mus. Assyrian sculptures) Asur-bâni-pal reclines on a rich couch . . ., but this is an exceptional luxury. Even his favourite queen is seated on a chair of state. Another monument represents four guests seated at a table (Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, 191; Ragozin, *Story of Assyria*, 403 *f.*). Reclining was, however, general among more luxurious peoples, such as the Syrians and

[1] Josephus dined after nightfall (*Vit.* 63), and on one occasion was still at table two hours (*ὥρα νυκτὸς δευτέρα*, *ibid.* 44) thereafter. The Essenes, like the rest of their countrymen, worked till evening (*μέχρι δείλης*), when they dined. At Alexandria the Jewish translators are represented as working till the ninth hour, after which came relaxation and dinner (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2 13; cp the notice as to the dinner hour at the court of Ptolemy Philopator, 3 Macc. 5 14).

[2] Heb. סבב in OT = 'recline at table' only 1 S. 16 11 (לֹא נָסֹב), but frequently in later Hebrew in the Hiphil (see Levy, *s.v.*). Hence מֵסַב, Cant. 1 12 of the king's round table (see Del.; RV 'table'), מְסִבָּה, a feast; מְסֻבִּין, guests, etc.

[3] From שׁלח, to strip off (the skin); see Levy, *Neuheb. Wörterb. s.v.*, and especially the excursus in Moore's *Judges*, 19 *f.*

MEALS

N. Israelites (in Amos's time; see Am. 3 12 6 4, and cp Hoffmann, *ZATW*, 1883, p. 102, and the engraving in Cesnola, *Cyprus, its Cities*, etc., 149), the Persians (Esth. 1 6 7 8), and probably the Babylonians, on whose luxuriousness see Is. 47 8 Jer. 51 39.'[1]

Reclining has become the usual position at meals for the writers of the Apocrypha (*ἀνακεῖμαι*, 1 Esd. 4 10; *κατακλίνομαι*, Jud. 12 15 [also 𝔊 in 1 S. 16 11, and four times in Lk.], *ἀναπίπτω*, Tob. 2 1 [Bℵ] 7 8 [ℵ], etc). It need hardly be said that in NT times the practice of reclining at meals (*ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος δειπνεῖν*) was universal throughout the peoples around the Mediterranean.[2] Among the Jews, however, as among the Greeks and Romans of the best period, it was only the men who reclined; the wives, we may be sure, continued to sit, either on the couch (*κλίνη*) at the feet of their husbands—Lk. 10 39, however, is not a case in point—or on chairs or stools (cp, again, the relief of Ašur-bāni-pal and his queen). The children sat on stools beside their parents (Mk. 7 28), as represented on various monuments of classical antiquity, dependents and slaves either on the ground (cp Judith 12 15) or, as at Rome, on benches (*in subselliis*, MH, ספסל mentioned along with couch, chair, and table, *Kēlim* 23) with a rest (ראש) at either end (*ibid.* 22 3).

The law, in later times, demanded that even the poorest Jews should enjoy the luxury of reclining at the festive Passover meal (*Pĕsāchim* 10 1, cp Columella, *De Re Rust.* xi. 1 19). This association of reclining with festivity rendered it natural for the Jews on the occasion of a death to overturn their couches and sit at meals while in mourning, a practice observed, according to Plutarch, by the younger Cato.

The women of the family, as has been implied, took their meals with the men (1 S. 1 4 *ff.* Ruth 2 14 Job 1 4; cp Ex. 12 3 *ff.* [Passover], Dt. 16 14 [Succoth]), except when strangers or distinguished guests were present (see Gen. 18 6 *ff.* [Sarah 'in the tent'], Judg. 19 6 *ff.* [only the two men of the party], 2 S. 13 23 Est. 1 9 *ff.*).[3]

4. Procedure: order of feast, etc.

Let us now follow the course of an imaginary entertainment in NT times, noting, as we proceed, the historical development of customs. The occasions for merry-makings were as numerous as among ourselves (see FAMILY, FEAST, MARRIAGE, BIRTHDAY, CIRCUMCISION). It was usual to send invitations early (to invite is 'to call'[4]; 1 S. 9 13 Lk. 14 9, etc.) through servants (Mt. 22 3; cp Prov. 9 3). On the appointed day, it was not unusual to send a messenger (*vocator*) with a reminder (Mt. 22 4 Lk. 14 17), or even to conduct the guests to the place of entertainment (Est. 6 14). This custom still prevails in the East (see Plummer's note on Lk. 14 18 21).

Arrived at the host's residence, the guest is received with a kiss (Lk. 7 45), and probably conducted to the anteroom or vestibule of the dining-room[5] (see HOUSE, col. 2131). Here the welcome attention of washing the guest's feet—doubly welcome if performed by the host or hostess in person (1 S. 25 41 1 Tim. 5 10; cp Jn. 13 4 *ff.*)—and anointing his head (see ANOINTING, § 2), is offered.[6] Or, if the space of the house is too limited for

[1] Che. *Intr. Is.* 126. On the *lecti aurati* or *inaurati* and *inargentati* of the Romans, see Marquardt, *Privatleben d. Römer*, 1 301. Were the couches described in Esther such as these? Compare the description in Cant. 3 10 (see PALANQUIN).

[2] The late Heb. term is הֵסֵב (in OT, in the sense of *sitting* at table, 1 S. 16 11), hence מֵסַב in Cant., a product of the Greek period, may well be 'table' as EV (1 12). The favourite NT terms are *ἀνακεῖμαι* and *κατακεῖμαι*, but not the simple verb; *ἀνα-* and *κατακλίνομαι*, *ἀναπίπτω*; *συνανακεῖμαι* (*οἱ συνανακείμενοι*, the guests, Mt. 14 9, etc.; cp *οἱ συγκατακείμενοι*, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 9); Josephus also supplies *προκατακλίνω*, *Ant.* xv. 9 4; *-κλίνομαι*, vi. 4 1, 'to take a higher place at table'; *ὑποκατακλίνομαι*, 'to take a lower place, xii. 4 9. Cp Lk. 14 7 *ff.*, and below.

[3] Dan. 5 2 *ff.* cannot be cited for the normal Jewish practice.

[4] On the curious term *δειπνοκλήτωρ*, which occurs in the interesting section of Codex Bezæ after Mt 20 28, see Nestle, *Text. Crit. of the Gk. Text* (1901), pp. 217, 255 *ff.*

[5] We infer this from the well-known aphorism in *Pirḳē Ābōth* (4 23, ed. Taylor).

[6] The custom of washing the feet has not yet died out in the East. See Robinson, *BR* [1841], 3 26; Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 136.

this, the guest is ushered at once into the dining-room. 'Ten cubits by ten' (עֶשֶׂר עַל־עֶשֶׂר) is given in the Mishna (*Bābā Bathrā*, 6 4) as the dimensions of an average *triclinium* (טְרִיקְלִין), or dining-room, which gives a room from 15 to 18 feet square.[1] If its owner is inclined to follow the Roman fashion, doubtless adopted at the court of Herod, and, as the above-mentioned loan-word shows, already familiar to the people, the room is furnished with three very wide couches—each sufficient to accomodate three guests reclining full-length at right-angles to the table—ranged round three sides of a square table, the fourth side, towards the door, being left free for the service.[2] In most Jewish houses, however, it must be assumed that there still prevailed the Greek custom, according to which the couches were much narrower, each holding only two guests as a rule, who reclined at an acute angle to the small oblong tables. Of these one was provided for each couch. If the party was small or the room very large, each guest might have a couch and table, as at the Egyptian court (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 9: τὴν παρακειμένην αὐτῷ τράπεζαν).

Before the arrival of the guests, their respective claims to precedence have been duly weighed by the host. The 'chief places' (RV for πρωτοκλισίαι, Mt. 23 6 Mk. 12 39 Lk. 14 7 20 46; cp τὴν πρώτην ἀνάκλισιν, Aristeas, ed. Wendland, 187) were demanded as a right by the priestly aristocracy; but these claims were, in the time of Jesus, continually called in question by the more democratic Pharisees. If the guests were all of the same social status, arranging them was a simple matter. Precedence went according to age (אחר זקנה, *Bābā Bathrā*, 120 *a*), as in Joseph's entertainment (Gen. 43 33), and at the court of Ptolemy (Aristeas, *loc. cit.*). As long as sitting at meals was customary, the seat of honour (καθέδρα δόξης, Ecclus. 7 4) was at the right hand of the host. But which were the πρωτοκλισίαι (literally, the chief reclining-places) in the later period? Putting aside those houses into which the *triclinium*, with its strict etiquette, had been introduced, we may suppose that the older custom of separate couches and tables, as explained above, was still observed.

It was in such a house that Jesus observed how the Pharisees 'chose out the chief seats' (Lk. 14 7), which were doubtless *the places at the head of each couch—i.e.*, at the end provided with the arm-rest (ἐπίκλιντρον; רְפִידָה=ἀνάκλιτον [𝔊] or *reclinatorium* [Vg.], Cant. 3 10). To prove this we need not refer to the analogy of the Roman *triclinium*. In a Jewish treatise—of somewhat late date, it is true—the question is asked: 'What is the etiquette of reclining at table' (Tōseftā, *Bĕrākh.* 5 5)? The answer runs thus: 'When there are two couches, the most honourable (guest) reclines at the head of the first couch (מֵיסֵב בְּרֹאשׁ שֶׁל רִאשׁוֹנָה), and the next to him (in rank) on the couch on his right. But when there are three couches, *the most honourable* (guest) *reclines at the head of the middle couch*, the next to him (in rank) above him [*i.e.*, in the corresponding place on the couch to his left], the third (in rank) on the couch to his right.'[3] The place of the host was no doubt, as in Greece and Rome, close to the principal guest, most probably the second place on the centre couch.

Before leaving this part of our subject, we may refer briefly to the much debated question as to the relative positions of Jesus and his disciples at the Last Supper. From the narratives in the Gospels and from our knowledge of contemporary Jewish practice, it may safely be said that the little band reclined in the usual way round a single table. On this particular occasion they may have occupied four separate couches. Jesus and John, we know for certain, reclined on the same couch, the former, we can hardly doubt, in the place of honour at the head of the principal couch—perhaps the second from the left, facing the entrance to the upper room (ἀνάγαιον,[1] Mk. 14 15 Lk. 22 12) in which they met—with the beloved disciple below him on his right (ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Jn. 13 23). Judas must have been within easy reach of the Master (see *ibid.* *v.* 26), either in the third place on the same couch (the second), or in the corresponding place on the couch (the first) above.[2] Peter, finally, must have reclined some places below John, on the third or fourth couch, from either of which he could easily be seen by John (see *ibid.* *v.* 24). Beyond this all is pure conjecture.

The vexed question of precedence settled, the guests take their places on the mattress (in Mishna כַּר),[3] on the couch assigned to them. These places are indicated by the cushions (*kĕseth*, προσκεφάλαιον; see CUSHION, BED) on which each leans his left elbow (cp Ezek. 13 18 𝔊, προσκεφάλαια ὑπὸ πάντα ἀγκῶνα χειρός) leaving the right hand and arm free. In the houses of the rich, mattress and pillows were covered with silk (Am. 3 12, RV), in those of the poor with leather (*Miḳw.* 10 2 *Kēl.* 26 5). At this stage water was brought for the important ceremony of the 'washing of hands' (נְטִילַת יָדַיִם).

5. 'Washing of hands.'

This 'washing of hands' must be clearly distinguished from ordinary washing (רְחִיצָה), being, strictly, not a washing at all, but an affusion or pouring of water from a vessel on the hands, as is indicated by the usual Hebrew phrase just given, which is shortened from נְטִילַת מַיִם עַל הַיָּדַיִם (lit. 'a lifting up of water upon the hands').[4]

This practice of pouring water on the hands before meals is not mentioned in the OT (but see Tobit, 7 9, text of א); it would be rash on that account to regard the ceremony as of late origin, in view of its universal observance by the civilised nations of antiquity (for Egypt see Erman, 179-181; Wilkinson, 1 425; for Greece, the Homeric poems *passim*; cp *Æn.* 1 705). By the first century of our era the greatest importance was attached to its observance, as we see from various passages of the NT (see esp. Mk. 7 1-4), especially by the adherents of the Pharisees. It is described as 'a tradition of the elders' (*l.c.*, *v.* 3): in other words it was not claimed as a Mosaic institution. At least two attempts to justify the practice from the Pentateuch, however, are found in the Talmud, one authority basing it on Lev. 15 11 (so *Chullīn*, 105 *a*), another on Lev. 20 7 (*Bĕrākh.* 53 *b*).

The passage Lev. 20 7 affords a characteristic example of Rabbinic exegesis: '*Sanctify yourselves therefore*; this is the washing of hands before meals; *and be ye holy*: this is the

[1] According as the cubit is reckoned at eighteen or at twenty-one inches.

[2] See arts. *Lectus* and *Triclinium* in the Dicts. of Classical Antiquities.

[3] This is clear and explicit enough. Nevertheless even good scholars (see, *e.g.*, Thayer, *sub* πρωτοκλισία and Plummer on Lk. 14 7) have been misled by Edersheim (see *Jesus the Messiah*, 2 207 *f.*), who unwarrantably (as the present writer thinks) renders מִטָּה, in a Talmudic passage (*Bĕrākh.* 46 *b*) similar to that above quoted, by 'cushions,' with the result that on a given couch 'if there are three cushions, the third worthiest lies below him who has lain down first (at his right), so that the chief person is in the middle (between the worthiest guest at his left hand, and the less worthy one at his right hand.') By this mistaken rendering the πρωτοκλισίαι are wrongly transferred by Edersheim to the middle places on each couch—*i.e.*, from the *locus summus* to the *locus medius*;—or are we meant to infer that the three chief guests at a banquet were all accommodated on one couch?

[1] Not necessarily the same as the 'guest-chamber' (τὸ κατάλυμα), according to Plummer, *in loc.*

[2] It is doubtful if Judas' proximity to Jesus can be based on Mt. 26 23 (ὁ ἐμβάψας μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ; cp Mk. 14 17 20) since there may have been only *one* such 'dish,' viz., that containing the *ḥaroseth* (see PASSOVER, § 17). If we could be sure that there was one 'dish' for each couch, as some suggest, then Judas' position would be decided in favour of the first of the two alternatives given above.

[3] Perhaps in Is. 21 5, צָפֹה צָפִית, 'they spread the mats' (for the grounds see Che. *Intr. Is.* 126). [But cp OBADIAH (BOOK), where this difficult phrase is emended in the light of the theory mentioned in *Crit. Rev.* 11 (1901) 18.]

[4] Hence ῥαντίζομαι, the reading of אB adopted by WH and others, is a much more appropriate term for the ceremony than βαπτίζομαι of TR in Mk. 7 4. The latter corresponds exactly to the Heb. הִטְבִּיל, to dip the hands *in* water, as required in certain circumstances before eating. For further details of this distinction between נְטִילָה and טְבִילָה, see Maimonides' preface to the treatise *Yādāyim* (Surenhusius' *Mishna*, vol. vi. p. 480, and Meuschen, *Nov. Test. e Talmude illustr.* 239).

washing of hands after meals; *for I am the Lord your God:* this is the blessing.' A large part of the Mishna treatise *Yādáyim* (hands) is devoted to discussing the minimum quantity of water necessary, which was fixed at a quarter lōg (=1½ 'egg-fuls'), the kind of water admissible, and other minutiæ. Similar prescriptions are given in *Chăgīgā* 2 5; 'Before partaking of common food (חוּלִין), the tithe and the tĕrūmah, water must be poured (נטל) over the hands; before consecrated food (קוֹדֶשׁ, *i.e.*, portions of the sacrificial victims) the hands must be dipped (טבל) in water' (cp *Chullīn*, 106*a*).

As among the people of classical antiquity and in the East at the present day, an attendant made the round of the guests with a small ewer and basin, both generally of brass (see illust. in Lane's *Mod. Egyptians*), the ewer containing water which had been kept from possible defilement in large stone jars, the ὑδρίαι of Jn. 2 6 *ff.* The hands were held over the basin, and the water allowed to run to the wrist (עַד־הַפֶּרֶק, *Yād.* 2 3, *Chull.* 106 *a*, *b*). This, after all, seems the simplest interpretation of the words in the second Gospel: ἐὰν μὴ πυγμῇ νίψωνται τὰς χεῖρας, οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν (Mk. 7 3 [ℵB, etc.]).[1] Originally a single ablution sufficed; but by the end of the second century, the process was repeated, the hands now being held downwards so that the water (distinguished as מַיִם אַחֲרוֹנִים, or second water, from the first water מַיִם רִאשׁוֹנִים) might carry off the defilement supposed to be contracted by the water of the first washing (for details see *Yād.* 2 1-3 and Edersheim, *Life and Times*, 2 11 *f.*). The Hebrew *termini technici* just quoted have often, with doubtful propriety, been applied to the washing before and after meals respectively. A napkin (מַפָּה, *mappah*, *Bĕrākh.* 8 3: מִטְפַּחַת יָדַיִם, *Kēl.* 9 3 24 14) was used to dry the hands, after which it might be laid on the table (so the school of Shammai) or on the cushion (so Hillel—see *Bĕrākh. loc. cit.*).

The washing of hands after meals, which may be here mentioned by anticipation, was more a matter of convenience than of ritual to people to whom the use of knives and forks was unknown. The description of Elisha as the prophet 'which poured water on the hands of Elijah' (2 K. 3 11) has in all probability a reference to the washing of hands after, if not also before, meals.

In later times, the more fastidious were wont to wash after each course, regarding which the Talmud holds that while 'the washing of hands before and after meals is a duty, washing *during a meal, between one course and another*, is a matter of choice' (*Chull.* 105 *a*). There was an order of precedence in this matter of washing also, the most honoured guest washing first (*Bĕrākh.* 46*b*).

The company having performed the required ablutions in due order, the host gives the sign to 'bring in the tables' (εἰσφέρειν τραπέζας; cp παρέθηκε τράπεζαν in the figurative sense of setting *food*), for before the introduction of the fixed table of the triclinium, the attendants carried in and placed before each couch a low table on which (to use a modern expression) the covers were already laid. Such was the 'spread table' (שֻׁלְחָן עָרוּךְ) of Ezek. 23 41, ערך *'ārak* being the word used for preparing the domestic table (Is. 21 5 Ps. 23 5 Prov. 9 2), as well as for arranging the sacrifice upon the altar, 'the table of Yahwè' (Ez. 41 22 44 16 Mal. 1 7 12).

6. Serving.

In the more modest households, the meals were served, as well as prepared, by the women of the family (Mt. 8 15 Mk. 1 31), although exceptions are occasionally found (2 K. 4 43 Lk. 17 7 *f.*). In the houses of the rich, the waiting (Esth. 6 3 5 [A]) was done entirely by men, who were in most cases no doubt slaves. The standing expression in Hebrew is *šērēth* (שֵׁרֵת) (διακονέω, *ministro*), of which the participle *mĕšārĕthīm* (1 K. 10 5 2 K. 4 43 Esth. 1 10 2 2 etc.; NT διάκονοι [EV 'servants'] Jn. 2 5 9) is the equivalent of our 'waiters,' a word used by AV only in Judith 13 1 as the rendering of οἱ παρεστῶτες (but RV 'them that waited'; cp ἡ παράστασις 'attendance,' 1 Macc. 15 32). The Hebrew historians (see 1 K. 10 5 2 Ch. 9 4) have given us a life-like picture of Solomon's table, the king presiding, flanked on either hand by 'the gentlemen of the household' on chairs (מוֹשַׁב עֲבָדָיו), the waiters standing in attendance (מַעֲמַד מְשָׁרְתָיו, στάσις λειτουργῶν), dressed, like the cupbearers, in the royal livery (מַלְבּוּשׁ). In later Hebrew a waiter is שַׁמָּשׁ (*Bĕrākh.* 7 1 *Pĕsāch.* 7 13) from שִׁמֵּשׁ (*Ābōth* 1 3), the equivalent of the older שֵׁרֵת.

At the stage of the dinner which we have now reached, the host, following ancient custom, says 'grace' (בְּרָכָה; lit. 'a blessing'). The first trace of a 'grace before meat' is usually detected in the incident recorded in 1 S. 9 13, where the people delay partaking of the sacrificial meal until the arrival of Samuel to 'bless the sacrifice.' The village feast here described, however, is not in any sense an ordinary domestic meal. The earliest mention of a grace in the ordinary acceptation of the term seems to be in the letter of the Pseudo-Aristeas ('not later than 200 B.C.; Schürer), in which is given an account of the reception by Ptolemy Philadelphus of the Jewish scholars professedly sent to translate the Hebrew Scriptures for his library.

7. The Blessing.

At the royal table one of the delegates, Elisha by name, a priest, was requested to say grace (ποιήσασθαι κατευχήν, Aristeas, ed. Wendland, 184, cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2 12), which he did standing. In the Gospels the blessing or thanksgiving before a meal has the repeated sanction of Jesus (εὐλογέω Mt. 26 26 Mk. 8 7 Lk. 9 16; εὐχαριστέω Mt. 15 36 26 27 Mk. 8 6 Lk. 22 17 etc.), as in Acts 27 35 it has that of Paul (cp 1 Tim. 4 3 *f.*). Of the contemporary Essenes, we are informed by Josephus that 'a priest says grace (προκατεύχεται) before meat, and it is unlawful for any one to taste food before grace' (πρὶν τῆς εὐχῆς *BJ* ii. 8 5).

For the practice of saying grace after meat, which later Judaism finds enjoined in Dt. 8 10 ('when thou hast eaten and art full, then shalt thou bless Yahwè thy God for the good land which he hath given thee'), we have no biblical evidence. From this fact, and from the stress laid by Josephus (*loc. cit.*) on the fact that the pious Essenes offered prayers both before and after meat, we gather that a second grace was not yet customary in the first century. By the end of the second, however, as the treatise *Bĕrākhōth* (blessings) clearly proves, a grace, not only before and after a meal but also at various stages of it, had become the rule in orthodox households.

A considerable part (chaps. 6-8) of the treatise *Bĕrākhōth* is devoted to discussing the various forms of grace appropriate to wine and different kinds of food, such as bread, fruit, etc., and at what points in the progress of the meal the various blessings should be said. Among the more noteworthy injunctions are the following:—'To say grace is incumbent on women, slaves and children' all of whom were exempted from wearing the phylacteries and from certain other religious duties (*Bĕrākh.* 2 3). 'If several people *sit* at table, each says grace for himself, but if they *recline* one says grace for all' (6 6). 'Whoso has eaten and has forgotten to say grace, must, the school of Shammai maintains, return to his place and say grace; but the school of Hillel holds that he may say grace in the place where he remembers [the omission]' (8 7). 'Amen is to be said after an Israelite has said grace (cp 1 Cor. 14 16), but not after a non-Israelite, unless one has heard the whole blessing' (8 8). As specimens of these early graces, it must suffice to quote those to be said over bread and wine respectively. Over the former the 'blessing' runs—'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth'; over the latter—'Blessed, etc. (these words being common to all the blessings), who createst the fruit of the vine' (cp Mt. 26 29 and parall.). To these may be added this specimen of a grace after meat—'Blessed be the Lord our God the God of Israel, the God of hosts, enthroned upon the Cherubim, for the food which we have eaten' (7 3).

An entertainment such as that now being described consisted among the Jews, as among their Gentile contemporaries, of two parts, the δεῖπνον or dinner, at which wine was taken sparingly or not at all, and the following 'banquet' *mišteh* (מִשְׁתֶּה, from שתה 'to drink,' = συμπόσιον) which was chiefly devoted to the pleasures of the wine-cup.[1] This twofold division corresponds to the 'first' and 'second tables' of classical antiquity. The 'first table,' to which we now proceed, consisted of various courses according to the wealth and inclination of the host, who, on week-

8. Menu.

[1] The late Professor Delitzsch in his Heb. translation of the NT here employs the words of the Mishna cited above. For alternative reading πυκνά [ℵ, etc.], and the interpretation generally, see the Commentaries.

[1] 'Banquet,' in older English writers, has still this more limited application, see *Oxf. Engl. Dict.*, *s.v.*

days but not on the Sabbath, might have drawn up for him a list of dishes (cp γραμματίδιον, menu-card, Athen. 2 33), as well as of his guests (see *Shabb.* 23 2). The dinner of the Essenes, according to Josephus, consisted of a single course (ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐδέσματος); but that of the average middle-class household probably consisted of two or three. The first course, corresponding in the main to the *gustatio* of the Romans, was composed of light, appetising dishes of the nature of *hors-d'œuvre*.[1] Among these were salted fish (see FISH, § 7) without bread, eggs boiled or beaten with oil (*Shabb.* 8 5), preserved vegetables of all sorts, olives, and piquant sauce or vinegar into which the 'morsel of bread' might be dipped, etc. Appetisers like the caper (see CAPER-BERRY) were for special occasions or special needs.

On this followed the *deipnon* (*cœna*) in the narrower sense of the word, consisting of a varying number of courses of vegetables, fish, fowl, and flesh, as described in detail in the general articles FOOD, FISH, FOWL. The more substantial courses were varied, on great occasions, by a number of side-dishes or entrées, for which various names are found in later Jewish literature. Wine was handed round 'in the course of the meal' (בְּתוֹךְ הַמָּזוֹן *Bĕrākh.* 6 6).

9. The Plate. The dishes in which the viands were served—the כְּלֵי תַשְׁמִישׁ or 'vessels for the service (of the table)' of the Mishna—naturally varied according to the wealth and social position of the household, vessels of earthenware and wood predominating in the houses of the poor, of brass, silver, etc., and even gold (see below) in the houses of the rich. The small size of the ancient table, however, did not allow of the same display of 'plate' (Judith 12 1), as is customary in modern times. Thus, of the Greek table it has been said, 'the name πίναξ (besides signifying 'tray') is also given to the plates (see below), which, with the bread baskets and the small vessels to hold seasoning and hors-d'œuvre, compose the whole table service' (Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, *s.v.* 'Cæna,' 1275*a*), a statement confirmed by many representations on Greek vases and elsewhere. Bread, which formed a conspicuous feature of every meal, was served in shallow wicker baskets (סַל OT and Mishna *passim*—*e.g.*, Gen. 40 16-18; סַל הַפַּת *Kēl.* 23, סַלֵּי כְפָרִים *Shabb.* 16 3 𝔊 κανοῦν); cp BASKETS. In ancient times a similar basket of closely plaited grass, reeds, or straw was even used to serve meat in (Judg. 6 19), and such trays are still common in the East (Palgrave, *Cent. Arab.* 1 52 *ff.*, Landberg, *Prov.* 62). One of the most frequently mentioned of table dishes is the *ḳĕʿārāh* (AV 'dish'; 'charger' in Nu. 7 13 where mention is made of silver 'chargers' of 130 shekels weight; 𝔊 generally τρυβλίον; cp also Ecclus. 34 14 Jos. *Ant.* iii. 8 10). This is 'the dish' mentioned in the accounts of the Last Supper (Mt. 26 23 Mk. 14 20). It must have been a round, deep dish not unlike the *catinum*[2] of the Romans, by which Vg. renders in Mk. 14 20. In the Mishna we very frequently find associated with the *kĕʿārāh* a dish termed *tamḥûy* (תַּמְחוּי, *Shabb.* 3 5 *Nĕd.* 4 4 etc.), which appears to have been round like the *keʿārāh* but much shallower. This we infer from the fact that, when made of metal, the *tamḥûy* was capable of being used as a mirror (*Kēl.* 30 2). It may, therefore, be identified with the πίναξ, the 'charger' of Mt. 14 8 11 Mk. 6 25 28 (see under *Lanx* in Rich). The πίναξ is also 'the platter' of Lk. 11 39, for which the parallel passage Mt. 23 25 has παροψίς (AV also 'platter'; Vg. *paropsis*)—originally a four-cornered[1] dish for entrées, as the etymology shows, but later a name for table dishes in general. It may be that *tamḥûy* is a later name for the older *ṣallaḥath* (CRUSE, 3), the 'dish' into which the sluggard thrusts his hand but is too lazy to bring it again to his mouth (Prov. 19 24 RV, 26 15 2 K. 21 13). In the Mishna we also find an interesting variety of the same dish (תַּמְחוּי הַמְּזוֹנוֹן *Kel.* 16 1), evidently a large wooden tray with various compartments (a sort of compotier, Levy) in which several viands could be served at once. These 'service-vessels,' as we have seen, were of very varied material, only the rich and high-placed, like Holofernes, having a service of 'plate' (τὰ ἀργυρώματα, Jud. 12 1 15 11 AV; but RV 'silver vessels'). Wealthy monarchs like Solomon and Ahasuerus may really have had all their plate of gold (1 K. 10 21 2 Ch. 9 20 Esth. 1 7). A service of gold plate (χρυσώματα καὶ διακονίαν—a hendiadys, 'golden vessels to be served in' as AV) was sent by the young King Antiochus VI. to Jonathan the Asmonæan (1 Macc. 11 58). Wealthy Romans were fond of displaying their plate on a species of sideboard known as *abacus* [see illust. in Rich]; something very similar is intended by the κυλίκιον (EV 'cupboard') in or on which Jonathan's successor Simon displayed his 'gold and silver vessels,' to the admiration of the Syrian envoy (1 Macc. 15 32). Such, too, was 'the κυλίκιον of thirty talents' weight,' presented by Ptolemy Philadelphus to Eleazar, according to Aristeas (Wendl. 320).[2]

10. Cutlery. Knives and forks were used chiefly in the kitchen and for carving (see KNIFE, COOKING UTENSILS, § 5). The former, however, were also used for peeling fruit, as we see from the dramatic incident of Herod's attempted suicide recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 7, *BJ* i. 33 7 μαχαίριον). 'Spoons' is hardly a correct rendering in Ex. 25 29 etc.; see ALTAR, § 10. The real spoon (*tarwād*, תַּרְוָד) is first mentioned in post-biblical literature, but even then, like the *cochlear* of the Romans, chiefly in connection with medicine. It might be of metal (*Kēl.* 17 12), glass (*ibid.* 30 2), or bone (*Shabb.* 8 6).[3] Even among the most civilised nations of antiquity, as in Eastern lands to this day, it was the universal custom to eat with the fingers without the aid of their modern substitutes, the first two fingers and the thumb of the right hand being used for this purpose (see reff. above, § 5, also close of article). The 'broth' of Judg. 6 19 Is. 65 4, sauces, and the like, were eaten by dipping in them a piece of bread, the 'sop' (ψωμίον) of Jn. 13 26 *ff.* (cp Ruth 2 14). Each guest had his 'portion' (מָנָה, 1 S. 1 4 *f.* 9 23) or 'mess' (מַשְׂאֵת, Gen. 43 34 μερίς [𝔊], 2 S. 11 8 ἄρσις [𝔊BA]; cp Lk. 10 42 the 'good part' or portion) placed before him by the attendants, a guest whom the host wished specially to honour being helped to some special delicacy, as in Saul's case (1 S. 9 23—by Josephus called μερὶς βασιλική, *Ant.* vi. 4 1), or receiving a more ample portion than the others (Gen. 43 34 1 S. 1 5: read 'double portion' as AVmg.). 'Portions' might also be sent, as a further token of honour, to the house of the recipient (2 S. 11 8; cp Neh. 8 12).

11. Symposium. At the close of the *deipnon* proper came the second washing of hands (see above), after which—if we may judge from contemporary usage elsewhere—'the first tables' were removed (αἴρειν, ἐκφέρειν τραπέζας: Plut. *Symp.* 8 4). This custom, however, cannot have been universal

[1] This course might, accordingly, be reckoned as purely hors-d'œuvre, *i.e.*, as preliminary to the proper meal (cp פַּרְפֶּרֶת שֶׁלִּפְנֵי הַמָּזוֹן, lit. a side dish before the meal, *Bĕrākh.* 6 5), and offered to the guests even before they reclined at table, accompanied by a cup of wine. These being handed round as the guests were still *seated* in the 'vestibule' or in the dining-room itself, grace (as we have just seen) was at this stage said by each guest individually, as distinguished from the common blessing when all had *reclined*. See the Gĕmārā in Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds to the above Mishna.

[2] For illustrations of the dishes mentioned in this paragraph see the Latin words in italics in Rich's *Dict. of Gk. and Roman Antiquities.*

[1] Quadrangulum et quadrilaterum vas; Isidor, quoted by Marquardt, *Privatleben d. Römer*, 635.

[2] This, rather than a goblet (Becher in Wendland's translation in Kautzsch, *Pseudepigr.*), is suggested by the weight given.

[3] In *Yādáyim* 4 6 bones are said to be unclean, 'so that no one may make the bones of his father or his mother into spoons'!

MEALS

among the Jews, for according to the Mishna it was often the practice to wash the tables with a sponge (*Shabb.* 21 3, cp *Od.* 1 111), at the same time that the crumbs (ψίχια, Mt. 15 27) which had fallen 'between the couches' were swept up (*Bĕrākh.* 8 4, *Bēṣā* 2 7). In the former case the 'second tables' were brought in, and the attendants proceeded to place on them the dessert, consisting for the most part of some of the many varieties of fruit, fresh or preserved, for which Syria has been at all times famous (see FRUIT). Over the fruit was said an appropriate blessing: 'Blessed art Thou, etc. who createst the fruit of the tree' (*Bĕrākh.* 6 1). Whether the fruit was sent to table in 'baskets of silver' (Prov. 25 11 RV) is doubtful. See BASKETS.

Various designations for this part of the entertainment are found in the Talmud. One of these, מְרוּנִיָּמָא, is merely a naturalised form of the Greek word for dessert, *τραγήματα*, while another, אַפִּיקוֹמָן, by its etymology (probably *ἐπὶ κῶμον*, *ad commissationem*; cp κῶμος EV 'revelling,' 1 Pet. 4 3 Rom. 13 13 Gal. 5 21) indicates that dessert formed the transition to the second main division of the entertainment, the *mišteh* or symposium.

Before the symposium proper began, however, the guests anointed afresh, wine and ointments being naturally associated. With ointment is also associated incense (קְטֹרֶת, Prov. 27 9 Ezek. 23 41), and in later times a special kind of incense or aromatic spice, known as מוּגְמָר, was laid upon charcoal and handed round after the meal (*Bēṣā* 2 7). A special blessing was even said over it by the orthodox (*Bĕrākh.* 6 4). With it the guests perfumed their clothes (Ps. 45 8 [9] Cant. 3 6) and probably their beards as well (see Lane, *Mod. Eg.* chap. 8, with illustr., Palgrave, *East. and Cent. Arab.* 26). Nor, we may be sure, was it only among the Jews of Alexandria that the summons of the author of the Wisdom of Solomon found a ready response; 'Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and perfumes; and let no flower of spring pass us by; Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they be withered' (Wisd. 2 7 *f.* RV).

Although the Hebrews may not have had the same fondness, amounting to a passion, for flowers, that characterised their Egyptian contemporaries (Wilk. 1 426-9 with illust., Erman, 193 *f.*, 255), the custom of wearing flowers either as chaplets (Is. 28 1 *ff.*) or otherwise at their banquets was one, as we see, of considerable antiquity. The crown (*στέφανος*) which it was usual to award to the successful symposiarch (Ecclus. 32 1 *f.*) was probably no more than a special garland of flowers. By the first century the custom in question had spread under Hellenistic influence to the common soldiers in the army (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 9 11, *στεφανούμενοι καὶ μυριζόμενοι*; cp CHAPLET).

Although there is evidence (see above, § 8) that wine was not denied to the guests during the first part of the entertainment, still the Jews, like the Greeks, regarded the second part as the proper period for enjoying 'the fruit of the vine.' It was usual to appoint one of the guests to be 'ruler [or governor] of the feast' (*ἡγούμενος* Ecclus. 35 1 [AV 32 1]; probably also Lk. 22 26) whose duty it was to take measures for the conduct of the feast, as *arbiter bibendi* to regulate the manner and quantity of the drinking, and to enforce penalties in the case of any breach of etiquette. There has been much discussion among the learned as to whether the *ἀρχιτρίκλινος* of Jn. 2 8 *f.* is to be identified with the symposiarch in the sense indicated by Ben-Sira, or with the functionary, generally a slave, known as the *τρικλινιάρχης* or head waiter who arranged the tables and couches and superintended the service generally. The distinction between the ruler and the 'servants' in *v.* 9 and the tone of equality which characterises the remarks of *v.* 10 seem to decide for the former alternative.[1]

In the palaces of royalty, however, we find a special set of attendants who brought the wine to table—the מַשְׁקִים (*οἰνοχόοι*) or 'cupbearers' (1 K. 10 5 AVmg.), over whom was set the 'chief butler' (see CUPBEARER). At an Egyptian banquet, according to Wilkinson, while the men had male attendants, the women were waited upon by females, a custom which the Greek translators of Ecclesiastes evidently considered as obtaining at the court of Solomon (Eccl. 2 8 *οἰνοχόον καὶ οἰνοχόας*).[1]

The Jews of the Greek and Roman periods certainly drank their wine mixed (see Bel 33 in 𝔊, 2 Macc. 15 39, *Bĕrākh.* 7 5). It must, however, be left an open question whether this practice was customary in earlier times, since the biblical references to *māsak*, 'mingling' (מָסַךְ, Is. 5 22 Prov. 9 2 5) are rather to be understood of the addition of aromatic herbs (but see Prov. 9 2 𝔊). The use of hot water, also, is proved both by the mention of the heating apparatus (מֵחַם) in *Pĕsāchīm* 7 13, and by the express testimony of *Ma'ăśĕrōth* 4 4.

12. Use of wine.

From the scanty biblical data and from Assyrian and Egyptian analogies we may presume that the drinking-vessels of the Hebrews had different shapes, some being shallow, others deep. To the former class—the *kōs* (כּוֹס)—belong such cups as are held by Ašur-bāni-pal and his queen in the famous garden-scene relief. Larger than the *kōs* was the *mizrāḳ* (מִזְרָק), as we may infer from its being used to catch the blood of the sacrificial victims. Large bowls were used by the Assyrians, and also, no doubt, by the Hebrews, for mixing wine with pounded aromatic herbs. Out of these bowls (the גְּבִיעִים of Jer. 35 5) the drinking-vessels appear to have been filled (*i.e.*, not, as the Greek custom required, by means of a *kyathus*). See also BASON, BOWL, CUP, FLAGON.

We have no means of knowing the drinking code by which, under the presidency of the 'ruler of the feast,' a Jewish symposium was regulated. As our earliest evidence of this officer does not go beyond 200 B.C. (see above, § 11), the laws by which he ruled were probably modelled on those of the Greeks (for which see art. 'symposium' in Smith's, and 'commissatio' in Daremberg and Saglio's Dicts.). The existence of such a code as we refer to among the Jews of the Greek period is further confirmed by the statement in Est. 1 8, the true meaning of which undoubtedly is (see 𝔊, Vg.) that on this occasion the code was relaxed and the drinking proceeded 'according to every man's pleasure.' The same freedom characterises the picture drawn by Josephus of the Jewish soldiers toasting each other when celebrating by a debauch the death of Herod Agrippa (*Ant.* xix. 9 1). It was customary for the host to drink to the health of his guests (*προπίνειν*, *διὰ τῶν προπόσεων*, Aristeas, ed. Wendland, 235, 261, 274).

No banquet such as we have had in view throughout would have been complete, if it did not provide some higher form of entertainment than the mere emptying of wine-cups. Music, in particular, from the earliest times, was a never-failing accompaniment of the social feast. Thus Amos (6 5 *f.*, see DAVID, § 13, n. 3) and Isaiah (5 12) upbraid their contemporaries for their luxurious feasts, of which music was an element. David, according to 2 S. 19 35 [36], had already a choir of 'singing men and singing women,' an institution which a late Hebrew writer represents as also flourishing at the court of Solomon (Eccl. 2 8). Not much later, in all probability, is the testimony of Ben Sira (Ecclus. 32 [35] 3-6; note the enthusiastic eulogy of a 'concert of music,' *σύγκριμα μουσικῶν*). With music, as a matter of course, went dancing, which was performed by the attendants (see DANCE), and since 'a feast is made for laughter' (Eccl. 10 19), we find, as we might expect, riddles and conundrums propounded, such as that

13. Entertainments.

[1] The second of the above alternatives (*τρικλινιάρχης*) is suggested by the 'steward' of RVmg.

[1] [שדה ושדות is probably a corrupt repetition of שרים ושרות. Cp ECCLESIASTES, § 2, n.—T. K. C.]

given by Samson (Judg. 14 12 *ff.*),[1] and those with which the Talmud abounds. To these varied forms of entertainment were probably added feats of agility, and jugglers' tricks, similar to those in which the Egyptians delighted (see illustr. Wilk. 253 *ff.*, Erman, 248 *f.*), the whole being comprised under the general name ἀκρόαμα (Ecclus. 32 [35] 4), a term as comprehensive as the Eastern *fantasia* of to-day (see 'Acroama' in Daremb. et Saglio). An ideal philosopher's banquet rather than a picture from real life has been sketched for us in great detail by the Pseudo-Aristeas, whose famous letter is now (1901) accessible to all in the editions of Wendland (*Aristeæ ad Philocratem epistula*, 1900, translated in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, vol. ii.) and Thackeray (in Swete's *Introd. to the OT in Gk.*, 1900, pp. 499 *ff.*).

This article may fitly be brought to a close with some remarks on what may be termed the manners of the table,[2] in addition to what has been already said on certain points of etiquette in connection with the 'chief seats,' etc. It is hardly necessary to advert, even in a sentence, to the well-known ἐγκράτεια (Ecclus. 18 30 in title 𝔊) of the Hebrews with regard to the pleasures of the table. It is not merely that they condemn such excesses as aroused the indignation of an Amos (4 1 6 4 *ff.*) or an Isaiah (5 12 28 1-8); we find throughout a wise moderation as regards eating and drinking recommended both by precept (Prov. 23 20 *f.*) and by example (cp the justifiable pride of Josephus in his countrymen's σωφροσύνη; *c. Ap.* 2 23 32, and Pseudo-Aristeas, 223). Where exceptions are mentioned, as Gen. 9 20 *ff.* 1 K. 20 16 *ff.*, they are 'for warning and reproof.' We would rather call attention, as above indicated, to sentiments on a minor key, so to say, like those of Ḳōhéleth on eating 'in due season' (Eccl. 10 16 *f.*), and to such sound advice as that of Prov. 23 1 *f.* The chief authority, however, on the 'minor morals' of the dinner table is Ben Sira, the author of the two *loci classici* Ecclus. 31 12-18 32 3-12. In the latter passage the theme is mainly the etiquette of conversation at dinner (see *vv.* 3 4 7-9), in the former the reader is warned against greediness and unseemly haste at table (31 14 RV; cp *vv.* 12 16). He is further recommended not to be overscrupulous as to his diet (*v.* 16; cp Lk. 10 8). There is also sage advice regarding moderation in eating: 'Be first to leave off for manners' sake,' etc. (*v.* 17, cp *v.* 20 in praise of 'moderate eating,' also 32 11), and in drinking: 'Wine is as good as life to a man, if thou drink it in its measure' (*v.* 27; for the converse, see *v.* 29 *f.*). It is pleasant to find (see Ecclus. 31 21 in RV compared with AV) that Ben Sira does not stamp with his approval the habit of the later Romans, by which their capacity for the pleasures of the table was increased. The emetic mentioned in the Mishna (*Shabb.* 22 6) is purely medicinal.

14. Etiquette.

We have already seen that good manners required all food to be eaten with the right hand; this is still one of the strictest laws of etiquette in the East. It was a difficult task to teach the young Greek how to use his fingers properly at meals, 'to touch salt fish with one finger, fresh fish, bread, meat with two, etc.' (Mahaffy, *The Greek World*, etc., 325, basing on Plutarch); it was no doubt equally difficult in the case of the young Jew.

As a curious trifle under this head it may be mentioned that the Jewish doctors did not disdain to legislate on the subject of toothpicks (see *Bēṣā* 4 6, 'a man may lift up a splinter of wood to pick his teeth withal' [לַחֲצֹץ שִׁנָּיו]; cp *Tōseftā ib.* 3 18, Jer. *Shabb.* 8 end, 11 *c*).

Finally the privacy of an eastern house is in some respects greater (*e.g.*, as regards the women's apartments), in others much less than that of a western; hence, as we see from more than one incident in the life of Jesus (*e.g.*, Lk. 7 37), a stranger might enter unbidden even while a meal was in progress. If it were desired to add the late comer to the party, and the couches were full, he might be accommodated with a chair or stool (cp the incident related in Jos. *Vit.* 44).

A. R. S. K.

[1] On riddles at feasts Moore refers to Bochart, *Hieroz.* 3 382 *f.*, ed. Rosenmüller. Cp also 'Spruch, Sprichwort,' in Hamburger, *Realencycl.* 2.

[2] Two tractates, entirely devoted to etiquette, *Dérek 'Éreṣ*, and *Dérek 'Éreṣ Zūṭā*, are now generally included in editions of the Bab. Talm. (see extracts given by Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc. 2 209-10). The latter treatise has been separately edited and translated into German by Tawrogi, 63 pp., 1885.

MEANI (ΜΑΝΕΙ [B]), RV MAANI, 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 50, MEUNIM (*g*).

MEARAH (מְעָרָה, 'cave'), a corrupt word—more strictly *u-mĕ'ārāh* (וּמְעָרָה) in Josh. 13 4, probably to be corrected into 'from Zarephath.'

The word must contain the preposition מ=מן 'from,' and the name of some Sidonian city, the initial ו being a mere accretion. 𝔊 read, or conjectured, 'from Gaza' (מֵעַזָּה); but Gaza was a southern city (ἀπὸ γάζης [L], or ἐναντίον γάζης [B]; A om. γάζης). Buhl and Steuernagel, improving a poor suggestion of Dillmann's, propose מִמְּעָרָה, 'from Mearah'; but no such place as Mearah is known. Bennett (*SBOT*) suggests מֵאַרְוָד, 'from Arvad,' which is plausible (see ARVAD). But though Arvad was colonised from Sidon, it would hardly have been described as 'belonging to the Zidonians.' The right reading seems to the present writer to be מִצָּרְפַת, 'from Zarephath.' Cp 1 K. 17 9 'to Zarephath which belongs to Zidon'; even if 'Zidon' here is incorrect, a Sidonian Zarephath is presupposed by the phrase. Cp ZAREPHATH. T. K. C.

MEASURE (סְאָה, etc.), 2 K. 7 1 etc. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

MEAT (אָכְלָה, Gen. 1 29 *f.* etc.; מָזוֹן, Gen. 45 23, RV 'victual'). See FOOD.

MEAT OFFERING (מִנְחָה), Lev. 6 14 etc. AV. See SACRIFICE.

MEBUNNAI (מְבֻנַּי); a more plausible vocalisation is מִבְּנֵי, ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν [BA]), a corrupt reading in 2 S. 23 27. See SIBBECAI.

MECHERATHITE (מְכֵרָתִי), 1 Ch. 11 36, probably a false reading for MAACATHITE (*q.v.*). See also ELIPHELET, 2.

MECONAH (מְכֹנָה), Neh. 11 28 RV, AV MEKONAH (*q.v.*).

MEDABA (ΜΗΔΑΒΑ [ANV]), 1 Macc. 9 36. See MEDEBA.

MEDAD (מֵידָד), Nu. 11 26 *f.* See ELDAD.

MEDAN (מְדָן; ΜΑΔΑΝ [A*D*EL]), a son of Abraham by Keturah, and brother of Midian, Gen. 25 2 (ΜΑΔΑΙΜ [A], ΜΑΔΑΙ [A?]), 1 Ch. 1 32 (ΜΑΔΙΑΜ [B], ΜΑΔΑΙΜ [L]).

Whether it is worth while to compare the name of the Wādy Medān near the ruined city Dedān (Wetzstein, in Del. *Jesaia*(1), 663) or the name of a Yemenite god Madān (Osiander; Margoliouth in Hastings, *DB*), may be doubted. '**Medanites**' (so EVmg., מדנים) occurs in Gen. 37 36, but should certainly be corrected to מדינים as in *v.* 28 (cp 𝔊).

MEDE (מָדִי), Dan. 11 1 etc., MEDES (מָדַי), 2 K. 17 6 etc. See PERSIA.

MEDEBA (מֵידְבָא, Moab. מהדבא [*MI*, *l.* 8], § 15, 'water of rest'?).

Nu. 21 30 Μωαβ [BAFL]; Josh. 13 9, δαιδαβαν [B], μαιδ. [Ba?b], μαιδαβα (β sup. ras. Aa) [A], μεδαβα [L]; Josh. 13 16 μεδαβα [L], BA om.; 1 Ch. 19 7 μαιδαβα [B], βαιδ. [ℵ], του μηδ. [A], μηδ. [L]; Is. 15 2, τῆς μωαβ(ε)ιτιδος [BℵAQΓ] or omit?; 1 Macc. 9 36, μηδαβα [AℵV]; *Medaba*; Pesh. usually transliterates [מארבא], but reads מדבר 'desert' in Nu. [מדברא], מערב 'west' in Josh. 13 9 [מערבא], דיבא *ib. v.* 16. *MI*, *l.* 3 is perhaps to be vocalised מְהֶרְבָא.

A city on the tableland (*mīšōr*) of MOAB, S. of Heshbon (Josh. 13 9 16); according to Nu. 21 30 (if the text is correct) a city of the Amorites. Although the whole tableland—Medeba to Dibon—is assigned to

Reuben by D and P in Josh. 13 9 16, the Chronicler is aware that it was not Israelite in David's time (1 Ch. 19 7). Medeba was seized by Omri; but after forty years of Israelitish occupation, it reverted to Moab in Mesha's time (*MI, l.* 8); certainly it was Moabite when the elegy of Moab in Is. 15 *f.* was written (6th or 5th cent. B.C.?). It was an important fortress during the Maccabæan period, and its people succeeded in capturing John, the brother of Jonathan the Jewish prince (1 Macc. 9 35-37), for which treacherous act they were afterwards made to suffer (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 4 9 1 10 2-3). Medeba (Μηδαυα) is mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 17 6) as a town of Arabia Petræa between Bostra and Petra (viii. 20 20); by Eusebius (μεδδαβα, μηδαβα) and Jerome (*Medaba*), in *OS* 138 32 279 13, as still known in their time under its ancient name; and the name occurs also among the episcopal cities of the province of Arabia (Rel., p. 217). A mosaic map of Christian Palestine and Egypt found at Medeba and described by Clermont Ganneau in *Recueil d'Archéol. orient.* xi. (1897), p. 161 has deservedly excited much attention. See *PEFQ*, July 1897 (a translation from Cl. Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. orient.* xi. 161, and 1897, p. 239; 1898, pp. 85, 177, 251).

The ruins survive and bear their old name, under the Arabic form *Mādebā*. They lie 2940 ft. above sea-level, about four m. S. by W. of Heshbon, with which they are connected by an ancient paved road. The city occupied a low hill a mile and a half in circumference. The whole site is covered with ruins, for the most part dating from early Christian times. Outside the walls (the line of which can be distinctly traced) is a large pool, 108 yds. long, 103 yds. wide and 10·13 ft. deep; it is at present dry. The plain around Mādebā, though now desolate, is fertile, and thickly dotted with ancient cities (Burckhardt, *Syr.* 366; Irby and Mangles, 471; Porter, *Handbk.* 303; Schumacher, *ZDPV* 18 113 *f.*; Baed. *Pal.*(3) 175 *f.*; *PEFQ*, July 1895, and 1901, pp. 235-246).

MEDIA AND PERSIA. See PERSIA.

MEDIATOR and **UMPIRE.** The words are synonymous. Cruden, in his *Concordance*, defines

1. In OT. 'mediator' as 'a person that manages, or transacts, between two contending parties, in order to reconcile them.' This might also be given as a definition of 'umpire,' which is the word suggested by our translators (in preference to the too theological term 'mediator') in mg. of Job 9 33 (=מוֹכִיחַ) as an alternative to the archaic DAYSMAN [*q.v.*].

It should be noticed that though 𝔊 here gives μεσίτης, the word represents, not מוֹכִיחַ (as Adeney in Hastings, *DB* 3 311 n., supposes), but בינינו; apparently 𝔊 is thinking of אִישׁ הַבֵּנַיִם (EV a champion), 1 S. 17 4, which Driver (*TBS* 107) explains as 'the man of the μεταίχμιον, who came forward as the μεσίτης to bring the warfare to a close.' 𝔊's words are, εἴθε ἦν ὁ μεσίτης ἡμῶν καὶ ἐλέγχων (εἰ γὰρ . . . ὁ διελ. [A]).

The passage in Job is of great religious interest. The afflicted Job is struggling after a worthier conception of God, and can at first only express it thus, 'O that there were an umpire between us, who might impose his authority (lit., lay his hand) upon us both'—*i.e.*, upon the imperfect God of Job's theology and upon the much perplexed man himself (see JOB [BOOK], § 6, col. 2473). In Is. 2 4 EV's 'shall reprove' might with advantage become 'shall be an umpire to' (Che. *Proph. Is.*, 'shall arbitrate for').

The idea that the divine anger is liable to be excessive finds similar expression in 1 S. 2 25, which in the Bible of 1551 is thus rendered, 'If one man synne agaynst another, dayseman may make hys peace; but yf a man sinne agaynst the Lord, who can be hys dayseman'? This is at least preferable to EV's rendering; 'entreat for him' (cp 𝔊) obscures the play upon words, on which see Driver, *TBS* 27 *f.* The passage implies the use of מְפַלֵּל as a term for 'umpire.'

The NT word is 'mediator' (μεσίτης, also in Polyb., Lucian, etc.), which occurs in Gal. 3 19 *f.* 1 Tim. 2 5 Heb. 8 6 9 15 12 24 †. The verb, μεσιτεύω,

2. NT references. occurs in Heb. 6 17 † ('wherein God interposed with an oath'). In the last passage the idea is that the divine oath fills up the space between the promise and its intended recipients. In 1 Tim. 2 5 (RV) Christ Jesus is called the 'one mediator between God and men, (himself) man'; 'man' (ἄνθρωπος) is without an article, to emphasise the human nature spoken of. In Heb. *ll.c.* the phrase is 'the mediator of a new covenant,' which distinguishes Christ from Moses. In Gal. 3 19 *f.*, the reference is again to the distinction between the Law and the Gospel. The Law, we are told, was ordained through angels by the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is not (a mediator) of one, but God is one. (διαταγεὶς δι' ἀγγέλων, ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου. ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν.) The commentator Winer reckoned over 300 different explanations of this hard passage. Amidst such discord we cannot wonder that some (Michaelis and Straatman) have rejected the whole passage as an interpolation. This is certainly an arbitrary procedure. The chief difficulty lies, not in the words 'is not of one' (ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν), but in the next clause (ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν), regarded as a sequel to the former words, and, accordingly, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye proposes to expunge them (*Studien*, edited by de la S., 3 374 *ff.*). It is conceivable that an early reader of the words, 'Now a mediator is not (a mediator) of one,' may have stumbled at them; 'God is one,' how then can it be said that 'a mediator is not a mediator of one'? Most commentators, however, disapprove even of this plausible solution of the problem. But what explanation can be called more than plausible? For the difficulty here meets a fresh difficulty in the context. What is the force of the words 'ordained through angels' (διαταγεὶς δι' ἀγγέλων), which, it would seem to us moderns, add nothing to the argument? There is no reason at all for expunging them; but perhaps we may be allowed to pass them over as merely inserted out of deference to Midrashic speculation (see ANGELS, § 9). We then seem to get a clear argument, viz., that God requires no mediator (such as Moses)[1] to make his promise (the Gospel) legally binding, since it is essential to the conception of a promise that it depends on the will of a single person.

The law, therefore, is inferior in dignity to the promise because the latter was given to Abraham directly, not ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου. Apparently the writer is thinking of Lev. 26 46, where 𝔊 renders, ὁ νόμος ὃν ἔδωκε κύριος ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σεινα ἐν χειρὶ Μωυσῆ. The words ἐν χειρὶ M. correspond to ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου in Gal. (The reference is from Lipsius, *HC* 2 2(2), 42 *f.*, and Holtzmann *NT Theol.* 2 [1897], p. 31, n. 1)

Orello Cone (*Paul*, 1898, 192 *f.*), however, remarks, 'Paul seems to have written, not with immediate reference to the account of the Sinaitic legislation in Exodus, but rather with the Jewish tradition about the Law as "ordained by angels" before his mind.' He adds very truly that in the account of the giving of the law in Exodus nothing is said about 'angels'; God speaks directly to Moses, and even plans the transanction thus for the sake of the safety of the people (Ex. 19 24 Dt. 5 5). It is not clear, however, that any argumentative stress is laid upon 'through angels' (δι' ἀγγέλων). The idea is that the law, not being communicated to the people directly, is inferior to the evangelical promise. To express this it would have been enough to say 'by the hand of a mediator' (ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου). The weakening words, 'ordained through angels,' may plausibly be taken as a purely conventional reference.

Ramsay (*Historical Commentary* [1899], 380) takes a different view. He 'cannot avoid the suspicion that Paul here is betrayed into a mistake, and is thinking of the other and infinitely more important sense of the words, 'God is one,' as in Rom. 3 30,—'He is one and the same God in all His acts, one God makes both the Promises and the Law.' In other words, the argument of Paul is a fallacy.

[1] The view that the mediator is Christ (Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, and most of the fathers) seems to be clearly wrong. Schmider's theory (1826) that the angel of the law is meant (cp Acts 7 38, cp 53) is much more plausible. But Moses could not have been left out altogether in this connection. Talmudic and Rabbinical names for Moses as mediator are סרסור, אמצעי, and שליח.

For a criticism of some of the chief current explanations see Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* (cited above). See also, especially, Lightfoot's *Galatians, ad loc.*, and Lipsius, *HC* (cited above). Against de la Saussaye, see A. H. Blom, 'Verklaring van Gal. 3 20,' *Th.T.* 12 (1878), 216 *ff.* T. K. C.

MEDICINE. The most primitive references are to the *obstetric art;* see FAMILY, § 9 *ff.* Four cases have special points. In two of these (Gen. 35 17 1 S. 4 19) the mother dies in childbed after giving the infant an appropriate name. The other two are to bring out a subtle point as to the seniority of twins; Esau is the first-born, but he is (symbolically) seized by the heel by the second twin, Jacob, whose usurpation began, as it were, in the womb (Gen. 25 26). Again, in the birth of Tamar's twins (Gen. 38 27), the arm of one protruded and was marked by the midwife with a red thread; but, in the event, the child so marked as the elder was the second born.

1. Practitioners.

A prolapse of the arm may occur; but unless it had been replaced, and some turning operation performed on the twin thus presenting, the other twin could not have taken precedence of it. The Talmud shows an acquaintance with the Cæsarean section, to save the child in the death of the mother.

In Ezek. 16 4, salting of the new-born, as well as washing before swaddling, is mentioned (cp FAMILY, § 10). In the Talmud the excessive redness of the infant, or a yellowish or greenish hue, is an indication for delaying circumcision. In 2 Macc. 7 27, a mother includes in an appeal to her son that she had given him suck three years.[1] The nurse (מֵינֶקֶת) of Rebekah (Gen. 24 59 35 8) was probably a foster-mother (אֹמֶנֶת); the nurse of the lame child Mephibosheth an ordinary attendant (2 S. 4 4); cp NURSE.

There are few references to *surgical practice.* In Ex. 21 19 one who maims another in a quarrel has to pay for the loss of the hurt man's time as well as, in modern phrase, the surgeon's bill. In 2 K. 8 29 Joram, wounded in battle, goes to Jezreel for his cure. A unique reference to physicians as a class occurs in 2 Ch. 16 12, where Asa, in his sickness, sought not to Yahwè but to the physicians—a remark possibly suggested by the king's name, which perhaps means 'physician' (see ASA). Prognostics of sickness, as part of the prophetic function, appear first in the cases of Nathan (2 S. 12 14) and Ahijah (1 K. 14); but it is not until Elisha (and of this the Talmud makes a point) that medical skill is prominent among the prophet's abilities—in the cure of Naaman (2 K. 5 3), in the prognostic of Benhadad (2 K. 8 7 *ff.*), in the recovery of the Shunammite's son from sunstroke (2 K. 4 18-35), in medicating the unwholesome water at Jericho (2 K. 2 20), and in correcting the poisonous effects of the pottage of wild herbs (2 K. 4 41). To Elijah also is ascribed (2 K. 1 4) a prognostic of the death of Ahaziah from a fall (the king himself having sent to consult the oracle Baal-zebub [see BAAL-ZEBUB] at Ekron), and the restoration to vitality of a widow's son (1 K. 17 17), nearly identical with Elisha's. The one great instance in the later history of prognosis and treatment by a prophet is that of Isaiah in the case of Hezekiah (2 K. 20 1 5 7).

That the *priestly class* were the depositaries of medical knowledge seems to follow from the Levitical ordinances for 'leprosy,' for although some of these were wholly ceremonial, and not at all utilitarian, they imply on the part of the priests a skill in diagnosis or in discriminating one disease from another. They were themselves, it seems, so subject to illnesses arising from their frequent bathing and bare feet that a special physician was attached to their service in the temple (Mishna, *Shĕḳālīm*, 5 1 *f.*).

The period of the Wisdom literature is the one in which medicine as an art becomes most prominent.

Solomon's knowledge of the vegetable kingdom was traditionally said (Midrash) to include that of drugs, and there are also references in the Talmud to a 'book of cures' (סֵפֶר רְפוּאוֹת) attributed to the same king, and said to have been withdrawn by Hezekiah from the use of the people because it alienated them from the Lord (the nearest parallel to this in the OT is Hezekiah's removal of the brazen serpent, 2 K. 18 4).

The honour of the physician is set forth at length in Ecclus. 38 1-15. Those were doubtless the physicians of whom the woman with the issue of blood had 'suffered many things' (Mk. 5 26), or on whom she had 'spent all her living' (Lk. 8 43). In his healing of the sick Jesus revived that part of the prophetic office with which none but Elisha, in the earlier history, is closely identified. The Essenes (whose name, according to some, means 'physician') are specially mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* ii. 8 5) as given to the collecting of medicinal roots and minerals.

Of *medical theory* there was little native to the Jews, unless perhaps the doctrine of demoniac possession; but the Greek teaching of the humours and qualities became known among them in the Alexandrian period. The Talmud shows some anatomical knowledge, giving the bones of the skeleton at 248, which must include the teeth. One of the greatest of physiological mysteries, how the bones of a child in the womb do grow, is propounded in Eccl. 11 5, the date of which is held to be post-exilic (see ECCLESIASTES).

We are, of course, better instructed respecting the late than about the earlier periods. In the rabbinical medicine Wunderbar finds ordinary curative methods, by drugs or the like, less frequently in use than occult methods, involving astrology, the wearing of parchment amulets or charms, and sympathy in a generic sense. This is what might be expected, and accords with the gradual spread of Babylonian medicine. Without renouncing the traditional spells for driving out the demons of sickness, the Babylonians superadded to them genuine medical receipts (Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 317); cp also MAGIC, § 2 *b*, 2.

2. Therapeutic methods.

The following are among other Talmudic cures of an issue of blood (uterine hæmorrhage from fibroid tumour):—'Let the patient sit at a parting of the ways with a cup of wine in her hand, and let some one, coming up behind her, startle her by calling out, "Be healed of thine issue of blood!" Or, take three measures of onions, boil in wine and give the patient to drink, at the same time calling out suddenly, "Be healed of thine issue of blood!"'

The greater number of the cures in the Gospels and Acts are by the Word, usually addressed to the patient, but in three instances (Jn. 4 50 Mt. 8 5 15 21) addressed to the parent or master of the patient.

This belief in the power of a sacred word appears also outside the biblical records, but scarcely without an element of superstitious formula. It is found among the gnostic doctrines and is implied by the pretensions of the ESSENES [*q.v.*]; and it is stated without ambiguity in the Zend Avesta (*SBE* 23 44):—'One may heal with Holiness, one may heal with the Law, one may heal with the knife, one may heal with herbs, one may heal with the Holy Word; amongst all remedies this is the healing one, that heals with the Holy Word; this one it is that will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful; for this one is the best healing of all remedies.'

In some cases of wonderful healing in the Gospels the sick person is touched. In two instances the blind or bleared eyes are simply touched (Mt. 9 27 20 34), in another instance they are touched with saliva (Mk. 8 23), in another with saliva mixed with clay (Jn. 9 6; cp B. Weiss, *ad loc.*). The folk-lore of curing sore eyes was widely spread (Epit. in Plin. *HN* 28 7). The use of the morning or fasting saliva for bleared eyes persists in some parts to the present time. In the Talmud the saliva of an eldest son is preferred. A special virtue pertained to the saliva of a royal or imperial personage, as in the case of a poor man in the crowd at Alexandria who besought Vespasian so to touch his eyes; the emperor inquired of his physicians whether the case were a curable one, and being answered in the affirma-

[1] Two or three years is not an uncommon length for the suckling to last even in the present day. The weaning was generally celebrated with a feast. Cp Benz. *HA* 149.

tive, he rubbed his saliva on the man's eyes with curative effect (Tac. *Hist.* 4 8 1). The fish gall of Tobit (6 4 8 11 11, cp EYE, DISEASES OF), is found, with modifications, in Pliny (*HN* 32 24) and Bontius (*De med. Indorum*, 16). Several of the cures of fever given in the Talmud clearly contain the idea of transference to animate or inanimate objects. When the doctrine of magnetic or sympathetic transference of disease was revived in the seventeenth century, Bartholin cited the cases of the scape-goat (Lev. 16 21) and of the Gadarene demoniac and the swine (Mk. 5 13) as precedents (*De transpl. morb.* 24 [Hafn., 1673]). In Ecclus. 38 9-11, as well as in the Talmud, prayer and offerings are to precede the services of the physician. Intercession is explicitly mentioned in Elijah's (1 K. 17 20) and Elisha's (2 K. 4 33) restoration of the widow's son, and in the raising of Lazarus (Jn. 11 41 *f.*); also *impliciter* in the case of the epileptic (Mk. 9 29) concerning whom the disciples asked, 'Why could not we cast him out'?

Medicinal waters.—The waters of the Jordan valley are in many places of a saline and bituminous character, and those of the Jordan itself are said to give a black deposit containing a resinous matter. The bitumen found floating on the DEAD SEA (Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 4) was useful not only for caulking ships, but also for the cure of men's bodies, being an ingredient of many medicines. It contains sulphur, and to the presence of bitumen was probably due the sulphureous water of many hot springs, of which those of Tiberias and Callirrhoe were the most famous (see TIBERIAS; MOAB, § 5). The pools of SILOAM [*q.v.*] and BETHESDA [*q.v.*] were reputed as curative.

The most valuable native product was the BALM OF GILEAD [*q.v.*]. The aromatic substances such as myrrh, frankincense, cinnamon, cassia, aloes, calamus, galbanum, spikenard, camphire, are mentioned in OT or NT only as ingredients of incense, anointing-oil, and perfumes, or for embalming; but their medicinal uses also are referred to in the Talmud (see SPICES). In like manner the art of the apothecary (Ex. 30 35), the powders of the merchant (Cant. 3 6), and the like expressions, relate always to these substances as used for other than medicinal purposes. The MANDRAKE is given in Gen. 30 14 *ff.* as a philtre or a cure for sterility. Perhaps the only prescription proper is the poultice of figs for the plague-boil (2 K. 20 7).

3. Materia medica.

There is no clear reference to the great narcotics of the East, opium and hashish or Indian hemp; but in the opinion of the present writer it is not improbable that the 'honey-wood'[1] of 1 S. 14 27 and of Cant. 5 1, as well as the 'grass' of Dan. 4 25 33, is the latter. Two other obscure substances which have been the subject of much conjecture, and have sometimes been adduced in the same sense, are BDELLIUM and PANNAG [*qq.v.*].

Criminal poisoning is not mentioned, unless in the ambiguous metaphor of Zech. 12 2—the 'cup of trembling (cp Jer. 51 7), which Jerusalem was to become to her enemies. The Chaldæans had an elaborate knowledge of poisons. Hemlock as a weed in ploughed land occurs in Hos. 10 4.

In Dt. 23 12-14 we find a primitive law for the disposal of excrement, from which had probably grown a more complex system involving cloacæ suited to a city such as Jerusalem. The disposal of the dead was extramural. Ordinary earth burial, with or without coffins, was perhaps the commonest; but rock tombs or vaults also were used, not only after the manner of Egypt, the body being embalmed (as in Gen. 50 2-13 26; cp 23 4-11), but also more generally, the aromatic substances being applied externally to the winding sheet or the bed on which the corpse was laid (2 Ch. 16 14 Mk. 15 46 16 1). Several references to burning (2 Ch. 16 14 21 19 Jer. 34 5 Am. 6 10) are of obscure meaning; but they seem to refer only to the remains of kings or princes, and to

4. Sanitary practices.

[1] Cp, however, HONEY, § 1. On the text see Driver, Budde, and H. P. Smith.

have been subsequent to entombment, and they may apply to the bones only (although Gesenius and others would discover in them cremation of the usual kind). Burial to cleanse the land, in Ezek. 39 12-16, probably refers to the well-known risk of pestilence from the dead unburied in war, famine, or other calamity. The distinctive Jewish practice of burying within a very short time after death occurs as an ordinance in OT only in Deut. 21 22 *f.*, and there only for the special case of malefactors hanged on a tree, the object being to prevent the indefinite exposure and neglect of the corpse, which has occurred often in other countries. See DEAD, § 1.

The water supply was naturally of the first importance. Elisha's treatment of the water of Jericho is enlarged upon, in a rational sense, by Josephus (*BJ* iv. 8 3). The same writer remarks that the pool of Siloam was often so low that water was sold from it by measure, whereas during the siege by Titus, that and all the other springs were copious, to the advantage of the besiegers (*ib.* v. 9 4). In the story of Judith (7 7 12 21) the capture of the sources of the town's water is made of central importance. Strategic changes in the water supply of Jerusalem were among the greater achievements of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 32 3 *f.* 2 K. 20 20, perhaps also Is. 22 11).

To what extent the Jewish ceremonial law may have grown out of utility, or may have been originally a sanitary code concealed behind religious sanctions, is a question whereon opinions differ. John Spencer (*De leg. Heb. ritual.*), in his exhaustive discussion of what the laws meant, almost ignores a medical or sanitary intention. On the other hand, nearly all the writers on Medica Sacra discover a hygienic purpose in circumcision, in the prohibition of swine's flesh, if not also in the much debated rules as to abstaining from blood and from things strangled, as well as in some of the rules for uncleanness of the person—puerperal, menstrual, conjugal, gonorrhœal, spermatorrhœal, leprous, and cadaveric. For circumcision, other than as a sign and seal, various advantages have been claimed.

Philo (2 211) says that the removal of the foreskin obviated the risk of 'a malady, severe, and ill to cure, called anthrax,' and Josephus (*c. Apion.* 2 13) adduces Apion himself as one who, having reviled the Jewish rite, actually had to submit to it in the surgical treatment of an 'ulcer' of the prepuce from which he eventually died 'in great torment.' Neither the 'anthrax' of Philo, nor the ἕλκος of Josephus is quite intelligible; certainly nothing of the nature of a simple boil becoming an ulcer, perhaps from retained secretion, is common among the uncircumcised of warm or hot latitudes. But it need not be said that the circumcised are exempt from the ordinary inflammations, phymosis and paraphymosis, which are usually complications of something else, and that they are little liable to balanitis. On antecedent grounds it is held that the cutaneous or epidermic surface, which alone remains after the fold of mucous membrane has been excised, would be less apt to take up and retain infection from impure sexual commerce. Spencer's proposition, 'circumcisionem adversus idololatriam plurimum valuisse,' if it be true, must apply to the particular forms of idolatry, especially Baal-worship, which were the peculiar trouble of guardians and censors of the public morals in Israel. Maimonides held that circumcision diminished lust; but it would be as reasonable to maintain that it ministered to it. Others have sought to show that it favoured procreativeness, or that it has somehow harmonised with the 'principle of population.'

That the custom was not peculiar to Jews, is shown elsewhere (see CIRCUMCISION).

Like circumcision, the prohibition of swine's flesh is Mohammedan as well as Jewish. Tacitus (*Hist.* 5 4) says that the Jews had learned to avoid the flesh of the pig from having contracted a *scabies* to which that animal is subject. Spencer himself admits, among the 'unclean' aspects of the pig, the fact that he is an unclean feeder. It is only within the last generation or two that the formidable trichina parasite of the pig, communicable to man in the disease trichinosis, has become known to science.

The larva of the trichina is a minute worm, immense numbers of which become encysted in the muscles within minute white capsules or cells shaped like a lemon. Unless destroyed by cooking, the larvæ penetrate from the human intestine to the

muscles, giving rise, during their active phase, to severe symptoms, sometimes fatal, not unlike those of enteric fever. The pig is also very much subject to the larva of a tapeworm, *Tænia solium*, which is common among mankind in proportion as swine's flesh is used.

In warm countries the parasitic worms are a peculiar trouble, so that the motive for some general dietetic prohibition becomes stronger.

5. Purifications. There are seven forms of personal uncleanness requiring purification: (*a*) puerperal (Lev. 12); (*b*) menstrual, normal or abnormal (Lev. 15 19-24 25-30); (*c*) gonorrhœal (Lev. 15 2-15); (*d*) spermatorrhœal (Lev. 15 16 *f.*); (*e*) concubital (Lev. 15 18); (*f*) cadaveric (Lev. 21 1-3 11; especially Nu. 19 11-22, cp Nu. 5 2 96 *f.*); (*g*) 'leprous' (Lev. 13 *f.*). As to (*a*) the curious point is that the term of purification after a male birth is forty days, after a female birth it is eighty days. Some have tried to find a rational ground for this distinction (Maimonides and Grotius, that the male child is of hot and dry, the female of cold and moist qualities, the latter taking longer to be cleansed); but there is no real difference between the *puerperium masculinum* and the *p. fœmineum*; cp Benz. *HA* 150. As to (*b*) no peoples are indifferent to these states of the female, but few besides the Jews (*e.g.*, in Persia and Ceylon) have thought fit to make rules. The levitical laws as to (*a*) and (*b*) were copied in the early English penitentials, the church being substituted for the temple, and the sacrament of Communion for the Passover. In later times the ecclesiastical purifications of women have been restricted to (*a*). The somewhat long period of menstrual separation (seven days), on which Michaelis remarks (4 24), is a limit reached habitually in some constitutions, but is, on the whole, excessive.

The uncleanness of (*c*) is real, in the sense of contagiousness; that of (*d*) is imaginary, and of ceremonial import only.

It is only in rare circumstances, such as perhaps plague, that contact with a corpse (*f*) can possibly imperil the health; it is, however, not improbable that the rule grew to be applicable to all corpses from some such small root of utility. Tob. 2 9 is a case of sleeping apart after burying the dead. The uncleanness of (*g*) was real inasmuch as under 'leprosy' are comprehended several forms of highly contagious parasitic diseases of the skin, hairy scalp, and beard, as well as spreading moulds in the walls of houses, and mildews and moths in clothes or the like. It is doubtful whether true leprosy is meant in any verses of Lev. 13 *f.*; but in later times it was only to true leprosy, or to cancerous or other ulcerous affections mistaken for it, that the uncleanness of those chapters pertained (cp LEPROSY).

There are many rabbinical aphorisms on the preservation of health and the attainment of old age by regular habits.

6. Health and longevity. The Nazarites are an early instance of persons abstaining from wine and strong drink (Nu. 6); the Essenes embraced austere habits and simple diet, and attained to extreme old age (Jos. 28 10). Length of days was one of the usual blessings invoked. Years prolonged beyond three score and ten were labour and sorrow (Ps. 90 10). On the details of the elegy upon the troubles of old age in Eccl. 12 1-7 see special articles, CAPER-BERRY, GRASSHOPPER, etc. See, further, DISEASES.

7. Literature. The best treatise is that of R. J. Wunderbar, *Biblisch-talmudische Medicin*, Riga and Leipsic, 1850-1860. A miscellaneous bibliography is appended by Ebstein to his *Die Medicin im alten Testament* (Stuttgart, 1901), from which Wunderbar's work is omitted. C. C.

MEDITERRANEAN. The Hebrew terms for the Mediterranean are given elsewhere (GEOGRAPHY, § 4, i. col. 1687 *f.*); one of them (הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן, EV 'the hinder sea') was, we may infer, unknown to the pre-exilic Israelites, for it has probably arisen partly out of an accident, partly out of an editorial process.

The fact is that in the early documents the boundaries of the Land of Promise were very narrow. 'From the wilderness of Jerahmeel,' it was said in the original text of Dt. 11 24, 'from the river, the river of Ephrath,[1] as far as the Jerahmeelite Lake, shall be your region.' The word ירחמאלי, however, became corrupted, the word אפרת, too, lost its initial letter, and, under the influence of a desire to produce a correct description of the ideal boundaries of the Land of Israel, a great but daring editor reconstructed the passage thus, 'from the wilderness and Lebanon (?), from the river, the river Pĕrāth (Euphrates), as far as the hinder sea, shall be your region.' The fragments of the word ירחמאלי were conjecturally read אחרון ('hinder' [sea]); similar fragments elsewhere (Ezek. 47 18) were misread קַדְמוֹנִי 'front' [sea]). In this way a contrast was produced between the eastern and the western sea—*i.e.*, the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean (cp EARTH ii., § 1). The prospect which Moses enjoyed from 'Pisgah' (Dt. 34 2) was recast in a similar way (see NEBO, MOUNT), and so the way was prepared for the unsuspicious adoption of the two novel terms 'front sea' and 'back sea' in Joel 2 20 Zech. 14 8. For a parallel case, see SALT SEA.

The truth is, however, that no comparison is possible between *the lake called the Dead Sea and the sea fitly styled* 'the great.'

From its size[2] the Mediterranean is fully entitled to rank among oceans; to the Hebrew it was 'the ocean' (הַיָּם, and by a peculiar idiom יַמִּים, Judg. 5 17; cp Ps. 46 3 [2]). 'Planted' in it (Ecclus. 43 23, note the readings of Heb. and 𝔊) were those mysterious 'islands' (איים) of which merchants spoke, and from it came the cloud 'no bigger than a man's hand' which brought the longed-for early rain. To the traveller the strip of blue bounding the horizon on the W. as he gazes from some height in western Palestine is a familiar and a pleasing sight. The inhospitable character of the coast, however, together with other circumstances, made the 'great sea' far less dear to the Israelites. North of Carmel 'nature has so far assisted man by prompting here a cape, and dropping there an islet, that not a few harbours have been formed which have been, and may again become, historical.' S. of this headland, the possibilities of harbourage are limited to 'a forward rock at 'Athlīt, two curves of the beach at Ṭanṭūrah, twice low reefs—at Abu Zabūrah and Jaffa—the faint promise of a dock in the inland basin of 'Askalān, with the barred mouths of five or six small streams'[3] (cp ASHKELON, DOR, JABNEEL, JOPPA, MAGDIEL). 'Barred' is no idle term; the few estuaries are nearly choked by sand. Sand-hills, too, are a source of serious danger to agriculture. The westerly winds continually carry clouds of sand far inland (see GAZA, col. 1651), and only by artificial means, such as are not now adequately used, can great detriment be averted. It is intelligible that the figure of sand by the sea-shore became a habitual mode of speech to the Israelites (Gen. 32 12 Jer. 5 22 15 8 Ps. 78 27 Ecclus. 18 10 Rev. 12 18 [13 1]).

On the phrase, 'he shall be for an haven (?) of ships,' Gen. 49 13, see ZEBULUN, and on the Mediterranean coast in general, see also PALESTINE. T. K. C.

MEEDA, RV **Meedda** (ΜΕΕΔΔΑ [A]) 1 Esd. 5 32 = Ezra 2 52, MEHIDA.

MEGIDDO (מְגִדּוֹ; in Zech. 12 11 **Megiddon,** מְגִדּוֹן; connected usually with √גדד[4] [Lag. *Uebers.* 96]; μαγεδδω, μαγεδδων, μεγεδδω, sometimes μαγεδω, μαγεδων, but also μαρεδωθ [Josh. 12 21 B], μαγεδδωρ [Josh. 17 11 A], μεκεδω [1 K. 4 12 B], [με] μαγεδαω [1 K. 4 12 A], μαγδω [1 K. 9 15 A], μαγεδαων [2 K. 9 27 B], μακεδδω [2 K. 9 27 A], μακεδων [2 K. 23 30 B], μαγεδδει [1 Ch. 7 29 B], μεταaδδους [1 Esd. 1 27 (29) B], μεταεδδαους [1 Esd. 1 27 (29) A], [ἐν πεδίῳ] ἐκκοπτομένου [Zech. 12 11 BℵAQΓ]; *MAGEDDO* [in Zech. *Mageddon*]; in Am. Tab. *Magidda, Makida*; Ass. *Magadū, Magidū*; Egypt. *Maketi, Makita, Makedo* [see WMM 85 97 167 195]).

A stronghold of Palestine, situated near the 'waters

[1] On the name 'Ephrath' see PARADISE, § 5, end.

[2] Its length from Gibraltar to its eastern extremity in Syria is reckoned at about 2100 m.

[3] G. A. Smith, *HG*, 127 *f.*

[4] [It may be doubted, however, whether the daghesh in מְגִדּוֹ should be preserved. The Egyptians seem to have heard the name pronounced Măgĕdo (see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 85). Possibly the name has a religious significance. Fresh light is wanted.—T. K. C.]

of Megiddo' (Judg. 5 19) in a 'plain' (see VALE, 2)
1. History. (בִּקְעָה, πεδίον; 2 Ch. 35 22, 1 Esd. 1 27 [29]; cp Zech. 12 11, but this passage may perhaps have nothing to do with Megiddo; see HADAD-RIMMON). The place is at least as old as the time of Thotmes III. who won a victory over the Canaanites here [on Breasted's researches, see below, § 2, end]; it is mentioned also in the Amarna Tablets. Down to the exile it retained its importance; but from that date onwards it totally disappears from history. It is not mentioned in the NT (cp ARMAGEDDON). The site can only be conjecturally determined. It is mentioned in the OT as the residence of a Canaanite king (Josh. 12 21) and as one of the strong places situated in the region of the plain of Jezreel which, though assigned to Issachar, Asher, and Manasseh, were not taken possession of by any of these tribes (Josh. 17 11 Judg. 1 27 1 Ch. 7 29). Megiddo continued to be a stronghold of the earlier inhabitants till at least the time of Deborah, but became Israelite in or before the time of Solomon, who fortified it (1 K. 9 15), and made it the seat of one of his prefects (1 K. 4 12). The supposition has been put forward that it had again shaken off the Israelite yoke in the period of the dynasty of the house of Omri—which would explain why Ahaziah sought refuge in Megiddo (2 K. 9 27); but it seems preferable to suppose that the fugitive king counted on finding the place in the hands of a faithful adherent of the house of Ahab. Megiddo is usually mentioned along with Taanach; and as the site of the latter is perfectly certain (see TAANACH) it is natural to look for the former in that neighbourhood. Such a position would harmonise completely with what we read in 2 K. 9 27 23 29 *f.* (cp 2 Ch. 35 22) of the death of Ahaziah in Jehu's revolt and of Josiah's fatal encounter with Necho[1] (see AHAZIAH, JEHU, JOSIAH).

If this assumption be correct Megiddo must have lain on the route of trade caravans and military expeditions
2. Site. from the Philistine littoral and from Egypt; it must have commanded the passage of Carmel or rather of its SE. prolongation (er-Rūḥah) for anyone coming from the S. whose objective was the Jordan Valley, the Sea of Galilee, Damascus, or Mesopotamia. Now, we know that, in the Roman period, a fortified camp, or rather town, of great importance[2] was established at Legio, the modern Lejjūn,[3] 4 m. N. from Taanach; and since the time of an anonymous writer in 1835 (see *Münchner Gel. Anzeiger*, Dec. 1836, p. 920), and still more since Robinson, the generally-accepted view has been that Lejjūn is the ancient Megiddo. This identification, which also has the support of R. Parchi (14th cent.), is merely conjectural indeed, but has great plausibility. Eusebius and Jerome, however, supply no precise indication and seem to have been completely ignorant of the site, though Jerome, speaking of the plain of Esdraelon, calls it the plain of Megiddo, and elsewhere, like Eusebius, calls it the plain of Legio. Legio, again, ought in all probability to be identified with Maximianopolis (see the Bordeaux Pilgrim, the lists of bishops, and the data of Jerome). In the neighbourhood there are springs which might be intended by the 'waters of Megiddo' in Judg. 5 19, unless we are to understand the Kishon (cp Judg. 4 6 13 5 21) which flows at no great distance and which, in the opinion of some, preserves an echo of the name Megiddo in its modern designation of Nahr el-Moḳaṭṭa'. Near the ruins of Lejjūn (which include those of a *khān* well known in the Middle Ages) are two mounds, one of which, called Tell el-Mutesellim (Prefect's Mount),[1] may possibly have been the acropolis of Megiddo-Legio. Excavations here would probably be remunerative.

Other sites for Megiddo have been sought, farther to the N., in the plain of Jezreel, at el-Mujeidil, 1¼ h. SW. from Nazareth (Spruner-Sieglin, *Atlas*); at Mejdel near Acre (Ewald, *GVI*(3) 3 762 *f.*); or at Jedda or Jēdā (Schlatter); this last proposal would have at least something to be said for it if it could be shown that in Josh. 17 11 Dor and En-dor are doublets (see EN-DOR), and that in no geographical text dealing with the strong places of the plain of Jezreel is Dor-Tanturah, to the SW. of Mt. Carmel, intended, but always En-dor. This being assumed Megiddo alone could be Asherite and it would become more difficult to place it at Lejjūn; but, on the other hand, Megiddo must have been strategically important, and this fits Lejjūn better than Jedda.

Lastly, Conder has sought to identify Megiddo with Mujedda', 3 m. S. from Bēsān (Beth-shean); but this hypothesis leaves unexplained the close connection between Megiddo and Taanach; it creates difficulties in the stories of Ahaziah and Josiah; it harmonises badly with the order in which the strongholds are enumerated in more than one passage; it neglects the leading authority of Judg. 5 19, while interpreting Judg. 4 12-16 (cp *v.* 7) after Josephus in the sense that lays the scene of Deborah's battle with Sisera at the very base of Tabor; it has nothing in its favour but an obscure passage of an Egyptian text 'The travels of the Mohar' where, according to WMM (195), there is a manifest confusion between the Kishon and the Jordan. G. A. Smith (*HG* 387) and G. F. Moore (*Judg.* 47) have argued against Conder's view in a manner which seems to the present writer decisive. Moore with reason declares that 'the situation is impossible.' On the other hand Birch (*PEFQ*, 1881, p. 232) goes too far in claiming to have made it out as '*certain* that Megiddo was situated *at* or *close to* Lejjūn.' All that can be said is that the supposition is a very reasonable one. Petrie (*Syria and Egypt*, 176) holds that the campaign of Thotmes III. proves the site of Megiddo to be at Tell el-Mutesellim (see above). Breasted (*PSBA* 22 [1900] 95-98) writes as follows:—'A Syrian army which is defending Megiddo, is posted with the south wing at Taanach (*Ta'annuk*), and a small advanced force harassing an enemy advancing northward through the mountains along the Megiddo road.' 'These operations will not suit Mujedda'; on the other hand, they suit the location of Megiddo at el-Lejjūn in every particular. Indeed, if we had no other data for the identification of Megiddo, these facts would decisively locate it in the vicinity of el-Lejjūn.'

3. Literature. Reland, *Pal.* 873 893-95; Robinson, *BR*(3) 2 328-330; Van de Velde, *Reisen*, 1 265; Raumer, *Palæstina*(4), 446-8; Furrer, art. 'Megiddo' in Schenkel *BL*; Guérin, *Samarie*, 2 231-8; Mühlau, art. 'Megiddo' in Riehm's *HWB*(2), 989; *PEFMem.* 2 90-99; *PEFQ*, 1876, p. 81; 1877, pp. 13-20 (Conder); 190-92 (Conder); 1880, pp. 223 *f.*; 1881, pp. 86-8 (Conder); 232-5 319; 1882, p. 151 (Conder); 1894, 151; Conder, *Tentwork*(6), 66-8 232 *f.*; W. Max Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 85 97 167 195; Schlatter, *Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. Palästina's* 295-9; G. A. Smith, *HG* 386-8 677; Buhl, *Geogr. des alten Palästina*, 209 *f.*; Rohrbach, *Christl. Welt*, 361-364 (1899); Sellin, *MDPV*, 1900, p. 5 *f.* LU. G.

MEGIDDO, WATERS OF (Judg. 5 19). See preceding art., § 2, and cp KISHON.

MEGIDDON, VALLEY OF (Zech. 12 11). See above, col. 3010 (end).

MEHETABEL (מְהֵיטַבְאֵל [*i.q.* מֵיטִיבְאֵל], 'God confers benefits,' § 28; Jer. [*OS*(2) 8 23] *Meetabel*, quam bonus Deus; but the analogy of Jehallelel leads one to suspect an ethnic name [Miṣrith?] underlying it).

1. The wife of Hadar (rather Hadad) king of Edom (Gen. 36 39 μετεβεηλ [ADEL], 1 Ch. 1 50, om. B, μεταβεηλ [AL]); see HADAD i., 2; EDOM. Probably she was a N. Arabian of Muṣri (see BELA, MATRED, ME-ZAHAB). Marquart (*Fund.* 10) would read 'from Me-zahab' (𝔊's υἱοῦ in Gen. = בן, a corruption of מן). This, however, implies that 'Matred' is *not* a corrupt form of the name of a country.

2. AV **Mehetabeel**, grandfather of SHEMAIAH [*q.v.*] (Neh. 6 10 μειταηλ [B], μιταηλ [א], μεηταβεηλ [A], μετεβεηλ [L]). T. K. C.

MEHIDA (מְחִידָא, 'union'?? ΜΕΕΙΔΑ [BאAL]), the family name of a company of (post-exilic) NETHINIM (*q.v.*); Ezra 2 52 (ΜΑΟΥΔΑ [BA]) ‖ Neh. 7 54 = 1 Esd. 5 32 (ΔΕΔΔΑ [B], ΜΕΕΔΔΑ [A], AV MEEDA, RV MEEDDA).

[1] Herodotus, however (2 159), places Necho's fight at Μαγδολον, and Josephus (*Ant.* x. 5 1) at Mende (μενδην, *al.* μηδην); on both statements see JOSIAH. It should also be noted that the Book of Kings need not necessarily be taken as speaking of a battle between Necho and Josiah; it might equally well be interpreted as referring to an interview ending in a murder. Chron., it is true, describes a battle. See JOSIAH.

[2] It is from Legio that all distances in that region are reckoned in the Onomasticon.

[3] The name Lejjūn is borne also by other places in Syria and Moab.

[1] It is too bold to find in this Arabic word for prefect a reminiscence of the 'prefect' of Solomon.

MEHIR (מְחִיר) ben Chelub, a Judahite, 1 Ch. 4 11 (μαχειρ [BA], *i.q.* מָכִיר? *i.e.*, MACHIR, μαειρ [L]).

MEHOLATHITE (מְחֹלָתִי), apparently the gentilic of ABEL-MEHOLAH (1 S. 18 19 2 S. 21 8†) which belonged to the region where Saul's house held its ground the longest (Wi. *GI* 2 197). The ordinary geographical connection, however, is very doubtful.

If Meholah is a corruption of Jerahmeel [Che.], a fresh light is thrown on the designation 'Adriel the Meholathite.' See SAUL, § 6 (end); MERAB, PALTI, 1.

MEHUJAEL (מְחוּיָאֵל, מְחִיָּיאֵל [Kre, מְחִיָּאֵל]), fourth in descent from Cain, Gen. 4 18† (J). Not improbably from 'Jerahmeel.' To explain the name as a participle—Piel (Budde, *Urgesch.* 128) or Hiphil (Nestle, *Marg.* 7)—is inexpedient. See MAHALELEL, and cp CAINITES, § 7.

𝔊AL give μαιηλ, but D μαουια, E μαουιηλ; Philo (*De poster. Caini*, 20) μεηλ; Jos. (*Ant.* i. 2 2) μαρουηλος, Jer. (*OS* 8 9) *Mauiahel*. Philo's and Jerome's forms are explained respectively ἀπὸ ζωῆς θεοῦ and *ex vita deus*, thus presupposing מחייאל. Some cursives (*a b z*) give μαλελεηλ, Eth. *Malālēēl*, Copt. (Fallet, ap. Lag., *Or.* 2 35) *maleleel* (=Mahalelel), or rather Mehalelel. Of the two attested forms Lag. (*l.c.*) prefers MAHALALEL (*q.v.*). See also Gray (*HPN* 164) and Dr. (*TBS* 14, against the existence of proper names compounded of a divine name and a passive participle). T. K. C.

MEHUMAN (מְהוּמָן; αμαν [B𝔖AL$^{\beta}$]), the first of the seven chamberlains of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1 10). These names are all of doubtful etymology (possibly Persian; see Marq. *Fund.* 71), and 𝔊 by no means testifies to their correctness. See ESTHER, § 3; *Crit. Bib.*

MEHUNIM, MEHUNIMS. See MEUNIM.

ME-JARKON (מֵי הַיַּרְקוֹן, 'yellow, or yellowish green, water'; 𝔊BAL, presupposing מִיָּם הירקון, gives απο θαλασσης ιεραкων), a place in Dan (not far from Joppa; Josh. 19 46), which apparently derived its name from some large spring or fountain that formed a marsh. The only striking spot of this kind in the specified neighbourhood is at *Rās el-'Ain* (11 m. E. by N. from Joppa), the 'fountain-head' of the *Nahr el-Aujā*, which, in beginning its course, forms a marshy tract covered with reeds and rushes (Rob. *BR* 4 140). Beside the springs, which are the largest in Palestine, stands the mound, crowned by mediæval ruins, which Sir C. W. Wilson identifies with ANTIPATRIS (*q.v.*). The importance of the site must have been early noticed. More than this cannot with certainty be affirmed. The reading is not absolutely certain.

Rakkon (strictly, ha-Rakkon), which follows, appears to be a variant for Jarkon (ha-Jarkon), and both names may be corrupted from 'Jerahmeel,' cp Judg. 1 35, 'the Amorites (=Jerahmeelites [see *Crit. Bib.*] would dwell in Mount Heres, Aijalon, and Shaalbim.' May not the Nahr el-'Aujā have been originally known as the 'waters of Jerahmeel'? See RAKKON, also MAKAZ. T. K. C.

MEKONAH, RV MECONAH (מְכֹנָה), a place of some importance, mentioned after Ziklag, Neh. 11 28† (μαχνα [𝔖c.a mg. inf., B𝔖*A om., μαμη [L]). Perhaps the same as Macbena, or (better) Madmannah. These names occur together in 1 Ch. 2 49, and MADMANNAH (*q.v.*) follows Ziklag in Josh. 15 31. T. K. C.

MELATIAH (מְלַטְיָה, § 30, 'Yahwè delivers?' μαλτιας [L]), a Gibeonite, a contemporary of Nehemiah; Neh. 3 7 (B𝔖A om.). Perhaps from PELATIAH, an expansion of the ethnic Palti (Che.).

MELCHI (μελχει) Lk. 3 24 28. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

MELCHIAH (Jer. 21 1), RV MALCHIJAH. See MALCHIJAH 1.

MELCHIAS (μελχ[ε]ια[ς]).

1. 1 Esd. 9 26=Ezra 10 25, MALCHIJAH 4.
2. 1 Esd. 9 32=Ezra 10 31, MALCHIJAH 6.
3. 1 Esd. 9 44=Neh. 8 4, MALCHIJAH 9.

MELCHIEL (*i.e.*, MALCHIEL, μελχ[ε]ιηλ [B𝔖c.aA] σελλημ [𝔖*]), father of CHARMIS (*q.v.*), Judith 6 15.

MELCHISEDEC (Heb. 5 6), RV MELCHIZEDEK.

MELCHISHUA. See MALCHISHUA.

MELCHIZEDEK (מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, § 21; μελχισεδεκ, the name, if genuine [see below, § 3] would mean originally either 'Ṣedeḳ is king,' or 'Ṣedeḳ is Mālik,'[1] but in later times meant 'king of righteousness' [Heb. 7 2]. Ṣedeḳ may have been a Canaanitish god; cp συδυκ [Philo Bybl.]; *Ṣedeḳ-melek* [צדקמלך] occurs on coins, and similar S. Arabian names are quoted [Prätorius, *ZDMG* 26 426]; see Baudissin, *Stud. Sem. Rel.* 1 15). King of Salem, and priest of El Elyōn, the Most High or Supreme God, in the time of Abram (Gen. 14 18-20).

1. OT and NT references. Melchizedek is thought to be referred to also in the traditional text of Ps. 110 4*b* as resembling in his royal priesthood the king celebrated by the psalmist — 'Yahwè hath sworn and will not repent; Thou art a priest for ever after the order (?) of Melchizedek' (EV). Certainly this idea was taken up, in connection with the full Messianic interpretation of Ps. 110, by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who treats the short account of Melchizedek in Gen. 14 as a mine of suggestions for the right comprehension of the nature and office of Christ. Recent students, however, who seek for traces of the early Semitic religion have found the story of Melchizedek suggestive in other directions. Here is Abram (Abraham), the ideal and in a sense Messianic patriarch, accepting the benediction of a Canaanite priest-king, whose religion appears to have resembled his own, and offering him tithes of the spoil. Even apart from Christian associations, it is surely a fascinating theme.

2. Real character. Is this story historical? or does it at any rate enclose some kernel of genuine tradition? It is held by many that the Melchizedek-passage, Gen. 14 18-20, has been interwoven with an independent narrative which is more intelligible without it. The evidence of this interweaving is found in *v.* 22, where, in the middle of the declaration, 'I lift up my hand unto Yahwè that I will not take a thread or a shoe latchet,' the editor is thought to have inserted from the speech of Melchizedek the words 'the Supreme God, Producer (see col. 3015, n. 2) of heaven and earth.' From this point of view it is a natural and plausible conjecture that Melchizedek, whose functions and refined religious ideas place him quite apart from the king of Sodom and his companions, is a purely fictitious personage, introduced for some object which has yet to be discovered. His name is apparently modelled on that of ADONIZEDEC [*q.v.*], a traditional Canaanitish king of Jerusalem, and was probably explained 'king of righteousness.'

3. His city and office. Next it may be asked, where did the writer of the Melchizedek-passage suppose the city of his hero to have been situated? It was evidently a sacred city. But none of the three Salems which have been suggested N. of Jerusalem[2] had a reputation for sanctity. Jerusalem, however, would do excellently; in post-exilic times it would be important to find an early attestation of its pre-eminent sanctity (so De Wette, Dillm., and most). Moreover, if the King's Vale spoken of in Gen. 14 17 (see SHAVEH i.) is the same as that mentioned in the story of Absalom (2 S. 18 18), and if Josephus is right in placing this valley two stadia from Jerusalem, it would

[1] Cp Uru-mālik, the name of a governor of the land of Amurru (Syria and Palestine) under king Sargon of Agadè (Dangin); mālik might be the Canaanite god Melek, even if originally Uru-malik came from 'Jerahmeel.'

[2] The places in question are—Sālim near Nāblus on the SE. (*Baed.*(3), 257; see SALEM 2), the Salim in the plain of Esdraelon, NNW. of Ta'annuk (*Baed.*(3), 263), and the Salem or Salumias 8 R. m. from Scythopolis mentioned by Jer. (*OS* 149 17), and wrongly identified by him with the Salim of Jn. 3 23 (see SALIM). Ewald thinks that the Salem referred to was 'a city on the other side Jordan, which must be traversed on the return route from Damascus to Sodom' (*Hist.* 1 307).

seem that the equation of Salem with Jerusalem ought to be correct. It is, however, not at all certain that the statement of Josephus *is* correct. Absalom would surely have erected his monument on his property at Baal-hazor, which Robinson well identifies with Tell Aṣūr, situated between Shiloh and Bethel. Besides this, the writer had no obvious motive for half-concealing the name of Jerusalem. The name Salem (or rather Šalem) for Jerusalem is found only once elsewhere (Ps. 76 2 [3]), and in that passage may have been dictated by a misinterpretation of Gen. 14 18. The best solution which remains is to read שלה—*i.e.*, Shiloh—for שלם.[1] Shiloh, which was so long the religious and even the political centre of the land, had a strong claim to be consecrated by a connection with Abraham. There was a Ruth among the Moabites; why should there not have been a Melchizedek among the Canaanites?

If the text of Gen. 14 is approximately correct, this is perhaps the best view that can be offered. Still there are difficulties. The priest-king Melchizedek in Canaan, whether at Jerusalem or at Shiloh, is a startling phenomenon; Jethro was a priest and prince of N. Arabia. More important, however, is the fact that a removal of what tho present writer holds to be errors in the text of Gen. 14 reveals an underlying story of a very different character.

'Melchizedek king of Salem' is surely a late editor's attempt to make sense of a badly written text. ומלכי־צדק סלך has arisen out of ומלך ציקלג, and שלם which follows is probably לשם, according to Josh. 19 47, the original name of Dan—*i.e.*, the southern not the northern Dan. Now 'Lesham' and 'Ziklag' are both corruptions of Ḥalūṣah. It was according to the first narrator, the priest-king of the sacred city of Ḥalūṣah (see SHECHEM, ZIKLAG) who came out to meet Abram, and blessed him, and to whom Abram (the hero of the Jerahmeelite tribe, see JERAHMEEL) paid tithes.

The matter is treated more fully elsewhere (SODOM). According to the view here advocated, Melchizedek has the singular fate not only of being an imaginary personage, but of owing his ideal existence to a scribe's error. If so, the use made of Melchizedek in Heb. 6 *f.*, becomes mere temporary rhetoric — a typology which has lost even its apparent basis in the letter of the OT, and the Melchizedek passage in the MT of Gen. 14 can only be used as a monument of that post-exilic theology, in which the divine creatorship, not unknown before the Exile, but not fully recognised, played so great a part.[2] As such, let no one presume to undervalue it!

It must unfortunately be added that the reference to Melchizedek in Ps. 110 4*b* is not less doubtful than that in Gen. 14 18. The text of Ps. 110 is admittedly difficult, and probably corrupt, and there is good reason to suspect that *v.* 4*b* should run thus—הֲכִינֹתִיךָ לְעוֹלָם עַל־בְּרִית חֲסָדַי, 'I establish thee for ever because of my covenant of lovingkindness.'[3] All that can be said to clear up the enigmatical words of the received text has been well summed up by Delitzsch and Baethgen. Cp also Che. *OPs.* 20-25, and see PSALMS.

The OT references to Melchizedek exercised both Jewish and Christian doctors. The omission of any reference to his story in the Book of Jubilees suggests a very early reaction against its religious comprehensiveness.[4] Talmudic passages also permit the conjecture that some Jewish teachers disliked the use made of it in the Epistle to the

4. Later theories.

[1] Cp Jer. 41 5, where MT has שָׁלוֹ, but 𝔊 σαλημ [B]. 𝔊 in Ps. *l.c.* has ἐν εἰρήνῃ. The same emendation has already been proposed by Grätz in Ps. 76 3, with advantage to the sense.

[2] קֹנֵה (*vv.* 19 22), 'producer or creator (of),' cp Dt. 32 6 Ps. 139 13 Prov. 8 22. See CREATION, § 30. The sense 'possessor' (Targ.) is preferred by EV; cp קִנְיָנֶךָ, EV 'thy riches'; RVmg. 'thy creatures' (Ps. 104 24).

[3] See Che. *Ps.*(2). (1) Metrical considerations show that there is some accretion on the text. (2) על־דברתי is intolerably prosaic. (3) The other so-called royal psalms contain no certain references to historical personages such as Simon the Maccabee or John Hyrcanus, each of whom has been not unplausibly suggested as the hero of Ps. 110. Duhm remarks, 'How the reference to Melchizedek came to be introduced, I do not know; perhaps it is the marginal note of a reader.' See PSALMS, § 29.

[4] Cp Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 502.

Hebrews. In *Nĕdārīm* 32*b* we have, according to Friedländer,[1] a reply to what is said on Melchizedek in Heb. 7. The Christian theologian called Melchizedek 'without father, without mother, without genealogy.' The Talmud, however, states that Melchizedek is no other than Shem (so also Targs. Jon., and Jerus., Jer. on Is. 41 and Ephrem Syr. on Gen.). The Christian writer applies the words of Ps. 110 to Jesus. The Talmud replies that, owing to Melchizedek's inconsiderateness in mentioning Abraham before God, God transferred the priesthood from Melchizedek to Abraham. (The words, 'and he was priest of the Supreme God,' are taken to mean that his descendants were not priests.) Cp also *Sanhedr.* 108 *b*, *Ber. rabba*, 44.

On the arguments in Heb. 5-7 see Bishop Westcott's commentary, where it is well pointed out that the writer is unconcerned with the historical character of Melchizedek, and confines himself to drawing suggestions from the language of the narrative. In this he reminds us somewhat of Philo (*De Leg. Alleg.* iii. 25 26, Mangey, 1 102 *f.*). Cp G. Milligan, *Theology of the Ep. to the Hebrews*, 118, 210.

The recent attempt of Hommel to prove the historical character of the account of Melchizedek can hardly be called plausible (*AHT* 153 *ff.*), and would probably be modified now by the learned author. Kittel's statements in *Hist.* 1 179 *f.* also seem to require some reconsideration. He admits that the passage on Melchizedek has been 'very largely revised by the redactor,' but thinks that 'the balance of evidence is in favour of its historical character.'

See also Rösch, 'Die Begegnung Abrahams mit Melchisedek,' *Th. St. Kr.*, 1885, pp. 321-356. Rösch supposes a tradition of the Jerusalem priesthood in pre-Israelitish times. This was accepted as probable by Hommel, *GBA* 162, n. 2 (1885).

T. K. C.

MELEA (μελεα [Ti. WH]), Lk. 3 31. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

MELECH (מֶלֶךְ, as if 'king,' but probably from Jerahmeel [Che.], cp MALCHIAH; μελχηλ [B], μαλαχ [Bℵ]; μαλωθ, μαλωχ [A]; μελχιηλ [L]), a descendant of Saul mentioned in a genealogy of BENJAMIN [*q.v.* § 9 ii. *β*], 1 Ch. 8 35 = 9 41†.

MELICU (מְלִיכוּ [Kr.]), Neh. 12 14, AV, RV MALLUCHI.

MELITA (μελιτη, TR; μελιτηνη, WH after B and Vv. Acts 28 1). The question as to the identity of the island upon which Paul was shipwrecked (Acts 28 1) may be regarded as finally settled. The indications in Acts stamp the account of the entire voyage as that of an eye-witness, and give it great value. The view (first found, but without arguments, in Const. Porphyr. *De Admin. Imp.* 36) that the Melita of Acts is the island now called *Meleda* off the Dalmatian coast, possesses now merely historical interest.

1. Identification with Malta.

The 'typhonic wind,' which 'struck down from' the lofty peaks of Mt. Ida (Acts 27 14), would have driven the vessel, as she scudded before it (*v.* 15 ἐπιδόντες ἐφερόμεθα), on the coast of Africa had not her course been changed. Under the lee of Cauda the ship was laid to on the starboard tack (*i.e.* with her *right* side to the wind), and 'the gear' was lowered (*v.* 17, χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος). By this phrase the author means that the mainyard and mainsail were sent down. This, to a landsman, was the striking operation, and he omits to mention that the ship stood on under storm sails. Such a ship as Paul's, close-hauled on the starboard tack, with a gale from ENE., would make a course about 8° N. of W., at a mean rate of 1½ m. an hour; this would bring her to Malta in the time stated (Acts 27 27). For the details of the calculation, see James Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*(4), 124 *ff.* (1st ed. 1848).

The many conditions of the narrative are satisfied only by *Malta*, and more particularly by the 'bay of St. Paul' (*di S. Paolo*), about 8 m. NW. of Valetta, which has always been pointed out by tradition as the scene of the wreck. The subsequent voyage to Italy by way of Syracuse (Acts 28 12) confirms this result. The view that the ship was driven to the Dalmatian coast rests upon an erroneous interpretation of

[1] *REJ*, April-June 1883, p. 191.

Acts 27 27 (see ADRIA). It also necessitates the assumption of a complete change in the wind from its original direction, whilst the view that Melita = Malta involves the supposition that the wind blew steadily from one point of the compass.

With a north-easterly wind, the sea breaks violently on the low rocky point of *Koura* which juts out to form the eastern side of St. Paul's bay. A ship driving as was Paul's must inevitably pass within a quarter of a mile of this point, which, owing to the southward trend of the shore in the neighbourhood of Valetta, would be the first land made, and the breakers would give notice of its 'drawing near.' In Acts 27 27 '(the shipmen deemed) that they drew near to some country' (AV), 'that they were drawing near' (RV), should be, 'that some land was nearing them' (*προσάγειν*—an ordinary idiom).[1] The soundings here vary from 17 to 25 fathoms, shoaling to 15 fathoms at a distance of half-an-hour in the direction of the vessel's drift (*v.* 28). The anchors held through the night, for the bottom of sand and clay is so good that 'while the cables hold there is no danger, as the anchors will never start' (*Sailing Directions*, quoted by Smith, *op. cit.* 132). In the morning they were cut away, and abandoned (*v.* 40, *εἴων εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν*· not as in AV 'committed themselves unto the sea': RV is correct).

2. Criticism of narrative.

The final element in the scene is scarcely understood. The intention was to run the ship ashore, and it is usually assumed that this was successfully accomplished. The difficulty lies in the words 'falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground' (AV *v.* 41, *περιπεσόντες δὲ εἰς τόπον διθάλασσον ἐπέκειλαν τὴν ναῦν*: 'lighting upon a place,' RV). It is clear that the words describe something unexpected,[2] which balked the intention of running ashore.

It is a mistake to hold (with Rams. *St. Paul the Traveller*, 340) that *ἐπέκειλαν* must imply purpose. Equally erroneous is the view of Smith (*op. cit.* 142 *f.*), that the ship drove on to the beach. It is clear from *vv.* 43 *f.* ('they which could swim should cast themselves first into the sea' . . . . 'some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship') that some space of sea, too deep for wading, intervened between the spot on which the vessel was aground and the shore. Smith interprets the 'place where two seas met' as the narrow sound between the mainland and the island of Salmonetta (*Salmun*) which shelters St. Paul's Bay on the north-west. This channel, not more than one hundred yards broad, a 'Bosporus in miniature,' connects the bay with the outer sea (cp the description of the Bosporus by Strabo, Πέλαγος ὁ καλοῦσι Προποντίδα· κἀκεῖνο εἰς ἄλλο τὸ Εὔξεινον προσαγορευόμενον πόντον, ἔστι δὲ διθάλαττος τρόπον τινὰ οὗτος). Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 340 *f.*), takes it to be 'the isthmus between the island and the mainland'; but the chart does not show any such isthmus or 'neck of land projecting towards the island.'

Taking everything into consideration, we can have little doubt that by *τόπος διθάλαττος* we should understand a bank covered with water (cp Dio Chrys. 5 83 *τραχέα καὶ διθάλαττα καὶ ταινίαι*), or a reef. The chart shows a patch of shoal water (soundings, 9-12 fathoms) bearing SW from the approximate place of anchorage. The bottom is 'rocky and foul,' and this may be the remains of a submerged rock formerly lying here. It is to be noted that Smith (*op. cit.* 142) relies upon the 'wasting action of the sea' to account for the fact that the traditional scene of the wreck has now no sandy beach (*v.* 39, *κόλπον . . . ἔχοντα αἰγιαλόν*, 'a certain creek with a shore,' AV). Far more likely is it that the sailors would head the ship for the other creek, into which the *Mestara* valley opens, where there is at the present day a beach. In order to reach this creek, the ship must necessarily have passed over the shoal above mentioned.

No island so small as Malta has had so great a history. It has been a small edition of Sicily. Its

[1] Προσαχεῖν [B] points to original *προσηχεῖν*; cp cod. Gigas, which translates by *resonare*; B[3] reads *προσανέχειν*. See Rams. *St. Paul the Traveller*, 335.

[2] The same thing is to be inferred from the sudden resolution of the soldiers to kill the prisoners, else they would have done it before leaving their anchorage.

earliest historical inhabitants were Phœnicians (Diod. 5 12); to them succeeded Greeks, and in 218 B.C. the island was seized by the Romans, and became part of the Province of Sicily (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4 18 46). The language of the *βάρβαροι* (see BARBARIAN) spoken of in Acts was probably Punic (bilingual—Greek and Punic—inscriptions in Bœckh, *CIG* 5752 *f.*). Subsequently the shipwrecked party found those who could speak Greek or Latin, or both, at the governor's seat (? at *Città Vecchia*, 5 m. from the scene of the wreck).

3. History of Malta.

The governor bore the title *πρῶτος* (Acts 28 7) 'chief man of the island' AV (cp ACTS § 13, end). The title is confirmed by an inscription from the neighbouring island of Gaulos (*Gozzo*), which runs Λ[ούκιος], Κλ[αυδίου] υἱὸς Κ., Προύδηνς, ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων, πρῶτος Μελιταίων κ.τ.λ. (*CIG* 5754. Cp *CIL* 10 7495, *municipii Melitensium primus omnium*).

The island lay on the track of ships trading between the E. and the W. (cp *v.* 11); but this is not inconsistent with the failure of the sailors to recognise an unfrequented part of the coast (Acts 27 39). W. J. W.

MELITENE (μελιτηνη [WH]), Acts 28 1, RV[mg.], EV, MELITA.

MELONS (אֲבַטִּחִים; πεποκες [BAFL]) are mentioned among the various kinds of pleasant food which the Israelites had enjoyed in Egypt (Nu. 11 5†). The reference is almost certainly to the water melon *Citrullus vulgaris*, Schrod.

The Hebrew word, which, according to Lagarde (*Uebers.* 10), may be connected with a conjugation (of the Sem. verb) which is lost except in Ethiopic, is perhaps related to √מבח (in Ar. 'to cook'; cp the etymology of *πέπων*). The same word is found in Samar., Syr. (*paṭṭīḥā*) and Arab. (*biṭṭīḫ*);[1] the Arab. word reappears in Sp. *albudeca*, Fr. *pastèque*.

The Hebrew *ăbaṭṭīăḥ* is mentioned not unfrequently in Mishn. and Talm., and is distinguished from the מלפפון (*μηλοπέπων*), by which apparently the melon proper *Cucumis melo*, L., is intended.[2] Whilst there is no clear proof that *Cucumis melo* was cultivated by the ancient Egyptians, the water melon on the other hand, which Livingstone found to be indigenous in tropical Africa, is represented on extant Egyptian monuments (De Candolle, *Origines*, 209). See Hasselquist, *Travels*, 255 *f.* See FOOD, § 5. N. M.

MELZAR (הַמֶּלְצַר; Theod. αμελcαδ [B], αμερcαρ [A]; 𝕲 [87], however, has αβιεcδρι, which in Dan. 1 3 it gives for MT's Ashpenaz; ܡܠܨܪ in *v.* 11; ܡܠܨܪ in *v.* 16; *Malasar*), the name, personal or official, of the courtier set over Daniel and his friends at the beginning of their court life, Dan. 1 11 (αμεcαδ [Q*], αμελc. [Q[a]]), 16. AV treats the name as personal in the text, but as official in the margin; RV takes the marginal rendering of AV ('the steward') into the text.

The course adopted by King James's translators in the text can be justified only on the supposition that the definite article which is prefixed to מֶלְצַר in MT arose out of a very early incorrect theory that מלצר was an official title, whereas in reality it was a personal name. Certainly none of the ancient versions took the initial ה to represent the article.

If however the witness of the versions be disallowed, how shall we explain מלצר, taking it as a corrupt form of some Babylonian word? Schr. (*COT* 2 126) and Frd. Del. (*Glossæ Babylonicæ* in Bä.-Del., *Daniel* [1880]) derive מלצר from Ass. *maṣṣaru*, 'guardian.' This, however, is in more than one respect improbable.[3] It would be better to correct המל into אמל (cp Theod.),[4] and to

[1] This, according to Fränkel (*Aram. Fremdw.* 140), is a loan-word from Syr.

[2] See esp. Talm. Jer. *Kil.* 1 2.

[3] 1. If a iquid were linserted to compensate for the omitted doubling of צ, we should have expected *r* rather than *l*; cf Aram. כָּרְסֵא, Dan. 5 20, for Heb. כִּסֵּא (but cf König, *Lehrgeb.* 2 1, pp. 472 *f.*). 2. Maṣṣaru most commonly appears in the form *maṣar* (st. constr.), followed by *bîti*, *êkallim* and the like (Del. *HWB* 423).

[4] More probably Theod. read המלצר.

explain the name as a compound of *amel* or *amil*, 'man of,' and the name of some God (cp EVIL-MERODACH). But the fact that 𝔊 has *αβιεσδρι* both in 1 11 16 and in 1 3 points most probably to the right explanation. Read in 1 11, 'and Daniel said to Belshazzar, prince of the eunuchs, who had been set over Daniel,' etc. Belšarezer was a favourite name (see ASHPENAZ).

Here there is first a slight transposition, next a change of a point (מָנָּה for מָנָה), and thirdly a correction of המלצר into בלשאצר. Note the *š* in the form given in Pesh., and for further details see ASHPENAZ. [Since the article ASHPENAZ was published, Professors Prince and Driver, and Dr. J. Taylor in Hastings' *DB*, have commented on 'Melzar.' None of these scholars, however, has explained the word, which, being the product of textual corruption, is in fact inexplicable. But Prof. Prince (*Daniel*, 196) has unconsciously advanced towards the explanation of *αβιεσδρι* given already under ASHPENAZ.]

T. K. C.

MEMEROTH. See MEREMOTH, 4.

MEMMIUS. See MANIUS.

MEMORIAL. 1. אַזְכָּרָה, *'azkārāh*, Lev. 2 2, etc. See SACRIFICE.

2. זִכָּרוֹן, *zikkārōn*, Is. 57 8 RV (AV 'remembrance'); possibly some heathen symbol is meant (see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*, and cp Marti); but more probably we should read חֶרְצוֹנֵךְ, 'thy golden thing' (*i.e.*, thy golden calf); cp Ezek. 16 17, where צַלְמֵי זָכָר, 'male images,' should be צַלְמֵי חָרֻץ, 'golden images,' which suits the context, and removes an undesirable expression. For the contemptuous 'golden thing' cp NEHUSHTAN, 'brazen thing.' See CALF, GOLDEN.

T. K. C.

MEMPHIS (מֹף) occurs in Hos. 9 6 Judith 1 10 (μεμφεως [genit. Bℵc.aA]), and in RVmg. Is. 19 13. The form (cp Ass. Mimpi) stands midway between the full Egyptian civil name of the city and the unpleasing Heb. abbreviations, Moph and Noph. See NOPH.

MEMUCAN (מְמוּכָן, *v.* 16 מומכן Kt.), the name of one of the 'seven princes' at the court of Ahasuerus (Est. 1 14, 𝔊 om., *v.* 16, μουχαιος [Bℵ*ALa], βουγαιος [Lβ],[1] μαμουχαιος [ℵc.a], *v.* 21 μουχαιος [BALβ], ευνουχος [ℵ*], μουχεος [ℵc.a], μαμουχεος [ℵc.b]). See ADMATHA, ESTHER, § 3.

MENAHEM (מְנַחֵם, §§ 62, 84, 'comforter,' cp NAHUM, NAHAM, NEHEMIAH; μαναημ [BL, and in 2 K. 15 14 A], μαναην [A], cp MANAEN), son of Gadi (see end), and king of Israel after Shallum, 742-737 B.C. (see CHRONOLOGY, § 34), 2 K. 15 14-23. He is one of the usurpers referred to by the prophet Hosea (7 4-7), and was enabled by Tiglath-pileser's help to plant himself so firmly that he transmitted his crown to his son Pekahiah. Tiglath-pileser himself (see *KB* 2 31) speaks of having received tribute from states ranging from Cappadocia to Palestine, and apparently places this event in 738 B.C., though Guthe (*GVI* 232) on theoretical grounds doubts the accuracy of the date. One of the tributary states, according to the general opinion, is Samaria. The first king mentioned is Kuštašpi of (city) Kummuḫ (in the Kommagene of classic writers); then comes Raṣunnu of (country) Gar-imíri (*i.e.*, Aram-Damascus), and next Mí-ni-ḫi-(im)-mí (cp col. 2921, begin.) of (city) Samírina and Ḫirūm of (city) Ṣur—*i.e.*, Tyre. It is most natural to identify the third king with Menahem of Samaria. Still, considering that just before Tuba'lu, king of Sidon, Sennacherib in the Taylor cylinder mentions Minḫimmu, king of (city) Šamši-muruna, the doubt arises whether the Assyrian scribe may not here have given the name Samírina to some other city, such as Shimron or Shimron-Mĕrōn, with which the Ass. Šamši-muruna has been identified[2] (see Zimmern, ap. Rühl, 'Chronol. der Könige,' *Deutsche Zt. f. Gesch.-wiss.* 12 68, but cp SHIMRON). If the ordinary view is correct, Tiglath-pileser refers in his inscription to the event which is thus related in 2 K. 15 19 '[In his days] came Pul king of Assyria against the land, and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his possession' (see PUL). Unfortunately the Assyrian inscriptions appear to know nothing of an advance on the part of Tiglath-pileser so far south as Samaria at the period referred to.

However this question be settled, the account of Menahem's payment of tribute in 2 K. 15 20 is historically interesting. It would seem that in Menahem's time the landed proprietors shared the burdens of the state as well as military service among themselves. If we reckon the talent at 3000 shekels, the assessment spoken of in the Hebrew text permits the inference that there were then in the Northern Kingdom 60,000 families possessed of heritable lands (Meyer, *GA* 1 449; Kittel, *Hist.* 2 334).

Menahem was doubtless a rough, relentless warrior, probably a Gileadite, for GADI [*q.v.*] can hardly be his father's real name. This may help to account for his barbarity towards the inhabitants of Tappuah—certainly not Tiphsah—at the opening of his career (2 K. 15 16; see TAPPUAH).

T. K. C.

MENAN, RV MENNA (μεννα [Ti. WH], cp perhaps Nab. מענא, מענו; in Gk. inscr. μανος), a name in the genealogy of JESUS, Lk. 3 31. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN (מְנֵא מְנֵא תְּקֵל וּפַרְסִין; μανη [*i.e.*, ηριθμηται 87, εμετρησεν Theod.], θεκελ [*i.e.*, εσταται κατελογισθη 87, εσταθη Theod.], φαρες [*i.e.*, εξηρται 87, διηρηται Theod.] 𝔊BA Theod.; note too μανη φαρες θεκελ in introd. to chap. 5 in MS 87; *mane thecel phares*), mysterious Aramaic words in Dan. 5 25 (cp 26-28). Belshazzar and his lords, as they banqueted, and drank wine from the golden vessels of the old Jewish temple, were startled to see these mysterious words traced by the fingers of a man's hand on the wall. The wise men of the Chaldæans were summoned to interpret what was written, but failed to do so. Then Daniel was called, who interpreted the words to mean that God had numbered Belshazzar's kingdom; that he had been weighed, and found wanting; and that his kingdom had been divided, and given to the Medes and Persians. It will be noticed that Mene is not repeated in the interpretation (*v.* 26), and that Peres is there substituted for Upharsin. On both points Theod. agrees with the interpretation. Whether *vv.* 26-28 give the true meaning of the words—in fact, whether the words stand in their original context—has been much discussed. As Bevan and Marti point out, תְּקֵל and פְּרֵס cannot mean 'weighed' and 'divided,' as the interpretation in *vv.* 27 *f.* seems to require; the form ופרסין too, has no apparent sense. This seems to them to show that the phrase מנא מנא תקל ופרסי׳ was not invented by the author, but borrowed from some other source, the interpretation in *vv.* 26-28 being an attempt to extract a suitable meaning from the words in defiance of grammar. Bevan and Marti, therefore, agree with Clermont-Ganneau (*JA* viii. series 8 36 *ff.*), who explains 'a mina, a shekel, a half mina'; cp Nöldeke (*ZA*, 1886, p. 414), and see MINA, SHEKEL. For פרס = half mina, note the late Jewish usage (Levy's *NHWB* 4 123) and in particular an Assyrian weight now in the Brit. Mus. which bears the Aramaic inscription פרש (see Cook, *Aram. Glossary*, 99). Hoffmann (*ZA*, 1887, pp. 45 *ff.*) takes תקל as in apposition to the second מנא = the mina in shekel-pieces—*i.e.*, darics or gold-staters. It would be better, however, with Haupt (Kamph., 'Daniel,' *SBOT*) to render, 'There has been counted (מְנֵא) a mina, a shekel, and half-minas.'[1] The mina might mean Nebuchadrezzar; the shekel, Belshazzar; and the half-minas the power of the Medes and Persians. This use of weights to denote persons is found

[1] ὁ βουγαῖος is elsewhere the Gk. translation of the term הָאֲגָגִי applied to HAMAN [*q.v.*]; see also Marq. *Fund.* 69 *f.*, and note that the first Targ. on Esther identifies Memucan with Haman. See ESTHER, § 12.

[2] If our Menahem is meant, why does not Tiglath-pileser call him 'king of Bit Ḫumri,' Bit Ḫumri being the usual designation of the land of Israel?

[1] So also Bludau, *Die Alex. Uebers. d. B. Dan.* 150, n. 3 (1897). Strictly, this implies the readings פְּרָס and פְּרָסִין.

in the Talmud, where an inferior son of a worthy father is called 'a half-mina, son of a mina,' and so on. Prince (*Mene, mene, etc., a dissertation* [1893], 8; *Bk. of Dan.* 113 [1899]) suggests further that there may be a historical background for the statement about 'Mene,' etc., though this is a matter of pure conjecture. J. P. Peters (*JBL*, 1896, p. 116), however, thinks (with Behrmann) that these combinations are too fanciful, and would read in *v.* 25 (following Theod., but omitting the points), מנא תקל פרס, these roots meaning simply, 'Number, weigh, divide (or, Persian),' which Daniel has to fit with an interpretation suitable to the circumstances, whilst D. S. Margoliouth (Hast. *DB* 3 341 *b*) proposes 'he has counted, counted, weighed, and they assess' (*v.* 25), and 'he has counted, weighed, assessed' (*vv.* 26-28).

To sum up. The ordinary interpretation of the mysterious sentence (see RVmg.) is plainly inadequate. All the learning in the world, however, will not make Clermont-Ganneau's or even Haupt's theory more than moderately plausible. It has been suggested by J. Marquart (*Fund.* 73) that the legend of the writing hand has its origin in the account of the apparition seen by HELIODORUS in 2 Macc. 3 24 *ff.* As Niese has shown, Jason of Cyrene's history, which forms the basis of 2 Macc., is the work of a contemporary of the events related; this shows that the writer of Dan. 5, if of the Maccabean age, may well have known of the story of Heliodorus's vision. It does not appear that Marquart emends the text of the mysterious sentence in Dan. 5; but with 2 Macc. 3 25 before us, it is difficult not to read מחא [מחא] קטל פרש[א], 'smite, [smite], slay, thou horseman' (Che.). This theory is surely of interest, and so too, is the explanation which it suggests, of the method pursued by the editor of the story in Daniel. For we can hardly doubt that the sentence originally stood in Daniel as emended, with the alteration פרס, 'O Persia,' for פרש 'horseman.' Now we can see why it is said in *v.* 30, 'In that night was Belshazzar . . . *slain*' (קְטִיל; cp קטל in the sentence on the wall). On a further question see *Crit. Bib.*

Boissier points out that predictions traced by a mysterious hand are referred to in a cuneiform soothsaying tablet (Brit. Mus. no. 4030; see *PSBA* 18 237 *f.* [1896]). Line 3 says, 'If in the middle of the *ēkallu* (היכל) a finger describes a figure, brigands will rule the land.' T. K. C.—S. A. C.

MENELAUS (μενελαος [AV]), a Hellenising form of the Heb. Menahem; cp Eliakim and Alcimus, Jesus [Jeshua] and Jason, etc.), brother of Simon the Benjamite (cp 2 Macc. 3 4), and probably one of the sons of Tobias (We. *IJG* 200, n. 1); according to another (and less likely) tradition given by Jos. (*Ant.* xii. 5 1) he was Jason's brother. See ONIAS, § 10. He was sent to Antioch bearing tribute, and while there was able by means of a bribe to supplant the high priest JASON (*q.v.*) (2 Macc. 4 23 *ff.*). Although nominated, his task was not an easy one. Jason, who had the popular support, was indeed forced to fly; but lack of funds, and the consequent non-payment of tribute, rendered it necessary for him to appear before the king. Antiochus, however, was away engaged in quelling a petty insurrection, and Menelaus by presents of vessels stolen from the temple at Jerusalem was able to subvert ANDRONICUS (*q.v.*), the king's deputy; and when the faithful Onias III. (then at the temple of Daphne near Antioch) threatened to divulge the arrangement, he was persuaded to leave his sanctuary and was treacherously murdered by the deputy (on the accuracy of this report, see further ONIAS, § 7 *f.*). The popular indignation was shared by Greeks and Jews alike (4 36), and complaint having been made to Antiochus the murderer suffered a well-merited punishment. In Jerusalem, moreover, the repeated spoliation of the temple treasures under LYSIMACHUS (*q.v.*), the brother of Menelaus, and the knowledge that the money so obtained was put to the basest uses, incited the people to revolt, and Lysimachus met his death at the hands of the mob. An accusation was laid against Menelaus and three witnesses were sent by the senate to the king at Tyre. Menelaus soon saw the hopelessness of his case, and, following out his usual habit of bribing, won over Ptolemy Dorymenes, who induced the king to discharge the case. The wretched witnesses were put to death, a fate which they would not have met with even at the hands of the rude Scythians (as the writer relates, 4 47). See, generally, ONIAS.

We hear but little more of Menelaus. When Jason attacked Jerusalem, he took refuge in the citadel (5 5 *ff.*), and after the city had been put to the sword, it was he (*τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος προδότης, v.* 15) who guided Antiochus in his plundering expedition in the temple, and after the short reign of terror was over, Menelaus was left in charge with a Phrygian (*v.* 23).

At the time of Lysias' treaty with the Jews, Menelaus is unmentioned, and the high-priesthood is in the hands of ALCIMUS (*q.v.*). At all events he does not seem to have been idle, for, when Antiochus Eupator was proceeding on his campaign against Judæa, Menelaus is depicted in his familiar character as sedulously flattering the king, in the hope of ultimately being placed over the government. Lysias, however, warned the king, and Menelaus was put to death miserably (2 Macc. 13 3-8).

For the view that Menelaus is the cruel shepherd in Zech. 11 15 *ff.*, see ZECHARIAH, § 7. S. A. C.

MENESTHEUS (μενεcθ[εc]εωc [AV]), father of APOLLONIUS [*q.v.*, 4], 2 Macc. 12 2.

MENI (מְנִי[הַ]), Is. 65 11 EVmg., AV 'number,' RV 'destiny'; see FORTUNE AND DESTINY.

MENNA (Lk. 3 31 RV). See MENAN.

MENUCHA, PRINCE OF (Jer. 51 59, AVmg.). See SERAIAH, 4.

MENUHAH, Judg. 20 43, EVmg. (מְנוּחָה; απο νογα [BN[1]]), where (or from which) the Israelites 'trode down' (?) the Benjamites in a war of extermination. AVmg. prefixes 'from,' EVmg. 'at.' מְנוּחָה, 'from NOHAH' [*q.v.*], would be better (cp Moore, *ad loc.*); but surely מנוחה is simply a corrupt duplication of בנימין, Benjamin (cp Bu.). T. K. C.

MENUHOTH (הַמְּנֻחוֹת), 1 Ch. 2 52 RV, AV MENAHETHITES.

MEONENIM, THE PLAIN (RV) **OF** (אֵלוֹן מְעוֹנְנִים, RVmg. 'augurs' oak or terebinth'), is mentioned only in Judg. 9 37 (ηλων μαωνεμειν [B], δρυος αποβλεποντων [AL]). It was a point that could be seen from Shechem: 'one company,' said Gaal from the gate, 'cometh by the way of the oak of Meonenim.' Perhaps we should read יְרַחְמְאֵל, 'Jerahmeel,' a place-name which may also appear in the distorted forms Arumah (*v.* 41) and Tormah (*v.* 31). See TORMAH, SHECHEM; and for an analogy for the emendation, MAON, 2; see also MOREH, SHECHEM. T. K. C.

MEONOTHAI (מְעוֹנֹתַי; μαναθ[ε]ι [BA], μαωναθει [L]), the father of Ophrah, according to 1 Ch. 4 14. Most probably a corruption of מְנַחְתִּי, *manaḥti.* See 1 Ch. 2 54, where the name (RV 'the MANAHATHITES') occurs with the article. Manaḥti should also be read for HATHATH [*q.v.*] in 4 13. Thus *vv.* 13 and 14 become consecutive. T. K. C.

MEPHAATH (מֵפַעַת or מיפעת; in Jer. מופעת Ḳrē.), a Moabite city near Jahzah (Jer. 48 21: *μωφας* [B], *νωφαθ* [אc.a], *μωφαθ* [AQ]), spoken of as Reubenite and Levitical: Josh. 13 18 (*μαιφααθ* [BL], *μηφααθ* [A]), 21 37 (*μαφα* [BL], *μασφα* [A]), 1 Ch. 6 79 [64] (*μαεφλα* [B], *φααθ* [A], *μωφααθ* [L]).

Clermont-Ganneau (*Rec. d'Arch.* 457) identifies with the Mesa (Mefa?) of the *Notitia* and a village in the Belḳā called in the *Marāṣid* (1300 A.D.) Meifa'a. According to *OS* 279 15 139 1, a Roman garrison was stationed at Mephaath in the time of Eusebius and Jerome. The name has probably been distorted from מִצְפַּת, Mizpath. T. K. C.

MEPHIBOSHETH (מְפִי[ב]שֶׁת, § 42; μεμφιβοcθε [B], -θαι [A], μεμφιβααλ [L]).

1. Saul's son (by Rizpah), who, together with his

[1] N: a group of cursives in H-P, the text of which is represented by the *Catena Nicephori* (Moore, *Judg.* 45 *f.*).

brother Armoni (rather Abinadab? see SAUL, § 6), was given up to the Gibeonites for their blood vengeance (2 S. 21 8 *ff.*). See RIZPAH.

2. Son of Jonathan, and grandson of Saul (2 S. 9 1 etc.), also called Meribaal (?). See MERIBAAL.

3. According to 𝔊^{BAL} in 2 S. 3 *f.*, (but Ιεβοσθε, A[? a?] in 3 7, A[? (mg.)] in 3 8), the name of Saul's son and successor, commonly known as Ishbosheth or Eshbaal (Ishbaal?).

The historic trustworthiness of the names Ishbosheth and Eshbaal is altogether doubtful; the name Mephibosheth appears to conceal the true, original name, for which textual criticism has to seek.

1. Name.

According to the prevalent theory, the latter part of the traditional name is a substitute of bōsheth, 'shame' for 'Baal' (cp ISHBAAL, ISHBOSHETH); the former part is admitted to be obscure. This theory, however (viz., that names compounded with baal were so repugnant to later editors that baal was changed to bōsheth) is very difficult when we consider that it is in the late Book of Chronicles that we find the forms Esh-baal, Meri-baal, and Merib-baal, whilst Jastrow's theory that there was a deity known by the name of bašt (=bosheth), however learnedly defended, could be accepted by critics only as a last resource. A searching textual criticism appears to suggest a more probable explanation.

מפבשת (commonly read Mephibosheth) can be traced back to an original form ירחמ[א]ל; cp פיכל, Gen. 26 26, *i.e.*, ירחמאל. The stages of corruption and expansion are (*a*) פפמח, (*b*) פסח, (*c*) פשח, (*d*) פ[י]בשת, (*e*) מפ[י]בשת. In (*d*) and (*e*) it will be noticed that מ and ב are inserted, the מ under the influence of מריבעל, the ב to produce a possible sense (pî-bōšeth, 'mouth of shame'). In (*a*) פ represents רי. (*b*) and (*c*), however, are the most interesting, because these stages are closely connected with the legend (as we must call it) of Saul's grandson.[1]

In 2 S. 9 3, when David inquires for a surviving representative of Saul, he is told of a son of Jonathan, called Mephibosheth, who is lame, פִּסֵּחַ (on both his feet, 9 13). The story, which is told in 4 4 to account for this lameness, evidently has a romantic character. The probability is that Mephibosheth (if that was the youth's name) was said to have been lame in order to account for his name, which was given in the record to which the narrator had access as Pissēaḥ (cp PASEAH=Jeraḥme'el in a Calebite genealogy). In a later state Pissēaḥ became first Pi-bosheth and then Mephi-bosheth; but the anecdote which had arisen when the name was given as Pissēaḥ remained. It is remarkable that Saul's successor was also called Mephi-bosheth by some (see above, 3). This suggests that Ishbosheth is probably an expansion of I-bosheth (the *sh* being repeated to produce an etymology), where 'I' is a relic of 'Mephi,' and consequently that the tradition of the lameness of the bearer of the name referred originally not to a grandson but to a son of Saul. The true name of Saul's successor, however, was probably either Jerahme'el or an easy popular distortion of it such as Maḥriel. We do not happen to find the form Meribaal (a corruption of Maḥriel?) applied to Saul's successor; it is, however, applied to Saul's grandson in 1 Ch. The true name of the grandson of Saul and son of Jonathan may very well have been forgotten.

As to 'Eshbaal' ('Ishbaal'?), the name which is thought to take the place of the 'Ishbosheth' of 1 K. in 1 Ch. 8 33 and 9 39, it is most probably a corrupt variant of Malchishua, which, however, is itself also corrupt (see MALCHISHUA). Possibly the scribe who produced it may have been confirmed in his error by a reminiscence of Meribaal; but that Eshbaal or Ishbaal is an ***interpretation*** of Meribaal cannot plausibly be held.

The result obtained above with reference to the name Mephibosheth casts a light on the singularly premature statement respecting Saul's grandson 'Mephibosheth' in 2 S. 4 4. According to Budde, 2 S. 4 4*b* should be placed after 2 S. 9 3, since it relates the cause of the lameness referred to by Ziba (*Ri.-Sa.* 248). This is plausible; but how shall we account satisfactorily for the misplacement? Probably 2 S. 4 4 has been recast by an editor; *i.e.*, it has taken the place of an explanation (now lost) of the name of Pissēaḥ (see above) borne by Saul's son and successor. The passage may originally have run, 'Now Saul's son was lame of his feet. He . . . fell, and became lame; and his name was called Pissēaḥ.' The lameness of Saul's son may well have been referred to in order to account for the ease with which the poor weak king was assassinated. It is very possible that the original story of the assassination was not exactly that which we now read in 4 2 *f.* 5-12.[1]

We have already touched on some historical points in dealing with the name; names, in fact, often help to make or mar historical traditions.

2. History.

Here, we need speak only of the person best known (however incorrectly) as Mephibosheth. When David sent for him, he was residing probably at Beth-jeraḥme'el, the centre of his father's clan, also known as Beth-gilgal (see SAUL, § 1). The impression conveyed by the MT of 2 S. 9 4 *f.* that he was at the time in the house of an unknown private individual, whose name and family are remembered, in an obscure Gadite town, can hardly be correct. We may accept the tradition that David (on politic grounds?) guaranteed to 'Mephibosheth' the lands which had belonged to his grandfather, but appointed Ziba, a servant of Saul, whom David had probably won over to his side, as 'Mephibosheth's' steward. This fact, however, has been decorated, so to speak, by an admirer of David, by whom this king is represented as basing his act on the sacred covenant between himself and Jonathan, and as expressing the kindliest solicitude respecting the house of Saul, although from another source we learn that David deliberately handed over seven of Saul's descendants to the blood-thirsty Gibeonites (2 S. 21 1-14). The truth probably is that David sent for Mephibosheth, not on account of his covenant with Jonathan (which is too probably, as Winckler has shown, an 'idealisation of history'), but with the view of putting him under surveillance, lest he should assert his claim to his grandfather's crown.

The narrative in 2 S. 21 just referred to should probably be ***prefixed*** to 2 S. 9; *v.* 7, however, which states that David spared 'Mephibosheth' on this occasion, is evidently an interpolation which arose after the transposition of the section. The passages relative to David's covenant with Jonathan are also most probably of later origin (see S. A. Cook, *AJSL*, April 1900, p. 169 *f.*).

Saul's grandson is also mentioned in connection with Absalom's revolt (2 S. 16 1-4 19 24 [25] *ff.*, and perhaps elsewhere). According to Ziba, he neglected to join David because he had conceived hopes of being made king by the 'house of Israel.' For this David is said to have dispossessed 'Mephibosheth,' and made Ziba lord of Saul's lands. Later, 'Mephibosheth' came to meet David, and sought to explain his conduct. David, however, does not appear to have been entirely satisfied, and directed 'Mephibosheth' and Ziba to divide the land. Such, at any rate, is one tradition.

It is remarkable, however, that, according to another tradition, which survives only in a distorted form, it was 'Mephibosheth,' not Ziba, who brought supplies to David when he left Jerusalem on his way to the passage of the Jordan, in acknowledgment of which David invited 'Mephibosheth' to become one of the guests at his table (*i.e.*, a member of his court). Obviously this is due to an admirer of David, who would not have his hero accused of having ill-treated the son of Jonathan. We may at any rate assume, on the basis of this passage (2 S. 19 33), that the invitation or rather command which now stands at the end of 2 S. 9 7 should properly form part of the narrative of David's second interview with 'Mephibosheth.'[2] Ziba, in short, probably took *all* the lands of Saul (cp 2 S. 19 30), and 'Mephibosheth' was ordered to a disguised imprisonment at the court.

2 S. 17 27 is evidently based on a corrupt and misunderstood original, which may with high probability be restored thus, 'And it came to pass that Mephibosheth ben Jōnathan [from

[1] (*b*) may also be connected with a passage in the early history of Jerusalem. 'Blind' (עורים) and 'lame' (פסחים) in 2 S. 5 6 8 are apparently fragments of 'Jerahmeelites' (ירחמאלים). For fuller details see *Crit. Bib.*

[1] Wi. *GI* 2 196.

[2] That they are misplaced, is seen by Winckler (*GI* 2 202, n. 3).

Beth-jerahmeel, from Beth-gilgal, from Gibeah of Shalishah],[1] the Gilgalite, from Beth-gilgal. . . .' In 19 31 *ff.*, מִגִּבְעַת שָׁלִשָׁה, 'from Gibeah of Shalisha,' has become ברזלי BARZILLAI, a purely imaginary name, which the writer must have derived from a corrupt form of 2 S. 17 27. It is certainly attractive—this familiar story of Barzillai—but it is neither more nor less than a romantic decoration based upon misunderstanding. The reference in 17 27 to Machir, Ammiel, and Lo-debar apparently comes from 9 4 *f.* לא דבר, might be a corruption either of יבש גלעד (Jabesh-gilead) or of ביה גלגל (Beth-gilgal); but underneath the corrupt words which precede we can detect בית ירחמאל (Beth-jeraḥme'el = Beth-gilgal). See, further, SAUL, § 6.

In 2 S. 9 12 we hear of a son of 'Mephibosheth' called Micha; but the name and the genealogy in which it finds place (1 Ch. 8 3 *ff.* 9 41 *ff.*) are both suspicious (SAUL, § 6). Both Micha and Chimham (2 S. 19 37 *ff.*) may quite naturally be traced to Jeraḥme'el.

T. K. C.

MERAB (מֵרַב, § 74; μερωβ [BAL], 'increase'?—but see below) is represented as Saul's elder daughter (1 S. 14 49, om. A), who, though promised to David, was finally given to ADRIEL to wife (18 17 19). Her five sons were said to have fallen at the hands of the Gibeonites, as representatives of Saul's house, to remove the blood-guiltiness of the land (2 S. 21 8, where 'Michal' is generally taken as a scribe's error for 'Merab'). The whole of the Merab paragraph (1 S. 18 17-19), however, together with some neighbouring passages (parts of 21 26 29 *f.*) is wanting in 𝔊. Its genesis can not improbably be traced.

The name Merab may have grown out of a corrupt variant of the name of Saul's daughter, which elsewhere appears as Michal and probably also as Abiḥail, but which was really Jeraḥme'elith (cp Mahalath). The names of the persons to whom Merab and Michal respectively are said to have been transferred are also probably corruptions of shortened forms of Jeraḥme'el, or rather 'Adriel [Maḥriel], son of Barzillai [citizen of Gibeah of Shalisha] the Meholathite [Jeraḥme'elite],' and 'Palṭiel [Maṭriel], son of Laish [Shalishah], who was of Gallim [Beth-gilgal],' are the same person—a member of a clan called (from its origin) Jeraḥme'el.

All that the old tradition knew was that Saul's daughter married within her father's clan. See SAUL, § 1, LAISH, PALTI, MEHOLATHITE. Cp, however, H. P. Smith or Budde on the passages concerned.

T. K. C.

MERAIAH (מְרָיָה, on name, see below), head of the priestly b'ne Seraiah in the days of Joiakim, Jeshua's successor, Neh. 12 12 (μαρεα [B], μαραια [א], μαρια [A], αμαριας [L]).

As the text stands, the root of the name is מרה, 'to withstand'; see NAMES, §§ 35, 53. But Gray's suggestion (*HPN* 295, n. 1) that Meraiah comes from AMARIAH (*q.v.*) is very plausible (cp 𝔊L), and when we consider the number of post-exilic names arising (in our view) out of 'Jerahmeel,' one of which is MERAIOTH = Jerimoth, it is even probable. For Amariah is certainly Jerahmeelite; cp Zeph. 1 1 (Cushi and Amariah near together; cp CUSHI) 1 Ch. 6 6 *f.* (Zerahiah, Meraioth, Amariah, Ahitub[2]—all probably from ethnic names).

T. K. C.

MERAIOTH (מְרָיוֹת; §§ 34, 53; but see MERAIAH).
1. A descendant of Aaron, and ancestor of Ahitub; 1 Ch. 6 6 7 52 [5 32 *f.* 6 37] 9 11 Ezra 7 3[3] Neh. 11 11 (μαρειηλ, μαρμωθ, μαρερωθ, μαριωθ [B]; μαριωθ [א]; μαραιωθ, μεραωθ, μαριωθ [A]; μαρεωθ, μαραιωθ, μεραιωθ, μαριωθ [L]). See GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (iv.).

2. In Neh. 12 15 Meraioth (Bא*A om., μαριωθ [א c.a mg. inf.], μαριμωθ [L]) seems to be a false reading for Meremoth. See MEREMOTH (3).

MERAN, RV **Merran** (μερραν [BAQΓ]), Bar. 3 23. Probably a misreading for Mĕdan = Midian. To look for Arabian names of similar sound is a profitless undertaking. The 'merchants of Midian and Teman' is a natural combination (so Hi., Kneucker, Ball, J. T. Marshall).

[1] A later insertion.

[2] Probably a disguise of רְחֹבֹתִי, Rehobothi. The 'Rehobothites' are not impossibly referred to occasionally in the Psalms. See PSALMS (BOOK).

[3] 4 Esd. 1 2, MARIMOTH.

MERARI (מְרָרִי, μεραρ[ε]ι [BאAF]; in 1 Ch. 6 1 16 19 29 23 6, μαραρει [B], in 1 Ch. 6 47 15 6 17 26 10 19, μερραρει [B]).

1. The smallest of the three divisions of Levites (Gen. 46 11 Ex. 6 19, etc., only in P and Ch., see GERSHON, GENEALOGIES i., § 7, KOHATH, LEVITES). The **Merarites** (הַמְּרָרִי, ὁ μ.) are frequently mentioned in the priestly writings (cp Nu. 3 17 4 29 7 8 1 Ch. 6 1 9 14, etc.); their cities are placed in Zebulun, Gad, and Reuben (Josh. 21 7 34-40). The two sub-divisions bear the names MUSHI and MAHLI [*qq.v.*]. Both Mushi and Merari seem to be corruptions of Miṣri—*i.e.*, belonging to Muṣur or Muṣri (cp MIZRAIM, § 2*b*), on the N. Arabian border—whilst Mahli = Jerahmeeli (Che.). Apparently the original seats of the LEVITES [*q.v.*] were in the Miṣrite or Jerahmeelite region (Che.). See MOSES, § 6.

2. The father of JUDITH [*q.v.*] (Judith 8 1, μεραρει; 16 6, μαραρει [א]). From a comparison with Gen. 26 34 it was an old conjecture that Merari was a corruption of Beeri (the Hittite), cp Ball (*Jud. ad loc.*).

3. Family in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i., 2, ii., 15 [1] *d*), Ezra 8 19 (υἱοὶ Μεραρ[ε]ι [BAL]) = 1 Esd. 8 48 CHANNUNEUS (υἱοὶ χανουναίου [BA]).

MERATHAIM, LAND OF (הָאָרֶץ מְרָתַיִם; Pesh. connects with מרה, 'to be bitter'; BאA connect עַל הָאָרֶץ with preceding clause, and render the rest of 21 *a* πικρως επιβηθι επ αυτην [Aq. παραπικραινοντων αναβηθι επ αυτην, Q mg.]; *super terram dominantium ascende*), Jer. 50 21†. The vowel-points suggest the meaning 'double rebellion' [so RV mg.; AV mg. 'the rebels'] (cp Cushanrishathaim), as if the name were a symbolic description of Babylonia, but since Pekod (in the parallel clause) is a geographical designation, 'Merathaim' must have been so too. Frd. Delitzsch (*Par.* 182), with Schrader's assent, explains m-r-t-m (the consonants of the text) from Ass. *māt marrātim*, 'the sea-country'—*i.e.*, S. Babylonia; cp 'Bit-Yakin, which is on the shore of the sea' (*marrāti*, *i.e.*, the Persian Gulf), in Sargon's Khorsabad inscr. 1 22 (*KB* 2 55; *KAT*(2) 423).

Cheyne, however, who regards Jer. 50 *f.* as (in its original form, traces of which still remain) directed against the Jerahmeelites or Edomites, who abetted the Babylonian invaders, and long continued to commit outrages on the Jews (see OBADIAH [BOOK]) reads thus: 'Go up against the land Jerahmeel, and against the inhabitants of Rehoboth, saith Yahwè, and do according to all that I have commanded thee.'[1]

MERCHANT. 1. סֹחֵר, *sōḥēr* (√סחר, εμπορευεσθαι), Gen. 23 16 [but for a revised text see KESITAH] 37 28 Ezek. 27 21, etc.; εμπορος (Is. 23 2 *f.*, μεταβολος); *negotiator*.

2. רֹכֵל, *rōkēl* (√רכל, cp רגל; see SPIES), Ezek. 27 3 Neh. 3 31 *f.* etc.; ἔμπορος, ἐμπόριον (in Neh. 3 31 *f.*, ῥοβοπώλης—*i.e.*, ῥοποπ. ῥωποπ. not in 𝔊BאA, μεταβόλος [L]; in Cant. 3 6 μυρεψός (*i.e.*, 'perfumer'). See TRADE AND COMMERCE, and for Neh. 3 31 *f.*, where רכלים is a mutilation of ירחמאלים (Che.), see NETHINIM and cp PERFUMER.

In Is. 23 11 כְּנַעַן is rendered in AV 'the merchant city' (cp 3); but in RV 'Canaan,' RV mg. 'the merchant people.' On 'Canaan' = Phœnicia, cp CANAAN, § 2.

3. כְּנַעֲנִי, *kĕna'ăni*, properly 'Canaanite,' because the Phœnicians were a trading people; cp Ezek. 16 29 RV 'in the land of Canaan'; mg. 'unto the land of traffic' (Job 40 30 [41 6] Prov. 31 24). In Is. 23 8 EV 'trafficker,' ‖ רֹכֵל, 'merchant.' In EV of NT 'merchant,' 'merchantman,' correspond to ἔμπορος, ἄνθρωπος ἐμπ. (Rev. 18 3 11 23 Mt. 13 45).

In 1 K. 10 15 ‖ 2 Ch. 9 14 לבד מאנשי התרים is rendered in AV 'Beside that he had of the merchantmen,' and 'Beside that which chapmen [brought]'; but the merchants have no business here. Careful criticism, by revealing the corruption of the text, clears up the whole context. See SOLOMON.

MERCURY, AV **MERCURIUS**, Greek Hermes

[1] חרב comes from [ת]רחב, a scribe's correction of the preceding פקוד; והחרם and אחריהם are both attempts of scribes to make sense of a miswritten ירחמאל (cp וגם אחרי כן, in Gen. 6 4).

MERCY SEAT

(ΕΡΜΗΣ), was the customary attendant of Jupiter (Zeus) when he appeared on earth (Ov. *Fast.* 5_{495}, *Metam.* 8_{621}), and is spoken of by Iamblichus (*de Myst. Æg.*) as θεὸς ὁ τῶν λόγων ἡγεμών. In Acts 14_{12} it is said that the people of Lystra took Barnabas (the older man) for Zeus, and Paul for Hermes 'because he was the chief speaker' (ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ λόγου). Details regarding Hermes and his Roman counterpart can be found in many easily accessible works. It will suffice here to refer to what has been said under JUPITER, col. 2648, and to remark that Hermes is also the Greek equivalent of NEBO. See also BARNABAS, § 3, and cp, on the sources, ACTS, § 10.

MERCY SEAT (כַּפֹּרֶת, *kappṓreth;* ἱλαστήριον; *propitiatorium*), corresponding to Luther's *Gnadenstuhl.*

1. The problem. 'Mercy-seat' is, of course, not an exact translation of *kappṓreth* and ἱλαστήριον, nor does the context suggest it. The phrase would do better for 'throne of grace' (θρόνος τῆς χάριτος) in Heb. 4_{16}. Our first task, then, must be to try to ascertain what the much-discussed word *kappṓreth* actually does mean (§§ 2-5); our next to make a similar endeavour as to the word ἱλαστήριον, and to ascertain whether the idea underlying the *kappṓreth* of the MT and that underlying the ἱλαστήριον of the LXX are coincident (§ 6 *f.*); our last to inquire what is the meaning of the word in the *locus classicus*, Rom. 3_{25} (§ 8).

2. Use of kappōreth in OT. In the OT *kappṓreth* occurs only in P (Ex. 25_{17-22} 26_{34} [𝔊 otherwise] 30_{6} [𝔊 om.] 31_{7} 35_{12} 37_{6-9} 39_{35} [𝔊 om.] 40_{20} [𝔊 om.] Lev. $16_{2\,13-15}$ Nu. 7_{89}) and in 1 Ch. 28_{11} (𝔊^{BA} ἐξιλασμός).

If in these passages we are content in the meanwhile to leave the word *kappṓreth* untranslated and to treat it purely as an unknown quantity, we obtain the following data towards a determination of the idea involved. In P the *kappōreth* denotes a concrete object (it is of gold and of definite dimensions); more precisely, it is a gold plate laid upon the ark of the covenant, rectangular in form, and in its measurements coinciding exactly with those of the ark. Upon this plate are fixed two cherubs of beaten gold, under the outspread wings of which Yahwè has his dwelling. On the great day of atonement the high priest sprinkles this gold plate with the blood of the animals sacrificed.[1]

The inference drawn from the facts by many ancient[2] and modern scholars—that *kappṓreth* means *covering*—was not unnatural. It was fallacious, nevertheless. If upon a bronze goblet we lay a disc that fits its upper rim, the *word* 'disc' does not therefore mean a 'covering' or 'lid,' although in point of fact in this particular case the disc actually *is* a 'lid.' In like manner here, though the *kappṓreth* actually does cover the ark, the name does not therefore necessarily mean a covering. There is this difference indeed between the two cases that whereas the words 'disc' and 'lid' have etymologically nothing in common, *kappṓreth* is actually derived by the supporters of the inference just mentioned from √כפר, *kāphar*, to cover. Now, whilst the connection of *kappṓreth* with √*kāphar* is undeniable, it must not be overlooked that it is a 'nomen actoris' derived from the Piel, and means literally 'she who wipes out,'[3]—'wipe out' in fact here having that pregnant sense of *sühnen*, *expiare*, which always characterises the Piel. Since this feminine noun shows a natural tendency to become an abstract one we may well adopt Merx's conjecture that probably it was originally associated with some such word as כְּלִי, so that our *kappṓreth* will be an abbreviation for כְּלִי הַכַּפֹּרֶת and will mean 'instrument of cleansing,' 'instrument of propitiation.'

The renderings of Pesh. (*ḥūsāyā*, Sühnung), Vg. (*propitiatorium*), and Arm. (in Ex. 25_{17} *χawouthiun*, expiatio) come very near this meaning of *kappṓreth;* that of the LXX will be considered later (see § 8). Thus on etymological grounds the interpretation of 'covering' is to be rejected, although in point of fact the *kappṓreth* actually did serve as a lid covering the ark. Whether the ark had a special covering of its own upon which the *kappṓreth* rested, so that the *kappṓreth*, as maintained by Dillmann and, among others, by Nowack (*Arch.* 2_{60}), is to be thought of as a kind of penthouse for the ark, cannot be made out; we have no information. In any case the meaning of *kappṓreth* in the OT is not 'covering,' nor yet 'atoning covering,' but, as we have seen, 'instrument of propitiation.'

In agreement with this is the important observation of Lagarde 'that an Arabic *kaffārat*, in daily use as

3. Kaffārat in Arabian law. a technical expression in legal procedure, corresponds formally and exactly to the Hebrew כַּפֹּרֶת.'[1]

Lagarde begins (231 *f.*) by showing how the Arabic verb *kafara*, 'cover,' is used: a cloud *covers* the sky, night *covers* by its darkness, the wind *covers* the traces of an encampment, the sower *covers* the seed, for which reason he is actually called *kāfir* (he who covers up). Next, Lagarde (232 *f.*) explains wherein it is that the *kaffārat* of Arabian law consists. 'Whosoever has deliberately left unfulfilled a *naḏr* (vow) or promise, must make a *kaffārat* [=כַּפֹּרֶת]. The *kaffārat*, moreover, is obligatory on everyone who has engaged in certain proceedings of law, especially the taking of an oath; the object of the *kaffārat* in this case being to make good any illegalities that may perchance have occurred in such proceedings. Further, it is obligatory upon every one who has reproached his wife . . . who has unintentionally killed a man [one school of law says 'a Moslem'] or by any negligence on his part occasioned the death of a man, who has not fasted duly according to rule, or who has failed to keep the fast of Ramaḍān. Some schools of law accept *kaffārat* also in expiation even of wilful manslaughter for which other schools . . . demand blood-revenge. The latter view is the only one really in consonance with the fundamental principles of Mohammedan law. The *kaffārat* required consists either in . . . the emancipation of a Mohammedan slave, or in fasting, or in *ṣadaḳa* (δικαιοσύνη, Mt. 6_{1} = ἐλεημοσύνη), which can be exercised only towards really needy persons.' Now, in Sunnite law there are four schools: everything which is common to all four may safely be taken as an original and integral element in Mohammedan law. And *kaffārat* is common to them all (Lag. *op. cit.* 233).

Lagarde states that the *kaffārat* is also usual among the Arabs in everyday life. He quotes (236), besides an interesting passage from Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* on funeral rites, a story of *Ṭarṭūšī:* a female slave had brought a dish of broth to table in too great a hurry, had let the dish fall, and scalded her master and his guests with its contents. Her master consoled her with the words: 'Thou art free: perhaps this may be to thee a *kaffārat* for thy fright.' See also Lagarde's *Register u. Nachträge*, 69_{1}; but cp *GGN*, 1891, pp. 135 *ff.*

That the OT *kappṓreth* and the Arab. *kaffārat* are in some way connected with each other is more than

4. Relation between OT kappōreth and Arab. kaffārat. probable. Lagarde[2] insists upon this. The two words, he says (235 *f.*), coincide exactly; 'and as the Arabs have *ā* for the Heb. *ō*, *kaffārat* cannot possibly be a loan from the Hebrew. The existence of this *lautverschiebung* makes it certain that the words are, each in its own place, original.' The ideas in both go back to a common primitive Semitic legal origin: the conception of *kappṓreth* is plainly a fundamental Semitic conception, though, of course, capable of being adopted by the authorities of an organised religion, like the early Judaism.[3]

How Lagarde himself pictured to himself the connection between the OT *kappōreth* and the primitive Semitic legal idea referred to he has not set forth in any detail. He only says that he is 'led more and more to the conclusion that כַּפֹּרֶת in the Pentateuch means the ark of the covenant in so far as atonement and the ark were connected,' and his statement shows that he agrees with Merx in the theory already mentioned, that *kappṓreth* is an abbreviation, presumably for some such expression

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1 The question whether the law of Lev. 16 is composite or a unity need not be considered here. Cp Benzinger, *ZATW*, 1889, pp. 65 *ff.*; also LEVITICUS, § 2, and ATONEMENT (DAY OF), § 1 *ff.*

2 Sa'adya, Rashi, Ḳimḥi.

3 For these observations the present writer is indebted to the kindness of Prof. A. Merx.

1 Lag. *Übers.* 237. See, however, Kön., *Lehrgeb.* 2*a* (1895), 201.

2 *Uebers.* 235.

3 See Lagarde, *GGN*, 1891, pp. 136, and cp *Uebers.* 230.

as *kelî hakkappōreth.* One is surprised, however, that Lagarde should consider the ark itself, not the gold plate upon it, to be the *kappōreth*, contrary to the express words of the Pentateuch.

The present writer will only venture to say that the Arabic usage described by Lagarde, if accepted as illustrative of the primitive Semitic conception, seems to him to make for the explanation given above in § 2. *Kappōreth*, like *kaffārat*, means 'propitiation'; it is used, however, in the OT with reference to the thing which subserves the purpose of propitiation. Similar abbreviations (Lagarde compares אֲפֹד) are not unfrequent in technical expressions connected with worship, as, for example, in the popular designation of feast days.

Thus the word *kaffārat-kappōreth* has been very tenacious of its meaning during its age-long history.

5. History of the OT kappóreth-worship.

The meaning of propitiation, which came down from primitive Semitism, it continued to retain in the OT and in the Koran, and still possesses among modern Jews[1] and Arabs. In the case of the Jews this is all the more noteworthy because the passages in their law, which continually reminded them of a kappóreth, had from an early date come to have only theoretical validity. Whether the *kappōreth*-worship associated with the ark of the covenant had ever been actually practised may be left an open question here. What is certain, in any case, is that in the time of Jesus and the apostles the temple in Jerusalem no longer possessed the ark,[2] and, therefore, the *kappōreth*-worship connected therewith. As regards the offering of the high priest on the great day of atonement[3] in Herod's temple we have two notices: that of Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 10 3) and that of the Mishna (*Yōmā*). The high priest sprinkled the blood of the sin-offering, according to Josephus, towards the roof and floor of the holy of holies; according to *Yōmā*, towards that spot in the holy of holies, marked by a stone, where the ark of the covenant ought to have stood. This stone was called *ében šathyā* or *ében šethiyyā* (ATONEMENT, DAY OF, § 7). After the destruction of Herod's temple, even this shadowy worship ceased, and the *kappōreth*-cultus connected with the ark by the law became no more than a pious memory. The idea of *kappōreth*, however, was too natural to pass away.

Passing to the Greek form, we have first to establish its meaning in Greek generally.

(*a*) The adjective ἱλαστήριος, etymologically considered, has the meaning of 'propitiatory,' 'serving for propitiation.'

6. ἱλαστήριος and ἱλαστήριον in Greek.

Apart, however, from the LXX and Christian literature we know of only two ancient passages which certainly exemplify the use of this adjective. Among the Faiyūm MSS, discovered by Grenfell and Hunt,[4] is a fragment (No. 337) of a philosophical work, by an unknown author, concerning the gods. It is unfortunately much mutilated; still we are able to make out an expression which has great interest for our present inquiry (1 3-5): τοῖς θεοῖς εἰλαστη[ρίο]υς (*sic*) θυσίας ἀξιω[θέ?]ντες ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. The actual fragment dates from the second century A.D.; but the text itself may of course be older.

Here we find ἱλαστήριος as an adjective (of two terminations) qualifying θυσία: ἱλαστήριος θυσία = propitiatory sacrifice. No one can imagine here that the conception of sacrifice is already latent in the word ἱλαστήριος: ἱλαστήριος by itself means simply 'propitiatory,' the idea of sacrifice is given by θυσία.

The other passage is 4 Macc. 17 22, which need not

1 We cannot here investigate the history of the current German colloquialism, 'kappores gehen,' 'to go kappores'—*i.e.*, to be destroyed. The word *kappōres* used in the language of modern Jewish worship is the old word *kappōreth* and means properly 'propitiation.'

2 See ARK, § 4; also Winer, *Bibl. RWB*(3), *s.v.* 'Bundeslade.'

3 Cp Winer(3), *s.v.* 'Versöhnungstag'; also ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

4 *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* (Egypt Exploration Fund), 1900, p. 313.

here be quoted. Here the reference is to the Maccabæan martyrs.

𝔊ℵ has (διὰ) τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου, thus taking ἱλαστηρίου as a substantive; but even if we suppose this to have been the original reading (which does not seem likely) the existence of the adjective is proved for the philologist by the other MSS (AV).[1]

Of Christian date we have been able to discover with the aid of the *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ* no more than a single example: Niceph. Antioch. 'Vita Symeon. Stylit.' in *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, v. 335 17: χεῖρας ἱκετηρίους, εἰ βούλει δὲ ἱλαστηρίους, ἐκτείνας θεῷ, where again ἱλαστήριος means 'propitiatory.'

(*b*) Adjectives in -ήριος are, as we know, often made into substantives,[2] *e.g.*, θυματήριον, φυλακτήριον, and many others; in inscriptions χαριστήριον and εὐχαριστήριον are of frequent occurrence. τὸ ἱλαστήριον can mean nothing else than 'that which propitiates,' 'the propitiating thing.' What the particular thing is must be determined in each case by the context. It is wholly arbitrary to assert that ἱλαστήριον means 'propitiatory sacrifice.' A sacrifice, if it was propitiatory in its intention, might once and again indeed be designated as a ἱλαστήριον; but the word itself does not on that account forthwith require the special meaning 'propitiatory sacrifice'; it still can be used equally well of any other thing connected with propitiation. Of this last various examples can be adduced, whilst, strange to say, no instance of ἱλαστήριον being used in the sense of 'propitiatory sacrifice' has as yet been discovered.[3] Of our examples, which are all drawn from the early imperial period, two are found in recently discovered inscriptions, one in a pagan author, and two in Jewish texts.

Upon a statue, or the base of a statue—at all events upon a votive gift set up to the gods by the people of Cos for the welfare of Augustus, 'son of God,'—stands the following inscription:[4]

ὁ δᾶμος ὑπὲρ τᾶς Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος
θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ σωτηρίας
θεοῖς ἱλαστήριον.

The word is used in a similar way in another inscription of Cos (no. 347),[5] which certainly belongs to the imperial period, though it cannot be more precisely dated. It is found upon the fragment of a column:

[ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀλεντίων]
[. . . . Σε]βα-
σ[τ]ῷ Διὶ Σ[τ]ρατίῳ ἱλασ-
τήριον δαμαρχεῦν-
τος Γαΐου Νωρ-
βανοῦ Μοσχίω-
νο[ς φι]λοκαίσα-
ρος

We find exactly the same use of the word in Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 11 355 [Reiske]): καταλείψειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ ἐπιγράψειν· ἱλαστήριον Ἀχαιοὶ τῇ Ἰλιάδι. Here also may be adduced the passage of Josephus already given under (*a*); see n. 1. More interesting still than

1 To the above two passages we should have to add Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 7 1: περίφοβος δ' αὐτὸς ἐξῄει καὶ τοῦ δέους ἱλαστήριον μνῆμα λευκῆς πέτρας ἐπὶ τῷ στομίῳ κατεσκευάσατο, if here ἱλαστήριον and μνῆμα are to be taken together; but it is more than probable that ἱλαστήριον is used as a substantive and predicatively; 'he set up as a ἱλαστήριον τοῦ δέους a μνῆμα λευκῆς πέτρας'—the view communicated to the present writer by H. Brede (cp Deissmann, *Bibelstud.* 127, n. 2). The phrase ἱλαστήριον τοῦ δέους is elliptical: 'as propitiation for his crime that was filling him with fear.'

2 Winer, *Gram.*(7) 91; Winer-Schmiedel, § 16 2 *b*, 134.

3 The reference to Theophanes Continuatus in Winer(7), 91, and Winer-Schmiedel, 134, is a mistake. See below, n. 13, col. 3031.

4 W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, 1891, no. 81 (p. 126), cp Deissmann, *Bibelstud.* 128.

5 Paton and Hicks, 225 *f.*, cp Deissmann, 128. We learn by private communication from Dr. R. Herzog of Tübingen that this inscription has since, unfortunately, disappeared. It is a happy circumstance that it had already been published by the English editors.

the passage just referred to is the fact that Symmachus[1] in his translation of Gen. 6 16 [15] twice designates Noah's ark as ἱλαστήριον, plainly because he regarded it as a means of propitiation; whosoever found refuge in the ark, to him God showed his mercy.

(*c*) The examples hitherto adduced all give the general sense of 'means of propitiation,' 'propitiatory thing,' the context in each case showing the special meaning (never, however, that of 'propitiatory sacrifice'). Several of a later date have now to be added. The passage from Nonnus, indeed (*Dionysiaca*, 13 517: 4th-5th cent. A.D.), cited by Cremer ((8), 474), is uncertain; the current reading would appear to be ἱκαστήρια Γοργοῦς, which Falkenburg altered into ἱλαστήρια Γοργοῦς and Cunæus into ἱερὰ ῥεύματα Γοργοῦς.[2] Even should the conjecture ἱλαστήρια be right, the passage still remains unintelligible; according to the context the ἱλαστήρια Γοργοῦς must mean a district of country.[3]

Hesychius, the lexicographer, explains ἱλαστήριον as καθάρσιον, θυσιαστήριον, *i.e.*, he gives a synonym ('that which purifies' and 'that which propitiates' are nearly related ideas) and adds a special meaning which, of course, is possible only in a particular context,[4] that of 'altar,' which Cyril, the lexicographer cited by Schleusner,[5] explains quite rightly when he says: ἱλαστήριον· θυσιαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ προσφέρει (προσφέρεται?) περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν.

Menander the historian (6th-7th cent. A.D.) in *Excerpt. Hist.* 352 12 *f.*[6] alludes to τὸν μοναστήριον οἶκον τὸν λεγόμενον Σεβανὸν and afterwards (16) designates this monastery as a ἱλαστήριον (τείχει τε κατησφαλισμένων τὸ ἱλαστήριον)—a designation which might on occasion be quite appropriate.[7]

From Du Cange[8] we learn that Sabas[9] in the *Typicum* (Venice ed.), chaps. 1 and 5, gives the name of ἱλαστήριον to the place of the altar, the choir (*bema, cancellis inclusum*); *e.g.* (chap. 5), θυμιᾷ τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν σταυροειδῶς ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ἱλαστήριον ἅπαν.

In Joseph Genesios (10th cent. A.D.) 103 21[10] a monastery is called ἱλαστήριον, just as in Menander: ὡς δὲ παρεστήκει τοῖς τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου προθύροις.[11]

Theophanes Continuatus (10th cent. A.D.) in two places (326 21 *f.* 452 14)[12] calls a church ἱλαστήριον.[13]

How this use of the word is to be explained can be well seen in a passage of Johannes Kameniates (10th cent. A.D.), who says of sumptuous ecclesiastical buildings (502 10 *f.*)[14] that they are 'as it were propitiatory gifts dedicated by the community to the deity' (ὥσπερ τινὰ κοινὰ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἱλαστήρια). Here ἱλαστήριον has its old meaning 'propitiatory thing,' more particularly 'propitiatory gift.' If it was possible with

1 Field, *Hex.*, 1875, 123 *f.*

2 See *Nonni Panopolitæ Dionysiacorum libri XLVIII.*, em. F. Graefe, 1 (1819) p. 300. Köchly in his edition (Leipsic, 1857) conjectures εὐναστήριον 'Οργοῦ, and seeks to defend this reading, p. lix *f.*

3 Cremer (8), 474, explains 'propitiatory gift,' which does not remove the difficulty.

4 He is doubtless thinking of Ezek. 43 14 17 20 𝔊; cp below, § 7 *a*, end.

5 *Nov. Thes. . . . in LXX. . . . interpretes Veteris Testamenti*, 3, Leipsic, 1820, p. 109.

6 Ed. Niebuhr (Bonn).

7 Cremer(8), 474, cites the passage, but plainly had not read it.

8 *Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ Græcitatis*, 1 (1688) 513.

9 St. Sabas (or Sabbas) died 531 A.D. Whether the *Typicum* that bears his name be really his is doubtful. Cp Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byz. Lit.*(2), 141.

10 As to this, cp Ezek. 43 14 17 20 𝔊, and below, § 7 *a*, end.

11 Ed. Lachmann (Bonn). The *Thesaurus* cites p. 49 D according to the Venice Ed.

12 Ed. Bekker (Bonn).

13 According to Winer(7) 91, and Winer-Schmiedel, 134, ἱλαστήριον should here be taken in the sense of propitiatory sacrifice; but this does not suit. The index of the Bonn edition gives εὐκτήριον as the meaning; but this is not sufficiently exact.

14 Ed. Bekker (Bonn). Leo Allatius in his edition (Cologne, 1653) has ἐξιλαστήρια for ἱλαστήρια. The word ἐξιλαστήριον is met with also in the Scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes, 2 485 *f.* (ap. Rhod. *Argonautica*, rec. R. Fr. Ph. Brunck, 2, 1813, p. 165) in interpreting λωφήϊα ἱερά, of which the scholiast says τουτέστιν ἐξιλαστήρια καὶ καταπαυστήρια τῆς ὀργῆς. In this connection it is offerings that are so designated.

Johannes Kameniates to liken a church to a ἱλαστήριον, it was also possible even to call a church or a cloister by that name, as Theophanes Continuatus, Joseph Genesios, and Menander actually do.

(*d*) From what has been said we see how baseless is the assertion that to the word ἱλαστήριον it is necessary to supply θῦμα. Hitherto not a single passage has been adduced where this is the case,[1] and in all the places where ἱλαστήριον is read with certainty, some other word than θῦμα is demanded as a supplement. τὸ ἱλαστήριον signifies 'the propitiatory thing,' 'the means of propitiation.' What the propitiatory thing that is actually intended may be has to be determined in each case by the context.

7. ἱλαστήριος and ἱλαστήριον in LXX, Philo, and Heb. 9 5.

(*a*) The LXX uses in the first instance the adjective (Ex. 25 16 [17]): καὶ ποιήσεις ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα[2] χρυσίου καθαροῦ. Here ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα renders *kappōreth*. The present writer formerly held[3] *kappōreth* to mean 'covering,' and accordingly took ἐπίθεμα as the translation of the *word* kappōreth and the whole expression ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα as rendering the *idea* kappōreth. After what has been said above (§ 2) it will be seen that he is no longer of this view. It seems rather that the LXX took up the idea of *kappōreth* quite rightly, and saw the expression to be elliptical; only, in the first passage where the word occurred, they filled up the ellipsis, giving ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα for [*kᵉlī hak-*]*kappōreth*, because, in point of fact, the object to which the word was applied was a sort of plate which in some way or other served as a lid to the ark. In all subsequent passages the ellipsis of the original is adhered to; 𝔊 regularly has ἱλαστήριον for *kappōreth*.[4] If, therefore, as has been shown above, *kappōreth* (§ 2 *ff.*) and ἱλαστήριον (§ 7) both mean 'propitiatory thing,' 𝔊 has rendered the meaning of its original quite correctly.[5] It is, unfortunately, by no means superfluous once more to insist that, accordingly ἱλαστήριον in 𝔊 does not mean 'the lid of the ark.' That, on the contrary, the meaning 'propitiatory thing' was alone present to the minds of the translators is shown by the fact, almost invariably overlooked in the theological commentaries, that Ezek. 43 14 17 20 𝔊 renders also the עֲזָרָה, the ledge (RV 'settle') of the altar, by ἱλαστήριον. This also had to be sprinkled with the blood of the sin-offering, and therefore had something to do with propitiation.[6]

(*b*) Philo also shares the view of 𝔊 as to ἱλαστήριον. In all the places where he alludes to or quotes the OT *kappōreth*-passages, ἱλαστήριον can only be translated 'propitiatory thing.'

Thus: *De vit. Mos.* 3 8 (Mang. 150) ἡ δὲ κιβωτὸς . . . ἧς ἐπίθεμα ὡσανεὶ πῶμα τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἱλαστήριον; *ibid.*, a little lower down, τὸ δὲ ἐπίθεμα τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἱλαστήριον; *De profug.* 19 (M. 561) . . . τὸ ἐπίθεμα τῆς κιβωτοῦ, καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ ἱλαστήριον; *De cherub.* 8 (M. 143) καὶ γὰρ ἀντιπρόσωπά φασιν εἶναι νεύοντα πρὸς τὸ ἱλαστήριον ἑτέροις (allusion to Ex. 25 20 [21] 𝔊). In every case it is only the connection that shows the 'propitiatory thing' associated with the ark to be intended.

1 The only instance that could be mentioned would be the ἐξιλαστήριον of the Scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes mentioned in the preceding note; but here, too, the meaning 'propitiatory sacrifice' lies not in the word itself, but in the connection.

2 ἐπίθεμα is wanting in Cod. 58 only; in Codd. 19, 30, etc., it stands before ἱλαστήριον. See further, Deissmann, *Bibelstud.* 122, n. 1.

3 *Bibelstud.* 122. The views there stated, as also in the English translation (Edin., 1901), are to be modified in the sense of the present article.

4 Only in 1 Ch. 28 11 is 'house of the *kappōreth*' rendered ὁ οἶκος τοῦ 'ξιλασμοῦ, where τοῦ ἐξιλασμοῦ cannot be taken as essentially different from τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου. In Ex. 26 34, where MT has *kapp reth*, 𝔊 has τῷ καταπετάσματι, showing that it read *pārōketh*; in Am. 9 1 again, 𝔊 read *kappōreth* for *kaphtōr* and rendered ἱλαστήριον. See further, Deissmann, *Bibelstud.* 124.

5 The other versions that rest on the LXX (cp § 2) also hit the right sense.

6 It is here perhaps that we should look for the explanation of the application of the word ἱλαστήριον by Hesychius, Cyril, and Sabas referred to above (§ 6 *c*).

MERCY SEAT

(*c*) The same holds good of Heb. 9_{5}, *ὑπεράνω δὲ αὐτῆς χερουβεὶν δόξης κατασκιάζοντα τὸ ἱλαστήριον*, where it is not the word *ἱλαστήριον* but the whole connection that recalls the ark.

(*d*) We are now in a position to form an opinion regarding Ritschl's extraordinary assertion[1] that 'everywhere both in the OT and in the NT' the word *ἱλαστήριον* means 'that remarkable piece of furniture over the ark of the covenant in the holy of holies.' The proposition must in point of fact be so altered as to run: *ἱλαστήριον* invariably means 'propitiatory thing'; what the thing is in each individual case—whether the structure above the ark of the covenant, or the ledge of the altar (or the ark of Noah, or a votive offering, or a church, or a cloister, or the like)—must always be determined by the context. If further Ritschl goes on[2] to draw a hard and fast line between Greek usage and that of 𝔊 and NT, this is not in accordance with sound philological method, but is merely the arbitrariness of dogma.

Our scientific interest in the word *ἱλαστήριον* and our whole investigation in the course of the foregoing sections, find their ultimate importance in the light they shed upon the celebrated *locus classicus*, Rom. 3_{25}: whom God set forth (*προέθετο*) a *ἱλαστήριον* through faith in (*διὰ πίστεως ἐν*) his blood.

8. ἱλαστήριον in Rom. 3_{25}.

(*a*) One possibility suggests itself, that of taking *ἱλαστήριον* as accusative of *ἱλαστήριος*: 'whom God hath set forth as a propitiating one.' The more obvious course, however, is to take it as a neuter; the adjective is but rare, the neuter substantive is of frequent occurrence. In either case the meaning is essentially the same.

(*b*) That Paul is here using the neuter is, according to the statistics of the word, the more probable supposition. This being assumed, three questions have to be carefully distinguished in the exegesis of the passage: (α) What is the meaning of the word *ἱλαστήριον* as such; (*β*) in what connection is it elsewhere employed; (*γ*) has it in its present context any recognisable special meaning, or has it not?

Many interpreters have mixed up all three questions, have ignored the first altogether, or have overlooked the multitude of various answers which are possible in the case of the second.

(*c*) The answers to α and *β* respectively will be found in §§ 6 and 7. (α) *ἱλαστήριον*, wherever it occurs, always and invariably means 'that which propitiates,' 'the means of propitiation,' 'the propitiating thing.' (*β*) Any object whatever, as long as a propitiatory significance is attached to it, can be designated as a *ἱλαστήριον*.

The following instances are met with in ancient texts:—

1. Votive offerings to deities or to the deity are most frequently of all so designated (Cos inscriptions, Josephus, Dio Chrysostom, Johannes Kameniates).
2. The golden plate above the ark, on which the blood of sacrificial animals was sprinkled, prescribed by the law for the worship of the temple is called *ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα*, or for brevity's sake *ἱλαστήριον* (the LXX and quotations from or references to it in Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews).
3. The ledge of the altar (𝔊).
4. The place of the altar (Sabas).
5. The altar (Hesychius, Cyril).
6. Noah's ark (Symmachus).
7. A monastery (Menander, Joseph Genesios).
8. A church (Theophanes Continuatus).

All these can receive the name *ἱλαστήριον*.

That a *sacrifice* should be called *ἱλαστήριον* is not in itself impossible; but we have not as yet been able to discover any actual instance, although in one solitary case we meet with *ἐξιλαστήριον* in that sense (Scholiast to Apollonius of Rhodes). Thus we meet with a great variety of special applications of the word *ἱλαστήριον*; but the variations are not so much 'usual' as 'occasional' in their character.[3] It is therefore very unwise to come to the text in the Epistle to the Romans with any dogma in one's mind as to the meaning of the word, such as that *ἱλαστήριον* 'means' the propitiatory covering on the ark, or that it 'means' a propitiatory sacrifice. The one proposition we can safely bring with us to the interpretation of the passage in question is that stated above under α and anew reinforced by the examples enumerated under *β*: *ἱλαστήριον* signifies 'propitiatory thing,' 'means of propitiation.'

γ. As for the nature of the 'means of propitiation' referred to in the text, where it is said that God has openly set forth (*προέθετο*) the Lord Jesus Christ as a *ἱλαστήριον*, or as to whether perhaps Paul may here have attached no special meaning at all to the word, we need not turn for help to any alleged 'biblical' use of the word, but must look solely to the context itself.

(*d*) At the outset, of the explanations that have sometimes been given we may at once set aside two: (1) mercy seat (see above, § 1), and (2) propitiatory covering of the ark.

The connection does not offer a single point for this assumption to lay hold of. Apart from the absence of the article, the peculiar stiffness and inappropriateness of the figure suggested[1] is against it. 'Were the cross so designated the image could, at all events, be understood; used of a person it is both inelegant and unintelligible;[2] moreover that Christ, 'the end of the law'—Christ of whom Paul has been saying immediately before that he is the revealer of a righteousness of God apart from the law (*χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*) should in the next breath be described as the 'covering' of the ark of the covenant, would furnish an image as un-Pauline in its character as it could possibly be.'[3]

It is further to be observed that Ritschl with his interpretation of the expression as meaning the 'utensil above the ark' is inconsistent with himself. Whilst affirming in the first instance[4] that *ἱλαστήριον* here has 'precisely that meaning of the word, and that meaning alone' (to wit, 'utensil above the ark'), he afterwards[5] says that *ἱλαστήριον* without the article has 'of course the force of a general conception. It denotes, not the individual material thing so designated in the LXX, as such, but the ideal purpose which the Israelite connected with the conception of that thing.' This practically deprives Ritschl's own interpretation of all its force; for the whole present question turns upon the utensil.

(*e*) The interpretation 'propitiatory sacrifice' is not to be set aside summarily. Although we have no other instances of the employment of the word in that sense, such a use might yet be discovered in some particular connection, and in the present instance it is conceivable; where blood is spoken of, a sacrifice can also be spoken of. The final determination, however, can only be reached after a thorough examination of the entire context.

(*f*) Equally possible is the interpretation 'propitiatory gift,' which elsewhere is met with most frequently. It suits the connection admirably: God has openly set forth the crucified Christ in his blood before the eyes of the world, to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the Gentiles foolishness, to us by faith a *ἱλαστήριον*. The crucified Christ is the votive gift set up by God himself for propitiation of sins. In other cases it is human hands that set up a lifeless image of the deity as a propitiation for guilt; here it is God himself who has set up the propitiatory monument.[6]

(*g*) In both of the foregoing special interpretations which have been put forward as possible, it has hitherto been assumed that 'in his blood' (*ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι*) has reference to the actual blood of Christ shed at Golgotha. If this assumption were absolutely secure, we should have to make our choice between one or other interpretation. Secure, however, it certainly is not. Once before we find Paul speaking of 'redemption' (*ἀπολύτρωσις*), not as of a past fact concluded once for all, but as of a present condition subsisting 'in Christ Jesus' (*ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*)—*i.e.*, in the communion and fellowship of the exalted spiritual ('pneumatic') Christ.[7] Thus the

[1] *Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*, $2^{(3)}$, 168.
[2] *Ibid.* 170.
[3] On the distinction see ELEMENTS, § 1.

[1] The 'covering' would be sprinkled with its own blood.
[2] The case is quite different with the figure in 1 Cor. 5_{7}: for (*καὶ γάρ*) our passover (*πάσχα*) also hath been sacrificed (*ἐτύθη*) [even] Christ.
[3] Deissmann, *Bibelstud.* 126.
[4] *Rechtfertigung* $2^{(3)}$, 168.
[5] *Ibid.* 171.
[6] Cp Deissmann, *Bibelstud.* 120 *f.*
[7] Cp Deissmann, *Die NTliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu' untersucht*, Marburg, 1892.

apostle is acquainted with a conception of the 'blood of Christ' wholly different from that of the physical blood shed at Golgotha. It is not the physical but the 'spiritual' blood[1] of the exalted Christ that the believer drinks in the eucharist as he also partakes of the spiritual body of Christ. Whoso eats of that bread and drinks of that cup enters into a communion of body and blood with the spiritual Christ (1 Cor. 10 16). It is in this sense also that Paul, as is shown by comparing 1 Cor. 10 16, takes the word of Jesus in 1 Cor. 11 25: this cup (ποτήριον) is the new covenant (διαθήκη) in my blood; he thinks of the spiritual blood of the exalted Saviour, in the same manner as Jn. 6 53-56 (cp also 1 Jn. 1 7 and 5 6 8) speaks of a drinking of the blood and an eating of the 'flesh' of Christ. With Paul, therefore, 'in the blood of Christ' (ἐν τῷ αἵματι Χριστοῦ) can mean 'in blood-fellowship with the exalted spiritual Christ' (cp also Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι, Gal. 2 20 and other similar terms of expression).

It cannot be disputed that this spiritual interpretation of the formula 'in his blood' (ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι) in Rom. 3 25, admirably suits the entire context.[2] Redemption is continuously at work 'in' Christ and faith comes to know, by experience of the blood-fellowship with Christ, that Christ has been sent into the world by God as an enduring ἱλαστήριον. On this interpretation Paul would here be attesting precisely the same experiences as are recorded, the one by himself, with respect to the exalted Christ, in 1 Cor. 1 30, and the other by the author of 1 Jn. 2 2 in the words 'and he' (αὐτός—namely, the Christ who is 'with the Father,' the exalted spiritual Lord) 'is the propitiation for our sins' (ἱλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν). On this interpretation of 'in his blood' the view that ἱλαστήριον here represents a propitiatory sacrifice becomes less probable than that it has the meaning—so abundantly attested for the imperial period—of 'propitiatory gift.'

(*h*) Is it necessary, however, to seek for any special meaning at all? The connection does not demand it; the general sense 'means of propitiation' is quite sufficient. Thus in the end the simplest explanation gives us substantially the same meaning as we should have if we took ἱλαστήριον as accusative masculine: 'Christ, the exalted spiritual Lord, in whom the believer lives, moves, and has its being, is, as faith in blood-communion with him proves him to be, given to us by God as our ever-present propitiator, our continual propitiation.'

That, according to this view, the expression 'righteousness of God' (δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ) in all four places (Rom. 3 21 *f.* 25 *f.*) denotes, not the attribute of God, but the quality of the justified believer in Christ, cannot be shown at length in this place, but ought at least to be indicated.

9. Literature. Besides the commentaries, dictionaries, and text books of NT theology, see especially P. de Lagarde, *Uebersicht* (1889), and *Register u. Nachträge* (to the *Uebersicht*, in *Abhh. d. Kgl. Ges. d. W. zu. Gött.* 37 (1891) 69; Lagarde, Thevenot's 'Caffarre' in *GGN*, 1891, pp. 135 *ff.*; G. Adolf Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 1895, pp. 121 *ff.*; ET pp. 124 *ff.* (Edin. 1901); A. Ritschl, *Die christl. Lehre v.d. Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*, 2(3), 1889, pp. 168 *ff.*; ET by Mackintosh and Macaulay, 1900: Jas. Morison, *Crit. Expos. of Rom. III.* 281-303 (not seen by present writer); Cremer, *Bibl.-theol. Wörterb.*(8), 1895, pp. 474 *ff.* G. A. D.

MERED (מֶרֶד), one of the sons of Ezrah (cp EZER, i.) in the genealogy of Judah (1 Ch. 4 17, πωρaλ [B], μωρaλ [A]; βaρaλ [L]; 4 18†, νωρωηλ [B], μωρηλ [A], μaρω [L]). On Mered's name and on his wives' names, see BITHIAH, where מרד (Mered) is traced to an original ירמות (Jarmuth); for another corruption of this word, see MAROTH. Of course the later editor and his readers explained the corrupt מרד as 'rebellion' (cp Josh. 22 22); similarly 'Nimrod' was doubtless supposed to be derived from √מרד, 'to rebel' (see NIMROD). If, however, we think that we can trust the correctness of MT, and regard 'Mered' as a clan-name, we may not unplausibly explain '(heroic) resistance' (see NAMES, § 67); or if we view it as a place-name, we may compare the Ar. *mardā*, which is connected with several places by Yākūt (4 492 *f.*), and means 'a place devoid of vegetation.'

If 'Mered' is really a corruption of 'Jarmuth,' we can well understand the triple account given of the so-called Mered's family, and that in two of the accounts the important place Eshtemoa, and in the third the not less well-known places Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah, have their connection traced to him. T. K. C.

MEREMOTH (מְרֵמוֹת; μaρ[ε]ιμωθ [L]; no doubt of ethnic affinities = Jeroham = Jerahmeel [Che.]; cp JERIMOTH).

1. B. Uriah, a priest, temp. Ezra (see EZRA i., § 2; ii., § 15 [1] *d*), Ezra 8 33 (μερειμωθ [B], μαριμωθ [A vid.]) = 1 Esd. 8 62, EV MARMOTH (μαρμωθι [B], -μαθι [A]); in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*; EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 4 (ραμωθ [BℵA]); 3 21 (μεραμωθ [BℵA]); signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), 10 5 [6] (αμεραμως [B], -θ [ℵ], μεραμωθ [A], μεριμ. [L]).

2. B. Bani, a layman, in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 10 36 (ιεραμωθ [Bℵ], μαρεμωθ [A]) = 1 Esd. 9 34, EV Carabasion (καραβασ[ε]ιων [BA], L om.).

3. A priest in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*), Neh. 12 3 ([Bℵ*A om., μαριμωθ [ℵ c.a.mg.]). This name should probably be read for MERAIOTH in Neh. 12 15 also.

4. In 1 Esd. 8 2 MEREMOTH, RV MEMEROTH (μαρερωθ [A], B om., μαραιωθ [L]) seems to represent MERAIOTH (1).

MERES (מֶרֶס), in Esth. 1 14 (𝔊 BℵAL aβ om.), one of the 'seven princes' at the court of Ahasuerus. The letters of the name are also the three first letters of MARSENA (*q.v.*). See also ADMATHA.

MERIBAH (מְרִיבָה), Ex. 17 7; and **'Waters of Meribah'** (מֵי מ׳), Dt. 33 8, etc. See MASSAH AND MERIBAH, § 2, and KADESH.

MERIBBAAL (מְרִיב בַּעַל), the name given to Jonathan's son in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 34 (μεριβaaλ [B], μεφριβ.[1] [A], μεμφιβ.[2] [L]) = 9 40 (μaρειβaaλ [Bℵ], μaρειβaλ [ℵ once], μεχριβaaλ[3] [A], L as above). In the last mentioned passage the name appears as מְרִיבַעַל, Merībaal. To produce a clear etymology this was probably altered into מריב בעל, Merib-baal—*i.e.*, 'Baal contends' (NAMES, § 42; cp JERUBBAAL). This form of the name is no doubt possible, but scarcely probable (see MEHETABEL). Merībaal is more difficult to explain. Some critics (*e.g.*, St., Ki., Gray, *HPN* 200, n. 3) explain, 'man, or hero, of Baal,'—a view which may plausibly be taken to be confirmed by Ishbaal and Amariah.[4] The frequency, however, with which corrupt forms of Jerahme'el (the true name, as is elsewhere maintained, of Saul's clan; see SAUL, § 1) present themselves among the names assigned to Saul's relatives is a cogent ground for supposing that 'Meribaal' is really a corruption of Jerahme'el, through the assumed intermediate form Mahriel. Saul's daughter is only known to tradition by a name which is elsewhere (MICHAL) explained as a popular corruption of Jerahme'el[ith]. We can well understand, therefore, that both a son and a grandson of Saul may have been known to tradition by a similar name.

Cp 𝔊A's reading in 1 Ch. 9 40 (3), and note that 'Jerahme'el' probably lies hidden under MALCHISHUA (*q.v.*), the name given in MT to one of the sons of Saul, also that MEPHIBOSHETH (*q.v.*) may plausibly be taken to favour the above explanation. T. K. C.

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1 Cp the expression πνευματικὸν πόμα (1 Cor. 10 4), which also indirectly (τὸ αὐτό) relates to the participation in this cup.

2 In Rom. 5 8 *f.* and Eph. 2 13 also the formula gives a better sense on the pneumatic interpretation.

1 Conflate of μεφιβααλ and μεριβ.

2 Note the euphonic repetition of μ.

3 μεχριβααλ may be expanded from מַכְראל (*i.e.*, ירחמאל).

4 Cp Nöld. *WZKM* 6 314 n. 2. Ishbaal is treated elsewhere (ISHBAAL). As to Amariah, it is significant that the same genealogy contains the name 'Cushi'—*i.e.*, 'a native of the N Arabian Cush' (see CUSHI, 3). AMARIAH (*q.v.*) is no doubt one of a group of distortions of Jerahmeel ending in -iah (cp MALCHIJAH, REPHAIAH). This is important for the origin of the prophet ZEPHANIAH (*q.v.*).

MERIBOTH-KADESH (מְרִיבוֹת־קָדֵשׁ), Ezek. 47 19 RV. See KADESH, MASSAH AND MERIBAH, § 2.

MERODACH (מְרֹדַךְ), the Hebraised form of Maruduk or Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon (BABYLONIA, § 26), and under the later empire, together with Nebo, chief deity of the Babylonians; also called BEL (*q.v.*) or BEL-MERODACH (Jer. 50 2, μαιωδακ [B], μεωδαχ [ℵAQ]). On his famous temple E-sagila, see BABYLON, § 5.

Nebuchadrezzar was devoted to him; among his many expressions of homage he even styles Marduk *ilu baniya* 'god my begetter.' Merodach (Marduk) enters into the composition of many Babylonian names; see esp. MERODACH-BALADAN, EVIL-MERODACH, and MORDECAI (cp *KAT*(2), 175 *f.* 422 *f.*). Cp NEBO.

MERODACH-BALADAN (מְרֹאדַךְ בַּלְאֲדָן; μαρωδαχ βαλαδαν [B], μ. [A], μαιωδαχ [ℵQ*], μερ. βαλαδαν [Qmg.]; Ass. Marduk-aplu-iddin[a]; Is. 39 1 †) was the second king of Babylon of this name. He reigned from 721-709 B.C.; he was then driven from Babylon, but recovered his power for a few months in 702 B.C. He was a Chaldean and already king of *māt Tamdim*, the Sea-land, in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. The Chaldeans had been for some time encroaching upon Babylonia, and when Tiglath-pileser in 729 B.C. defeated Merodach-baladan, he was hailed as deliverer from a foreign yoke. Merodach-baladan had been able to secure the establishment of the Chaldean usurper Ukīn-zēr on the throne of Babylon, and on Tiglath-pileser's expulsion of that monarch, Merodach-baladan had to feel the weight of the conqueror's resentment, and become his vassal. Tiglath-pileser's death, and the ineffective rule of Shalmaneser IV., loosened the hold of Assyria on the S., and when Sargon II. came to the throne of Assyria, 721 B.C., Merodach-baladan, aided and abetted by the king of Elam, took the throne of Babylon. Sargon found his hands too full in other directions to interfere. The defeat of Merodach-baladan and his Elamite allies at Dūr-ilu in 721 B.C., was without result. Each side learnt to respect the other, and suspended hostilities for the time. Sargon held N. Babylonia with Assyria; Merodach-baladan had S. Babylon and Chaldea.

Merodach-baladan's policy was one of severe oppression. Owing his power to his own Chaldean subjects, to Elamite auxiliaries and Aramaic nomads, he had to provide for them. The nobles of Babylonia were sent as captives to the S., while the marauders were enriched with their lands and possessions. Hence, when after twelve years of incessant war on every side, save that of Babylonia, Sargon directed his victorious armies to the expulsion of Merodach-baladan, he, like Tiglath-pileser, was hailed as a deliverer. Sargon states that in his twelfth year he drove Merodach-baladan out of Babylon, and he reigned as legitimate king there himself for the last seven years of his life. Sargon is therefore the Arkeanus of the Ptolemaic Canon.

Merodach-baladan had attempted to stay Sargon's advance by an appeal to Kudur-naḫundi of Elam; but that monarch had already felt the weight of Sargon's hand and would not assist. One army broke up the Aramaic confederacy on the E.; another marched S. on Babylon. It was in 709 B.C. that Sargon entered the city unopposed, and taking the hands of Bēl became king *de jure*. Merodach-baladan had retreated nearer home to Iḳbi-Bēl in S. Babylonia. Thence he retreated again to his ancestral home of Bīt Yakīn. Sargon followed, and routing an auxiliary force of the S. Babylonian nomads, would have laid siege to Merodach-baladan in his stronghold. That monarch deserted his city and escaped to Elam for the time. Dūr-Yaḳīn surrendered, and Sargon was lord of all the S. of Babylonia.

Sargon reinstated the Babylonian exiles, restored their possessions, re-established the worship of the Babylonian divinities, and Babylon had peace and prosperity for five years. Sargon apparently fell by the hand of an assassin. For this sketch of his history cp Winckler's *Sargon*.

Sargon had probably left Babylon to put down the troubles in Armenia and the N. frontier states of Assyria, caused by the pressure of the Gimirri on the N., when he met his death. How long he was absent we do not know; but Merodach-baladan must have reached home and thence intrigued for the throne of Babylon. Sennacherib states that in his first year he drove Merodach-baladan out of Babylonia and set Bēl-ibni on the throne. Polyhistor assigns Merodach-baladan a reign of six months before Elibus or Belibus—*i.e.*, Bēl-ibni. After his second expulsion, Merodach-baladan continued to be a menace to Assyria. Evidently his adherents in Babylonia were powerful, for Sennacherib treated the country as hostile, and inflicted on Babylon itself a terrible vengeance. He reduced it to impotence, and in the repeated campaigns which he and his lieutenants waged, reduced all the S. to ruins. How Merodach-baladan ended his days we do not know exactly; but his sons continued the struggle on to the days of Ašur-bāni-pal.

Merodach-baladan appears in 2 K. 20 12 and Is. 39 1 as king of Babylon in the time of Hezekiah. It is open to doubt whether his ambassadors really came to Hezekiah (see Che. *Intr. Is.* 227; Meinhold, *Die Jes.-erzählungen*, 19 *f.*); if so the occasion was perhaps one of Merodach-baladan's intrigues after his expulsion from Babylon. In the present Hebrew text he is called 'son of Baladan' (see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*); he himself claims (*IR* 5 17) to be of the ancient dynasty of Erba-Marduk. The earlier Merodach-baladan I. of Babylon was son of Melisiḫu, and of the Kassite dynasty, about 1167-1154 B.C. C. H. W. J.

MEROM, WATERS OF (מֵי־מֵרוֹם; μαρρων, με. [BAF], μερρωμ [L]), the scene of the great fight between the allied northern kings and Israel (Josh. 11 5 7 †). Many since Reland have identified the waters of Merom with the mod. *Baḥret el-Ḥūle*, known also as Σεμεχωνιτις[1] (or Σεμαχ, Jos. *Ant.* v. 5 1, *BJ.* iii. 10 7), and as ἡ Σεμεχωνιτῶν λίμνη (*BJ* iv. 1 1). This identification rests on the precarious assumption that the name Semachonitis, like Merom, is derived from a root 'to be high' (Ar. *samaka*), but also finds support in the statement of Josephus (*Ant.*, *l.c.*) that Hazor lay over against it. Against this, it should be noticed that יַם, 'sea,' not מֵי, 'waters,' would be the natural designation for a lake;[2] and that the presumed situation does not quite accord with the geographical evidence in 11 8.[3] The last objection applies equally to two more recent identifications. (1) *Mārūn er-Rās* (Buhl, *Pal.* 234) or *Mārōn* (Rob.), situated WSW. of Kadesh; cp Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1 18), who places the scene of the fight at βηρωδη (= Meron?), not far from Kedesh. (2) *Mērōn*, WNW. of Ṣafed, celebrated as the burial place of Hillel and Shammai (cp Rel. 817).

Mērōn is no doubt the μηρω or αμηρωθ of Jos. (*BJ* ii. 20 6, *Vit.* 37), and possibly the *márama* of the name-lists of Rameses II. and Thotmes III. (cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 220); in the list of Thotmes, however, Márama appears to be the name of a district (cp *RP*(2), 5 44; see below). There may very well have been several places of this name; the *Onomastica* mention a μερραν, *merrom*, 12 m. from Sebaste near Dothan, which they erroneously identify with our Merom (*OS* 278 99, 138 16).

It has been shown elsewhere (see JABIN, JOSHUA, § 8,

[1] For *ḥūle* cp ουλαθα, *Ant.* xv. 10 3 (see Neub. *Géog. Talm.* 24 *f.* 27 *ff.*), also the חוּל of Gen. 10 23 (but see GEOGRAPHY, § 20). No perfectly satisfactory suggestion has yet been made as to the origin of סיבכי (also סופכי), the Talm. name of this lake; Neub. explains 'reedy.' The name of the Wady *Semak* on the E. of the lake favours the correctness of the spelling of Josephus, and the name Semachon may really be ancient, especially if Petrie is right in identifying it with the Šamḫuna of Am. Tab. (220 3).

[2] Cp 'waters of Megiddo' (*i.e.*, the brook KISHON), 'waters of Jericho' (Josh. 16 1), 'waters of Meribah,' and see NEPHTOAH, NIMRIM. According to Wi., the 'salt sea' of Gen. 14 3 means Lake Ḥūle; see, however, SALT SEA.

[3] Cp Di. and We.; Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 66, n. 2; Buhl, *Pal.* 113; Baed.(2) 257; Smend in Riehm, *HWB*, *s.v.*, and Benz. *HA* 22.

JUDGES, § 7) that underlying our narrative is the account of a fight in which Zebulun and Naphtali gave a decisive defeat to the allied Canaanite kings. The chief of these were probably Jabin, king of Hazor, and Jobab, king of Meron or Merom (Madon seems to be incorrect). The victorious tribes pursued the Canaanites to Great Zidon (on the left) and the valley of Mizpah (on the right), which makes it highly probable that the scene of the fight must be placed farther N. (cp Bu. *l.c.*).

One solution of the problem would be this—to take Merom as the name, not of a place but, of the district in which the two tribes dwelt. Jerome points to this view by his rendering of Judg. 5 18, *Zebulun vero et Nephtali obtulerunt animas suas in regione Merome*, and a tempting correction of Dt. 33 23 (due to Clericus; see Schenkel, *BL*, *s.v.* 'Merom') would give welcome support[1] to the proposed theory, which is virtually that of Kneucker in *BL*. In this case 'waters of Merom' may be the designation of some stream which watered it. The district intended (which would lie N. of Lake Ḥūle) may perhaps be the second or more southerly state of ZOBAH (*q.v.*).[2] [It is possible that the problem of the 'Waters of Merom' may be treated most satisfactorily as a part of a larger problem, viz., where was the scene of the war with Jabin? There may have been an early misunderstanding. See SHIMRON.]

S. A. C.

MERONOTHITE (מֵרֹנֹתִי), the designation of Jehdeiah (1 Ch. 27 30, ο εκ μεραθων [BL], ο εκ μαραθων [A], cp Pesh.) and Jadon (Neh. 3 7; BA om., ο μηρωναθαιος [L]); Jadon is associated with men of Gibeon and Mizpah, near which places Meronoth (?) must have been.

MEROZ (מֵרוֹז; μηρωζ [B], μαζωρ [A, see Moore], μαρωρ [L]), a locality mentioned in the Song of Deborah, as cursed by the 'angel of Yahwè' (*i.e.*, probably the 'captain of Yahwè's host,' Josh. 5 13-15; see ANGEL, § 2) because they 'came not to the help of Yahwè, as valiant men' (Judg. 5 23). The description of the discomfiture of the Canaanites by Israel precedes; the blessing upon Jael follows. Jael is not an Israelite; Meroz, therefore, need not be an Israelitish locality. Jael, too, comes from the far S. of Palestine; Meroz, therefore, probably is a part of the same region. It is evidently a well-known locality, and since no 'Meroz' is known,[3] nor is there a Hebrew root ארז, 'to take refuge,' the form needs emendation in the light of the considerations just mentioned. Therefore, though 'Meron' could easily have become 'Meroz,' neither Shimron-meron (Josh. 12 20) nor Meron (Meirōn) near Ṣafed (Talm.) can be referred to. The form in 𝔊^AMO, however (Moore), yields up its secret at once. 'Mazor' comes from Miṣṣur (מִצּוּר)—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Muṣur or Muṣri, where in fact the Heberites, like all the Kenites, had dwelt.

Israel and Muṣur were linked by the closest ties; such at any rate must have been the belief of the author or reviser of the song. KADESH (*q.v.*) was in Muṣur; Hobab the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law, himself a worshipper of Yahwè, dwelt in Muṣur. The Kenites were represented certainly by Jael, not impossibly too by Barak (a corruption of Ḥeber?), yet the Muṣrites—the other Muṣrites (see HOBAB), we may say—sent no contingent to the army of Yahwè.

Though Winckler is not responsible for the above, it is plain that it fits admirably into his theory of the importance of Muṣri in the Hebrew tradition. See MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*.

T. K. C.

[1] On Judg. 5 18 Vg. see Moore's remarks *Judges*, 157, and cp Marq. *Fund.* 6, where שָׂדֶה is explained as 'mountain country' (Ass. *šadū*; see FIELD, 1).

[2] Possibly our Merom is to be read in 1 Ch. 18 8 where מִכּוּן, 'from Cun' (certainly wrong) should possibly be emended into מִמֵּרוֹן, 'from Meron (Merom).' For analogies cp the form βηρωθη given by Jos. *Ant.* v. 1 18 (see above), also αμηρωθ (*ib.*) for mod. *mērōn*. See BEROTHAI, BETAH, CHUN.

[3] The combination of 'Meroz' with Muraṣṣaṣ, E. of Jezreel, NW. of Beisān (Guérin; cp Buhl, 217) is therefore too hazardous.

MERRAN (μερραν [BAQΓ]), Bar. 3 23 RV, AV MERAN (*q.v.*).

MERUTH, RV EMMERUTH (εμμηρουθ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 24 = Ezra 2 37, IMMER 2.

MESALOTH (μεσσαλωθ [A]), 1 Macc. 9 2 RV, AV MASALOTH. See ARBELA.

MESECH (מֶשֶׁךְ), Ps. 120 5 (text doubtful) AV, RV MESHECH. See TUBAL AND MESHECH.

MESHA (מֵשָׁא; μασση [L], -ση [A], μανασση [E]). Gen. 10 30 gives the limits of the territory of the descendants of Joktan—'from Mesha towards Sĕphār, the mountain of the East.' The former limit, Mesha, has been sought in the Greek *Mesene* (Ges. *Thes.* and often), the territory about the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris; but there is no evidence that this name was applied to that territory in Assyrian times, and the alluvial changes that have taken place there make inferences from a later age particularly untrustworthy (see Del. *Par.* 173-182); Delitzsch (*Par.* 242 *f.*) supposes that both Mesene and Mesha are derived from Mašu—the Syro-Arabian desert, particularly in its NE. portion—and that this is referred to in Gen. 10 30. However, the lack of any representation of the א, the difference in the first vowel, and the very large extent and indefiniteness of Mašu (hardly suitable for a boundary mark) make the identification uncertain.

Dillmann, therefore, proposes to change the points of משא, and read מַשָּׂא (cp 𝔊), which is the name of a branch of the Ishmaelites (see ISHMAEL, § 4 [6]. The theory is certainly plausible. Massa would then mark the northern limit of the Joktanite tribes. F. B.

MESHA (מֵישָׁא, §§ 5, 39; abbrev. from MISHAEL; a fem. name מישא is found in Palm. [see *ZDMG* 25 534, n. 8, and *VOJ* 4 33]; cp μαισα; μισα [BL], μωσα [A] ܡܫܐ [Pesh.]), a name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN [*q.v.*, § 9, 2 β], 1 Ch. 8 9.† See *JQR* 11 108, § 6; see also § 3.

MESHA (מֵישַׁע; μωσα [BAL]), 1. king of Moab (2 K. 3 4), a 'sheepmaster,' who was tributary to Ahab, and paid the king of Israel an annual tax consisting of the wool of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams. The word rendered 'sheepmaster' (נֹקֵד) is peculiar, and might be better represented by '*naḳad*-owner'—the term *naḳad*, as Arab. shows, denoting a particular kind of sheep, small and stunted in growth, but prized on account of their wool (see SHEEP).

What we know respecting Mesha centres round two events: (i.) his revolt from Israel; and (ii.) the war undertaken by Jehoram, Ahab's son, who came to the throne after the two-years' reign of his brother Ahaziah (2 K. 1 1 3 1), to re-subjugate Moab.

i. *Mesha's revolt.*—The biblical notice of the revolt from Israel is limited to the brief statement in 2 K. 1 1 (substantially = 3 5). In 1868, however, the Rev. F. Klein, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, stationed at Jerusalem, in the course of an expedition on the E. side of the Dead Sea, was shown at Dhībān, 4 m. N. of the Arnon, the site of the ancient DIBON (*q.v.*), a slab of black basalt, about 3½ ft. high by 2 ft. wide, bearing an inscription, which proved ultimately to contain Mesha's own account of the circumstances of the revolt. M. Clermont-Ganneau, at that time an *attaché* of the French Consulate in Jerusalem, had, however, known independently for some time past of the existence of such a stone, and exerted himself now to secure it. Through, as it seems, some imprudent eagerness manifested by him, the suspicions and cupidity of the native Arabs were aroused; they imagined that they were about to be deprived of some valuable talisman; they consequently seized the stone, and partially destroyed it. Fortunately, a squeeze of the inscription had been obtained previously for M. Clermont-Ganneau, though not without much

1. Mesha's Stone.

difficulty and danger, by a young Arab named Ya'ḳūb Caravacca; many of the fragments also were afterwards recovered, and as far as possible pieced together, by the same accomplished palæographer;[1] accordingly, although parts here and there are uncertain or missing, the inscription is in the main quite intelligible and clear. The stone, with the missing parts supplied in plaster of Paris from the squeeze, together with the squeeze itself, is preserved in the Museum of the Louvre (see the reproduction after col. 3042); there is also a facsimile in the British Museum. The characters are of the same type as those of the old Phœnician alphabet, and of the Siloam inscription. A transliteration will be found facing the illustration, below.

2. The inscription.

The horizontal line above a letter indicates that it is doubtful. The points between the words, and the perpendicular lines at the ends of sentences, are marked on the stone. In cases of doubt, the readings adopted are usually those of Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris für Sem. Epigraphik*, 1 1 *ff.* [1900]). *There can be little question that* in Smend and Socin's edition (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, etc., 1886) letters are given (esp. at the ends of lines) which are not really to be seen on either the stone or the squeeze. Smend and Socin's new readings were examined with great care by Clermont-Ganneau (*La stèle de Mésa, examen critique du texte*, in the *JAs.*, Jan. 1887, pp. 72-112), and Renan (*Journ. des Savans*, 1887, pp. 158-164); and the text published in Dr. *TBS* [1890], p. lxxxvi, incorporated the results of their criticism. The uncertain places were again re-examined by K. G. A. Nordlander in 1896 (*Die Inschr. des Königs Mesa von Moab*), and most recently, as stated above, by the skilled epigraphist Lidzbarski, whose final readings, however, vary from those adopted in *TBS* only in minutiæ. A statement of the reasons for the readings adopted here has not seemed to be necessary, except in one or two instances.

The language in which the inscription is written differs only dialectically from the Hebrew of the OT. Here is a translation of the inscription:—

(1)[2] *I* am Mesha', son of Chemosh[kān ?],[3] king of Moab, the Daibonite. (2) My father reigned over Moab for thirty years, and I reigned (3) after my father. And I made this high place for Chĕmōsh in ḲR[Ḥ]H,[4] a [high place of sal][5]vation, (4) because he had saved me from all the assailants (?),[6] and because he had let me see (my desire) upon all them that hated me.

3. Translation.

Omri, (5) king of Israel, afflicted[7] Moab for many days, because Chemosh was angry with his land. (6) And his son succeeded him; and he also said, I will afflict Moab. In my days said he [thus;] (7) but I saw (my desire) upon him, and upon his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting destruction.

Omri took possession of the [la]nd (8) of Mēbēdeba,[1] and it (*i.e.*, Israel) dwelt therein, during his days, and half his son's days, forty years; but Chemosh [resto]red (9) it in my days.

And I built Ba'al-Me'on, and I made in it the reservoir (?); and I buil[t] (10) Kiryathēn.

And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'Aṭaroth from of old; and the king of Israel (11) had built for himself 'Aṭaroth. And I fought against the city, and took it. And I slew all the people [from] (12) the city, a gazingstock unto Chemosh, and unto Moab. And I brought back (*or*, took captive) thence the altar-hearth of Dawdoh (?), and I dragged (13) it before Chemosh in Ḳeriyyoth. And I settled therein the men of SRN,[2] and the men of (14) MḤRT.[2]

And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. And I (15) went by night, and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I took (16) it, and slew the whole of it, 7000 men and male strangers,[3] and women and [female stranger]s, (17) and female slaves:[4] for I had devoted it to 'Ashtor-Chĕmōsh. And I took thence the [ves]sels (18) of Yahwè, and I dragged them before Chemosh.

And the king of Israel had built (19) Yahaṣ, and abode in it, while he fought against me. But Chemosh drave him out from before me; and (20) I took of Moab 200 men, even all its chiefs; and I led them up against Yahaṣ, and took it (21) to add it unto Daibon. I built ḲRḤH,[2] the wall of Ye'ārin (*or*, of the Woods), and the wall of (22) the Mound.[5] And I built its gates, and I built its towers. And (23) I built the king's palace, and I made the two reser[voirs (?) for wa]ter in the midst of (24) the city. And there was no cistern in the midst of the city, in ḲRḤH.[2] And I said to all the people, Make (25) you every man a cistern in his house. And I cut out the cutting for ḲRḤH[2] with (the help of) prisoner[s (26) of] Israel.

I built 'Aro'er, and I made the highway by the Arnon. (27) I built Beth-Bamoth, for it was pulled down. I built Beṣer, for ruins (28) [had it become. And the chie]fs[6] of Daibon were fifty, for all Daibon was obedient (to me). And I reigned (29) [over] an hundred [chiefs] in the cities which I added to the land. And I built (30) [Mehē]dĕ[b]a,[1] and Beth-Diblathên, and Beth-Ba'al-Me'on; *and I took thither the* *naḳad*[7]-keepers, (31) . . . . sheep of the land.

And as for Ḥoronên, there dwelt therein . . . . (32) . . . . And Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Ḥoronên. And I went down . . . . (33)[8] . . . . [and] Chemosh [resto]red it in my days. And . . . . (34)[9] . . . . And I . . . .

The inscription is of interest, philologically as well as historically, though only a few of its more salient features can be noticed here. In syntax, form of sentence, and general mode of expression, it resembles closely the earlier historical narratives of the OT. The vocabulary, with two or three exceptions, is identical with that of Hebrew. In some respects, the language of the inscription even shares with Hebrew *distinctive* features, such as are not known in the other Semitic languages.

4. Language.

Thus, the *waw consec.* with the imperf., הושיע 'to save,' עשה 'to make,' גם 'also,' ראה ב' ,ירש 'to take in possession,' הרג, לפני, צהרם, החרים 'to ban,' נרש ,בקרב, and esp. אשר. It shares אנך, as the pron. of the 1st pers. sing., with Heb. and Phœn., as against Aram., Arab., and Eth. (in all of which the form is without the ך).

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[1] An independent copy of *ll.* 13-20 had also been made for M. Clermont-Ganneau, before the stone was destroyed, by another Arab, Selīm el Ḳāri: see the *Exam. crit.* 34. Squeezes of different fragments were also obtained by Capt. (now Sir C.) Warren.

[2] Numbers in parenthesis indicate lines of the inscription.

[3] S. and S., Nordl., כמשמלך, 'Chemosh-melek'; Cl.-G., כמשגד 'Chemosh-gad,' with the suggestion that perhaps כמשלך, 'Chemoshshillek' (cp Phœn. Eshmun-shillek, Ba'alshillek) should be read. Lidzb., after a careful measurement, declares that there is not room for more than two letters after כמש: from such traces as are visible on the squeeze, he thinks the first most probably כ, the second may be כ, מ, נ, or פ. Without definitely deciding, he suggests כמשכן as possible: cp כְּנַנְיָהוּ ,יְכָנְיָהוּ.

[4] The vocalisation of names given in capitals is uncertain. On the [H] in *l.* 3, see *Rev. Sém.* 9 371 [1901]. ḲRḤH was most probably a part of Dibon (Nö.), perhaps a suburb (Halévy, *ib.* 300); though Lagrange (*Rev. Bibl.* 10 527 *f.* [1901]) identifies with Kir-hareseth, rendering 'for Chemosh [the god] in ḲRḤH.'

[5] After ב there is, according to Lidzb., only 𐤍 (נ) to be seen, which, however, might easily be the remains of 𐤌 (מ). After 𐤍, Lidzb. thought that he could discern three parallel strokes, like those of 𐤎 (ס), and afterwards some marks which might be remains of a כ: he accordingly suggests בנסך. After this, nothing is visible; but there is room for one, or even two letters: the י therefore, is quite possible. S. and S., and Nordl., read בִּמְשׁעִ ה, which, with the foll. ישע, Nordl. renders 'for many deliverances' (the duplication as 2 K. 3 16, etc.). [במת]י, the suggestion of Nöld., adopted by Wright and others, as it does not seem to be impossible, and (unlike Lidzb.'s בנסך, 'with a libation of deliverance'?) yields a good sense, has been retained here.

[6] S. and S., המלכין; Cl.-G. and Nordl., השלכין, with which Lidzb. agrees, remarking that there is no trace of the shaft of the 𐤌 (מ) after the ה. What שלכין may mean, is, however, far from apparent. In Heb. השליך (not used in Ḳal) means *to cast* or *fling*: in Arabic *salaka* (i) is *to insert, put in, make to enter* (on a way): possibly in Moabitish the verb may have acquired the meaning of *to impel, assail.* Still, what we should expect is some term denoting a class (such as 'the raiders,' 'the shooters'), not one that would be more naturally qualified by 'my.'

[7] See Deut. 22 24, and cp Ges.-Kautzsch, 111[b], *n.* Or, if it might be supposed that the engraver had accidently omitted על after מל, 'Omri *reigned over* Israel, *and* afflicted,' etc.

[1] The *Mêdĕbāh* of Nu. 21 30, Josh. 13 9 16, Is. 15 2.

[2] The vocalisation of names given in capitals is uncertain.

[3] *I.e.*, resident aliens (the Heb. גֵּר). Or (pronouncing גֻּרֹת גֻּרַן), upon the suggestion that גור, which in Heb. denotes the young of a lion, in Moab. denoted young people, 'lads . . . and [lass]es' (so S. and S., Cl.-G., Lidzb.).

[4] See Judg. 5 30.

[5] In Heb. the word (עֹפֶל) is used of a *fortified hill* or *mound*: cp (in Samaria) 2 K. 5 24, and (in Jerusalem) Is. 32 14, 2 Ch. 27 3 33 14, Neh. 3 26 *f.* See OPHEL.

[6] That is to say, *[היה ור]ש*; so Derenbourg (1870), S. and S., and most. Halévy, however, in his study of the inscription (*Rev. Sém.* 1900, pp. 236-8, 289 *ff.*) suggests plausibly (p. 292) ש[בא] for ש[ור]—*i.e.*, 'I built Beṣer, for ruins had it become, *with the help of* [cp *l.* 25] fifty *men* of Daibon,' etc.

[7] The reading is possible, though not certain. Lidzbarski prefers מִעָּר, after which Halévy supplies (*l.c.*) [ני הבקר ואת מיטב]—*i.e.*, 'the choice[st of the oxen, and the best of the] sheep'; but there does not seem to be room for more than nine letters, and the meaning given to מַעֲרַנִּים ('le plus exquis') is questionable, having no support from Heb. usage.

[8] Halévy conjectures [ואל (32) תחם בקר ימן רבן]—*i.e.*, 'and fought against the city for many days.'

[9] The first two words here are obscure. Halévy proposes, 'And beside it there was set' (ועל ידה מֻשָּׂם), supposing the sequel to relate to a guard of twenty men: but the sing. followed by [עשרן שמרן] is difficult. The gap is, in fact, too large to be filled up with any confidence.



THE MOABITE STONE

TRANSLITERATION OF INSCRIPTION

1 אנך . משע . בן . כמשכ[ן] . מלך . מאב . הד 1
2 יבני | אבי . מלך . על . מאב . שלשן . שת . ואנך . מלכ 2
3 תי . אחר . אבי | ואעש . הבמת . זאת . לכמש . בקרח[ה] | ב[מת . י]ש 3
4 שע . כי . השעני . מכל . השלכן . וכי . הראני . בכל . שנאי | עמר 4
5 י . מלך . ישראל . ויענו . את . מאב . ימן . רבן . כי . יאנף . כמש . באר 5
6 צה | ויחלפה . בנה . ויאמר גם . הא . אענו . את . מאב | בימי . אמר . 6
7 וארא . בה . ובבתה | וישראל . אבד . אבד . עלם . וירש . עמרי . את . [אר] 7
8 ץ . מהדבא | וישב . בה . ימה . וחצי . ימי . בנה . ארבען . שת . [ו]יש 8
9 בה . כמש . בימי | ואבן . את . בעלמען . ואעש . בה . האשוח . ואב[ן] 9
10 את . קריתן | ואש . גד . ישב . בארץ . עטרת . מעלם . ויבן . לה . מלך . י 10
11 שראל . את . עטרת | ואלתחם . בקר . ואחזה | ואהרג . את . כל . העם . [מ] 11
12 הקר . רית . לכמש . ולמאב | ואשב . משם . את . אראל . דודה . וא[ס] 12
13 חבה . לפני . כמש . בקרית | ואשב . בה . את . אש . שרן . ואת . אש 13
14 מחרת | ויאמר . לי . כמש . לך . אחז . את . נבה . על . ישראל | וא 14
15 הלך . בללה . ואלתחם . בה . מבקע . השחרת . עד . הצהרם | ואח 15
16 זה . ואהרג . כלה . שבעת . אלפן . גברן . וגרן | וגברת . ו[גר] 16
17 ת . ורחמת | כי . לעשתר . כמש . החרמתה | ואקח . משם . א[ת . כ] 17
18 לי . יהוה . ואסחב . הם . לפני . כמש | ומלך . ישראל . בנה . את 18
19 יהץ . וישב . בה . בהלתחמה . בי | ויגרשה . כמש . מפני . ו 19
20 אקח . ממאב . מאתן . אש . כל . רשה | ואשאה . ביהץ . ואחזה 20
21 לספת . על . דיבן | אנך . בנתי . קרחה . חמת . היערן . וחמת 21
22 העפל | ואנך . בנתי . שעריה . ואנך . בנתי . מגדלתה | וא 22
23 נך . בנתי . בת . מלך . ואנך . עשתי . כלאי . האשו[ח . למ]ין . בקר[ב] 23
24 הקר | ובר . אן . בקרב . הקר . בקרחה . ואמר . לכל . העם . עשו . ל 24
25 כם . אש . בר . בביתה | ואנך . כרתי . המכרתת . לקרחה . באסר 25
26 [י] . ישראל | אנך . בנתי . ערער . ואנך . עשתי . המסלת . בארנן [|] 26
27 אנך . בנתי . בת . במת . כי . הרס . הא | אנך . בנתי . בצר . כי . עין . 27
28 ש . דיבן . חמשן . כי . כל . דיבן . משמעת | ואנך . מלכ 28
29 ת[י] מאת . בקרן . אשר . יספתי . על . הארץ | ואנך . בנת 29
30 י . [את . מ]הדבא . ובת . דבלתן | ובת . בעלמען . ואשא . שם . את . נקד 30
31 צאן . הארץ | וחורנן . ישב . בה . בת וק . אש 31
32 ויאמר . לי . כמש . רד . הלתחם . בחורנן | וארד 32
33 [וישבה . כמש . בימי . ועל דה . משם . עש 33
34 שת . שדק | ואנ 34

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION

1 I am Mesha', son of Chemosh[kān ?], king of Moab, the Daibonite. 1
2 My father reigned over Moab for thirty years, and I reigned 2
3 after my father. And I made this high place for Chĕmōsh in ḲR[Ḥ]H, a [high place of sal]vation, 3
4 because he had saved me from all the assailants (?), and because he had let me see (my desire) upon all them that hated me. Omri, 4
5 king of Israel, afflicted Moab for many days, because Chemosh was angry with his land. 5
6 And his son succeeded him; and he also said I will afflict Moab. In my days said he [thus ;] 6
7 but I saw (my desire) upon him, and upon his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting destruction. Omri took possession of the [la]nd 7
8 of Mĕhēdeba, and it (*i.e.*, Israel) dwelt therein, during his days, and half his son's days, forty years; but Chemosh [resto]red 8
9 it in my days. And I built Ba'al-Me'on, and I made in it the reservoir (?); and I buil[t] 9
10 Ḳiryathēn. And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'Aṭaroth from of old; and the king of Israel 10
11 had built for himself 'Aṭaroth. And I fought against the city, and took it. And I slew all the people [from] 11
12 the city, a gazingstock unto Chemosh, and unto Moab. And I brought back (*or*, took captive) thence the altar-hearth of Dawdoh (?), and I dragged 12
13 it before Chemosh in Ḳeriyyoth. And I settled therein the men of SRN, and the men of 13
14 MḤRT. And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. And I 14
15 went by night, and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I took 15
16 it, and slew the whole of it, 7000 men and male strangers, and women and [female stranger]s, 16
17 and female slaves: for I had devoted it to 'Ashtor-Chĕmōsh. And I took thence the [ves]sels 17
18 of Yahwè, and I dragged them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel had built 18
19 Yahaṣ, and abode in it, while he fought against me. But Chemosh drave him out from before me; and 19
20 I took of Moab 200 men, even all its chiefs; and I led them up against Yahaṣ, and took it 20
21 to add it unto Daibon. I built ḲRḤH, the wall of Ye'ārin (*or*, of the Woods), and the wall of 21
22 the Mound. And I built its gates, and I built its towers. And 22
23 I built the king's palace, and I made the two reser[voirs (?) for wa]ter in the midst of 23
24 the city. And there was no cistern in the midst of the city, in ḲRḤH. And I said to all the people, Make 24
25 you every man a cistern in his house. And I cut out the cutting for ḲRḤH, with (the help of) prisoner[s 25
26 of] Israel. I built 'Aro'er, and I made the highway by the Arnon. 26
27 I built Beth-Bamoth, for it was pulled down. I built Beṣer, for ruins 27
28 [had it become. And the chie]fs of Daibon were fifty, for all Daibon was obedient (to me). And I reigned 28
29 [over] an hundred [chiefs] in the cities which I added to the land. And I built 29
30 [Mehē]dĕ[b]a, and Beth-Diblathēn, and Beth-Ba'al-Me'on; and I took thither the *naḳad*-keepers, 30
31 . . . . sheep of the land. And as for Ḥoronên, there dwelt therein 31
32 . . . . And Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Ḥoronên. And I went down 32
33 . . . . [and] Chemosh [resto]red it in my days. And 33
34 . . . . . And I 34

The most noticeable *differences*, as compared with Heb., are the ת of the fem. sing., and the ן of the dual[1] (note, however, צהרם *l.* 15), and plural (the ת, and the ן of the plur., occurring only sporadically in the OT), הבמת זאת (not הזאת) *l.* 3, the conjug. הלתחם (the Arab. 8), קיר 'city,' אחז 'to take' a city (Heb. לכד), and some words which, though they occur in the OT, are not the usual prose terms—viz., חלף *l.* 6 'to succeed' (cp Is. 9 9, and Ar. *ḫalafa*), בקע *l.* 15 of the 'break' of dawn (Is. 58 8, but in prose עלה, Gen. 19 15 etc.), גְּבָרן (exceptional in Heb., as Jer. 43 6 44 20) and גְּבָרֹת (=Heb. נשים) *l.* 16, רְחָמֹת *l.* 17 (Judg. 5 30).

Some of the more interesting parallels to the OT in matter or expression may be briefly noted.

l. 3 the במה or 'high-place' (cp Is. 15 2 16 12 in Moab itself, as well as often besides); *l.* 13 etc., *Chemosh*, the national god of Moab (Nu. 21 29 Jer. 48 46 etc.); *ll.* 4, 7, *to look* upon an enemy (viz., with satisfaction at his fall), Ps. 59 11 [10] 118 7; *l.* 5 *afflicted*, Ex. 1 11 etc.; Chemosh *was angry with his land*, cp 2 K. 17 18 Ps. 60 3 [1]; *l.* 10 the Gadites in Ataroth (11 m. N. of the Arnon) 'from of old,' cp Nu. 32 3 34 (GAD, § 8); *l.* 12 *a gazingstock unto Chemosh*, Nah. 3 6 Ezek. 28 17; *altar-hearth*, Ezek. 43 15 *f.*; *l.* 13 *before Chemosh* (in triumph), cp *before Yahwè*, 1 S. 15 33 2 S. 21 9; *ll.* 14 32, *and Chemosh said*, etc., cp Josh. 8 1 Judg. 7 9 1 S. 23 4 2 S. 24 1; *l.* 17 החרים *to ban* or *devote*, as 1 S. 15 3 and often; *l.* 19 *to drive out before*, exactly as Dt. 33 27 Josh. 24 18; *l.* 28 משמעת (lit. *obedience*), the construction exactly as Is. 11 14.

The *localities* named in the inscription are nearly all mentioned in the passages of the OT which describe the territory of Reuben or Gad (Nu. 32 34-38 Josh. 13 15-28), or allude to the country held by Moab (esp. Is. 15 Jer. 48): the only places not mentioned in the OT are קרחה, שרן, מחרת, and היערן, For further particulars, see the writings cited below, § 7, esp. the monographs of Nöldeke and Nordlander; also Dr. *TBS*, pp. lxxxix-xciv, and the textual details in W. H. Bennett's art. 'Moab' in Hastings' *DB*.

We may proceed now to notice the chief features of historical interest presented by the inscription. According to Nu. 21 13 Josh. 13 15-28, the Arnon formed the dividing-line between Israel and Moab on the E. of Jordan, the territory N. of it being assigned formally to the tribes of Reuben and Gad; but these tribes were never able to hold it permanently against the encroachments of the Moabites. David had reduced the Moabites to the condition of tributaries; but it may be inferred from Mesha's inscription that this relation had not been maintained. Omri, however, the capable founder of the fourth Israelite dynasty, determined to re-assert the Israelite claim, and gained possession of at least the district around Medeba (12 m. E. of the N. end of the Dead Sea—on the N. border of Reuben, acc. to Jos. 13 9 16) which was retained by Israel for forty years till the middle of Ahab's reign, when Mesha revolted.

5. Historical questions.

According to 2 K. 1 1 3 5, the revolt took place after Ahab's death (853-2 B.C.); but *l.* 8 of the inscription names expressly 'the middle of the reign of Omri's son—*i.e.*, of Ahab. The statement occasions, however, a difficulty; for according to 1 K. 16 23 29, Omri reigned twelve years and Ahab twenty-two years; whereas forty years reckoned back from Ahab's eleventh year to Omri's conquest of Moab would imply that Omri's reign embraced at least twenty-nine years, instead of twelve. Nordlander, however (p. 70), and Winckler (*AOF* 2 406, in an art. on *Die Zeitangaben Mesa's*), read 'his *sons*' days' (בְּנֹה, like יָמֹה, in the same line), in which case the 22 years of Ahab would be increased by the 2 of Ahaziah (1 K. 22 51) and the 12 of Jehoram (2 K. 3 1). This, if it does not wholly remove the difficulty, at least diminishes it: if the 'half' of these three reigns be not taken too strictly, but allowed to mean (say) 20-21 years, it will bring the revolt very near the end of Ahab's reign, and with the addition of Omri's 12 years, will yield a period which might not unfairly be described roundly as 'forty' years. In any case, the use of the term 'half' shows that the inscription was not set up until after the completion of the other 'half' of the period referred to; in all probability, not until after the fall of the dynasty of Omri, which, not less than Mesha's own successes, may well be alluded to in the 'destruction' of *l.* 7. (The rendering of *l.* 8 suggested above, col. 792 n., is ingenious, but scarcely probable.)

How complete was the state of subjection to which Moab had been reduced is shown by the enormous tribute of wool paid annually (notice the frequentative tense והשיב) to Israel (2 K. 3 4). The inscription names the principal cities which had been occupied by the Israelites, but were now recovered for Moab; and states further how Mesha was careful to rebuild and fortify them, and to provide them with cisterns and other requisites for resisting a siege. So far as is known, all the cities mentioned (except, as it seems, Ḥoronaim) lay within the disputed territory N. of the Arnon. The evident satisfaction with which Mesha records the triumphs of Chemosh over Yahwè (*ll.* 12, 17-18) is a characteristic trait in the religious feeling of the times.

ii. *Jehoram's war.*—The attempt made by Jehoram to subjugate Moab, and recover the lost territory, forms the subject of 2 K. 3 6-27: Mesha is not, indeed, mentioned here by name; but the connection leaves no doubt that he is the 'king of Moab' intended. Jehoram, Jehoshaphat, and the 'king' of Edom, uniting their forces, marched round the S. end of the Dead Sea—for the cities N. of the Arnon, which, as we have learnt from the inscription, had been fortified by Mesha, would be an obstacle to invasion from that direction—and so entered the territory of Moab. The invading army suffered from want of water: at Jehoshaphat's suggestion (cp 1 K. 22 7), the prophet Elisha (who happened to be present) is consulted: he bids them dig trenches in the sandy soil, which are speedily filled with the needed water. The Moabites, seeing the rays of the rising sun reflected in the pools, imagined that the invaders had quarrelled and massacred one another: eager to spoil what they suppose to be the abandoned camp, they rush forward, but are repelled and put to flight with great loss. After this, the combined armies advance into the land unopposed, and make havoc of it in every direction. Mesha, reduced to desperation, by his vain endeavours to escape out of Ḳir-ḥareseth, offers his eldest son 'that should have reigned in his stead' as a burnt-offering, to propitiate the anger of his god: there came in consequence 'great wrath' upon Israel, and the Israelites, without pursuing their successes further, at once evacuated the country. Mesha, though his land and people had suffered greatly, was thus left in possession of his independence. (See, further, on some details of this narrative, ELISHA, § 5, JEHORAM, § 3 *f.*, KIR-HARESETH, also SALT [VALLEY OF].)

6. Jehoram's war.

Among the abundant literature dealing with the Moabite stone may be mentioned in particular (in addition to what has been already referred to) two arts. by Clermont-Ganneau in the *Rev. Arch.* 1870, Mar., pp. 184-207, June, pp. 357-386; Nöldeke, *Die Inschr. des K. Mesa von Moab* (1870) (in some cases founded upon readings discovered since to be incorrect, and hence to be supplemented by an art. in the *LCBl.* Jan. 8, 1887, cols. 59-61); Ginsburg, *The Moabite Stone* (very full), 1870,(2) 1871, [Prof. W. Wright,] *North British Review*, Oct. 1870, pp. 1-29 (very valuable). For other literature, see Lidzbarski's *Handb. der Nordsem. Epigraphik*, 415 (1898), with the references. On the history of the discovery of the stone, and questions arising out of it, see Clermont-Ganneau, *La stèle de Mésa roi de Moab*, 1870 (a short brochure, with plate and map—the first public notice of the stone); Ginsburg(2), 9 *ff.* 31 *ff.*; *PEFQ*, Jan.-March, 1870, pp. 169 *ff.* (a reprint of letters in the *Times* by Warren, Grove, Deutsch, and Clermont-Ganneau), and 1871, pp. 281 *ff.* (letter from Klein), Petermann, *ZDMG* 24 (1870), 640-44 (transl. in Ginsb.(2) 12 *ff.*): some of the judgments passed on Clermont-Ganneau to be qualified by the remarks of Wright, 3; cp also Warren, *PEFQ*, *l.c.*, p. 182. On the arts. of Halévy and Winckler referred to above, see also Lidzbarski, *Ephem. für Sem. Epigr.* 1 143-5.

7. Literature.

2. A Calebite, father of Ziph; 1 Ch. 2 42 (מֵישָׁע, μαρεισα [B], μαρισας [A], μουσα [L]; [illegible] [Pesh.]; *Mesa* [Vg.]). Probably a corrupt reading for MARESHA [*q.v.*]. S. R. D.

MESHACH (מֵישַׁךְ), Dan. 1 7. See SHADRACH AND MESHACH.

MESHECH (מֶשֶׁךְ). 1. Gen. 10 2 1 Ch. 1 5 Ezek. 27 13 etc. See TUBAL AND MESHECH.

2. 1 Ch. 1 17 = Gen. 10 23, MASH (*q.v.*).

MESHELEMIAH (מְשֶׁלֶמְיָה, משלמיהו, § 30; on the name see below), the eponym of a 'course' of Korahite doorkeepers (1 Ch. 26 1 ΜΟϹΟΛΛΗΛ [B], ΜΟϹΟΛΛΑΜ [A], ϹΕΛΕΜΙΑϹ [L]), father of Zechariah (9 21 [μασαλαμι B, μοσολλαμ A, μεσολλαμια L] 26 2

[1] Vocalised by Nöldeke (p. 33) *-ên*; but to be read as *-ân* (Ḳiryathân, etc.), if the view be correct (Ges.-Kau., § 88 *c* with the reff.) that these forms are not properly duals, but noun-endings: see, however, König, ii. 1 437.

[μοσαλησ B, μασελλαμια A, σελεμια L]). He is also called SHELEMIAH (26 14 σαλαμια [B^{b}], -ειa [B*] σελεμία [AL]) and SHALLUM (9 19 σαλωμων [B], σαλωμ' [A], σελλουμ [L]); in 9 17 a different Shallum (cp SHALLUM, 8) seems to be meant.

From a purely linguistic point of view we might suppose משלמיה to be a fuller form of משלם (Meshullam?) and explain 'requited of Yahwè'; see MESHULLAM, and cp NAMES, § 30. But a historical study of the group of proper names to which both Meshullam (?) and Meshelemiah (?) belong suggests that both names are disguises of an ethnic name, such as שלמי or even ישמעאלי (cp SHALLUM). In the genealogy of Meshelemiah (1 Ch. 26 1-3) we find several ethnic names—*e.g.*, Jathniel = Ethani, Elam = Jerahmeel. T. K. C.

MESHEZABEEL, or rather, as in RV, MESHEZABEL (מְשֵׁיזַבְאֵל—*i.e.*, 'God is a deliverer,' §§ 30, 83; cp Ass. *Mušēzib-ilu*). Perhaps an artificial formation from SHOBAL (*q.v.*); this would probably fit the names with which this name is grouped (Che.).

1. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 21 [22] (μεσωζεβηλ [BℵA], βασση, ζαβιηλ [L]); perhaps to be identified with

2. The ancestor of MESHULLAM (13) mentioned in Neh. 3 4 (μασεζεβηα [ℵ]; μασεζειηλ [A]; μασσιζαβελ [L]; B om.) and also with

3. The father of PETHAHIAH (Neh. 11 24; βασηζα [Bℵ*A], βασηζβεηλ [ℵ$^{c.a}$], μασσιζαβεηλ [L]).

MESHILLEMOTH (מְשִׁלֵּמוֹת; see below).

1. *An Ephraimite, temp. Pekah, 2 Ch.* 28 12 (*μοσολαμωθ* [BA], *μασσαλιμωθ* [L]).

2. b. Immer, a priestly name in the genealogy of AMASHAI [*q.v.*], Neh. 11 13 (om. Bℵ*A; *μασαλαμιθ* [ℵ$^{c.a\ mg.\ inf.}$]; -*λλιμωθ* [L]); given in 1 Ch. 9 12 as **Meshillemith** (מְשִׁלֵּמִית, *μασελ[ι]μωθ* [BL], *μοσολλαμωθ* [A]). Cp GENEALOGIES, § 6, col. 1662.

Linguistically we might incline to point מְשֻׁלָּמוֹת (see NAMES, § 75). More probably, however, it is a disguised ethnic or local name, ות standing for ת ָ; cp מַעֲכָת. See MESHULLAM, and notice that 'Berechiah' (cp Bicri) and 'Immer' (see above, 1 and 2), are probably corrupt disguises of JERAHMEEL [*q.v.*, § 4] (Che.).

MESHOBAB (מְשׁוֹבָב, § 62; cp SHOBAH, ELIASHIB), one of the Simeonites who in the time of Hezekiah dispossessed the Meunim (1 Ch. 4 34, μοσωβαβ [BA], ἐπιστρέφων [L]).

MESHULLAM (מְשֻׁלָּם, as if 'kept safe [by Yahwè],' but in its origin probably an ethnic (Che.),[1] a name frequently occurring in post-exilic literature; *μοσολλαμ* [BℵAL]; cp also the Jewish horseman *μοσολλαμος* in the pseudo-Hecatæus, Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 22, also the Nab. names משלמא, משלמו [Cook, *Aram. Gloss.* 78 *f.*]).

1. Grandfather of the scribe SHAPHAN [*q.v.*], 2 K. 22 3 (μεσολλαμ [BL], μεσσαλημ [A]).

2. A son of ZERUBBABEL [*q.v.*], 1 Ch. 3 19 (μοσολοαμος [B], μοσολλαμος [A]).

3. *A Gadite chief, 1 Ch.* 5 13 (μοσολαμ [B]). Cp MICHAEL.

4. A name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN [*q.v.*, § 9, 2 β], 1 Ch. 8 17 (μεσομμα [L]), probably the same as Misham *v.* 12. See *JQR* 11 103, § 1.

5. The father of Sallu and grandson of HASENUAH [*q.v.*], in list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA ii., § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 7 (μοολλαμ [B]) = Neh. 11 7 (μεσουλαμ [A], μεσολλαμ [L], αμεσουλα [B], -μ [ℵ]).

6. b. Shephathiah, a Benjamite, 1 Ch. 9 8 (μασεαλημ [B], μασαλλαμ [A]). See note 1 (end), and cp SHEPHATIAH.

7. b. Zadok, grandfather of Seraiah, a priest in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 11 (μοσολλομ [BA]) = Neh. 11 11 (μεισουλαμ [B], μεσ. [Aℵ]). See SHALLUM, 6.

8. b. Meshillemith b. Immer, an ancestor of Maasiai or Amashai, a priest in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii., 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 12. In Neh. 11 13, the name is omitted; see MESHILLEMOTH, 2.

9. A Kohathite overseer placed by Ch. in the time of Josiah, 2 Ch. 34 12 (μεσολλαμ [L]).

10. Head of family, temp. Ezra (see EZRA i., § 2, ii. § 15 [1] *d*) *Ezra* 8 16 (*μεσουαμ* [*B*], *μεσολλαμ* [*AL*]) = 1 Esd. 8 44 MOSOLLAMON, RV MOSOLLAMUS (μεσολαβων [B], μοσολλαμον [A], μεσολλαμ [L]).

11. One of Ezra's opponents (*Herstel*, 119 *f.*) in dealing with the mixed marriages, Ezra 10 15 (μεσουλαμ [Bℵ], μετασολλαμ [A], μεσσο. [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 14 MOSOLLAM, RV MOSOLLAMUS (μοσολλαμος [BA], μεσολλαμ [L]).

12. One of the b'nē BANI, in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 10 29 (μελουσαμ [B], -μα [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 9 30 OLAMUS (ωλαμος [BA]).

13. b. Berechiah, Neh. 3 4 (om. B; *v.* 30, μεσουλαμ [BℵA], μεσολλαμ [L]); cp 6 18 (μεσσυλαμ [Bℵ$^{c.a}$A], μεσουλαβμ [ℵ*vid.]) and

14. b. Besodeiah, Neh. 3 6 (μεσουλαμ [BℵAL]), in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*).

15. *In list of Ezra's supporters* (see EZRA ii., § 13 *f.*; cp i. § 8, i. § 16 [5], ii. § 15 [1] C), Neh. 8 4 (om. Bℵ*, μεσολλαμ [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 44 (μεσολλαμ [L], BA and EV om.). Possibly his name and that of Zechariah which precedes are both later additions.

16. Signatory, and

17. Priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 20 [21] (μεσουλαμ [BℵA], μεσσολλαμ [L]), and *v.* 7 [8] (μεσουλαμ [BℵA]) respectively.

18. Priest, temp. Joiakim (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*, § 11), Neh. 12 13 (μεσουλαμ [BℵA], μεσολλαμ [L]).

19. Priest, temp. Joiakim (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*, § 11), Neh. 12 16 (Bℵ*A om.).

20. A porter, temp. Joiakim (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*, § 11), Neh. 12 25 (om. Bℵ*A); see SHALLUM, 8, SHELEMIAH, MESHELEMIAH.

21. In procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA ii., § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 33 (μεσουλαμ [Bℵ*], -λλαμ [ℵ$^{c.a}$]).

MESHULLEMETH (מְשֻׁלֶּמֶת, § 56; 'kept safe [by God],' but cp MESHULLAM; μεσολλαμ [BL], μασσαλαμειθ [A]), bath Haruz, mother of king Amon (2 K. 21 19).

MESOBAITE (הַמְּצֹבָיָה), 1 Ch. 11 47 AV, RV MEZOBAITE. See JAASIEL.

MESOPOTAMIA

Name (§ 1).	*Earlier history.*
Later Conditions.	Babylon and the W. (§ 10 *f.*).
Greek Mesopotamia (§ 2).	Nahrina (§ 12).
Geography; divisions (§ 3 *f.*).	The Mitanni (§ 13).
Recent times (§ 5).	Mesopotamian civilisation (§§ 14-16).
Roads, general condition (§ 6 *f.*).	Assyrians (§ 17 *f.*).
Climate, vegetation (§ 8 *f.*).	Ancient capital (§ 19).
	Aramæans (§ 20).

In this article it is proposed to give an account of the large district lying N. and E. of Palestine as far as may be necessary to supplement the articles SYRIA and ASSYRIA. How far the region commonly called Mesopotamia is represented by any specific names in the OT may be an open question (see ARAM-NAHARAIM, HARAN, NAHOR, PADAN-ARAM): Israel heard of peoples rather than countries; its writers speak of the Aramæan, the Hittite, the Assyrian, rather than of the lands they occupied; besides, the independent importance of Mesopotamian states was a thing of the past when the OT writers lived. To understand the course of events, however, it is necessary to take account of the vast tract intervening between Israel and the great empires that reached out to it from beyond Damascus.

1. Name and reference in EV.

In the EV 'Mesopotamia' represents in the OT the Hebrew ARAM-NAHARAIM (*q.v.*, § 1), being a rendering adopted from the LXX, where it represents also other Hebrew forms.[1] In Judith 'Mesopotamia' is the land *where Israel settled when it migrated from Chaldæa* (2 24 5 7 *f.* 8 26). In Acts 7 2 it seems to be Ur-Kasdim itself. In Acts 2 9, however (list of seats of the Diaspora), there can be little doubt that the reference is to the region between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

The Mesopotamia (Μεσοποταμία, ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν

[1] If an Arabic *nuance* is permissible, one may explain the name as meaning 'submissive [to Yahwè]'; cp Di.-Ki. on Is. 42 19. [The name may, however, be an adaptation of an old tribal name, presumably Ishme'eli (cp MESHELEMIAH). Note that Shallum and Meshullam seem in two cases (7 20), to be interchangeable, also that Shallum is a Simeonite name and that Meshullam (see 6) possibly had Zephathite connections, while Meshelemiah (also interchangeable with Meshullam, see 20) occurs in 1 Ch. 26 2 in a list of names largely of tribal origin.—T. K. C.]

[1] Aram (Nu. 23 7 Judg. 3 8 [A]), Aram-naharaim (Gen. 24 10 Ps. 60 [title in Sym.]), Naharaim (1 Ch. 19 6 Ps. 60 [title]), Paddan (Gen. 28 2 [A], 5 [E], 6 7 [D$^{sil.}$ E], 33 18 35 9 26 46 15 48 7), Paddan Aram (Gen. 25 20 [AD] [μεσο sup ras A[1]], 28 2 [D$^{sil.}$ E], 5 [AD], 7 [A], 31 18), Pethor Aram Naharaim (Dt. 23 4). 𝔊^{AD} adds it in Gen. 27 43. See Hatch-Redpath, *Supplement* to Concordance.

[scil. χώρα or Συρία], Strabo) of Greek writers, the 'country amid the rivers' or one might say 'River-country,' is a purely geographical expression, the countries that it comprehends never having formed a self-contained political unity. The name occurs in Greek writers first at or after the time of Alexander; though it probably had its origin much earlier (cp ARAM-NAHARAIM).

2. Mesopotamia of Greeks.

The extremely fertile district that Xenophon traversed after crossing the Euphrates at Thapsacus, he calls Syria. The country beyond (*i.e.*, E. of) the Araxes (Chabōras?) he calls Arabia—he describes it as a desert region in which his army had to suffer great hardships until it reached 'the gates of Arabia.'

The statements of Xenophon indicate a demarcation into two sections: the fertile portion, inhabited by agricultural Aramæans, stretching from the Euphrates to the Chabōras; and the desert portion, the home of wandering tribes, stretching on towards the Tigris. It would be rash, indeed, to conclude from this that Mesopotamia meant in practice the whole territory between the Euphrates and the Tigris; like its prototype Naharima it may have meant the fertile country inhabited in later times by Syrians, in earlier times by others—*e.g.*, the Mitani (see § 17). In this case the real eastern boundary would be not the Tigris but the eastern border of the country watered by the Chabōras. Towards the W., however, the Greek Mesopotamia may, unlike Naharima, have reached no farther W. than the banks of the Euphrates. It was this district that practically constituted the political province of Mesopotamia after the final occupation of the country by the Romans (156 A.D.). On the other hand, when, as is often in Greek writers the case, the Euphrates and the Tigris are regarded as referred to in the very name Mesopotamia, the one bank of the river cannot be geographically separated from the other, and consequently narrow strips of country on the W. bank of the Euphrates and on the E. bank of the Tigris must be reckoned to the country 'amid the rivers.'

The limits towards the N. and the S. need not detain us. The country between the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris belonged rather to Armenia. In this direction Mesopotamia properly ended with the Masius range. Towards the S. Mesopotamia was regarded as ending where Babylonia began.

3. Physical geography.

From what has been said it appears that Mesopotamia reaches its northern limits at the points where the EUPHRATES (*q.v.*) and the Tigris break through the mountain range and enter the lowlands. In the case of the Euphrates this takes place at Sumeisāṭ (Samosata), in that of the Tigris near Jezīret ibn 'Omar (Bezabdá) and Mōṣul (Nineveh). Consequently the irregular northern boundaries are marked by the lowland limits of those spurs of the Taurus mountains known in antiquity as Mons Masius and now as Ḳaraje Dāgh and Ṭūr 'Abdīn. Towards the S. the boundary was the so-called Median Wall, which, near Pirux Shapur, not much to the S. of Hīt (the ancient Is), crossed from the Euphrates in the direction of Ḳādisīya (Ōpis) to the Tigris. There the two rivers approach each other, to diverge again lower down. At the same place begins the network of canals connecting the two rivers which rendered the country of Babylonia one of the richest in the world; there too, in a geological sense, the higher portion of the plain, consisting of strata of gypsum and marl, comes to an end; there at one time ran the line of the sea-coast; and there begin those alluvial formations with which the mighty rivers in the course of long ages have filled up this depressed area. Mesopotamia thus forms a triangle lying in the NW. and SE. direction, with its long sides towards the N. and SW. It extends from 37° 30′ to about 33° N. lat. and from 38° to 46° E. long. and has an area of some 55,200 sq. m.

The points at which the rivers issue from among the mountains have an absolute altitude of between 1000 and 1150 ft., and the plain sinks rapidly towards the southern extremity of Mesopotamia, where it is not more than about 165 ft. above the sea. As a whole the entire country consists of a single open stretch, save that in the N. there are some branches of the Taurus—the Nimrūd Dāgh near Orfā, the long limestone range of 'Abd el-'Azīz, running NNW., and farther to the E. the Sinjār range, also of limestone, 7 m. broad and 50 m. long, running NNE. Between these two ranges—near the isolated basaltic hill of Tell Kōkab (Hill of Stars)—runs the defile by which the waters of the Chabōras, swollen by the Jaghjagha and other affluents from the Masius, find their way into the heart of Mesopotamia. The Khābūr proper, the ancient Chaboras, which rises in the three hundred copious fountains of Rās 'Ain (the ancient Rhesæna), and ultimately falls into the Euphrates near Ḳarḳīsiyā (Circesium), forms the boundary between the two, or more correctly the three, great divisions of Mesopotamia.

The divisions just referred to are (i.) the northern country W. of the Khābūr, (ii.) the northern country to the E., and (iii.) the steppe-land.

4. Divisions; towns.

i. Under the dominion of the Seleucids the country to the NW. of the Khābūr bore the name of Osrhoēne, or better Orrhoēne, and was for a time the seat of a special dynasty which at a later date at any rate was Arabian (Abgar). The capital of this kingdom was Orfa (Roha), the Edessa of the Greeks and Romans, the Orrhoi of the Syrians; it was at a later date a Roman colony, and bore also the name of Justinopolis. This once flourishing city lies on the small river Daisan (the ancient Scirtus). South of Edessa lie the ruins of Ḥarrān (see HARAN). A third town of this region is Serūj (see SERUG). The town lies between Ḥarrān and the Euphrates in a plain to which it gives its name. On the left bank of the Euphrates lay Apamēa (the modern Birējiḳ), connected with Zeugma on the other side by a bridge, and farther S., at the mouth of the Bilechas (modern Belikh), was the trading town and fortress Nicephorium, founded by command of Alexander, and completed by Seleucus Nicator, in memory of whose victory it was named. From the emperor Leo it received the designation Leontopolis. The spot is now known as Raḳḳa (see below). Farther up the fruitful valley of the Belikh lay the town of Ichnæ (Chne). Farther S. lay Circesium (Chaboras of Ptolemy, Phaleg of Isidor), not to be identified, as is often assumed, with CARCHEMISH [*q.v.*], which was on the right (W.) bank of the Euphrates; from the time of Diocletian Circesium was strongly fortified. The site is at present occupied by a wretched place of the name Ḳarḳīsiyā.

In ancient times a highly flourishing district must have stretched along the river Chaboras (Khābūr) to its principal source at Rās el-'Ain. The strip of comparatively desert country which now stretches along the lower course of the Khābūr was called by the Greeks Gauzanitis, and corresponds to the Gozan of 2 K. 17 6 (the Assyrian Guzana or Guzanu; see GOZAN).

ii. The country to the E. of the upper Khābūr is in many respects similar to that which has just been described. As the watershed of the Tigris is not far distant, the Masius range sends down into Mesopotamia only insignificant streams, the most important being the Hermas, the Mygdonius of the Greeks. On its banks was situated Nisibis (*Neṣībīn*), the chief city of the district, which commanded the great road at the foot of the mountains leading through the steppe, which here from the scarcity of water comes close up to the edge of the hills. In the Assyrian empire Naṣibina was the seat of an administrative official. In the time of the Seleucids the site was occupied by the flourishing Greek colony of Antiochia Mygdonia; but the new designation, transferred to the river and the vicinity of Nisibis from the Macedonian district of Mygdonia, afterwards passed out of use. Nisibis was an important trading city, and played a great part in the wars of the Romans against the Persians.

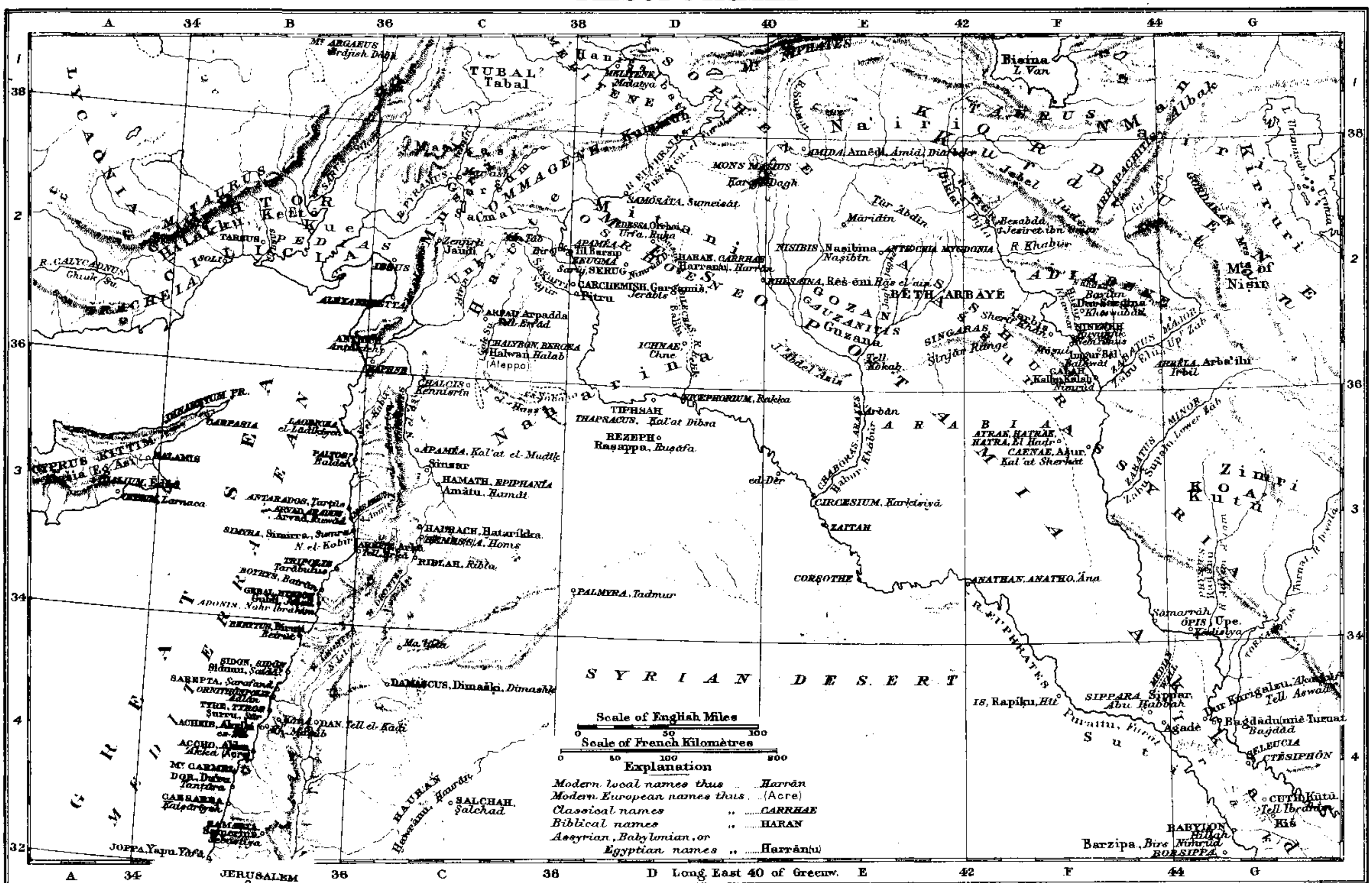
iii. The S. or steppe portion of Mesopotamia was from early times the roaming-ground of Arabian tribes; for Xenophon gives the name of Arabia to the district on the left (E.) bank of the Euphrates to the W. of the Khābūr; and elsewhere it is frequently stated that the interior at a distance from the rivers was a steppe inhabited by Arabes Scenitæ (Tent Arabs). Along the bank of the two great rivers ran a belt of cultivated country, and the rocky islands of the Euphrates also were occupied by a settled population. On the Euphrates, beginning towards the N., we must mention first Zaitah or Zautha, SE. of Circesium; next Corsothe, at the mouth of the Mascas; then Anatho or Anathan, the modern 'Āna; and finally Is (Hīt). On the Tigris the point of most importance is Cænæ (Καιναί of the *Anabasis*, which Winckler proposes to identify with Tekrit), S. from the mouth of the Great Zāb near the present Ḳal'at Sherḳāt; and not far distant towards the interior was Ātræ or Hatræ, also called Hatra (*el-Ḥaḍr*), the chief town of the Arab tribe of the Atreni.

From the Arabic geographers and travellers we gain the impression that a great part of Mesopotamia, with the exception of the southern steppe, of course, must at that time have been in a very flourishing condition; the neighbourhood of Nisibis especially is celebrated as a very paradise. In fact it is only since the Turkish conquest of the country under Sultan Selīm in 1515 that it has turned into a desert and gradually lost its fertility. As the nomadic Arabs have continually extended their encroachments, agriculture has been forced to withdraw into the mountains; and this is especially true of the western portions of Mesopotamia, the district of Rās el-'Ain, and the plain of Ḥarrān and Serūj, where huge mounds give evidence that the whole country was once covered with towns and villages. Under the Turks el-Jezīra does not form a political unity, but belongs to different pashaliks.

5. Recent times.

From this brief survey it appears that Mesopotamia, like Syria, constitutes an intermediate territory between the great eastern and western monarchies,—Syria inclining more to the W., and Mesopotamia to the E. In virtue of its position it frequently formed both the object and the scene of contests between the armies of those mighty monarchies, and it is wonderful how a country so often devastated almost always recovered. The roads, it is true, which traversed the territory

MESOPOTAMIA



For index to names see back of map.

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MAP OF MESOPOTAMIA

INDEX TO NAMES

Parentheses indicating sections in Mesopotamia *or other articles that refer to the place-names are in some cases added to non-biblical names having no biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement ignores prefixes: ed-, el- ('the'), J. (Jebel, 'mt.'), jezīret ('island'), ḳal'at ('castle'), Kh. (khirbat, 'ruin'), Mt., Mons, N. (Nahr, 'river'), R., tell, til ('mound'), Ṭūr ('mount').*

were not mere military highways, but the main routes of traffic for Central Asia, Western Asia, and Europe. It is only in modern times, and since these lines of commercial intercourse have ceased to be followed, that the general condition of things has been so entirely altered.

The number of roads which in classical times traversed the country was very considerable; the Euphrates formed not a barrier but a bond between the nations on either side.

6. Roads.

At many places there were at least boat-bridges (zeugma) across. One of the most important of the ancient crossing-places must be sought, where in fact it still is, at Bîrejik (Apamea-Zeugma). From this point a great road led across to Edessa (Orfa): there it divided into two branches, the northern going by Amid (Diārbekr) and the other by Mārdīn and Nisibis to Mōṣul (Nineveh). (In quite recent times, in order to avoid the direct route across the desert and through the midst of the Bedouins, the post-road makes a great circuit from Nisibis by Jezīret ibn 'Omar to Mōṣul.) A second route crossed the Euphrates somewhat more to the S., and joined the other *via* Ḥarrān and Rhesæna. The principal crossing in Xenophon's time was at Thapsacus, almost opposite Raḳḳa; and it will be remembered also how important a part Thapsacus plays in the OT (see TIPHSAH). Sometimes a route along the Euphrates to Babylonia was followed, as is still frequently done by caravans at the present day; but even in ancient times this course was attended by more or less difficulty, the country being occupied by the chiefs of independent Arab tribes, with whom the travellers had to come to terms.

The condition of things in OT times must consequently be considered as essentially analogous to that of the present day. The central districts away from the rivers were occupied at certain seasons, according as they yielded pasture, by nomadic cattle-grazing tribes, the physical character of the country being then and now the same on the whole as that of the Syrian desert, which belongs not to Syria but properly to Arabia. The *tells* on the banks of the rivers show that in ancient times the country was covered with settlements and towns as far as irrigation was possible.[1] In the open country, however, beyond those limits there were Bedouins.

7. General condition.

At one time the Ṭai Arabs were the neighbours of the Aramæans, and consequently all Arabs bear in Syriac the name of Ṭayōyē. The district between Mōṣul and Nisibis received the name Bēth 'Arbāyē from its being occupied by Arabs. In the northern parts of Mesopotamia there are now tribes of mingled Kurds and Arabs which have to a greater or less degree abandoned their tents for fixed habitations and the tillage of the ground.

The Kurdish element appears only sporadically in the true Mesopotamian plain; but the Yezīdis, who form the population of the Sinjār range, may be referred to this stock. Of the old Aramæan peasantry there are no longer any important remains in the plain, the Aramæans having withdrawn farther into the Kurdish highlands, where, in spite of their wild Kurdish neighbours, they are more secure from exactions of every kind.

The plain of the northern country of the two rivers was at one time richly cultivated, and owed its prosperity to the industrious Aramæans, who formerly played so distinguished a part as a connecting link between the Persians and the Roman empire and afterwards between the western and the Arabian world, and whose highest culture was developed in this very region.

Quite otherwise is it now. In the plain there are almost no remains of the common Aramæan tongue. Apart from the scattered areas in which Kurdish prevails, the ordinary language is a vulgar Arabic dialect; but both Kurdish and Aramæan (Syriac) have exercised an influence on the speech of the Arab peasant. Certain Turcoman hordes also now roam about the Mesopotamian territory.

In climate and in the character of its soil, as well as in its ethnographic history, Mesopotamia holds an intermediate position. In this aspect also we must maintain the division into two quite distinct zones. The northern district of Mesopotamia combines strong contrasts, and is a connecting link between the mountain region of western Asia and the desert of Arabia. On the other hand, the country to the S. of Mesopotamia, or 'Irāḳ, has a warm climate, and towards the Persian Gulf indeed the heat reaches the greatest extremes.

8. Climate.

[1] This is confirmed by the latest traveller, von Oppenheim; see also the map in his *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf.*

In Upper Mesopotamia, strictly so called, agriculture has suffered an extraordinary decline; in spite of excellent soil, very little of the land is turned to account.

9. Vegetation.

In the western district the fertile red-brown humus of the Orfa plain, derived from the lime of Nimrūd Dāgh, extends to about 12 m. S. of Ḥarrān. With a greater rainfall, and an artificial distribution of the water such as there was in olden times, agriculture would flourish. If spring rains are only moderately abundant, wheat and barley grow to a great height, and yield from thirty to forty fold.

Timber trees are few; plane trees and white poplars are planted along the streams, and a kind of willow and a sumach flourish on the banks of the Euphrates. Of the great forest which stood near Nisibis in the time of Trajan no trace remains; but the slopes both of the Masius mountains and of the Jebel 'Abd el-'Azīz, as well as, more especially, those of the Sinjār range, are still covered with wood.

The wide treeless tracts of the Low Country of Mesopotamia are covered with the same steppe vegetation which prevails from Central Asia to Algeria; but there is an absence of a great many of the arborescent plants that grow in the rockier and more irregular plateaus of western Asia and especially of Persia.

This comparative poverty and monotony of the flora is partly due to the surface being composed mainly of detritus, and partly to the cultivation of the country in remote antiquity having ousted the original vegetation and left behind it what is really only fallow ground untouched for thousands of years.

With few exceptions there are none but cultivated trees, and these are confined to the irrigated districts on the Euphrates and the Shaṭṭ.

The cycle of vegetation begins in November. The first winter rains clothe the plain with verdure. The full summer development is reached in June; and by the end of August everything is burnt up. A. S.[1]

There having been as yet no exploration by excavation in Mesopotamia (if we may use this term, as we propose to do in the rest of this article, merely for convenience, to denote the country stretching westwards of Assyria proper, and northwards of Babylonia), all that we can say about its earliest history is derived from such notices as have reached us in the Assyrian inscriptions of the Assyrian empire (since about 1500 B.C.), and in the Babylonian inscriptions of an earlier period. These notices are comparatively scanty; to a certain extent we have to rely upon the kind of historical conjecture which draws its deductions from the history of neighbouring lands and the analogy of times with which we are better acquainted.

10. Early Babylonian influence.

We may safely assume so much at least as this—that a civilisation like that of the Old Babylonia which is met with in the monuments of Telloh in the fourth and third millenia B.C. cannot have been confined to the southern portion of the Euphrates valley, but even then, as we know to have been the case at a later date, must have extended also to the upper valley. When we find a king like Gudēa (after 3000 B.C.) bringing material for his edifices from Phœnicia, the fact proves that in his day Mesopotamia, through which the western road lay, was already within the sphere of Babylonian civilisation, although we are not thereby informed as to its exact political position. It may be taken for granted that the greater kingdoms of South and North Babylonia were at pains to attach to themselves regions that were of such importance for their connection with the Mediterranean Sea, and thus we may safely represent to ourselves the history of Mesopotamia in those times as having been, approximately, similar to other better known histories.

Looked at from another point of view, Mesopotamia forms a region in some degree separated from the southern lands of the Euphrates, a region which gravitates quite as much towards Syria, properly so called, and Asia Minor as towards the centre of Babylonian civilisa-

11. Westward connection.

[1] [The work of revising the article 'Mesopotamia' in *EB*(9), and adapting it to form part of the present article has unfortunately had to be done without the help of the author, who died (24th June 1899) before he had given effect to his purpose.]

tion. Thus an impulse was given to an independent development in polity and culture, and it would have been indeed surprising if no independent states had ever come into being there, to carry on the civilisation of Babylonia on lines of their own.

12. Naharin.

The conjecture (based upon the probabilities of the case) that there were such states, finds confirmation as soon as history begins to supply us with facts regarding the lands in question. The Egyptian conquerors of the 18th and 19th dynasties, the Thotmes, the Amenhoteps, the Rameses between 1700 and 1400 B.C. knew of a state here, usually designated by them Naharin, which they enumerate in their tribute lists. Unfortunately their references are not of such a nature as to convey much information as to the character and history of Naharin.

13. The Mitani aliens.

This defect is made good all the more conspicuously in the Amarna letters (1500-1400 B.C.) which make us acquainted with a people called Mitani who had their abode here.[1] The correspondence of King Dušratta of Mitani with Amenhotep III. and IV. clearly shows that the race then dominant was non-Semitic, and manifestly of kin with the Ḫeta and the (Alarodian) peoples who at that time had their settlements in Armenia; but it shows also that it was alien in Mesopotamia, and, as the peculiarity of the script and language of the letters proves, had become possessed of a Semitic civilisation merely through conquest. For with but one exception these letters are written in the Babylonian-Assyrian character and language.

14. Mesopotamian language, etc.

This script and language, however, are shown by the peculiarities they exhibit, to possess definite rules of their own and to be quite distinct in character from the contemporary Babylonian. These peculiarities are exactly the same as those we meet with in the inscriptions—which begin very shortly afterwards—of the Assyrian kings Rammān(Adad?)-nirāri I. (in the 13th cent.) and Tiglath-pileser I. (about 1100). We now know enough of the beginnings of Assyrian history, however, to satisfy us that this 'orthography and grammar' cannot have developed in Assyria; moreover, we meet with it precisely under those Assyrian kings who subjugated (or subjugated anew) Mesopotamia, so that we thus have an independent proof of—what we had already conjectured from the nature of the country—the independent development of civilisation in Mesopotamia; for a splendid development of script and speech bearing all the marks of the influence of a definite school is possible only in a territory that enjoys independence both in its politics and in its culture.

15. Civilisation.

The script and style now usually designated Assyrian because appropriated by Assyria (which about this time was beginning to develop out of a little city-kingdom into a great empire) were thus originally Mesopotamian. This leads to the further conjecture that much else which we are accustomed to designate as Assyrian, because we first begin to meet with it in the time of the Assyrian supremacy (after 1300 and 1100), may also have been of Mesopotamian origin. The only excavations which have as yet been made in the Mesopotamian field—those of Layard in 'Arbān on the Ḫābūr—support such a conjecture.[2] The sculptures found there are plainly older than any Assyrian sculptures as yet known to us; but, though they belong to a period preceding that of the Assyrian supremacy, they are all of the type that is currently spoken of as Assyrian.

16. Political independence.

A further peculiarity which we are in the habit of regarding as specifically Assyrian is also doubtless pre-Assyrian—Mesopotamian. In Assyria dates are reckoned by eponyms (*limu*; see ASSYRIA, § 19), instead of by regnal years as in Babylonia (*q.v.* §§ 37 *ff.*). Certain clay tablets, however, which are said to have been found in Cappadocia, and belong approximately to the thirteenth century, employ the same method of dating. We must accordingly regard this as a further peculiarity of the Mesopotamian sphere of civilisation as contrasted with the Babylonian.

The political independence of Mesopotamia, alongside of the Babylonian kingdom, we are also led to infer from another fact. We are able clearly to make out that in the various conquests of Mesopotamia by the Assyrians, notably by Ašur-uballit, Rammān(Adad?)-nirāri I., and Shalmaneser I., in the fourteenth century, and by Tiglath-pileser and his predecessors about 1100—the Assyrian kings who hold Mesopotamia bear the title of *šar kiššati*, 'King of the World' (which later became the stereotyped title of all the kings) in association with that of 'King of Aššur' (of which it had precedence). Following the analogy of Babylonian royal titles, we are to see here the title of honour which had been borne by the sovereigns of Mesopotamia, whose legitimate heirs the Assyrians claimed to be.

17. History: Mitani supremacy.

From the thirteenth century onwards—that is to say from the time of the conquest of Mesopotamia by the Assyrians—we are able to follow the political fortunes of the country with some detail. We have seen that before this, at the period of the Amarna letters (15th cent.), it was in the hands of the non-Semitic Mitani. Even at that early date, however, we can discern how Ašur-uballit, the king of Aššur, is beginning to extend his power westwards, and coming into conflict with Dušratta of the Mitani. Accounts given by his successor attribute to him victories over the Šubari (the Assyrian designation of the Mitani), and in agreement with this is the fact that a recently discovered inscription designates him as Šar Kiššati, thus attributing to him the sovereignty of Mesopotamia.

18. Assyrian.

The Mitani supremacy was finally destroyed by Ašur-uballit's great-grandson Rammān(Adad?)-nirāri I. (about 1300), who, with his son Shalmaneser I., was the first to extend the Assyrian frontiers westward beyond the Euphrates, and northwards along the course of that river towards Armenia, at the same time seeking to secure these gains by planting Assyrian colonies. After the overthrow of Tukulti-Ninib I., son of Shalmaneser I., Mesopotamia passed into the possession of Babylonia, whose kings henceforward bear the title of Šar kiššati; but it was again reconquered by Assyria in the twelfth century (Ašur-riš-iši, Tiglath-pileser I.), only, after some further vicissitudes, to be finally incorporated with the rest of Assyria in the tenth century.

19. Ancient capital: Ḫarran.

We are not yet in possession of any information as to the rulers of this kingdom which maintained itself, as we have seen, in Mesopotamia alongside of that of Babylonia during the pre-Assyrian period. (The ascendency of the Mitani was, of course, only an episode.) Neither are we able to show by documentary proof what was the capital of the kingdom. Still it is hardly possible to doubt that it must have been Ḫarrān, a city of unrivalled importance in the most ancient times. This importance it owed to its position as the focus at which highways from the north (Armenia), from Babylonia, and from the west (the Mediterranean ports) converged, and this importance it continued to retain down to the

[1] A letter from the prince of Mitani is stated in a hieratic docket to have come from Naharna (no. 23 in Wi.'s ed., *KB* 5, p. xv; Erman, *ZA* 27 [1889], p. 63; cp Erman, *SBAW*, 1888, p. 584 and Maspero's note in *Struggle of Nations*, 146).

[2] Quite recently, M. v. Oppenheim has laid bare some old monuments at Rās el-'Ain on the Khābūr. They are representations on a gateway, quite similar to those found at Zenjirli (Sam'al) in Syria. As they certainly belong to the pre-Assyrian time, the Mitani inhabitants might be thought of as their originators (they would thus be 'Hethitisch' in the sense explained in Helmolt, *Weltgesch.* iii. 1 110 *f.*). Later, about the time of the Aramæan immigration, the stones were used again, and apparently it was then that the name of the ruler was added in cuneiform.

Greek and Sasanian periods (cp TRADE AND COMMERCE). We can also make out that in Assyrian antiquity the worship of the moon-goddess (Sin) of Ḥarrān had an importance equal to that of the gods of the Babylonian capitals; and when, still in the eighth century, we find at Sam'al (Zenjirli) in North Syria a dedication to the 'Baal of Ḥarrān,' this is, according to oriental ideas, a specific proof of the former sovereignty in Syria of the kingdom of Mesopotamia with a capital at Ḥarrān—a sovereignty which is also implied in the existence of a kingdom of Naharin in the Egyptian inscriptions.

20. Aramæan immigration. The Assyrian conquest of Mesopotamia in the fourteenth century coincides, as we learn from the inscriptions, with the immigration of a new population which thenceforward impressed its character upon the land down to the time of the Arab invasion and onwards. As soon as the kings of Assyria had annexed Mesopotamia, they required to defend it against the nomads of the steppe, 'the Syrian desert,'—in other words, Arabia—whom they designate as the 'Aramæan hordes' (*aḫlamū Aramaya*). Here we see the same play of circumstances as had been witnessed thousands of years before, reached its best-known historical manifestation in the Mohammedan conquest, and can still be observed even in our own day. As long as they are not firmly kept in check by a strong power, the Bedouins continually encroach upon the cultivated territory. With the fall of Tukulti-Ninib I. (about 1275) and the decline of the Assyrian power, these 'Aramæans' began to have a free hand and to be able to enter Mesopotamia unhindered. When the Assyrians again took possession of the country, we find them instituting new campaigns, and claiming new victories over the 'Aramæan hordes' (Ašur-riš-iši, Tiglath-pileser I.). The subsequent decline of the Assyrian power under the successors of Tiglath-pileser I. (after 1100) exposed the country once more to their attacks; and thus was rendered possible an immigration which we can best compare with that of the Hebrews into Canaan two centuries earlier, or that of the Chaldæans or Kaldi a little later into Babylonia. What we know is that the entire land was taken possession of by Aramæan tribes, who, in the first instance, made themselves masters of the open country, but subsequently occupied the cities as well. It was then—between about 1050 and 950—that Mesopotamia received the Aramæan population, to which we owe the biblical phrase ARAM-NAHARAIM (*q.v.*). As soon as Assyria again took the upper hand (about 900), and especially under Ašur-naṣir-pal (881-868), the Aramæan tribes, which by this time had developed into petty principalities, were again brought into subjection. Shalmaneser II. brought to a successful close the work of his father, and thenceforward Mesopotamia continued to be Assyrian down to the fall of the empire, though not in such a degree as to affect the Aramæan character of the population. Afterwards, it became Babylonian under Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar.[1] A. S.,[2] §§ 2-9; H. W., §§ 10-20.

MESSIAH[3] (Dan. 9 25 *f.*), MESSIAS (AV Jn. 1 41 4 25), are transcriptions (the first form modified by reference

1. The title. to the etymology) of the Gk. ΜΕϹϹΙΑϹ (ΜΕϹΙΑϹ, ΜΕϹΕΙΑϹ), which in turn represents the Aramaic מְשִׁיחָא (*mĕšīḥā*), answering to the Heb. הַמָּשִׁיחַ, 'the anointed.'[4] The Hebrew word with the article prefixed occurs in the OT only in the phrase 'the anointed priest' (Lev. 4 3 5 16 6 22 [15]); but 'Yahwè's anointed' is a common title of the king of Israel, applied in the historical books to Saul and David, in Lam. 4 20 to Zedekiah (see LAMENTATIONS, § 8), and in Is. 45 1 extended to Cyrus. In the Psalms corresponding phrases (my, thy, his anointed)[1] occur nine times, to which may be added the lyrical passages 1 S. 2 10 Hab. 3 13. In the intention of the writers of these hymns it refers to the king then on the throne,[2] or, in hymns of more general and timeless character, to the Davidic king as such (without personal reference to one king);[3] but in the Psalms the ideal aspect of the kingship, its religious importance as the expression and organ of Yahwè's sovereignty, is prominent.

When the Psalter became a liturgical book the historical kingship had gone by,[4] and the idea alone remained, no longer as the interpretation of a present political fact, but as part of Israel's religious inheritance. It was impossible, however, to think that a true idea had become obsolete merely because it found no expression on earth for the time being; Israel looked again for an anointed king to whom the words of the sacred hymns should apply with a force never realised in the imperfect kingship of the past. Thus the psalms, especially such psalms as the second, were necessarily viewed as prophetic; and meantime, in accordance with the common Hebrew representation of ideal things as existing in heaven, the true king remains hidden with God. The steps by which this result was reached must, however, be considered in detail.

2. The Messianic hope. The hope of the advent of an ideal king was only one feature of that larger hope of the salvation of Israel from all evils, the realisation of perfect reconciliation with Yahwè, and the felicity of the righteous in him, in a new order of things free from the assaults of hostile nations and the troubling of the wicked within the Hebrew community, which was constantly held forth by all the prophets, from the time when the great seers of the eighth century B.C. first proclaimed that the true conception of Yahwè's relation to his people was altogether different from what was realised, or even aimed at, by the recognised civil and religious leaders of the two Hebrew kingdoms, and that it could become a practical reality only through a great deliverance following a sifting judgment of the most terrible kind. The idea of a judgment so severe as to render possible an entire breach with the guilty past, and of a subsequent complete realisation of Yahwè's kingship in a regenerate nation, is common to all the prophets, but is expressed in a great variety of forms and images, conditioned by the present situation and needs of Israel at the time when each prophet spoke. As a rule the prophets directly connect the final restoration with the removal of the sins of their own age, and with the accomplishment of such a work of judgment as lies within their own horizon; to Isaiah the last troubles are those of Assyrian invasion, to Jeremiah the restoration follows on the exile to Babylon; Daniel connects the future glory with the overthrow of the Greek monarchy. The details of the prophetic pictures show a corresponding variation; but all agree in giving the central place to the realisation of a real effective kingship of Yahwè; in fact the conception of the religious subject as the nation of Israel, with a national organisation under Yahwè as king, is common to the whole OT, and forms the bond that connects prophecy proper with the so-called Messianic psalms and similar passages which theologians call typical—*i.e.*, with such passages as speak of the religious relations of the Hebrew

[1] See further, Winckler, *GBA*, 1892; *AOF*, 1893-97; *KAT*(3), 1901.

[2] See, above, col. 3054, n. 1.

[3] [This revised article was originally written in 1883. It should be read in connection with the article ESCHATOLOGY, and with the special articles on biblical books, and on JESUS, PHARISEES, etc.]

[4] The transcription is as in Γεσσουρ, Γεσσιρ for גְּשׁוּר (*OS* 247 87 281 58, 2 S. 3 3 𝔊A), 'Ιεσσαί for יִשַׁי. For the termination ας for חָא, see Lag. *Psalt. Memph.* 7; and for the use of מָשַׁח, etc., see ANOINTING, and cp Weinel, *ZATW*, 1898, p. 1 *ff.*

[1] The plural is found in Ps. 105 15 (1 Ch. 16 22), of the patriarchs as consecrated persons.

[2] [This assumes (1) that the MT is throughout correct, where a מֶלֶךְ or 'king' is referred to, and (2) that the directly Messianic interpretation is inadmissible.—ED.]

[3] In Ps. 84 9 [10] it is disputed whether the anointed one is the king, the priest, or the nation as a whole. The second view is perhaps the best. Cp PSALMS, § 14.

[4] [It must be remembered, of course, that critics like Duhm would not endorse this statement, which, however, is by no means indefensible.—ED.]

commonwealth, the religious meaning of national institutions, and so necessarily contain ideal elements reaching beyond the empirical present. All such passages are frequently called Messianic; but the term is more properly reserved as the specific designation of one particular branch of the Hebrew hope of salvation, which, becoming prominent in post-canonical Judaism, used the name of the Messiah as a technical form (which it never is in the OT), and exercised a great influence on NT thought,—the term 'the Christ' (ὁ Χριστός) being itself nothing more than the translation of 'the Messiah.'

3. Development of the idea.

In the period of the Hebrew monarchy the thought that Yahwè is the divine king of Israel was associated with the conception that the human king reigns by right only if he reigns by commission or 'unction' from him. Such was the theory of the kingship in Ephraim as well as in Judah (Dt. 33 2 K. 96); [but it is only] the great Judæan prophets of the eighth century who connect Israel's deliverance with the rise of an ideal Davidic king, full of Yahwè's spirit (Is. 96 *f.* 11 1 *f.* Mic. 5 2) [though the genuineness of these passages has been disputed].[1] This conception, indeed, is not one of the constant elements of prophecy; the later prophecies of Isaiah take a different shape, looking for the decisive interposition of Yahwè without the instrumentality of a kingly deliverer. Jeremiah again speaks of the future David or righteous sprout of David's stem[2] (23 5 *f.*); and Ezekiel uses similar language (34 23 *f.* 37 24 *f.*); but that such passages do not necessarily mean more than that the Davidic dynasty shall be continued in the time of restoration under a series of worthy princes seems clear from the way in which Ezekiel speaks of the prince in chaps. 45 9 46 2 12. As yet we have no fixed doctrine of a personal Messiah, only material from which such a doctrine might by and by be drawn. The religious view of the kingship is still essentially the same as in 2 S. 7 12 *f.*, where the endless duration of the Davidic dynasty is set forth as part of Yahwè's plan of grace to his nation.

There are other parts of the OT—notably 1 S. 8 12—in which the very existence of a human kingship is represented as a departure from the ideal of a perfect theocracy. And so, in the exilic and post-exilic periods, when the monarchy had come to an end, we find pictures of the latter days in which its restoration has no place.

Such is the great prophecy in the second part of Isaiah in which Cyrus is the anointed of Yahwè, and the grace promised to David is transferred to ideal Israel ('the servant of Yahwè') as a whole (Is. 55 3). So too there is no allusion to a human kingship in Joel or in Malachi, and in the Book of Daniel it is collective Israel that appears under the symbol of a 'son of man,' and receives the kingdom (7 13 18 22 27).

[On the other hand in Hag. 2 23 Zech. 3 8 6 12 the hope of the Messiah is connected with the name of Zerubbabel, and, possibly in the early Greek period, a prophetic writer has given us the fine prophecy of a victorious but 'humble' Messiah in Zech. 9 9 *f.* Some critics, too, refer to a late post-exilic period the prophecies of a personal Messiah in Isaiah and Micah mentioned above (cp ISAIAH ii., § 6 *f.*; MICAH [BOOK]), and it is undeniable that the Messianic king is referred to in the Psalter (see PSALMS, § 14).

4. Later conception.

Meantime, however, the decay and ultimate silence of the living prophetic word concurred with the prolonged political servitude of the nation to produce a most important change in the type of the Hebrew religion. The prophets had never sought to add to the religious unity of their teaching unity in the pictorial form in which from time to time they depicted the final judgment and future glory. For this there was a religious reason. To them the kingship of Yahwè was not a mere ideal, but an actual reality.

Its full manifestation, indeed, to the eye of sense and to the unbelieving world, lay in the future; but true faith found a present stay in the sovereignty of Yahwè, daily exhibited in providence and interpreted to each generation by the voice of the prophets. And, while Yahwè's kingship was a living and present fact, it refused to be formulated in fixed invariable shape.

When the prophets ceased, however, and their place was taken by the scribes, the interpreters of the written word, when at the same time the yoke of foreign oppressors rested continually on the land, Israel no longer felt itself a living nation, and Yahwè's kingship, which presupposed a living nation, found not even the most inadequate expression in daily political life. Yahwè was still the lawgiver of Israel; but his law was written in a book, and he was not present to administer it. He was still the hope of Israel; but the hope was all dissevered from the present; it too was to be read in books, and these were interpreted of a future which was no longer, as it had been to the prophets, the ideal development of forces already at work in Israel, but wholly new and supernatural. The present was a blank, in which religious duty was summed up in patient obedience to the law and penitent submission to the Divine chastisements; the living realities of divine grace were but memories of the past, or visions of 'the world to come.' The scribes, who in this period took the place of the prophets as the leaders of religious thought, were mainly busied with the law; but no religion can subsist on mere law; and the systematisation of the prophetic hopes, and of those more ideal parts of the other sacred literature which, because ideal and dissevered from the present, were now set in one line with the prophecies, went on side by side with the systematisation of the law, by means of a harmonistic exegesis, which sought to gather up every prophetic image in one grand panorama of the issues of Israel's and the world's history.

5. Post-canonical.

The beginnings of this process can probably be traced within the canon itself, in the book of Joel and the last chapters of Zechariah;[1] and, if this be so, we see from Zech. 9 that the picture of the ideal king early claimed a place in such constructions. The full development of the method belongs, however, to the post-canonical literature, and was naturally much less regular and rapid than the growth of the legal traditions of the scribes.

The attempt to form a schematic eschatology left so much room for the play of individual fancy that its results could not quickly take fixed dogmatic shape; and it did not appeal to all minds alike or equally at all times. It was in crises of national anguish that men turned most eagerly to the prophecies, and sought to construe their teachings as a promise of speedy deliverance in such elaborate schemes of the incoming of the future glory as fill the APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE (*q.v.*). But these books, however influential, had no public authority, and when the yoke of oppression was lightened but a little their enthusiasm lost much of its contagious power. It is therefore not safe to measure the general growth of eschatological doctrine by the

[1] [For references to recent criticism, see ISAIAH [ii.], MICAH [ii.]. Prof. W. R. Smith referred in this connection to passages in Amos and Hosea as pointing forward to a Davidic king. The genuineness of the whole passage Am. 9 8-15, has, however, been shown to be very doubtful (see AMOS, § 10), and though Hosea in 8 4 appears to refer to the illegitimacy of the northern kingdom, the words 'and David their king' (ואת־דויד מלכם) in Hos. 3 5 are certainly a gloss in the interests of Judah. The strong tendency of recent criticism is to include other favourite Messianic passages in the list of later insertions, springing from a time when the Messianic idea had experienced a rich development, *e.g.*, Hos. 1 11 [2 2] Mic. 2 12 *f.* Is. 11 10 33 17 (with the sections to which the last two passages belong (and perhaps Gen. 49 10 (on which cp Dr. *J. Phil.* 14 28), in case שילה is a corruption of שֶׁלּוֹ, and the writer alludes to Ezek. 21 27 [32], which he interprets Messianically. See, however, SHILOH ii.]

[2] [Is this designation of the Messianic king suggested by Is. 4 2? It is true, the *ṣémaḥ* of Yahwè (צֶמַח יהוה) there is explained by most either of the fertility of the soil or (cp Is. 60 21) of the new growth of pious inhabitants in the Messianic age (cp ISAIAH ii., § 5). On the other hand, in Zech. 3 8 6 12 צֶמַח already appears as a kind of proper name.]

[1] See JOEL, § 6, and ZECHARIAH, §§ 3 *ff.* Compare Dan. 9 2 for the use of the older prophecies in the solution of new problems of faith.

apocalyptic books, of which Daniel alone attained a canonical position.

In the Apocrypha eschatology has a very small place; but there is enough to show that the hope of Israel was never forgotten, and that the imagery of the prophets had moulded that hope into certain fixed forms which were taken with a literalness not contemplated by the prophets themselves (see ESCHATOLOGY, § 58, *a*). It was, however, only very gradually that the figure and name of the Messiah acquired the prominence which they have in later Jewish doctrine of the last things and in the official exegesis of the Targums. In the very developed eschatology of Daniel they are, as we have seen, altogether wanting, and in the Apocrypha, both before and after the Maccabee revival, the everlasting throne of David's house is a mere historical reminiscence (Ecclus. 47 11 1 Macc. 2 57). So long as the wars of independence worthily occupied the energies of the Palestinian Jews, and the Hasmonæan sovereignty promised a measure of independence and felicity under the law, in which the people were ready to acquiesce, at least, till the rise of a new prophet (1 Macc. 14 41), the hope that connected itself with the house of David was not likely to rise to fresh life, especially as a considerable proportion of the not very many passages of scripture which speak of the ideal king might with a little straining be applied to the rising star of the new dynasty (cp the language of 1 Macc. 14 4-15).

It is only in Alexandria, where the Jews were still subject to the yoke of the Gentile, that at this time (about 140 B.C.) we find the oldest Sibylline verses (3 652 *f.*) proclaiming the approach of the righteous king whom God shall raise up from the East (Is. 41 2) to establish peace on earth and inaugurate the sovereignty of the prophets in a regenerate world. The name Messiah is still lacking, and the central point of the prophecy is not the reign of the deliverer but the subjection of all nations to the law and the temple.[1]

6. Pharisees.

With the growing weakness and corruption of the Hasmonæan princes, and the alienation of a large part of the nation from their cause, the hope of a better kingship begins to appear in Judæa also; at first darkly shadowed forth in the *Book of Enoch* (chap. 90), where the white steer, the future leader of God's herd after the deliverance from the heathen, stands in a certain contrast to the inadequate sovereignty of the actual dynasty (the horned lambs); and then much more clearly, and for the first time with use of the name Messiah, in the *Psalter of Solomon*, the chief document of the protest of Pharisaism against its enemies, the later Hasmonæans.

It was a struggle for mastery between a secularised hierarchy on the one hand (to whom the theocracy was only a name), whose whole interests were those of their own selfish politics, and on the other hand a party (to which God and the law were all in all) whose influence depended on the maintenance of the doctrine that the exact fulfilling of the law according to the precepts of the scribes was the absorbing vocation of Israel. This doctrine had grown up in the political nullity of Judæa under Persian and Grecian rule, and no government that possessed or aimed at political independence could possibly show constant deference to the punctilios of the schoolmen.

The Pharisees themselves could not but see that their principles were politically impotent; the most scrupulous observance of the Sabbath, for example—and this was the culminating point of legality—could not thrust back the arms of the heathen. Thus the party of the scribes, when they came into conflict with an active political power, which at the same time claimed to represent the theocratic interests of Israel, were compelled to lay fresh stress on the doctrine that the true deliverance of Israel must come from God, not from man. We have seen indeed that the legalism which accepted Yahwè as legislator, while admitting that his executive sovereignty as judge and captain of Israel was for the time dormant, would from the first have been a self-destructive position without the complementary hope of a future vindication of divine justice and mercy, when the God of Israel should return to reign over his people for ever. Before the Maccabee revival the spirit of nationality was so dead that this hope lay in the background; the ethical and devotional aspects of religion under the law held the first place, and the monotony of political servitude gave little occasion for the observation that a true national life requires a personal leader as well as a written law. But now the Jews were a nation once more, and national ideas came to the front. In the Hasmonæan sovereignty these ideas took a political form, and the result was the secularisation of the kingdom of God for the sake of a harsh and rapacious aristocracy. The nation threw itself on the side of the Pharisees; but it did so in no mere spirit of punctilious legalism, but with the ardour of a national enthusiasm deceived in its dearest hopes, and turning for help from the delusive kingship of the Hasmonæans to the true kingship of Yahwè, and to his vicegerent the king of David's house.

It is in this connection that the doctrine and name of the Messiah appear in the *Psalter of Solomon*. See especially Ps. 17, where the eternal kingship of the house of David, so long forgotten, is seized on as the proof that the Hasmonæans have no divine right.

This conception of the kingship is traced in lines too firm to be those of a first essay; it had doubtless grown up as an integral part of the religious protest against the Hasmonæans. And while the polemical motive is obvious, and the argument from prophecy against the legitimacy of a non-Davidic dynasty is quite in the manner of the scribes, the spirit of theocratic fervour which inspires the picture of the Messiah marks the fusion of Pharisaism with the national religious feeling of the Maccabee revival.

7. NT times.

It is this national feeling that, claiming a leader against the Romans as well as deliverance from the Sadducee aristocracy, again sets the idea of the kingship rather than that of resurrection and individual retribution in the central place which it had lost since the captivity. Henceforward the doctrine of the Messiah is at once the centre of popular hope and the object of theological culture. The NT is the best evidence of its influence on the masses (see especially Mt. 21 9; cp also Jn. 4 25); and the exegesis of the Targums, which in its beginnings doubtless reaches back before the time of Christ, shows how it was fostered by the Rabbins and preached in the synagogues.[1] Its diffusion far beyond Palestine, and in circles least accessible to such ideas, is proved by the fact that Philo himself (*De Præm. et Pœn.*, § 16) gives a Messianic interpretation of Nu. 24 17 (𝔊). It must not indeed be supposed that the doctrine was as yet the undisputed part of Hebrew faith which it became when the fall of the state and the antithesis to Christianity threw all Jewish thought into the lines of the Pharisees. It has, for example, no place in the *Assumptio Mosis* or in Eth. En. 1-36, 91-104 (cp APOCALYPTIC, §§ 27, 29, 65; ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 59, 65, 73). But, as the fatal struggle with Rome became more and more imminent, the eschatological hopes which increasingly absorbed the Hebrew mind all group themselves round the person of the Messiah.

In the later parts of the *Book of Enoch* (the 'symbols' of chaps. 45 *f.*), the judgment day of the Messiah (identified with Daniel's 'son of Man') stands in the forefront of the eschatological picture. Josephus (*BJ* 6 5, § 4) testifies that the belief in the immediate appearance of the Messianic king gave the chief impulse to the war that ended in the destruction of the Jewish state; after the fall of the temple the last apocalypses (*Baruch*, 4 *Ezra*) still loudly proclaim the near victory of the God-sent king; and Bar Kocheba, the leader of the revolt against Hadrian, was actually greeted as the Messiah by Rabbi 'Aḳiba (cp Lk. 21 8). These hopes were again quenched in blood. The political idea of the Messiah, the restorer of the Jewish state, still finds utterance in the daily prayer of every Jew (the *Sh'mônè 'Esrê*), and is enshrined in the system of Rabbinical theology; but its historical significance was buried in the ruins of Jerusalem.

8. Jesus.

But the proof written in fire and blood on the fair face of Palestine that the true kingdom of God could not be realised in the forms of an earthly state, and under the limitations of national particularism, was not the final refutation of the hope

[1] In *Sibyll.* 3 775, νηόν must undoubtedly be read for υἱόν.

[1] The many Targumic passages that speak of the Messiah [especially in the Targum of Jonathan ('the king Messiah')], are registered by Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.*, *s.v.*

of the OT. Amidst the last convulsions of political Judaism a new and spiritual conception of the kingdom of God, of salvation, and of the Saviour of God's anointing, had shaped itself through the preaching, the death, and the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth.[1] As applied to Jesus the name of Messiah lost all its political and national significance, for his victory over the world, whereby he approved himself the true captain of salvation, was consummated, not amidst the flash of earthly swords or the lurid glare of the lightnings of Elias, but in the atoning death through which he entered into the heavenly glory. Between the Messiah of the Jews and the Son of Man who came not to be ministered to but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many, there was on the surface little resemblance; and from their standpoint the Pharisees reasoned not amiss that the marks of the Messiah were conspicuously absent from this Christ. But when we look at the deeper side of the Messianic conception in the *Psalter of Solomon*, at the heartfelt longing for a leader in the way of righteousness and acceptance with God which underlies the aspirations after political deliverance, we see that it was in no mere spirit of accommodation to prevailing language that Jesus did not disdain the name in which all the hopes of the OT were gathered up (cp JESUS, § 26 *f.*). The kingdom of God is the centre of all spiritual faith, and the perception that that kingdom can never be realised without a personal centre, a representative of God with man and man with God, was the thought, reaching far beyond the narrow range of Pharisaic legalism, which was the last lesson of the vicissitudes of the OT dispensation, the spiritual truth that lay beneath that last movement of Judaism which concentrated the hope of Israel in the person of the anointed of Yahwè.

9. Rabbinical development.

It would carry us too far to consider (1) the details of the conception of the Messiah and the Messianic times as they appear in the later apocalypses or in Rabbinical theology, and (2) the questions that arise as to the gradual extrication of the NT idea of the Christ from the elements of Jewish political doctrine. A word, however, is necessary as to the Rabbinical doctrine of the Messiah who suffers and dies for Israel, the Messiah son of Joseph or son of Ephraim, who in Jewish theology is distinguished from and subordinate to the victorious son of David. The developed form of this idea is almost certainly a product of the polemic with Christianity, in which the Rabbins were hard pressed by arguments from passages (especially Is. 53) which their own exegesis admitted to be Messianic, though it did not accept the Christian inferences as to the atoning death of the Messianic king.

That the Jews in the time of Christ believed in a suffering and atoning Messiah is, to say the least, unproved and highly improbable. See, besides the books above cited, De Wette, *Opuscula;* Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias* (1870). The opposite argument of King, *The Yalkut on Zechariah* (Cambridge, 1882), App. A, does not really prove more than that the doctrine of the Messiah Ben Joseph found points of attachment in older thought.

10. A Babylonian parallel.

[Among the non-Christian parallels to the belief in a Messiah a Babylonian parallel deserves special attention.[2] It is to be found in the legend of Dibbarra the Plague-god.

'Sea-coast against sea-coast, Elamite against Elamite, Cassite against Cassite, Kuthæan against Kuthæan, country against country, house against house, man against man. Brother is to show no mercy towards brother; they shall kill one another.'

One cannot help comparing Mk. 13 12 Mt. 10 21. The countries mentioned are those nearest to Babylonia, which are to be a prey to war and anarchy until 'after a time the Akkadian will come, overthrow all and conquer all of them.' The triumph of Ḥammurabi, king of Babylon, is foretold in this part of the poem or

[1] [See the long series of OT passages explained in the NT of Jesus as the Messiah.]
[2] [Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 533.]

prophecy. This great king is to open a golden age of peace, and even if a Buddhist parallel to Is. 9 2-6 11 1-9 may also be adduced,[1] it is historically very conceivable that a Babylonian belief may be the real parent both of this and of all other Messianic beliefs within the sphere of Babylonian influence. See further ARMAGEDDON.

T. K. C.]

11. Literature.

For an introduction to Messianic views of the apocalypses, see Schür. *HJ*, §§ 28, 29; and cp Charles, *Book of Enoch*, and Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees* (*i.e.*, *the Psalter of Solomon*, for the latest text of which see Gebhardt's edition, 1895). The Rabbinical statements are given in Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palästin. Theologie* (1880; (2), *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud*, etc., 1897); cp also Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb. et Talmud.*, Tom. ii., 'De Messiâ,' 1742; Bertholdt, *Christologia Judæorum* (1811); Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias* (1870); Neub. and Driver, *The Jewish Interpreters of Isaiah*, 53 (2 vols., 1876 *f.*); Dalm. *Der leidende u. der sterbende Messias der Synagoge im ersten nach-christl. Jahrtausend* (1888). For larger surveys of the subject see Castelli, *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei* (1874), J. Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (1877), and V. H. Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah* (1886). For a critical treatment of the OT material from different points of view, see v. Orelli, *OT Prophecy of the Consummation of God's kingdom*, 1882 (ET 1885); Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, 1885 (ET 1891); Delitzsch, *Messianic Prophecies in historical succession*, 1890 (ET 1891); Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy* (1886); WRS, *The Prophets of Israel* (1881), 302-310; Che. *OPs.* (1891), 22 36 200 238 *f.* 338 *f.*; *Jewish Religious Life* (1898), 94 *ff.* 243; Sta. 'Die Messianische Hoffnung im Psalter,' *Zt. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1892, pp. 369-413; Smend, *AT Religionsgeschichte* (1893; (2), 1899,), 230 *f.* 373 H. Schultz, *OT Theol.* 1889 (ET 1892), 43; Marti, *Gesch. der Israelit. Rel.* (1897), 190 *f.* 255 *f.* 289 *ff.* (the personal Messiah post-exilic); Loeb, *La Littérature desPauvres dans la Bible* (1892), p. 191 (the Messiah originally one of the *'Anāwim*, or spiritually poor, as in II. Isaiah, and then a scion of the house of David; the doctrine in both phases post-exilic); C. A. Briggs, *The Messiah of the Gospels* (1895); Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias* (1897), a lucid exhibition of the historical results of the latest criticism; Dalman, *messianische Texte aus der nach-kanonischen Litteratur* (1898); Hühn, *Die messianischen Weissagungen des israel-jüd. Volkes bis zu d. Targumim* (1899-1900); and R. H. Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian* (1899), *passim*. For the older literature see Schürer (as above), and the bibliographical lists appended to Riehm's *Messianic Prophecy*, ET.

W. R. S.—E. K., §§ 1-9; T. K. C., § 10.

METALS, METAL-WORK. See MINES.

METEOR is a modern guess [RVmg.] for the corrupt שַׂכְוִי of Job 38 36 (𝔊 ποικιλτικὴν [ἐπιστήμην]—*i.e.*, [לְ]שִׂבְּית). The context forbids all the guesses of the ancients. See COCK.

METERUS (ΒΑΙΤΗΡΟΥϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 17, RV BAITERUS (*q.v.*).

METHEG-AMMAH (מֶתֶג הָאַמָּה; ΤΗΝ ΑΦΩΡΙϹΜΕΝΗΝ [BAL]; *frenum tributi*, [Syriac]). Two variously explained words (2 S. 8 1) which AV (cp RVmg.) apparently regards as the name of a place. The whole passage runs in AV, 'And after this it came to pass that David smote the Philistines, and subdued them: and David took Metheg-ammah out of the hand of the Philistines.' RV, however, *renders* 'Metheg-ammah' by 'the bridle of the mother-city' (so, too, Ges., Stade, Driver), which is supposed to mean 'the authority of the capital' (*i.e.*, of Gath; cp 1 Ch. 18 1, where אֶת־גַּת וּבְנֹתֶיהָ, 'Gath and its towns,' is substituted for את־מתג האמה).[2]

There is no evidence, however, that *ammāh*, אמה, meant 'capital' in Hebrew, or that one of the five Philistine cities was regarded as the capital, and as having authority over the other four. The text is corrupt, and since 𝔊 (τὴν ἀφωρισμένην = הַמִּגְרָשׁ?) is here evidently based on an incorrect text, and the reading of 1 Ch. has the appearance of being a purely arbitrary emendation, we must set aside Ch. and 𝔊 altogether, and endeavour to restore a text out of which MT and the text which underlies 𝔊 may have been corrupted. In *Exp.T*, Oct.

[1] [Rhys David's *Hib. Lect.* 1881, p. 141; Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 101.]
[2] So 𝔊, Vg. Pesh. (+'the small ones that were round about it') has a doublet, the variant being [Syriac] (?).

1899, p. 47 *f.*, it is proposed to emend 2 S. 8 1*b* into 'and he took Ashdod [*i.e.*, Ašdudimmu; see ASHDOD], the city of the sea, out of the hand of the Philistines' (וַיִּקַּח אֶת־אַשְׁדּוֹד מְחוֹז הַיָּם מִיַּד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים). It is possible that the writer of 2 S. 8 1-6 (R_D) had before him a text of 1 S. 7 14, in which the cities taken by the Philistines from the Israelites were described as lying between Ekron and Ashdod (but 𝔊ᴮ ἀπὸ Ἀσκάλωνος ἕως Αζοβ), and that he represented David as having (with foreign assistance?) once more recovered these cities for Israel. The present writer suspects, however, that there has been a great misunderstanding relative to the name of the southern people against which both Saul and David warred, and that the true name was not Pĕlištīm (Philistines) but Ṣārephāthīm (Zarephathites). See SAUL, ZAREPHATH. This theory affects many passages in 1 and 2 S., and among them 1 S. 7 14, where we should perhaps read, 'And the cities which the Zarephathites had taken from Israel were restored from Ḥalūṣah (𝔊ᴮ reads 'Ashkelon') as far as REHOBOTH,'[1] and 2 S. 8 1, where we should not improbably read, '. . . David smote the Zarephathites, and subdued them, and David took the Maacathite region (הַמַּעֲכָתִי) out of the hand of the Zarephathites.' The latter view accords with H. P. Smith's remark that 'Metheg-ammah,' being described as taken 'out of the hand of the Philistines,' must have been 'some tangible possession, probably a piece of territory.'[2] On the district referred to, see MAACAH.

Both of the above emendations enable us to account for MT's מתג האמה and 𝔊's probable reading הַמְגֹרָשׁ. For earlier attempts to deal with the problems see the annotations of Wellhausen, Driver, Klostermann, and Köhler's judicious note (*Bibl. Gesch.* 2 244 *f.*). The suggestion of Whitehouse (*Acad.*, Feb. 2, 1890) and Sayce (*Early Hist. Hebrews*, 414 n.) that אַמָּה is the Babylonian *ammatu*, 'mainland,' 'earth,' is hardly wanted; Sayce even considers the entire phrase to be a transcription of *metek ammati*, 'the road of the mainland' (of Palestine). But if this had been adopted as a Hebrew geographical term, would it not have occurred again elsewhere? It is more natural to suppose corruption. מתג and האמה are two corrupt fragments of הַמַּעֲכָתִי.
T. K. C.

METHUSAEL (מְתוּשָׁאֵל), Gen. 4 18† AV, RV **Methushael**; and **Methuselah** (מְתוּשֶׁלַח), Gen. 5 21 *f.* 25 *ff.* 1 Ch. 1 3. See CAINITES, § 7; SETHITES.

MEUNIM, RV (AV MEHUNIM, or MEHUNIMS, except in Neh. 7 52), a people, or peoples, of uncertain affinities, if the name is not due to textual errors.

(*a*) An explanatory note in 1 Ch. 4 39-41 makes this statement. In the time of Hezekiah certain Simeonites made a raid into Gedor (גְּד[וֹ]ר) or rather Gerar (גרר; Ew., Ki., etc., γεραρα), 'as far as the east of the valley' (גיא, 𝔊ᴮᴬ τῆς γαι), and took that 'wide, quiet, undisturbed' land for themselves, destroying the original inhabitants, who were 'of Ham' (מִן־חָם), or rather 'of Jerahmeel ([ירחמאל]; cp HAM, ii.), 'and the *Meunim* that were found there' (so RV,[3] following Kre, הַמְּעוּנִים; Kt. המעינים; μιναίους [BA]; κιναίους [L]). To understand the words 'for they that dwelt there aforetime,' etc. (*v.* 40*b*), we must remember that 'Amalekites' is probably only a distortion of 'Jerahmeelites' (see JERAHMEEL, § 4). Between a large part of the Jerahmeelites—*i.e.*, Amalekites—and the Israelites there was a feud (1 S. 15). It now becomes easier to understand the connection of *vv.* 39-41 with *vv.* 42 *f.* Those of the Jerahmeelites that had escaped from the slaughter mentioned in *v.* 41 were killed by the Simeonites in Mt. Seir. The wide, quiet land spoken of, to the E. of the *gai'* (*i.e.*, the Wādy Jerūr; see GERAR), is according to Buhl E. of the Wādy Māyin, near the Biyār Māyin, or wells of Māyin, which are two in number, and have a water which is 'sweet as the waters of the Nile' (see Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 345). Possibly, as Buhl suggests,[4] the name Māyin is an echo of the ethnic name Meunim. Cp also Ma'ān, the name of a district E. of Wādy Mūsa, near Petra (cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 31-35).

Some would refer in this connection to the Minæans. There is a Minæan inscription in which a district called *Miṣran* and another district called *Ma'in al-Miṣr* are mentioned as being under a Minæan governor.[1] According to Wi. this can only refer to the N. Arabian region *el-Miṣr* and the Minæan colonies in N. Arabia (*AOF* (1) 29 337). Hommel also builds a theory upon this inscription (*AHT* 272 *ff.*).

The criticism of the Hebrew text, however, has not been searching enough. מעונים (Meunim), like מעוננים (MEONENIM) in Judg. 9 37, is a corruption of an indistinctly written עמלקי (Amalekites), which was a gloss on ירחמאלים (Jerahmeelites), now represented by the corrupt אהליהם (quite a common corruption). Thus the Meunim give place to the Amalekites.

(*b*) In 2 Ch. 26 7 Uzziah is said to have been victorious against the Philistines, the Arabians in Gur-baal [7] (גּוּר־בַּעַל),[2] and the Meunim (הַמְּעוּנִים; μειναίους [B], μιναίους [AL]).[3] But גור־בעל is a corruption of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel), and מעונים is to be explained as in (*a*).

(*c*) The third passage is 2 Ch. 20 1*b*, where most commentators now read 'some of the Meunim' (see Ki. in *SBOT*;[4] MT מֵהָעַמּוֹנִים, RV 'some of the Ammonites,' but cp mg.); the b'ne Moab and the b'ne Ammon are mentioned just before. But the geography of 2 Ch. 20 as it now stands is not that of the original story, which must have spoken of Jehoshaphat's enemies as the b'nē Miṣṣur and the b'nē Jeraḥme'el. עמהם and מהעמנים are both probably corruptions of ירחמאלים (Jerahmeelites). See ZIZ. (Some MSS read מֵהַמְּעוּנִים; 𝔊 has ἐκ τῶν μ[ε]ιναίων [AB], ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν αμμανειμ [L].)

(*d*) In Job 2 11 ZOPHAR 'the Naamathite' is called in 𝔊 Μ[ε]ιναίων βασιλεύς, and in 11 1 etc., ὁ Μ(ε)ιναῖος, as if מְעוּנִי. Hommel (*Exp. T* 8 472; *AHT* 252) follows 𝔊; cp (*a*), end. See, however, ZOPHAR.

(*e*) The 'Maon' of Judg. 10 12 is disputed (see MAONITES). Glaser and Hommel[5] insist on identifying 'Maon' with the Minæans. Cp Moore, *Judges*, 280.

(*f*) In 1 K. 11 18 Thenius and Stade (*Gesch.* (1) 1 302) read for 'Midian' 'Maon,' as making the route of Hadad, the young Edomitish prince, more intelligible. The whole section, however, needs the most searching criticism. 'From the city of Midian' (so 𝔊ᴮᴬ; MT 𝔊ᴸ 'from Midian') should be '(some of) the servants of his father,' which is a corrupt repetition from *v.* 17. So Klo. (see Che. *JQR* 11 552 [1899], and cp HADAD).

(*g*) The 'children of [the] Meunim' (מְעוּנִים; AV MEHUNIM) are mentioned among the NETHINIM in the post-exilic list, Ezra 2 50 Neh. 7 52 (in 1 Esd. 5 31 MEANI, RV MAANI). The list being partly at least artificial no great stress can be laid on the name, which is possibly a corrupt form of Jeraḥme'elim. Children of captives (Buhl and others) are scarcely meant, for Nethinim is probably an expansion of Ethanim, 'Ethanites.' See NETHINIM. 𝔊's readings are: Ezra 2 50, μανωεμειν [B], μοουνειμ [A], μοων. [L]; Neh. 7 52, μεσειναμ [B], μεεσ. [ℵ], μεειν. [A], L as before; 1 Esd. 5 31, μανει [B], μααν [A], μοουνειμ [L]).
T. K. C.

MEUZAL (מְאוּזָל), Ezek. 27 19 AVᵐᵍ·, RVᵐᵍ· UZAL (*q.v.*).

ME-ZAHAB (מֵי זָהָב, as if 'waters of gold'?), apparently the grandfather of Mehetabel (Gen. 36 39, ΜΕΖΟΟΒ [AE], ΜΕΖΟΟ [*D*], ΜΑΙΖΟΟΒ [L]; 1 Ch. 1 50, om. 𝔊ᴮᴬ, ΜΑΙΖΑΑΒ [L]). Really, however, it is a place-name.

The name has been fancifully explained in various ways by the Rabbins (cp Onk., Abarbanel), but is probably (like DI-ZAHAB) a corruption of מִצְרַיִם, Miṣrim—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian land of Muṣri, which is referred to thrice in the list of Edomite kings (*vv.* 32 37 39). Mehetabel is called 'daughter of Miṣrān (מצרן, corrupted into מטרד), a daughter of Miṣrim' (מצרים), where 'Miṣrim' is simply a variant of Miṣrān. Cp Hommel, *AHT* 264 n.
T. K. C.

MEZOBAITE (הַמְּצֹבָיָה), 1 Ch. 11 47 RV, AV MESOBAITE. See JAASIEL.

MIAMIN (מִיָּמִין), Ezra 10 25 Neh. 12 5 AV, RV MIJAMIN (*q.v.*).

1 Halūṣah (Ziklag) and Rehoboth should perhaps be read for 'Ashkelon' and 'Gath' in 2 S. 1 20. See JASHER, BOOK OF, § 2.

2 So, *e.g.*, Jos. *Ant.* vii. 5 1: καὶ πολλὴν τῆς χώρας ἀποτεμόμενος.

3 AV wrongly, 'the habitations'; Vg. *habitatores*.

4 *Geschichte der Edomiter*, 42.

1 Strabo (xvi. 4 2) speaks of the Μιναῖοι as dwelling by the Red Sea. On the current controversy relative to the Minæans and their empire, see Glaser, *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, 2 450-452; Hommel, *Aufsätze*, 1 292 ('excursus'); Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 39 *ff.*; but, against Glaser's theory, see *ZDMG* 44 505.

2 Ki., however, reads צוּר־בַּעַל—*i.e.*, Baal's Rock (𝔊 ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας [which Lagarde, however, takes to mean Petra and Sela]; Vg. Am. *Turbaal*). This might be a title of Jebel Maderah, or (Buhl, *op. cit.* 41) of the traditional Mt. Hor; Ki. does not say.

3 Schwally (*Th.LZ*, 1893, col. 469) reads in *v.* 7 הָעַמּוֹנִים following Vg. (*Ammonitas*); cp *v.* 8, where 'Ammonites' (MT, Vg.) is the usually accepted reading. 𝔊ᴮ has μειναῖοι, 𝔊ᴬᴸ μιναῖοι.

4 Cp Greene, *Hebrew Migration from Egypt*, 268 *f.*

5 Hommel, *Aufsätze*, 3; *AHT* 251.

MIBHAR (מִבְחָר, § 5; ΜΕΒΑΑΛ [Bℵ], ΜΑΒΑΡ [A], ΜΑΒΑΑΡ [L]), one of David's heroes (1 Ch. 11 38). The name is a corruption of 'of Zobah' (see HAGRI).

MIBSAM (מִבְשָׂם, 'sweet odour'? ΜΑΒΣΑΜ [EL]), perhaps to be explained as 'Basemath' [see 2], or less probably an old error for מרשם, in which case we may (with Hommel) compare *marsimani*, an Arabian tribe mentioned together with the Tamudi, etc. (Sargon's cylinder, *l.* 20, *KAT*(2), 146 277; Sprenger, *Geog. Arab.* 205). The name may be the same as the *μαισαιμανεις* of Ptolemy.

1. A 'son' of Ishmael (Gen. 25 13, *μασσαμ* [A], -*ν* [*D*L]; 1 Ch. 1 29, *μασσα* [B], *μαβσαν* [A]); also

2. A 'son' of Simeon (1 Ch. 4 25, *μαβασαμ* [B], -*ν* [A], *μασεμαμ* [L]), in both cases in which it occurs named immediately before Mishma. We may therefore suppose the Simeonite tribe to have had Ishmaelite affinities. Cp the name Basemath—*i.e.*, Išma'elīth [Che.] (see SALMAH); see GENEALOGIES i., § 5.

MIBZAR (מִבְצָר; ΜΑΖΑΡ [BADEL]), a 'duke' (*'allūph*) or 'clan' (*'éleph*) of Edom (Gen. 36 42 1 Ch. 1 53, ΜΑΒΣΑΡ [A], ΒΑΜΑΗΛ [L]). Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*(2), 277 63 137 11) speak of a large village called *Mabsara* (*μαβσαρα*), which still existed in Gebalene, subject to Petra. Hitzig (on Is. 34 6), however, identified it with Bozrah, which, like Mibzar in Gen. *l.c.*, is mentioned with Teman in Am. 1 12. See BOZRAH.

T. K. C.

MIBZAR ZOR, the city of (עִיר מִבְצַר־צֹר; ΠΗΓΗΣ ΜΑΣΦΑΣΣΑΤ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΥΡΙΩΝ [B], ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΟΧΥΡΩΜΑΤΟΣ Τ.Τ. [AL]), Josh. 19 29 RVmg., AV 'the strong city Tyre,' RV 'the fenced city of Tyre.' 'The fountain of the fortress of Tyre (𝔊)' would be Râs el-'Ain (Di.). See TYRE; also HOSAH, RAMAH.

MICA (מִיכָא), 2 S. 9 12 etc. RV, AV MICHA.

MICAH (מִיכָה, § 51; short for MICHAIAH [*q.v.*] or for an ethnic underlying this name; Μ[Ε]ΙΧΑ [BAL]).

1. A contemporary and fellow-worker of Isaiah; his name is prefixed to the sixth of the books of the 'Twelve Prophets'[1] (see below). Of his external circumstances we know nothing, save that he bore the surname 'the Morasthite' (Mic. 1 1 Jer. 26 18; *μ[ε]ιχαιας* [BAQ], *μιχεας* [ℵ in Jer.]), from his birth-place MORESHETH-GATH (*q.v.*). The statement that he prophesied under Jotham, as well as under Ahaz and Hezekiah (1 1), is probably the remark of a later writer—the same who made the chronological insertions in Is. 1 1 and Hos. 1 1, who wished to indicate thereby that Isaiah, Hosea, and Micah were, roughly, contemporary (Nowack). The earliest date at which we know Micah to have prophesied is in the reign of Ahaz; in 1 2 *ff.* he foretells the destruction of Samaria. Cp CHRONOLOGY (Table V, col. 797 *f.*). The threat against Jerusalem in 3 12 was, however, according to Jer. 26 18 *ff.*, pronounced in the time of Hezekiah. Micah, or a disciple of Micah, may in fact have sought to preserve the prophecy against Samaria by working it into a prophecy on the kingdom of Judah. That Micah prophesied as late as the reign of Manasseh, cannot be held to have been rendered probable (on Mic. 6 *f.* see MICAH, BOOK OF, § 4).

2. A man of the hill-country of Ephraim who built a shrine with objects of worship, and hired a Levite to perform the due services. The history of the carrying off of both priest and *sacra* by the tribe of DAN (*q.v.*) as related in Judg. 17 *f.* is supposed to come from two sources, for the analysis of which see JUDGES, BOOK OF, § 12 (מִיכָיְהוּ, 17 1 4, cp MICHAIAH, 6 *f.*; *μειχαιας* [B]).

The story is evidently intended to account for the foundation of the sanctuary of Dan, but has suffered greatly from the manipulation of editors.

There is an underlying tradition which perhaps had reference (as a searching criticism renders probable) not to the conquest of a city in the far north but to that of a place which seems to have been prominent in the early Israelitish traditions, viz., Halūṣah,[1] close to which was an important sanctuary called Bethel. One version of the conquest of Halūṣah, according to this theory, is given in Gen. 33 (see SHECHEM); another, in Judg. 17 *f.* The story begins with a certain Micah, whose name (see MICHAIAH) indicates his Jerahmeelite origin. He lives in the highlands of Mount Jerahmeel ('Ephraim' miswritten for 'Jerahmeel' as in 1 S. 1 1, see RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM). Being probably the head of a clan (cp Judg. 18 22), he had there a sanctuary of his own, and when a young man 'from Zarephath of Jerahmeel' came to Mount Jerahmeel, seeking priestly employment, Micah received him as his priest. (Zarephath was apparently the headquarters of the clan of Moses, known as 'Levites'; see MOSES, § 17). After this we learn that the path of this Jerahmeelite was crossed by a party of Danites, who had been sent to explore the land of Miṣṣur on the N. Arabian border; these Danites forced the young priest to accompany them, to give them divine oracles. They 'came to Halūṣah, and saw the people that dwelt therein . . . in Misrephath (Zarephath) of the Miṣrites (*v.* 27), etc.' They captured and destroyed the city, which 'was in the valley that belongs to Rehoboth' (*v.* 28). Then they rebuilt it, and called its name Dan, and set up there Micah's graven image, with the young Levite, who was of the Moses clan, as their first priest. The sanctuary is said to have lasted until the captivity of the ark[2] (*vv.* 30 *f.*). See SHILOH; but cp Moore's able and acute attempt to make the best of the received text.

3. b. MERIBBAAL (*q.v.*); grandson of Jonathan in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 34 (*μιχια* [B]), 9 40. In 2 S. 9 12 his name is written מִיכָא, MICHA. Note that one of his sons is called (1 Ch. 8 35) 'Melech,' which the present writer has explained elsewhere also as a distortion of 'Jerahmeel.'

4. b. Shimei, a Reubenite, 1 Ch. 5 5 (*ηχα* [B]).

5. b. Uzziel, a Kohathite Levite; 1 Ch. 23 20 (*μειχας* [B], *μι.* [L])=24 24 *f.* (L *μιχαιας* once in *v.* 24 and om. in *v.* 25) where AV has MICHAH.

6. 1 Ch. 9 15 AV. See MICHAIAH, 6.

7. 2 Ch. 34 20. See MICHAIAH, 2.

T. K. C.

MICAH (BOOK)

Until recently the book which bears the name of Micah was unaffected by the disintegrating tendency of modern criticism.

1. Early criticism. Ewald was led by the peculiarities of chaps. 4 *f.*, to say that they might conceivably, though by no means necessarily, be the work of a contemporary of Micah. He also proposed a critical view of chaps. 6 *f.*, which is by no means destitute of plausibility, and he held that the comforting promise in 2 12 *f.* must be an interpolation from the margin. The decision of questions such as these, to which others have to be added, is of considerable importance, not only for our view of the date of Micah (on which [see MICAH i., 1] the late editorial statement in the heading is no authority) and of his character as a prophet, but also for the history of biblical religion. We shall, first of all (§ 2), give an exposition of the state of criticism in 1883, and then (§ 3 *f.*) mention the points in which, since that date, the criticism of Micah has taken steps in advance.

2. Criticism in 1883. *a.* Chaps. 1-3 are (apart from 2 12 *f.*) a well-connected prophecy of judgment. In a majestic exordium Yahwè himself is represented as coming forth in the thunderstorm from his heavenly palace, and descending on the mountains of Palestine, at once as witness against his people, and as the executer of judgment on their sins. Samaria is sentenced to destruction for idolatry; and the blow extends also to Judah, which participates in the same guilt (ch. 1). Whilst Samaria is summarily dismissed, the sin of Judah is analysed at length in chaps. 2 and 3, in which the prophet deals no longer with idolatry, but with the corruption of society, and particularly of its leaders—the grasping aristocracy whose whole energies are concentrated on devouring the poor and depriving them of their little holdings, the unjust judges and

[1] On the strange gloss in 1 K. 22 28 which agrees with the opening clause of Mic. 1 2, see MICHAIAH, 1.

[1] 'Laish,' like 'Luz,' is, upon this theory, a corruption of חֲלוּצָה, Halūṣah. See ISAAC, § 1; SHECHEM; ZIKLAG.

[2] Read הארון for הארץ. Kimhi long ago declared that 'the land' must mean 'the ark.'

MICAH (BOOK)

priests, the hireling and gluttonous prophets who make war against every one 'that does not put into their mouth' (3 5), but are ever ready with assurances of Yahwè's favour to their patrons, the wealthy and noble sinners that fatten on the flesh of the poor. The prophet speaks with the strongest personal sympathy of the sufferings of the peasantry at the hands of their lords, and contemplates with stern satisfaction the approach of the destroyer who shall carry into exile 'the luxurious sons' of this race of petty tyrants (1 16), and leave them none to stretch the measuring line on a field in the congregation of Yahwè (2 5). The centre of corruption is the capital, grown great on the blood and wrongs of the provincials, the seat of the cruel princes, the corrupt judges and diviners.[1] For their sake, the prophet concludes, Zion shall be ploughed as a field, Jerusalem shall lie in ruins, and the temple hill return to jungle (3 12).

The internal disorders of the realm depicted by Micah are also prominent in Isaiah's prophecies; they were closely connected, not only with the foreign complications due to the approach of the Assyrians, but also with the break-up of the old agrarian system within Israel, and with the rapid and uncompensated aggrandisement of the nobles during those prosperous years when the conquest of Edom by Amaziah and the occupation of the port of Elath by his son (2 Kings 14 7 22) placed the lucrative trade between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea in the hands of the rulers of Judah. On the other hand the democratic tone which distinguishes Micah from Isaiah is explained by the fact that Micah's home was not in the capital but in an insignificant country town.[2] He can contemplate without a shudder the ruin of the capital of the aristocracy because he is himself one of the oppressed people. Nor does this ruin seem to him to involve the captivity or ruin of the nation as a whole; the congregation of Yahwè remains in Judæa when the oppressors are cast out (2 5); Yahwè's words are still good to those that walk uprightly; the 'glory of Israel' is driven to take refuge in Adullam (1 15),[3] as in the days when David's band of broken men was the true hope of the nation; but there is no hint that it is banished from the land. Thus upon the prophecy of judgment we naturally expect to follow a prophecy of the reintegration of Yahwè's kingship in a better Israel, and this we find in 2 12 *f.* and in chaps. 4 *f.*

b. Both 2 12 *f.* and 4 *f.*, however, present difficulties, and Kuenen (*Ond.*[(1)], 2 350) remarks on the great differences of critical opinion. 2 12 *f.* seems to break the pointed contrast between 2 11 and 3 1 and is therefore regarded by some as a gloss, by others (*e.g.*, Ewald and Roorda), less plausibly, as an example of the false prophecies in which the wicked rulers trusted. 4 *f.* is of course much more difficult. It is becoming more and more felt[4] that 4 11-13 stands in direct contradiction to 4 9 *f.*, and indeed to 3 12.

The last two passages agree in speaking of the capture of Jerusalem; the first declares Zion inviolable, and its capture an impossible profanation. Such a thought can hardly be Micah's, even if we resort to the violent harmonistic procedure of imagining that two quite distinct sieges, separated by a renewal of the theocracy, are spoken of in consecutive verses. An interpolation, however, in the spirit of such passages as Ezek. 38 *f.*, Joel 3 [4], Zech. 14, is very conceivable in post-exilic times, and in connection with the growing impulse to seek a literal harmony of all prophecy on lines very different from the pre-exilic view in Jer. 26, that predictions of evil may be averted by repentance.

Another difficulty lies in the words 'and thou shalt come to Babylon' in 4 10. Micah unquestionably looked for the destruction of Jerusalem as well as of Samaria in the near future and by the Assyrians (1 9); but, according to Jer. 26 17 *f.*, this was the judgment which Hezekiah's repentance averted. It is easy to see that the words in Mic. 4 10 are a later gloss.[1] The prophetic thought is that the 'daughter (population) of Zion' shall not be saved by her present rulers or defensive strength; she must come down from her bulwarks and dwell in the open field; there, not within her proud ramparts, Yahwè will grant deliverance from her enemies.[2] This thought is in precise harmony with chs. 1-3, and equally characteristic is what follows in ch. 5. Micah's opposition to present tyranny expresses itself in recurrence to the old popular ideal of the first simple Davidic kingdom (4 8), to which he has already alluded in 1 15. These old days shall return once more. Again, guerilla bands[3] (בת־גרוד) gather to meet the foe as they did in the time of Philistine oppression. A new David, like him whose exploits in the district of Micah's home were still in the mouths of the common people, goes forth from Bethlehem to feed the flock in the strength of Yahwè. The kindred Hebrew nations are once more united to their brethren of Israel. The remnant of Jacob springs up in fresh vigour, inspiring terror among the surrounding peoples, and there is no lack of chosen captains ('seven shepherds and eight princes,' 5 5) to lead them to victory against the Assyrian foe. The supports of that oppressive kingship which began with Solomon, the strongholds, the chariots and horses so foreign to the life of ancient Israel, are no more known; they disappear together with the divinations, the idols, the *maṣṣēbās* and *ashērās*. The high places, however, are left untouched.[4]

c. Chap. 4 1-4. Some difficult problems are suggested by Mic. 4 1-4, which (excepting *v.* 4) occurs in a slightly modified form in Is. 2 2-4 (cp ISAIAH ii., § 5). The words have little connection with the context in Isaiah; but whether we can safely ascribe them to Micah is uncertain.

The ideas do not reappear in chap. 5, and the whole prophecy would perhaps be more consecutive and homogeneous if 4 6 (where the dispersed and the suffering are, according to chap. 2, the victims of domestic not of foreign oppression) followed directly on 3 12. At the same time we can hardly say that the passage belongs to a later stage of prophetic thought than the eighth century B.C.[5]

d. Chap. 6 1-7 6. That chaps. 1-5 form a single well-connected Book of Micah, can be held (WRS, *Proph.* 427). No sooner, however, do we get into chap. 6, than new phenomena present themselves. Yahwè appears to plead with his people for their sins; but the sinners are no longer a careless and oppressive aristocracy buoyed up by deceptive assurances of Yahwè's help, by prophecies of wine and strong drink; they are bowed down by a religion of terror, wearied with attempts to propitiate an angry God by countless offerings, and even by the sacrifice of the first-born. Meantime the substance of true religion is forgotten; fraud and deceit reign in all classes, the 'works of the house of Ahab'[6] are 'observed' (worship of foreign gods). Yahwè's judgments are multiplied against the land, and the issue can be nothing else than its total desolation. All these marks fit exactly the evil times of Manasseh as described in 2 K. 21. Chap. 7 1-6, in which the public and

[1] [On 2 8, the text of which is clearly corrupt, see WRS, *Prophets*, 427, and cp Wellh. *ad loc.*]

[2] [Cp *Prophets*, 290.]

[3] [The supposed reference, however, seems rather far-fetched. See MORASTHITE.]

[4] [This was written in 1883. Cp Nowack, *St. Kr.*, 1884, p. 285 *f.*]

[1] [So Kuenen, *Th.T* 6 291 [1872]; *Ond.*[(2)] 2 § 74, note 9; cp Che. *Micah*, 1882, pp. 38 *f.*; Driver, *Intr.*[(6)] 329 *f.*; Nowack, *ad loc.*; G. A. Smith (*Twelve Prophets*, 1 368) thinks that the words may be, but are not necessarily, a gloss. A keener textual criticism seems to be required in order to arrive at a fully satisfactory solution. See § 4.]

[2] [See, however, § 4.]

[3] [Probably the writer would have modified this view of an obscure and very doubtful phrase. See Wellhausen and Nowack; also *Crit. Bib.*, where בַּת מָצוֹר is proposed, גְּדוּד being due to dittography.]

[4] [Hence it is generally inferred that 5 9-13 are pre-deuteronomic; see Nowack, p. 213.]

[5] [See, however, ISAIAH ii., § 5, n. 1, and cp Marti, *Jes.* 27 *f.*; Nowack, *Kl. Proph.* 206.]

[6] [Mic. 6 16 also speaks of the 'Statutes of Omri.' How obscure both phrases are, will be seen from Nowack's note. On the text, see § 4.]

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private corruption of a hopeless age is bitterly bewailed, obviously belongs to the same context. Micah may very well have lived into Manasseh's reign; but, without appealing to the title, we can see clearly that the style differs from that of the earlier part of the book. It is therefore prudent to regard the prophecy as anonymous. So far at least we may go with Ewald.

e. Chap. 7 7-20. With 7 6, as Wellhausen justly remarks, the record breaks off abruptly; *vv.* 7-20 represent Zion as already fallen before the heathen, and her inhabitants as pining in the darkness of captivity. The hope of Zion is in future restoration after she has patiently borne the chastisement of her sins. Then Yahwè shall arise mindful of his oath to the fathers, Israel shall be forgiven and restored, and the heathen humbled. The faith and hope which breathe in this passage have the closest affinities with the book of Lamentations and Is. 40-66. W. R. S. —T. K. C.

3. Later criticism. In revising the above conclusions the writer would probably have made larger concessions to the criticism of Wellhausen, whose edition of the Minor Prophets supplements (so far as Micah is concerned) his remarks in Bleek's *Einl.*(4) (1878), pp. 425 *f.* Stade, too, would perhaps have received fuller justice. For though we painfully miss the detailed introduction to Micah, with which some critical scholar, not tied to the Massoretic text, must one day present us, it would seem that Stade's pioneering work is the most important and influential which has yet been done on this part of the prophetic literature.

There are still no doubt representatives of a mediating and even a conservative criticism.

König, for instance, thinks it enough (*Einl.* 328) in reply to Stade's remark that Mic. 4 *f.* refers, not to some definite nation or nations, but vaguely to 'many peoples' to appeal to Is. 8 9 29 7 Jer. 3 17. On these passages, however, a keener criticism has much to say which König overlooks. In 4 10 he recognises no doubt an insertion, but somewhat strangely assigns it to the last years before the exile. On chs. 6 *f.* he agrees with Ewald.

Driver (*Intr.* (6), 328) is even more cautious. He thinks that the existing book of Micah is 'a collection of excerpts, in some cases fragmentary excerpts, from the entire series of the prophet's discourses,' and though he admits that there is much probability in Ewald's date for 6 1-7 6, he thinks, in accordance with Wellhausen,[1] that this does not quite exclude the authorship of Micah.

Ryssel is entirely, and Wildeboer and Elhorst are predominantly, conservative. The theory of Elhorst is ingeniously novel. He accounts for the present arrangement or rather disarrangement of Micah by an elaborate theory respecting the transcribers, who may have had before them the prophecies written in columns, and may partly have misunderstood, partly have economised space, and have thrown the whole book into confusion. That 4 9-14 [5 1] and 5 8 [9] are post-exilic, even Elhorst frankly admits. Kuenen, the greatest of Dutch critics, agrees with Ewald as to 6 1-7 6; 7 7-20 he holds to be probably exilic, and 2 12 *f.* to be an exilic interpolation. So too the passages 4 6-8 11-13 and 5 9-14 in their present form are held to be exilic and post-exilic; but 4 1-4 Kuenen regards as pre-exilic, though not the work either of Micah or of Isaiah.

We now pass to the consideration of the doubtful passages in Micah from the point of view indicated in the article ISAIAH (ii.).

4. Present position of criticism. To draw out in full the argument from phraseology and ideas would be a remunerative but too lengthy task; it may, however, be hoped that the intrinsic probability of the results here given will commend them to readers. Kosters has treated of the phraseology of 6 1-8 9-16 7 1-6 7-20 in *Th.T* 27 269 *f.* 272 *f.* Such arguments, however, will in future have to take more account of probable corruptions of the Hebrew text, some of which will be here indicated.

(*a*) Our first pause is at 1 10-15, which, from its artificial paronomasias (see *JQR* 10 573-588), seems hardly more worthy of Micah than Is. 10 28-32 is worthy of Isaiah. It is plausible to refer the passage, not indeed to the time of Sennacherib,[1] but to an editor or supplementer, of literary rather than prophetic gifts, in the post-exilic period, when the outrages of the Edomites were still fresh in remembrance.[2]

(*b*) 2 5 10. These passages do not fit into the context, and probably come from some other writing (Ruben). So, too, Nowack, as to *v.* 5.

(*c*) 2 12 *f.* This passage presupposes the Exile and the Dispersion, and presents phraseological resemblances to exilic and post-exilic works.[3] Presumably this passage has been substituted for one which was either too strongly expressed to please the late editor, or had become illegible.

(*d*) 3 2*b* 3*b*. Superfluous and unimportant. See Nowack.

(*e*) It is hardly possible that the original collection of Micah's prophecies closed with the short prophecy of the desolation of Jerusalem in 3 12, and the question arises whether fragments of the true conclusion of Micah may not be imbedded in chaps. 4 *f.* which in their present form are clearly not the work of Micah, or indeed of any single writer. Opinions on this point are divided. Nowack thinks that 4 9 10*a* 14 [5 1] and 5 9-13 may belong to Micah, though more parallels in writings of the age of that prophet would certainly be desirable. 4 1-4 and 5; 4 6-8 (cp 2 12 *f.*), 5 2-6 [1-5] (not homogeneous); 5 7-9 [6-8] and 14 [15] are all post-exilic insertions; possibly 5 2 4 were originally connected with 4 6-8. To the present writer, however, these results of Nowack appear to lack a sufficiently firm text-critical basis.

In the study of Micah, as elsewhere, the next step forward will have to be taken by critics who are not afraid to attempt the correction of the traditional text. Volz has already suggested that 5 9-14 [10-15] in its original form may have described how Yahwè's anger against the disobedient people of Judah showed itself in the destruction of the civil and religious institutions (cp Hos. 3 4) which had assumed a form displeasing to him, and that it is the natural sequel of 4 9-10*a* 14 [5 1]. This suggestion appears to be right; only the connected passage should be said to begin at 4 8, and does not include *v.* 14 (revised text), and we *cannot* safely say that any part of it is the genuine work of Micah. It is quite true that Micah may conceivably have spoken of a siege of Jerusalem; but the description in 4 8-10*a* 5 9-14 [10-15] may be post-exilic, even as the text now stands, and must be so, if it is, as we think, corrupt in certain important points (on *v.* 8 see OPHEL). On an improved textual basis we can affirm with much probability that some post-exilic writer, looking back on the Babylonian invasion, described in the style of prediction, how the N. Arabian peoples (whose outrages impressed most of the Jews much more than those of the Chaldæans[4]) came against Jerusalem, and carried away some of its inhabitants as captives, and how the civil and religious system of Judah, which was permeated with falsehood, was destroyed. From what context this passage was taken, we know not. The editor who placed it in the book of Micah appears to have sought to correct the severity of its tone. This he did by so transforming 5 9-14 [10-15] as to make it a prophecy of religious regeneration and also of judgment on heathen nations, and further, by inserting 4 10*b*-14, and 5 4 *f.* [3 *f.*], which tell how the Jews, while on Jerahmeelite soil, will be delivered, and how the Ishmaelite plunderers will suffer a crushing blow at Zarephath.[5] Henceforth, whenever a raid is attempted by Ishmaelites, there will be no lack of leaders to retaliate on the invaders.

1 Wellhausen, however, feels a difficulty in assigning to Micah the expressions מבית עברים פריתיך (*v.* 4) and צדקות יהוה (*v.* 5).

1 Cp Smend, *Rel.-gesch.*(2), 237, n. 2, end; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, 1 362.

2 Read probably in 1 15*b*, 'unto Jerahmeel (not, unto Adullam) shall the glory of Israel come.' Cp 4 10, where read, for 'thou shalt go unto Babylon,' 'thou shalt go unto Jerahmeel.'

3 On the exegesis, cp Driver (*Expositor*, 1887 *b*, 263-269), who takes the king to be the Messiah. The parallelism, however, favours another view (the king = Yahwè; cp Is. 52 12 Jer. 31 8 *ff.*). So Nowack.

4 Note in this connection that Jer. 50 *f.*, commonly regarded as a prophecy against Babylon, may possibly refer in part to Jerahmeel (see LEB-KAMAI, MERATHAIM, SHESHACH).

5 'At Zarephath' (בצרפת) has become in the traditional text בַּשֵּׁבֶט; similar corruptions of צרפת probably occur in the Psalter. See *Crit. Bib.*

Another writer, devoted to the Messianic hope, inserted (5 1 3 [2 4]) a prediction of the Messiah, who was to come from Beth-ephrath, *i.e.*, Bethlehem (see EPHRATH, 2); 5 2 [3] is evidently a later gloss, affirming that the depression of Israel will last only till the birth of the Messiah. Still another writer, to whom the kingship of Yahwè was hope and comfort enough, seems to have produced 2 12 *f.* and 4 6 *f.*, with the object of mitigating chaps. 1 *f.* and 3 respectively, and also 5 6-8 [7-9] in explanation of the somewhat obscure prophecy in 5 4 *f.* [5 *f.*].[1] That 4 1-4 and 5 is of post-exilic origin, may here be assumed; *v.* 5, however, is later than *vv.* 1-4 (see Nowack).

(*f*) 6 1-8 9-16, and 7 1-6 are generally grouped together, and are by some assigned (together with 7 7-20) to the time of Manasseh; the complaints in 6 9 *ff.* and 7 1 *ff.* of far-reaching moral corruption, and of the disappearance of 'godly men' (7 2), the reference to the 'statutes of Omri' and 'all the works of the house of Ahab' (6 16), and to the practice of the sacrifice of the firstborn (6 7) have been held to point to this date; but the passages ought not to be grouped together.

1. 6 1-8 is in the optimistic, rhetorical tone of Deuteronomy (cp Dt. 4 26 5 29 10 12 *f.*), and may fitly be grouped with Ps. 81 8-16 [9-17], and perhaps 50 7-15, and Is. 43 22-28. It is a literary rather than, in the full sense of the word, a prophetic work, and certainly not pre-exilic. The special reference to the Zarephathites and the Jerahmeelites (=the Philistines and the Amalekites) which most probably occurs in 6 4[2] favours this view. The passage must surely be incomplete, and we may well suppose that it originally closed with a prophecy of the renewed expulsion of the Jerahmeelites from Canaan such as we can trace with virtual certainty underneath the text of Ps. 81 17 [16],—

From those of Jerahmeel would I rescue him,
From Miṣṣur and Zarephath would I deliver him.

The reference to the most awful form of sacrifice in 6 7 seems to be as purely rhetorical as that to 'rivers of oil.' The writer may have gone on to say that Yahwè took no pleasure in any sacrifice but that of obedience, and that if that had only been rendered, Yahwè would have delivered his people from the Arabians.

2. 6 9-16 is not stronger in its complaints of the prevalence of fraud than many of the psalms. The obscure phrases in *v.* 16, supposed to require a pre-exilic date, because they contain the names of Omri and Ahab, are better regarded as corrupt; עָמְרִי should be אֲרַמִּים, and אחאב should be ירחמאל. The psalmists speak of a faction of wicked lawless Jews, who acted in concert with the Edomite oppressors.

3. 7 1-6 reminds us of Pss. 12 14 58 Is. 56 11-57 1 59 1-15*a*. Cp *Intr. Is.* 317 *ff.* Verse 5*b* may perhaps suggest the existence of mixed marriages (cp Ezra 9 *f.*).

(*g*) 7 7-20—We have seen already (§ 2, end) that 7 7-20 has distinctly post-exilic affinities. The 'enemy' spoken of in *vv.* 8 10 is not Babylon, for there is no evidence that the Jews are now in Babylon. Nor is it the heathen world in general (Giesebrecht, *Beitr.* 149; Wellh. *Kl. Pr.*(2), 149); this view depends on the accuracy of MT. The 'enemy' is a personification of the people which, in the psalms, gives such trouble to pious Israel by the mocking question, 'Where is thy God' (Ps. 42 3 10 79 10)—*i.e.*, the people of N. Arabia: the Jerahmeelites or Edomites (see PSALMS, § 28).

In *v.* 12 we should probably read, 'In that day those that are left of thee (נִשְׁאָרַיִךְ) shall come from Ishmael and the cities of Miṣṣur to the river (Euphrates)'—*i.e.*, the Jews who are in N. Arabia and by the Euphrates shall hasten to the common centre, Jerusalem. And in *v.* 14 Yahwè's flock (Israel) is probably said, in the true text, to dwell not 'in the forest in the midst of Carmel,'[3] but 'in Arabia, in the midst of Jerahmeel.' The passage reminds us of Lam. 5 where in *v.* 5, according to the most probable readings, the Miṣrites and the Ishmaelites (*i.e.*, the N. Arabians) are represented as the oppressors of the Jews (see LAMENTATIONS, § 7; and cp PSALMS). It now becomes impossible to think of the years following the captivity of Tiglath-pileser for the composition of the passage (GASm. 373); Bashan and Gilead are referred to on account of their fertility (cp Ezek. 34 14), and as representing parts of Palestine into which the Jewish race and its religion had not yet, in early post-exilic times, penetrated.[1]

Our result is that in no part of chaps. 4-7 can we venture to detect the hand of Micah. What the real Micah was, must be learned from chaps. 1-3, which are mostly genuine. The inserted and appended passages are, however, of the utmost value for the later period of Jewish religion, though the text needs careful examination.

5. Literature.

1. *Introductory.*—C. P. Caspari, *Ueb. Micha den Morasthiten u. seine proph. Schrift*, Bd. i., 1851; Bd. ii., 1852. V. Ryssel, *Untersuch. üb. die Textgestalt u. die Echtheit des B. Micha* (1887). Both works are very elaborate. Kue. *Ond.*(1), 2 (1863) 345-351; *Ond.*(2) 2 (1889) 369-380; Dr. *Introd.*(6) 325-334; Kö. *Einl.* 327-331; Wildeboer, *Letterkunde* (1893), 174 *ff.*, § 10, 'Micha en Jezaia'; Co. *Einl.*(3), 188 *ff.*; Sta. *ZATW* 1 (1881) 161 *ff.* 3 (1883) 1 *ff.*; 4 (1884) 291 *ff.*; Now. *ib.* 4 277 *ff.*; Kosters, 'De samenstelling van het boek Micha,' *Th.T* 27 (1893) 249-274 (primarily a review of Elhorst); Elhorst, *De proph. van Micha* (1891); Pont, 'Micha-studien,' *Theol. Studiën*, 1888, pp. 235 *ff.*; 1889, pp. 436 *ff.*; 1892, pp. 329 *ff.*

2. *Text.*—Ryssel, see above; Kue. in *Études dédiées à M. le Dr. C. Leemans* (1885), 116-118: J. Taylor, *The Mass. Text and the ancient Versions of Micah* (1891); Ruben, *Critical Remarks* (1896), 12* 20-22 (on 1 13 2 3-11 7 3 *f.*); WRS, *Proph.* 427 *ff.*; Roorda and Wellhausen, see below (4). See also the preceding article, and *Crit. Bib.*

3. *Monographs and notes.*—Caspari, see above (1); Oort, *Th.T* 5 (1871) 501 *ff.* (on Mic. 5 1); 6 (1872) 271 *ff.* (on Mic. 4 1-5): Kue. *Th.T* 6 45 *ff.* (on 5 1); de Goeje and Kue. *Th.T* 6 279 *ff.* (on 4 1-5); Giesebrecht, *Beitr.* 216-220; Smend, *Rel.-gesch.*(2), 237, n. 2; WRS, *Proph.* (1882) 287 *ff.*; cp Introd. to 2nd ed.; Dr. *Expos.* 1887 *b*, 261-269 (on Mic. 2 7 12 *ff.*); Volz, *Die vorexil. Jahweprophetie* (1897), 63-67.

4. *Commentaries.*—Pocock (1677); Pusey (1860); Roorda (1869); Reinke (1874); Che. (1882; Cambr. Bible); Wellh. (*Kl. Proph.*(1), 1892, very good; (2) [1898], lacks a more thorough revision of the text); GASm. *Twelve Prophets*, 1 (1896) 355 *ff.*; Now. *Kl. Proph.* in *HK* (1898) 185 *ff.* (thorough, but in textual criticism lacks independence).

W. R. S.—T. K. C., § 2; T. K. C., §§ 1, 3 *f.*

MICAIAH (מִיכָיָה), 2 K. 22 12 etc. See MICHAIAH. For 2 Ch. 13 2 see MAACAH ii., 3.

MICHA, RV MICA (מִיכָא, abbrev. from מִיכָיָהוּ, see MICHAIAH; μ[ε]ιχα [BℵAL]).

1. Son of Mephibosheth (2 S. 9 12). See MICAH, 3.

2. A Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 11 [12] (om. Bℵ*).

3. A Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA ii., § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 15 Neh. 11 17 (μαχα [Bℵ])=1 Ch. 9 15, cp Neh. 11 22 (αμειχα [ℵ*]). See MICHAIAH (6).

4. RV MICAH, father of Ozias, Judith 6 15 (χειμα [A]).

MICHAEL (מִיכָאֵל; μ[ε]ιχαηλ [BAFL]).

The name occurs frequently, but only in post-exilic writings. If it was always pronounced Mī-chā-ēl, it was doubtless taken to mean 'Who is like El' (cp Dt. 33 26, and see §§ 24, 38); to the author of Daniel's visions it must have meant this. We must not, however, suppose that either this writer, or P, or the Chronicler, or any other post-exilic writer, coined the word as an expression of monotheistic faith. All that late writers did was gently to manipulate an ancient ethnic name so as to suggest the uniqueness of their God (see MICHAIAH).

On the history of the name 'Michael' see *Crit. Bib.*, where it is explained as a popular corruption of Jeraḥmeel.

1. An Asherite, father of SETHUR [*q.v.*] (Nu. 13 13). Other Asherite names corrupted from Jerahmeel occur in 1 Ch. 7 30-39, including Ahi, Imrah, Arah, Hanniel, and especially MALCHIEL.

2, 3. Two Gadites (1 Ch. 5 13, μαχαηλ [L], 14). On *v.* 14 see *Crit. Bib.*

4. A name in the genealogy of Asaph (1 Ch. 6 40 [25]). Note in same verse 'Malchiah,' which is also no doubt based on a corruption of Jerahmeel.

5. b. Izrahiah, of Issachar (1 Ch. 7 3). In the same genealogy note the names Rephaiah and Jeriel, also distortions of Jerahmeel.

6. b. Beriah in a genealogy of Benjamin (1 Ch. 8 12 *ff.*), which contains other distortions of Jerahmeel, such as Jeremoth and Jeroham. Cp BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. β.

7. A Manassite, one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 20). Note in same verse the Manassite name 'Elihu,' another distortion of Jerahmeel (see JOB [BOOK], § 9). Cp DAVID, § 11 *a*, iii.

8. An Issacharite, father of OMRI [4] (1 Ch. 27 18 μεισαηλ [B]). The forms μεισαηλ, μισαηλ, if correct, presuppose the reading 'Mishael.' Michael, however, is probably correct; a variant (in the same verse) is Jeḥiel. Both Michael and Jeḥiel come from Jeraḥmeel; MISHAEL (*q.v.*) has a different origin.

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[1] Note שְׁאֵרִית in all these passages, and cp Giesebrecht, *Beiträge*, 42.

[2] 'I sent before you Moses, Aaron, and *Miriam*' (6 4) is very strange, and still more unexpected is 'from Shittim unto Gilgal' (6 5). Probably את־משה אהרן ומרים and מן השטים עד הגלגל are both corruptions of צרפתים וירחמאלים or פלשתים ועמלקים, and ואשלח comes by transposition from אחלש. 6 4 should therefore run thus,—'For I brought thee up out of the land of Miṣrim, and redeemed thee out of the house (territory) of the Arabians, and I defeated before thee the Zarephathites and the Jerahmeelites' (=the Philistines and the Amalekites). For very improbable explanations of the text, see Nowack's note.

[3] G. A. Smith (437) omits יער בתוך כרמל in his translation, but in the note suggests 'dwelling alone like a bit of jungle in the midst of cultivated land.' Yet if Bashan and Gilead are proper names must not יער and כרמל be so too?

[1] Cp Wellh. *IJG*(1) 163. The view there taken of passages in Pss. 68 and 87 is, however, open to question on text-critical grounds.

9. A son of king Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 21 2, μ[ε]ισαηλ [BA]). Observe that Jehoshaphat's wife probably came from the Negeb (see SHILHI).

10. Father of Zebadiah, of the sons of SHEPHATIAH (*q.v.*) in Ezra's caravan, Ezra 8 8 (μαχαηλ [A])=1 Esd. 8 34 (μ[ε]ιχαηλος [B, om. A]). See EZRA i., § 2, 2 15 (i.) *d*.

11. Michael, one of the 'chief princes' (הַשָּׂרִים הָרִאשֹׁנִים, Dan. 10 13), or 'the great prince' (*ib.* 12 1, הַשַּׂר הַגָּדוֹל; 𝔊 ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ μέγας, 'the great angel'), the name given to the guardian angel of Israel (cp Dan. 10 21, 'your prince,' and 12 1, 'Michael . . . stands for [supports] those belonging to *thy people*'; cp Enoch 20 5). In this character he is referred to as opposed to the prince-angels of Persia and Greece (Dan. 10 13 20). Possibly he is referred to in Mal. 3 1, 'Behold, I send mine *angel*, and he shall prepare the way before me,' and Bar. 6 7 (Ep. of Jer.), 'for mine angel is with you' (*i.e.*, with Israel).

Probably enough the later meaning of Michael was the most influential reason for the name given to this archangel. However, another reason may also have had weight—viz., that (if the present writer's theory of Is. 29 1 Mic. 4 8 [see LO-RUHAMAH, OPHEL, and cp *Crit. Bib.*] be accepted) an early name of Jerusalem, known to Isaiah, was 'Jerahmeel.' When, through Babylonian and Persian influence,[1] names were given to the angels, it was natural that the four greatest should receive names representing the name Jerahmeel, which had once been borne by Jerusalem and which was still dear to an important section of the Jerusalem community (see PEREZ, *ad fin.*). It is a remarkable proof of the unwillingness of the psalmists to encourage innovations that, just as there is no Satan in the Psalter, so there is no trace of any angelic name, though the idea (also late) of patron angels of nations is not wanting (see ANGELS, § 4, with note).

It will be noticed that the name of the opponent of Michael is not given in Daniel's vision (Dan. 10 13 12 1). In Rev. 12, however (a chapter of non-Christian origin, see APOCALYPSE, § 41), Michael and his angels are introduced fighting on behalf of the heavenly ones against 'the great dragon, the old serpent, who is called διάβολος and ὁ σατανᾶς' (*v.* 9). In the Babylonian myth the heavenly representative was the light god Marduk, and in the Book of Job and elsewhere Israel's God Yahwè takes Marduk's place (see BEHEMOTH, DRAGON). The transcendency of the divine nature, however, seemed to the writer of Daniel's visions to require that Yahwè should be represented by his archangel.

In Jewish theosophy Michael, who is sometimes designated אפוטרופס, ἐπίτροπος, plays an important part. He is the chief and greatest of the four great angels;[2] he stands at the right hand of the Almighty (*Midr. Rab.*, Nu. 23 1), and is frequently opposed to Sammael, the enemy of God. Tradition connected him with many incidents in the history of Moses and especially with his burial (cp Targ., Jon. on Dt. 34 6, *Midr. Rab.* 11); and the altercation between this archangel and the devil, who claimed Moses' body, on the ground that he had murdered the Egyptian (Ex. 2 12), related in the *Assumptio Mosis*, chap. 14 (cp APOCALYPTIC, § 59), is alluded to in Jude 9.[3] According to Kohut (*Jüd. Angel.* 24) Michael is parallel to Vohumanô, 'Ahura's first masterpiece,' one of the Zoroastrian Amesha-spentas or archangels.

See, further, Lüken, *Erzengel Michael* (1898). T. K. C.

MICHAH (מִיכָה), 1 Ch. 24 24 *f*. AV, RV MICAH (*q.v.*, 5).

MICHAIAH, RV MICAIAH (מִיכָיָה nos. 2, 6 *f*., מִיכָיָהוּ nos. 4 *f*., and abnormally מִיכָיְהוּ nos. 1, 3, cp MICAH, 2; μ[ε]ιχαιας [BℵAQ]). The name has a strange history. Like REPHAIAH [*q.v.*] it is properly one of the many popular corruptions of the tribal or ethnic name Jerahmeel (see MICAH, MICHA). Later writers, however, attached ו to it as the final letter in order to suggest the idea of the peerlessness of Yahwè (see MICHAEL); it is very probable, too, that some of those who used the name Michaiah (without a final -u) were reminded by it of the uniqueness of their God. Thus viewed, it resembles (as Schrader long ago pointed out)[1] the Assyrian name Mannu-ki-ilu-rabu ('Who is like the great God?'), to which Mannu-ki-Rammān (Adad), 'Who is like Adad,' may be added. The form מיכיהו, wherever it is used with reference to pre-exilic times, is probably incorrect—*i.e.*, the final ו is due to an editor. It is worth noticing that the name of the 'man of Mt. Ephraim' in Judg. 17 is called מִיכָיְהוּ (Micaiehu) only in *vv.* 1 4; elsewhere he is called Micah; also that מִיכָיְהוּ, Micaiahu, only occurs twice—in the late Book of Chronicles (2 Ch. 13 2 17 7)—and that in one of these passages (2 Ch. 13 2) it corresponds to the מַעֲכָה (Maachah) of 1 K. 15 2 2 Ch. 11 20 *ff.* Now מַעֲכָה is probably the original of Micah and of Micaiah; and Micaiahu or Micaiehu (?) is a pious Jew's expansion of Micaiah. 'MAACAH' itself is probably a corruption of 'Jerahme'el.' For a good statement of the ordinary view it is enough to refer to Gray, *HPN* 157.

1. b. Imlah, a prophet who was consulted by Jehoshaphat with regard to the projected battle against the Syrians at Ramoth-Gilead, and for his unfavourable answer was imprisoned (1 K. 22 8-28 2 Ch. 18 7-27, *ib. v.* 8 מִיכָהוּ, Kt.). The interpolation of words from the opening of the Book of Micah in 1 K. 22 28*b* (BL om.), 2 Ch. 18 27, indicates that he was sometimes confounded with Micah the Morasthite (see MICAH, 1). The name was of course common. To prevent any doubts as to the origin of Jehoshaphat's contemporary, he is called ben Imlah; now Imlah may be very plausibly regarded as a corruption of Jerahmeel (ימלה from ירחמאל).

2. Father of ACHBOR (*q.v.*), 2 K. 22 12; in 2 Ch. 34 20 מִיכָה—*i.e.*, MICAH (𝔊BA, however, μ[ε]ιχαια). His son's name Achbor, like his own, and like that of Ahikam, is a corruption of Jerahmeel. Cp PEREZ, *ad fin.*

3. b. Gemariah, who was present when Baruch read the roll of Jeremiah (Jer. 36 11-13). He too was probably a Jerahmeelite. 'Gemariah' has, like Gemalli and Gamaliel, probably grown out of Jerahmeel.

4. One of Jehoshaphat's commissioners for teaching the law (2 Ch. 17 7). The leader of the band is Ben-hail (from Ben-Jerahme'el). This Micaiah, too, was evidently a Jerahmeelite.

5. 2 Ch. 13 2. See MAACAH, 3 *f*.

6. b. Zaccur, a name in an Asaphite genealogy (Neh. 12 35). See MICHA, 3.

7. A priest in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA, ii., § 13*g*), Neh. 12 41 (Bℵ*A om.). Among his companions are Malchijah and Elam, both corruptions of Jerahmeel.

The remark made at the end of the article REPHAIAH (*q.v.*) seems to be fully justified. T. K. C.

MICHAL (מִיכַל, § 74 *a*, 'power'? or, like Abihail [see below] a corruption of Jerahme'el; 𝔊 μελχολ; μολχολ 1 S. 19 17 [A once], μελχορλ 1 Ch. 15 29 [ℵ]—*i.e.*, מלכאל [cp Pesh.]=ירחמאל), younger daughter of Saul, if the statement in 1 S. 14 49 is correct (see MERAB), and wife of David. How she loved the youthful David and became his wife without purchase-money (*mōhar*), as Saul's recognition of his prowess (1 S. 18 20 *ff.*; see below); how by craft she saved his life (1 S. 19 11 *ff.*); how for a time David and Michal were parted (1 S. 25 44);[2] how at a later time David demanded her from Abner or Ishbosheth, and Palti, her husband, had to send her back (2 S. 3 13-16); how she mocked David for taking part in a sacred dance (2 S. 6 16 20-23),

[1] In Jer. *Rōsh haššanah*, 56 *a*, *Ber. rabba*, 48, it is said that the names of the months and of the angels came from Babylon.

[2] Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Suriel (cp ZURIEL) or Raphael.

[3] The words with which Michael repels the devil ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι κύριος, are taken obviously from Zech. 3 2; cp 𝔊.

[1] *Die Ass.-Bab. Keilinschriften*, 147 (1872).

[2] The statement in 1 S. 25 44, even if unhistorical, is valuable archæologically. It may be illustrated by a severe law of ancient Egypt, referred to by Grenfell and Hunt (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ii.), which permitted a father to take away his married daughter from a husband who displeased him. This law was set aside as inhuman by Roman prefects.

was well known to the later tradition (see DAVID, SAUL). It is not difficult, however, to see that, from the romantic and idealistic tendency inherent in popular tradition, the marriage of David with Saul's daughter has been placed too early. It was only at Hebron that Michal became David's wife, and the marriage had the purely political object of uniting the tribes of Israel and the clans of Judah.[1] It was also only at Hebron that Michal bore David a child—viz., Ithream (2 S. 3 5), whose mother's name in 2 S. is corruptly given as Eglah. This ITHREAM (*q.v.*) seems to be the Jerimoth of 2 Ch. 11 18, where his mother's name is given as Abihail (read 'Abihail, daughter of Saul'). The existence of this son of Michal, however, was apparently unknown to the writer of 2 S. 6 23,[2] where it is stated that 'Michal, bath Šaul, had no child unto the day of her death.' Later generations seem to have been surprised not to hear of children of David by Michal, who (if 'Eglah' is, like 'Michal,' a corruption of Abigail = Abihail) must have taken precedence of all David's other wives ('David's wife' is her description in 2 S. 3 5). An occasion for David's supposed dislike of Michal was therefore invented. In the unpleasing story in 2 S. 6 16 20-23 David takes up the same attitude of a defender of an ancient but (to some) offensive religious custom as is taken by Samuel in 1 S. 15. On Michal's true name see further SAUL, § 6; on her 'five sons' (2 S. 21 8), see MERAB; and on the name of her second husband, see MERAB, PHALTI.

The lateness of the story in 1 S. 18 25-27 is generally thought to be proved by its reference to the ערלות of the Philistines. This however, presupposes the correctness of MT. It has (one may hope) been shown elsewhere that in no less than three passages ערל has been miswritten for ירחמאלים, and that in 1 S. 18 25, omitting a gloss and a dittogram, the speech of Saul should run, 'The king desires not any purchase-money, but to be avenged on the Jerahmeelites.' The story is nevertheless late. Winckler (*GI* 2 179 200) agrees, so far as the lateness of the story is concerned. He also agrees that Michal was not connected with David till after the death of Ishbaal, when, to avoid the danger of pretenders to the crown, he obtained possession of Saul's daughter Michal and his grandson Meribbaal (MEPHIBOSHETH). T. K. C.

MICHEAS (*Micheæ*), 4 Esd. 1 39. See MICAH, 1.

MICHMASH, Michmas in Ezra 2 27 = Neh. 7 31 = 1 Esd. 5 21 MACALON (מִכְמָשׁ, מִכְמָס, μαχ(ε)μας [BℵAL]; in 1 Esd. 5 21 [εκ]μακαλων [BA], μακμας [L]), the scene of one of the most striking episodes in OT history (1 S. 14, see SAUL, § 2), was a place in Benjamin, about 9 R. m. N. of Jerusalem (*OS* 280 47 140 5).

1. References and situation.

Though it did not rank as a city (Josh. 18 21 *f.*), Michmash was recolonised after the exile (Neh. 11 31; μαχαμας [Bℵ*A]), and, favoured by the possession of excellent wheat land (Mishna, *Men.* 8 1), was still a very large village (Μαχμας) in the time of Eusebius. The modern Muḫmās is quite a small place.[3] [Conder found large stones, a vaulted cistern, and several rough rock tombs.]

The historical interest of Michmash is connected with the strategical importance of the position, commanding the N. side of the Pass of Michmash, which made it the headquarters of the Philistines and the centre of their forays in their attempt to quell the first rising under Saul, as it was also at a later date the headquarters of Jonathan the Hasmonæan (1 Macc. 9 73; μαχμαις [Vª]). From Jerusalem to Mount Ephraim there are two main routes. The present caravan road keeps the high ground to the W. near the watershed, and avoids the Pass of Michmash altogether. Another route, however, the importance of which in antiquity may be judged of from Is. 10 28 *f.* (μαχμα [ℵ*]), led southwards from Ai over an undulating plateau to Michmash. Thus far the road is easy; but at Michmash it descends into a very steep and rough valley, which has to be crossed before reascending to Geba.[1] At the bottom of the valley is the Pass of Michmash, a noble gorge with precipitous craggy sides; (on the difficulty of 'Bozez' and 'Seneh' in 1 S. 14 4 see § 2). On the N. the crag is crowned by a sort of plateau sloping backwards into a round-topped hill. This little plateau about a mile E. of the present village of Muḫmās, seems to have been the post of the Philistines, lying close to the centre of the insurrection, yet possessing unusually good communication with their establishments on Mount Ephraim by way of Ai and Bethel, and at the same time commanding the routes leading down to the Jordan from Ai and from Michmash itself.

A geographical and textual study of 1 S. 14 4-16, in continuation of SAUL, § 2, will not be unfruitful.

2. On 1 S. 14 4-16.

Geographically we are much indebted to Conder. He points out the accuracy of the passage in which Josephus describes the camp of the Philistines. It was, Josephus says, 'upon a precipice with three peaks ending in a small but sharp and long extremity, whilst there was a rock that surrounded them, like bulwarks to prevent the attack of an enemy' (*Ant.* vi. 6 2). Such a site actually 'exists on the E. of Michmash—a high hill bounded by the precipices of Wādy Suweinīt on the S., rising in three flat but narrow mounds, and communicating with the hill of Muḫmās, which is much lower, by a long and narrow ridge, the southern slope of which is immensely steep.' Towards Jeba' (Geba), therefore, an almost impregnable front is presented; but the communication in the rear is extremely easy; the valley here is shallow, with sloping hills, and a 'fine road, affording easy access to Muḫmās and the northern villages.' The camp of Saul, according to Conder, was probably in those 'fields of Geba which must have lain E. of the village on the broad corn plateau overhanging Wādy es-Suweinīt.' The 'holes' of the Hebrews (*v.* 11) are of course the line of caves on both sides of the Wādy es-Suweinīt. On one important point Conder corrects Robinson, who speaks (*BR* 1 441) of 'two hills (in the valley) of a conical or rather spherical form,' having steep rocky sides, and corresponding to the **Bozez** and **Seneh** of 1 S. 14 4. The existence of these hills is denied by Conder. The valley, he says, 'is steep and narrow, each side formed of sharp ledges and precipitous cliffs.' These craggy sides are called 'teeth,' and each 'tooth' receives a name, the one that of Bozez, the other that of Seneh. As Gautier (180, n.) observes, however, 'the word "tooth" is not to be taken quite literally. The reference is to walls (cp RV 'crag') of rocks.' He adds, 'it is impossible to say which of the two cliffs was called Bozez, and which Seneh; moreover, the meaning of these two names is unknown. It is also important to notice, owing to the ambiguity of the phrase (מול), that the southern wall—*i.e.*, that turned northward—fronts Michmash, and that the northern wall, turned southward, fronts Geba.' The two former points are real difficulties.

שֵׁן cannot be used in the supposed sense; it can indeed be used of the jagged points of rocks, but not for a wall of rock. שן probably should be צִנָּר (cp Aram. טנרא a rock); הסלע should be omitted as a gloss. Also the whole clause on the names (from וְשֵׁם to סֶנֶה) should be omitted as a corrupt form of *v.* 5. Note that מצוק in *v.* 5, like בוצץ in *v.* 4, is a corruption of מִצָּפוֹן.

We should probably render therefore, 'there was a wall of rock on the one side, and a wall of rock on the other side. The one wall of rock rose up on the N.,' etc. See further the account in SAUL, § 2.

Compare Conder, *PEFQ*, April 1874, p. 61 *f.*; *Tentwork* 2 112 *f.*; Furrer, *Wanderungen durch das heil. Land*(2), 253 *f.* (especially); Gautier, *Souvenirs de Terre Sainte*, 177 *ff.*; Miller, *The Least of all Lands*, 85-115.

W. R. S., § 1; T. K. C., § 2.

[1] So first Marq. *Fund.* 24. David's first wife would naturally come from a clan with which his own clan had *connubium*; see 2 S. 3 2.

[2] The list in 2 S. 3 2-5 comes from some special source (Klo.).

[3] [According to Gautier, it has lately increased considerably.]

[1] So Is. 10 28 describes the invader as leaving his heavy baggage at Michmash before pushing on through the pass.

MICHMETHAH, RV **Michmethath** (הַמִּכְמְתָת), a town, or (note the art.) district, mentioned in connection with ASHER (*q.v.*, ii.), on the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh, Josh. 16 6 (ικασμων [B], μαχθωθ [A], αχθ. [L]), 17 7 (δηλαναθ [B], [απο ασηρ] μαχθωθ [A], [απο ασηρ] της μ. [L]). See ASHER, 2 (and cp Buhl, *Pal.* 202).

Conder's theory that the plain E. of Nāblus called el-Makhna is referred to may perhaps find support in the statement of Jos. (*Ant.* v. 1 22) that the Ephraimite territory extended northward from Bethel to the Great Plain (an appellation which does not always in Jos. mean Esdraelon); but the appearance of corruption in both contexts renders it very uncertain. No emendation of the text has been offered.

MICHRI (מִכְרִי, cp MACHIR [מָכִיר]; μαχειρ [B], μοχορε [A], μαχειρι [L]; so also Pesh. ܡܟܪܝ), a Benjamite (see BENJAMIN, § 9, iii.) inhabitant of Jerusalem (see EZRA ii. § 5 [*b*] § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 8†, omitted in ‖ Neh. 11 7. The name should perhaps be read Bichri; cp BECHER.

MICHTAM (מִכְתָּם) in the headings of Pss. 16 56-60; also, by an easy conjecture, in Is. 38 9 (*SBOT*, with Stade and others for מִכְתָּב, EV 'a writing'). An old tradition finds the sense of 'inscription,' as if the Michtam-psalms were to be inscribed on stones (𝔊 Theod. *στηλογραφία* or *εἰς στηλογραφίαν*; so Quinta in Ps. 56; cp Tg. גליפא חריצא, *sculptura recta*; Vet. Lat. *tituli inscriptio*). Another favourite explanation was 'humble and perfect' (מָךְ תָּם); the Targum adopts this, except in Pss. 16 and 60;[1] also Jerome, Aquila, and Symmachus. De Dieu and many moderns (so, too, AV), after Ibn Ezra and Ḳimḥi, derive from *kéthem* (כֶּתֶם) 'gold'; as if the Michtam-psalms were honoured above others and perhaps even written in golden letters, like the Arabic poems called *Mu'allaḳāt*. All this is but ingenious trifling. The most probable solution is suggested by 𝔊's version of מכתם (for so the translator of Is. 38 9 probably reads)—viz. *προσευχή* (so 𝔊^{B}ℵQΓ; 𝔊^{A} *ᾠδή, προσευχή*), which seems to correspond to תְּחִנָּה or תַּחֲנוּן 'supplication.' The two most fertile sources of error—transposition and corruption of letters—have combined to produce the non-word מכתם 'Michtam'; parallel cases are MASCHIL, MAHALATH. T. K. C.

MIDDIN (מִדִּין; αινων [B], μαδων [A], μαδδειν [L]), the doubtful name of a city in the wilderness of Judah (Josh. 15 61). 𝔊^{B} suggests the reading 'Ænon' 'a place of springs'; the spot intended might be near '*Ain el-Feshkha*, not far from which there are now two ruined places, Khirbet el-Feshkha and Khirbet el-Yahūd (see BETH-ARABAH). 𝔊^{BA} attributes the giant of 2 S. 21 20 to *μαδων* (EV 'of great stature'). Another and preferable course is to read for מדין, מִצּוּר (for which there are parallels). Miṣṣur would be a record of Miṣrite influence (see MIZRAIM).

The former identification, however, depends entirely on the correctness of the ordinary view of the 'Ir ham-melaḥ (EV 'city of Salt') and En-gedi in *v.* 62. If these two names are corruptions of 'Ir-Jeraḥmeel and En-kadesh, it becomes probable that Middin, NIBSHAN, and SECACAH should be placed to the S. of Judah not too far from 'Ain Gadīs. T. K. C.

MIDIAN (מִדְיָן;[2] μαδιαμ, -αν; in Judith 2 26, Acts 7 29 AV has MADIAN; gent. מִדְיָנִי, οι μαδιηναιοι [BADF], οι μαδιναιοι [L]).

The notices respecting the Midianites are by no means uniformly consistent. As to their occupation, we sometimes find them described as peaceful shepherds, sometimes as merchants, sometimes as roving warriors, delighting to raid the more settled districts. Knowing what we know, however, of the way of life of Arabian tribes, we need not regard these representations as inconsistent. As to their geographical position, which is, for the comprehension of historical narratives, of much importance, we also meet with some diversity of tradition. We must first refer to the genealogy in Gen. 25; Midian is there (*vv.* 1 *f.* = 1 Ch. 1 32) represented as a son of Abraham and KETURAH (*q.v.*). The name Midian (more properly Madyan) does not appear to occur either in Egyptian or in Assyrian documents. Friedrich Delitzsch, however (*Par.* 304; cp *KAT*[(2)] 146), identified the Ḫayapa of the cuneiform inscriptions with EPHAH (*q.v.*), one of the 'sons' of Midian —*i.e.*, a Midianite tribe. This identification, if correct, shows us (1) that עיפה should be pronounced עֵיפָה or עִיפָּה (not עֵיפָה), and (2) that Midianites dwelt in the northern part of the Ḥijāz. The latter point follows from the fact that in Tiglath-pileser's time (745-727 B.C.) the Ḫayapa are mentioned with the people of Tēmā, a locality which is still so called (see ISHMAEL, § 4), and in Sargon's reign (722-705 B.C.) with the tribe called Thamūd, the later geographical position of which is known (*KB* 2 21). It is true, a late prophetic writer (Is. 60 6) speaks of the camels of Midian and Ephah, as if Midian and Ephah were distinct peoples. This, however, is unimportant, since the writer most probably derived the names from older writings. Another son of Midian in Genesis (*l.c.*) is named EPHER (עפר), who is identified by Knobel with the tribe of *Ghifār*, which in the time of Muḥammed had encampments near Medīna. That is all the light shed by the Genesis genealogy on the geographical position of Midian. It is, however, historically suggestive that of the five sons of Midian in Gen. 25 4 three (Ephah, Epher, and Hanoch) have namesakes among the Israelites. It is probable enough that some Midianite clans became assimilated to Israel.

Proceeding to Exodus (3 1), we find the father-in-law of Moses described as 'priest of Midian' (see HOBAB, JETHRO); and from the fact that in Judg 1 16 he is called, not 'the Midianite,' but 'the Kenite' (cp AMALEK), we may perhaps infer (though to be sure the conjecture is somewhat hazardous) that the Kenites, or at least a portion of them, were at one time or another reckoned as Midianites. However that may be, there is no doubt as to the inference next to be mentioned. It is stated in Ex. 3 1 that Moses led the flocks of his father-in-law to 'Horeb the mountain of God,' from which it is plain that the narrator placed the Midianites in the Sinaitic peninsula—*i.e.*, apparently in the southern part of it. In the regal period (1 K. 11 18) we find Midian represented as a district lying between Edom and Paran, on the way to Egypt—*i.e.*, somewhere in the NE. of the Sinaitic desert (but cp HADAD, where the correctness of the reading מדין is questioned). The poem at the end of Habakkuk also seems to place Midian in the region of Sinai (Hab. 3 7; cp CUSHAN). Lastly, in E's version of the tale of Joseph we read of Midianite traders journeying through the pasture grounds of Jacob's sons towards Egypt (Gen. 37 28*a* 36; cp ISHMAEL, § 3). None of these passages, however, gives us any information as to the geographical position of Midian.

Elsewhere in the OT the Midianites are described as dwelling to the E. of Israel. Abraham sends the sons of his concubines including Midian, 'eastward to the east country' (Gen. 25 6); cp EAST [CHILDREN OF THE]. The story of Balaam, too, yields a not uninteresting geographical point. It has been shown by a critical analysis of Nu. 22 that, in one of the older forms of the story of Balaam, Midian took the place of Moab, and was represented as situated more to the E. than Moab.

The important struggle of the people of northern and central Palestine, under GIDEON (*q.v.*) or JERUBBAAL, against the Midianites of the Syrian desert is related in Judg. 6 *f.* (a composite section—see JUDGES, § 8). We have here a vivid presentation of the struggle, which so continually recurs in those countries on a greater or smaller scale, between the agricultural population and the wandering tribes of the desert. Of the Bedouins, in particular, we have an admirable picture.

[1] In the heading of Ps. 60 Tg. has פרשנן, 'a copy.'

[2] מְדָנִים in Gen. 37 36 is naturally a mere scribe's error, which could have been corrected from the context even if the Sam. text and 𝔊 had not preserved the true reading.

Such passages as Judg. 8_{24}, 'for they had golden ear-rings (or nose-rings?), because they were Ishmaelites,' imply accurate knowledge (see RING, § 2). The nomads must have come in full force against their neighbours to the W., until the latter took courage, assembled their troops, and drove out the invaders. The memory of this was long cherished by tradition, as we see from Is. 9_{4} [3] 10_{26} Ps. 83_{9} [10] *f.* (*μαζιαμ* [R]). Whether the defeat of Midian by the Edomite king Hadad (Gen. 36_{35}) 'in the field of Moab' (see FIELD)—in the vicinity, therefore, of Gideon's last victories—may be brought into connection with this war, is a subject of controversy (see Ewald *GVI*(3) 2_{476}; but cp BELA); it seems very probable.

It is a mere reflex of the story of Gideon that we find in the account of the war waged by the Israelites in the time of Moses against the Midianites, who had led them into sin (Nu. 25_{6-9}; on chap. 31, see Dillmann, and Driver, *Introd.*(6), 68, who recognise its secondary character). The narrative bears the stamp of artificiality and is thoroughly unhistorical. It is worth noticing that the writer places the home of the Midianites in the northern portion of Moab, which afterwards becomes the territory of the tribes of Reuben and Gad. (On the names of the 'five kings of Midian,' see REKEM, ZUR, etc.)

This variety of statement as to the geographical position of the Midianites need not surprise us. Tribes that dwell in tents and breed camels—and as such the Midianites are represented in many passages of the OT—may shift their territory in the course of ages; they are also liable to internal disruption, not to mention the fact that many tribes regularly move from place to place according to the season of the year. Moreover, the grouping of the tribes and clans is by no means constant; hence we can easily understand that whilst in the Genesis lists Ishmael is a step-brother of Midian, in Judg. 8_{24} the Midianites are represented as a branch of Ishmael.

Midian as a nation disappears from history at a very early period. Whilst, however, the principal sphere of the activity of the Midianites was the country to the E. of Israel, we find in a region at a considerable distance to the S. a trace of this people lasting down to the end of the middle ages and even to modern times.

Ptolemy (6_{7}) mentions a place called Μοδίανα, on the coast of Arabia, and his definition of its position relatively to Ὄννη makes it certain that he refers to the locality which the Arabic geographers call Madyan, in the neighbourhood of Unā ('Ain 'Unā, now pronounced 'Ainūna). Madyan is the first halting-place to the S. of *Ḥaḳl*, the second to the S. of *Aila* (*'Aḳaba*), on the pilgrim route to Mecca. According to an Arabic account the place is abundantly supplied with water, and so it was found to be by the famous traveller Rüppell; it was, therefore, peculiarly suitable for a permanent settlement. At present it is known as Maghāir Sho'aib, 'the Caves of Sho'aib,' after the name of the prophet of Madyan mentioned in the Koran. From this point Rüppell reached Maḳnā in seven hours, journeying in a WSW. direction. Madyan is, accordingly, almost exactly opposite the extremity of the Sinaitic peninsula; though cut off by the sea, it is not far from the pasture-grounds of the ancient Midianite priest and from the district once inhabited by the Ḥayapa. Being only a short way from the sea it is treated by Ptolemy as a place on the coast, and even one of the ancient Arabic geographers describes it in similar terms. Nor can we be surprised to find that in the same passage of Ptolemy it appears again, under the name of Μαδιαμα, as an inland place near Maḳnā and Akale (Ḥaḳl). Double references of this kind occur elsewhere in the works of geographers who derived their information from several different itineraries and thus could hardly avoid such mistakes (see, however, Sprenger, *Die alte Geog. Arab.*, § 16, 209). The passage in Ptolemy excludes the notion that the place acquired the name of Madyan in consequence of its being identified with the Madyan of the Koran, or in other words, that the name was borrowed indirectly from the OT. A further proof of this is that the poet Kuthaiyir (died in 723 or 724 A.D.), who was very well acquainted with the district in question, also mentions the name. Perhaps even the mysterious figure of Sho'aib may have been derived from genuine Midianite tradition, and brought by Muḥammed into connection with narratives of biblical origin. In any case the site must be one in which, at some time or another, a portion of the nomadic Midianites established a settlement, so that the name of this long-forgotten people became permanently attached to the spot.

Cp GEOGRAPHY, § 12*a*; GOLD; SINAI; and see Nöldeke, *Ueber die Amalekiter und einige andere Nachbarvölker der Israeliten* (1864); Sir R. Burton, *The Gold Mines of Midian* (1878), and *The Land of Midian Revisited* (1879). T. N.

MIDRASH (מִדְרָשׁ), 2 Ch. 13_{22} 24_{27}; AV 'Story,' RV 'Commentary.' See CHRONICLES, § 6 [2], HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 14.

MIDRIFF (יוֹתֶרֶת), Ex. 29_{13} AVmg. See CAUL, LIVER.

MIDWIFE (מְיַלֶּדֶת), Gen. 38_{28} etc. See MEDICINE.

MIGDAL-EL (מִגְדַּל־אֵל, 'tower of God'?—rather, like Migdal in some other cases, from 'Jerahmeel'; μεγαλα [αρειμ] [B], μαγδαλιη (ωραμ) [A], μαγδαλιηλ (ω.) [L]), a 'fenced city' of Naphtali (Josh. 19_{38}), mentioned with Iron and Beth-anath, and therefore most plausibly identified, not with Mejdel-Kerūm (Knobel), nor with Mujēdil (*PEFMem.* 1_{96}, after Guérin), nor with a MAGDALA on the Sea of Galilee, but with *Mejdel-Silim*, between Mujēdil and Hūnīn, well within the limits of Naphtali.

The name which follows, without the conjunctive particle, is HOREM [*q.v.*], which is evidently due to a mistake. The scribe glanced over Beth-anath and Beth-shemesh, and wrote עָרִם (whence חרם) too soon. T. K. C.

MIGDAL-GAD (מִגְדַּל־גָּד, 'tower of Gad,' cp BAAL-GAD; μαγαδα γαδ [B], μαγδαλγ. [AL]), a city in the lowland of Judah, included in the same group with Lachish and Eglon (Josh. 15_{37}), and possibly the Maktir or Migdal mentioned in a list of Rameses III. with places identified as Judahite (Sayce, *RP* (2), 6_{39}). It is not improbably the Magdali of Am. Tab. (237_{26}) mentioned with 'En-anab (see ANAB) and other places in S. Judah. Jerome gives it a bare mention as Magdala (*OS* 139_{12}). Guérin (*Jud.* $2_{130-132}$) identifies this place with the large village *el-Mejdel*, two m. inland from 'Asḳalān. So fertile a district needed a protecting Migdal (tower). But surely this site is too near a Philistine fortress. *El-Mejdel* may be either the village with a strong tower near Ashkelon called Belzedek in Josephus (*BJ* iii. 2_{3}), or perhaps the inland city of ASHKELON (*q.v.*). Remains of marble columns abound. T. K. C.

MIGDAL-SHECHEM. See SHECHEM, TOWER OF.

MIGDOL (מִגְדֹּל] מִגְדּוֹל Jer. 46_{14}]; μαγδωλος, *castra*, Vg. [cp Aq., Symm.] in Ex., *turris* in Ez. [='tower,' AV], *Magdalum* in Jer.), the name of one, or two, Egyptian places. So far as the form is concerned, the name represents nothing but the Egyptian pronunciation of the Hebrew word מִגְדָּל, 'tower, castle,' accented *ḳāmeṣ* being regularly rendered by ō in Egyptian.

In names of towns, we can trace this loanword, written *ma-k-tì-ra* (the *tì* can be read *to*), *ma-ga-dĭ-ra*, back to the fourteenth century B.C. Sahidic Coptic has preserved it as ⲙⲉϭⲧⲟⲗ, Lower Coptic ⲙⲓϫⲧⲱⲗ, ⲙⲉϣⲧⲱⲗ, ⲙⲓϫⲧⲟⲗ[1] and thus it occurs also in various geographical names. Semitic names were frequent in the eastern regions of the Delta, owing to their mixed population, cp GOSHEN, § 4.

1. The first Migdol is mentioned in Ex. 14_{2} (less clearly in Nu. 33_{7}). The Israelites encamp 'between Migdol and the sea,' at the moment of leaving Egypt. Evidently, this place was only a small fortified border town, more probably nothing but a fort protecting the roads from the E. It would be possible to compare a locality, mentioned in pap. Anastasi, 5_{20}. Two runaway slaves are pursued near *Ṯ-ku* (*Sukkoth*? cp EXODUS i., § 10) to the 'closing fortification (*s-ga-ira*, סגר) of Ṯ-ku,' thence to the S. and to 'the fortress' (*ḥtm*, not ETHAM, *q.v.*); but they pass 'the northern wall of the Watchtower (*ma-k-tì-ra*) of Sety I.' This 'Maktol of king Sety I.' which is, certainly, to be sought for NW. of the region of *Ṯku*-Succoth-Maskhūṭa, not far from the modern Isma'īlīye, would fulfil all conditions

[1] See Stern, *Copt. Gr.*, § 164, on these forms.

for those assuming the Crocodile Lake as the 'Sea' of the Exodus-narrative. As long, however, as it is impossible to determine the other two geographical names (PIHAHIROTH and BAAL-ZEPHON) connected with the passage through the sea, we cannot say much regarding this location, and must accept it with the greatest caution (cp EXODUS i., § 11). There must have been various other Migdols or 'towers' along the eastern border of Egypt to guard it against inroads of desert-tribes. A trace of such a fort is to be found, for example, in the modern name Bīr-Magdal (*Bīr Maktal*), in the desert, 23 m. NE of Isma'ilīye.[1] Others, the situation of which cannot be determined,[2] occur in the inscriptions. Thus the name is too frequent to admit an easy identification. For another view of the geography, see MOSES, § 11.

2. In Ezek. 29 10 (*μαγδουλου* [Q]) desolation is threatened to Egypt, 'from Migdol (so AV^mg.) to Syene'; so also in 30 6—Migdol thus marking the N. and Syene the S. limit of the country (see SYENE). In Jer. 44 1 Migdol heads the list of Egyptian towns in which the Jewish refugees from the Babylonians had congregated (Migdol, Tahpanhes, Noph). In 46 14, accordingly, the same three cities are the field of Jeremiah's activity in proclaiming the coming desolation of Egypt by Babylonian armies. (The passages are treated elsewhere from a different point of view; see PATHROS, § 2, and *Crit. Bib.*) Stephen of Byzantium mentions Magdōlos as a city of Egypt on the authority of Hecatæus.[3] The *Itinerarium Antonini* places *Magdolo* 12 R. m. S. of *Pelusio*, 12 m. N. of *Sile*, on a road which ultimately leads to *Serapiu—i.e.*, the city Serapeum near the E. end of Goshen. It is evident that this frontier city of the *Itinerarium* cannot be identified with that of Exodus (as has frequently been assumed), being situated too far N. of Goshen. On the other hand, it is quite likely that this Magdolo(n) is the Migdol of the prophets. Its situation near Pelusium 'the key to Egypt,' agrees well with the presence of a colony of Jewish fugitives. However, a town at the entrance of Goshen would fulfil the same conditions and would fit well in the parallelism to Memphis. We have only to consider that, apparently, there was no larger city on the frontier of Goshen, such as would be required for giving shelter and occupation to a great number of immigrants. Thus the northern Migdol is at least much more probable than one of the various small frontier-fortresses of that name (see note 4). The above place is usually identified with Tel(l)-es-Semūt,[4] 12 Eng. m. SW. of Pelusium, at a distance agreeing with the *Itinerarium*, possibly only somewhat too far E. No certainty, however, can be attributed to this identification.[5]

W. M. M.

MIGHTY ONE (גִּבֹּר), Gen. 10 8 etc. See ANGELS, § 1, and cp NEPHILIM, § *l.c.*

MIGRON (מִגְרוֹן), mentioned in the list of places on the route supposed to be taken by an Assyrian invader

[1] Actually identified with the biblical Migdol by Ebers, entirely against the description in Exodus, as it is outside of Egypt and far from the lakes.

[2] Among the desert forts enumerated by Sety I. (cp W. M. Müller, *Asien*, p. 134) occurs 'the *Ma-k-ti-ra* of Sety I.'; cp Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 50. This does not seem to be identical with that mentioned in pap. Anastasi (see above). We should expect to find it more to the NE. of the great border city Ṯa-ru. Some Egyptologists have erroneously confounded this and the biblical Migdols with a royal 'tower' or *magdol* in Phœnicia, mentioned under Rameses III. (Ros. *op cit.* 133).

[3] Wiedemann, Comm. on *Herod.* 2 159, quotes also Theogn. Can. p. 62.

[4] 'Hill of direction,' from its situation near the road to Syria. It has, of course, nothing to do with an ancient city *Sm-bḥd(t?)*, compared by Brugsch.

[5] Champollion thought of various Egyptian places called *mashtūl*, but this name is, most likely, Arabic ('plantation,' cp Schleiden, Dillmann). Winckler, *Amarna Letters*, no. 159, l 28, understands *magdali* in the phrase 'behold, Acco is like *magdali* in Egypt,' of the biblical city, whilst the present writer (*op. cit.* glossary) would prefer to take it in the general sense 'watch-tower, fortress,' as an allusion to the numerous border-fortifications.

of Judah (Is. 10 28, 𝔊 Pesh. read Megiddo; in Q^mg. θ' μαγεδδων . . α' c' και . το εβραικον μαγρω̄. *Magron* [Vg.]). The enemy passes necessarily through Aiath, Migron, and Michmash; Migron is therefore identified with the ruins of *Makrūn*, N. of Michmash on the road to Ai (cp Baed. *Pal.*(2), 119, Buhl, *Pal.* 176 *f.*). If the text of 1 S. 14 2 (*εκ μαγων* [B], *εν μαγεδδω* [L]) be correct, we also find a Migron situated 'in the border (קצה) of Geba' (so read for 'Gibeah'),[1] and as the context shows, between Geba and Michmash, and therefore S. of the Migron in Isaiah. The two places cannot be identified (cp Di.); either there were two Migrons, or (the defining words 'in Migron' being superfluous) the text in 1 S. 14 2 must be corrupt.

Wellhausen, Budde, H. P. Smith would read מִגְרָן '(in the) threshing floor,' Klostermann conjectures מגרש '(in the) common-land.' The former, however, is an *assumed* word, and the latter is post-exilic in use. The corruption seems to be more deeply seated; מגרון may be a corruption of רִמּוֹן, *rimmōn*. A glossator, finding the two readings רמון and מגרון (מגדון), probably harmonised them by representing the *rimmōn* or pomegranate tree[2] as situated in a place called Migron (Magedon). In Zech. 12 11 (see HADADRIMMON), MT and (even more clearly) 𝔊 still preserve the same two competing readings רמון and מגדון.

T. K. C.

MIJAMIN (מִיָּמִין, § 99) or MINIAMIN (so EV), but rather, MINJAMIN; מִנְיָמִין; cp Benjamin, and Miniamīni, one of the Jewish names found by Hilprecht and Clay in the business documents from Nippur (*Th. LZ*, Aug. 6, 1898, col. 434). Probably a corruption of Jerahmeel (Che.); note *μιληλος* (cp Mahalalel) and *μαηλος* (cp Elam in Ezra 2 7 31).

1. The name borne by one of the 24 (post-exilic) priestly courses; 1 Ch. 24 9 (*βενιαμειν* [B], *μ[ε]ιαμειν* [AL]). Also the name of a Levite, temp. Hezekiah, 2 Ch. 31 15 (*βενιαμ[ε]ιν* [BAL]), of a priest, temp. Nehemiah, Neh. 12 5 (AV MIAMIN; *μειμιν* [ℵc.a mg.], *μιαμειν* [L], Bℵ*A om.), of a 'father's house,' etmp. Joiakim, Neh. 12 17 (*βενιαμειν* [ℵc.a mg.], *μιαμειν* [L], Bℵ*A om.), of a signatory under Nehemiah, Neh. 10 7 (*μιαμειμ* [B], *-ν* [AL], *μειαμων* [ℵ]), and of one of those who took part in the services at the dedication of the wall, Neh. 12 41 (*βενιαμειν* [ℵc.a mg.], *μιαμειν* [L], Bℵ*A om.).

2. AV MIAMIN, in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 25 (*αμαμειν* [Bℵ], *μεαμιμ* [A], *μιαμειδεας* [L])=1 Esd. 9 26 MAELUS (*μιληλος* [B], *μαηλος* [A], *μιαμιδαιας* [L]).

MIKLOTH (מִקְלוֹת; 1 Ch. 8 31 *f.* μακαλωθ [BA], μαγεδδωθ [L]; 9 37 *f.*, μακελλωθ [B and ℵ once], μακεδωθ [A], μακελωθ [L]). 1. No doubt a member of the Benjamite genealogy in 1 Ch. 8 30-38 (see BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. *β*). The name should be supplied in 8 31 from B and 9 37.

The name is probably a corrupted abbreviation of 'Jerahmeel. But for the numerous parallels to this, it might mean 'rods, see NAMES, § 75.

2. According to MT a (supernumerary) officer of David (1 Ch. 27 4, *μακελλωθ* [L]; Vg. *Macelloth*; Pesh. om.). BA (rightly) omit *v.* 4*a*—*i.e.*, the clause containing Mikloth. Notice that מקלות is suspiciously like ומחלקתו, which itself appears to be due to dittography.

T. K. C.

MIKNEIAH (מִקְנֵיָהוּ, as if 'Yahwè is possessor,' § 36; *μακενια[ς]* [BℵA], *μακκανια(ς)* [L]), a Levite musician, 1 Ch. 15 18 (*μακελλεια* [B], *μακκελλα* [ℵ], *μακκανια* [L] 21). Perhaps, however, we should read מַתַּנְיָהוּ, 'Mattaniah.'

T. K. C.

MILALAI (מִלֲלַי), a Levite musician, Neh. 12 36 (BℵAL om.). A corruption of Jerahmeel, like Gilalai which follows. Cp Mahalalel, and see Guthe in *SBOT ad loc.*

T. K. C.

MILCAH (מִלְכָּה, § 44; μελχα [BADELF]; *MELCHA*).

1. Bath Haran, wife of Nahor (Gen. 11 29 22 20 23

[1] See GIBEAH, § 1.

[2] For another plausible but hardly probable view of רמוי in 1 S. 14 2 see RIMMON ii., 2.

24 15 24 47†). If the view taken elsewhere (HARAN, NAHOR) is correct, it is most probable that (on the analogy of [2] below, and of HAMMOLEKETH) we should correct Milcah into SALECAH (*q.v.*). If, however, we think the traditional readings, 'Haran' and 'Nahor,' to be safe, it will be plausible to explain Milcah on the analogy of SARAH (*q.v.*) as a divine title, 'queen,' and Jensen (*ZA*, 1896, p. 300) has aptly referred to the titles *maliktu* or *malkatu*, 'princess,'[1] and *malikat ilāni* (*i.e.*, either 'princess of the gods' or 'giver of decisions [*mālikat*, partic.] of the gods')[2] borne by Ištar. In the Sumerian hymns Ištar is called the daughter of the moon-god. To the early Israelites, however, Milcah (or Malcah ?) would be the 'queen' of the children of Isaac. The possibility of a connection with Jerahmeel may also be mentioned.

2. A daughter of ZELOPHEHAD (*q.v.*), Nu. 26 33 27 1 36 11 Josh. 17 3†. The name seems to be miswritten for SALECAH (*q.v.*), מ and ס being easily confounded (cp 1 K. 21 4, סר for מר).

T. K. C.

MILCOM (מִלְכֹּם; μελχομ [AL], μολχ. [AQ; conformation to μολοχ]; *MELCHOM*), the national god of the Ammonites (1 K. 11 5 33, 2 K. 23 13).[3] The same name should be read in Jer. 49 13 (so 𝔊 μελχολ [Bℵ; A in *v.* 1], Vg., Pesh.), where MT erroneously pronounces *malcham*, 'their king.'[4] In some other cases ancient translators and modern interpreters have read the consonants מלכם as a proper name; thus, in 2 S. 12 30 (*μελχολ. τοῦ βασ. αὐτ* [B]) = 1 Ch. 20 2 for MT 'the crown *of their king*' 𝔊BA has the doublet Μολχολ (B; Μολχομ A) *τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν* (see also Vg. in Ch.), and this interpretation, which is found in the Talmud (*'Ăbōdā Zārā* 44 *a*) and Jewish commentators, is adopted by Geiger, Graetz, Wellhausen, Driver, Klostermann, and others (cp מלכן in 2 S. 12 31). The special interest of the passage lies in the fact that, if this view be correct, we should naturally infer that Milcom at Rabbah was represented by an idol in human form and of considerable size (see IDOL, § 4 *f.*). In Am. 1 15 Aquila and Symmachus read Μελχομ, and are followed by Jerome. This interpretation—probably suggested by the resemblance to Jer. 49 3—is not favoured by the parallel, 2 3. In Am. 5 26, for MT מלכּכם 'your king' (where 𝔊 and Vg. have *Moloch;* whence Acts 7 43), Aquila read Μολχομ, Jerome (? Sym.) *Melchom*, Syriac (also in Acts) *Malchom*. A reference to Milcom is out of place, whatever the meaning of the difficult verse may be. Finally, in Zeph. 1 5 some Greek minuscules have Μελχομ (so Vg., Pesh.), others Μολοχ (so Qmg.); in the context Milcom is very improbable; 'their king' is doubtless the god who received this title (Molech).

Many scholars, in ancient and modern times, have been of the opinion that Milcom was the same deity as Molech, an identification which is in part responsible for the confusion of the names that is found in the versions. The only ground for this identification, apart from the obvious similarity of the names, is 1 K. 11 7, 'Molech the abomination of the Ammonites,' compared with *vv.* 5 and 33 (Milcom). The Hebrew text of *v.* 7 is in itself suspicious (מלך without the article), and 𝔊L has Μελχομ(-ο [A]), doubtless the true reading. The high-place which Solomon erected for Milcom is said to have been on the Mount of Olives (2 K. 23 13), whilst Molech was worshipped, so far as our sources show, only in the Valley of Hinnom; and the name of Milcom is never coupled with the sacrifice of children which was characteristic of the Molech cult (Ew., Movers, Dies., and Kue.). Others therefore rightly distinguish Milcom, the national god of Ammon, from Molech (see MOLECH).

[1] Cp Schrader, *MBAW*, 1886, pp. 477-491.

[2] G. Smith, *Hist. of Assurb.* 121; Del. *Ass. HWB* 412.

[3] 𝔊 has in 1 K. 11 5 33 *τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν* [BA on *v.* 33], *τῶν βασιλέων αὐ.* [A in *v.* 5]; in 2 K. 23 13 *μολχολ* [B], *αμελχομ* [A], *μολοχ* [L].

[4] There is no reason to think that the Massoretes meant *malcham* to be taken as a proper name, though it is so understood by Rashi.

Nothing further is known of this god, whose name has not been found outside of the OT. The name is obviously derived from *mélek*, 'king' (cp Phœn. *milk* in proper names, and see MOLECH); the last syllable is probably an inflection, the nominative ending with the old determinative mimation (Baudissin; cp Lagarde); so that the name signifies simply 'king'. Those who regard מלכם as a compound, equivalent to מלך עם, 'king of the people' (Kue., and others), or ''Am (the god of Ammon) is king' (Eerdmans) give no satisfactory explanation of the syncope of the guttural.

Literature.—Milcom has generally been treated in connection with Molech; see the literature in the latter article.

G. F. M.

MILDEW (יֵרָקוֹן, *yērāḳōn;* ωχρα [Dt. 28 22], ικτερος [1 K. 8 37 (A), 2 Ch. 6 28 Am. 4 9], ανεμοφθορια [Hag. 2 17]) is five times mentioned in connection with שִׁדָּפוֹן, *šiddāphōn*, 'blasting.' The adj. יָרָק, *yārāḳ*, signifies 'greenish-yellow'; in Jer. 30 6 *yērāḳōn* is used of deathlike pallor, and as applied to corn it means doubtless the hue of decay produced by the *Puccinia graminis*, Pers.

Puccinia graminis is a very common and widely distributed fungus, which after hibernating on the dead leaves and leaf-sheaths of grass-plants alights first on such leaves as those of the barberry;[1] after this a fresh generation is produced, the spores of which being carried by the wind enter and act upon the leaves of grass-plants. (See the account in *EB*(9) 16 293 *f.*, and esp. Sachs, *Textbook of Bot.*(2), 332-5.) Arabic cognates of ירקון denote 'jaundice.'

N. M.

MILE (μιλιον), Mt. 5 41†. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

MILETUS (μιλητος, Acts 20 15 17; 2 Tim. 4 20 [where AV has MILETUM by a mere error]) stood on the southern shore of the bay of Latmus into which the Mæander flowed. The site, now deserted, bears the name *Palatia*, from the ruins of its huge theatre, the largest in Asia Minor.

1. History.

The period of the greatness of Miletus lay six centuries before the time of Paul. Even in Homer (*Il.* 2 868) 'Carian Miletus' is a city of renown. During the early Greek period, it was the port for the trade of the Mæander valley. This is seen from its early coinage (Head, *Hist. Num.* 502); and the existence of trade with Phrygia is attested as early as the sixth century B.C. by Hipponax, who twits the Phrygian traders at Miletus with their bad Greek (Hipp. *frg.* 36 [30]: *καὶ τοὺς Σολοίκους, ἢν λάβωσι, περνᾶσιν | Φρύγας μὲν ἐς Μίλητον ἀλφιτεύσοντας*, quoted by Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 37). [Miletus is given in 𝔊 as the source of the wool that was imported to Tyre (Ezek. 27 18). It represents apparently the Heb. צחר. Pliny speaks of *Milesia lana* (*HN* 29 9), and Vergil of *Milesia vellera* (*Georg.* 3 306).] Ephesus was in many respects a more convenient port for much of the trade of the Mæander valley; but for a long time the energy of the Milesians enabled them to defy all rivalry (cp Herod. 5 28, *τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα*). Their commercial relations were very far-reaching—with Egypt (Herod. 2 178, Strabo 801), with the Pontus, on the shores of which they planted more than seventy colonies (Str. 635, Ephesus *ap.* Athen. 524), and with lower Italy. The energy of the city disappeared under Persian rule after its capture in 494 B.C., when the inhabitants suffered transportation to the Tigris (Herod. 5 30 6 18 *f.*) and Ephesus began to assert herself. Miletus possessed no fewer than four harbours, one of them large enough for a fleet; but in course of time the silt brought down by the Mæander blocked the harbours and the entire gulf of Latmus (Plin. *HN* 2 91 5 31) so that the site of the town is now as much as five or six miles from the sea. This process must have advanced some way even in Paul's

[1] In this form it is called *Æcidium Berberidis*, Garth.

time (about 57 A.D.); but how far is not certainly known.

On the one hand, the island of Lade in front of Miletus was apparently still an island in Strabo's time—about 19 A.D.—(cp 635, πρόκειται δ' ἡ Λάδη νῆσος πλησίον): it is now a hillock in the plain, 2 miles W. of the town. On the other hand, Priene, lying almost due N. of Miletus, on the opposite shore of the gulf, was close to the sea, and the Mæander entered the gulf at a point between that town and Miletus (Strabo, 636): the site of Priene is now 10 m. or more from the sea.

It appears, therefore, that the silting-up process has been more rapid on the northern side of the gulf than on the southern; and this agrees with the fact that at the present day the southern loop of the river, as it winds through the alluvial plain, seems to be the ancient channel. We must conclude that, at the time of Paul's visit, it was possible to sail across to Priene, whereas to-day the track crosses the plain and the ferry over the Mæander (*Mendere Chai*): the land journey must have involved an immense detour of over 40 m. round the head of the gulf.

The death-blow of Miletus was given by its capture by Alexander the Great (Arrian, *Anab.* I 19 *f.*, Strabo, 635). In Paul's time, therefore, Miletus, though still called a μητρόπολις of Ionia,[1] was a second-rate town. A sure index of its unimportance is to be seen in the fact that it did not lie on any great Roman road. For the eastern trade-route turned off sharply to the E. at Magnesia 15 R. m. S. of Ephesus (Plin. *HN* 5 31), and did not touch Miletus. The most direct route to Ephesus, some 30 m. distant in an air-line from Miletus, was by way of Priene, crossing Mt. Mycale to mod. *Chanli* (anc. Panionium) and thence along the coast to mod. *Scala Nova*, which is about 10 m. from Ephesus (cp Murray's *Handb. to AM*, iii.).

2. Paul's visit. Paul came to Miletus the day after leaving Samos, the intervening afternoon and evening having been spent at Trogyllium (AV), or in Samos Roads (RV).[2] He had 'determined to sail past Ephesus,' as he was anxious to spend Pentecost in Jerusalem (Acts 20 16): finding that the vessel would be detained some time (how long is not stated) at Miletus, he sent thence to invite the Ephesian elders to meet him (*v.* 17). The next evening after leaving Miletus was spent at Cos (Acts 21 1).

Conforming to the conditions of navigation on this coast, Paul's vessel sailed very early in the morning from its anchorage at Trogyllium, taking advantage of the N. wind, and soon traversing the 20 m. to Miletus. Paul thus reached Miletus probably before noon; and his messenger may have waited for the evening breeze from the S. (the *Imbat*), which would carry him across the gulf (about 12 m.) to Priene. Eight hours would suffice for the journey thence to Ephesus, by the path above described. The elders would not travel as fast as a single messenger; but it would be possible for them to reach Priene twelve hours after the arrival of the messenger at Ephesus; and if a boat were in readiness there they might be in Miletus by midnight. The ship would weigh from Miletus after midnight with the first breath of wind from the N. (cp Acts 21 1, εὐθυδρομήσαντες, 'running before the wind'). Forty hours is therefore the minimum of Paul's stay in Miletus. This would just allow him to see the elders during the two or three hours before sailing. Probably, however, it would be right to allow another day for the unlading and lading of the ship at Miletus. This would allow more ample time for the various items in the calculation; and would mean that the elders availed themselves of the morning wind from Priene, and reached Miletus probably before noon, forty-eight hours after Paul's arrival there, and spent with him the last twelve or fourteen hours of his vessel's stay.[1] The impression given by the passage (Acts 20 17-21 1) is that there was little margin of time.

Paul was not master of the movements of the vessel, otherwise he would have touched at Ephesus. The somewhat ambiguous expression of *v.* 16 ('Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus,' AV: κεκρίκει . . . παραπλεῦσαι, 'to sail past,' RV) refers to a decision made at Troas (Acts 20 6) when selecting the coaster upon which a passage was to be taken. The omission of Ephesus from the itinerary was not the choice of Paul; it was a disadvantage outweighed by the speed of the ship upon which he finally decided to embark. The fact that she could not accomplish her lading at Miletus in time to take advantage of the first (or perhaps even the second) morning's wind, was an unforeseen way out of the difficulty.

On the visit of Paul to Miletus implied in 2 Tim. 4 20, see TIMOTHY, EPP. TO, and cp TROPHIMUS. W. J. W.

[1] Cp *CIG* 2878: τῆς πρώτης τῆς Ἰωνίας ᾠκισμένης καὶ μητροπόλεως πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πόλεων ἔν τε τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης Μιλησίων πόλεως ἡ Βουλή—which sums up the traditional history of the city.

[2] καὶ μείναντες ἐν Τρωγυλίῳ (DHLP; D[gr] Τρωγυλίᾳ) is omitted by ℵABC, Lachm., Tisch., Treg., WH.

MILK. At every period of their national life, from the earliest to the latest, the Hebrews made large use of milk as an article of diet. It is therefore rightly mentioned by Ben Sira, even before wine and oil, among 'the principal things for the whole use of man's life' (Ecclus. 39 26), for the nomad ancestors of the Hebrew tribes had long been nourished on the milk of their flocks (Gen. 18 8) before their descendants took possession of 'the vineyards and oliveyards which' they 'planted not' in the land of Canaan. Indeed, 'when the spring milk is in, the nomads [of central Arabia] nourish themselves of little else. In poorer households it is all their victual those two months' (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* I 325). So, too, Palmer testifies of the Arabs of the great desert of et-Tih, to the S. of Palestine. 'In many parts of the desert, milk forms the sole article of diet obtainable by the Bedouin, and I have heard a well-authenticated case of an Arab in the N. of Syria, who for three years had not tasted either water or solid food'[2] (*Desert of the Exodus*, 2 294).

Milk, in its fresh state, is always חָלָב, *ḥālāb*; LXX and NT γάλα.

1. Ḥālāb. This word occurs over forty times in the OT—predominantly in a figurative sense (see § 4 below)—about one-half of all the occurrences being in connection with the standing description of Palestine[3] as a land 'flowing with milk and honey' (fifteen times in the Hexateuch sources, J and D, also Lev. 20 24 [H], Jer. 11 5 32 22 Ezek. 20 6 15; Ecclus. 46 8; Bar. 1 20). Some slight confusion has arisen from the fact that *ḥālāb*, milk, and *ḥēleb*, fat, were expressed by the same unpointed consonants; thus in Ezek. 34 3 𝔊 has preserved the better, and now generally adopted, reading: 'Ye enjoy the milk, etc.' (reading *ḥālāb* for *ḥēleb*, and so Ps. 119 [𝔊 118] 70). Conversely 𝔊 reads *ḥēleb* for *ḥālāb* in Job 21 24 Is. 55 1 Ezek. 25 4.

Ḥālāb includes the human mother's milk (Is. 28 9), which the Hebrew infants enjoyed for from two to three years (2 Macc. 7 27), as well as the milk of the females of the herd (בָּקָר) and of the flock (צֹאן), the latter including both sheep and goats (Dt. 32 14 Prov. 27 27 Ezek. 34 3 [see above] 1 Cor. 9 7). To what extent the milk of the she-camel (Gen. 32 15 [16]) was used by the Hebrews is not known.

[That camel's milk was drunk is inferred from Gen. 32 15. A reference to it may also underlie the extraordinary phrase עִם־חֵלֶב כִּלְיוֹת חִטָּה, 'with the kidney fat of wheat,' which should probably be read [עִם־חֲלֵב בְּכָרוֹת [חֶמְאָה, 'with the milk of female camels' (חֶמְאָה, 'soured milk,' is misplaced). In Ps. 81 16 147 14 the text is also probably corrupt. T. K. C.]

In a mountainous country like Palestine, the small cattle must always have formed the large part of the peasant's stock, and their milk, especially goats' milk (Prov. 27 27), was apparently more highly prized. The milk was milked (in later Hebrew חָלַב) into pails (עֲטִינִים, *'ăṭīnīm*, Job 21 24 EV[mg.] and moderns) and preserved, as among the Bedouins still, in skins (Judg. 4 19, see

[1] So Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 294, where it is suggested that Paul landed at Miletus on Thursday, April 28, 57 A.D., and sailed again early on Sunday morning, May 1.

[2] Cp Pliny's statement (*HN* 11 97) that Zoroaster lived for thirty years upon cheese.

[3] In Nu. 16 13 the phrase is used of Egypt. See HONEY, § 1, note by T. K. C.

MILK

BOTTLE). A diet largely of milk was supposed to give a special whiteness to the teeth (Gen. 49 12).

From the thrice repeated command: 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk' (Ex. 23 19 34 26 Dt. 14 21),[1] we may certainly infer that the custom in vogue among the Arabs of boiling a kid or a lamb in milk (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, 1 63) was not unknown to the earlier Hebrews (cp MAGIC, § 2*a*).

The reasons for its prohibition are still obscure. If the words are to be taken in a strictly limited and literal sense, they might be set down to purely humanitarian motives (cp Dt. 22 6 *f.*). Probably the reason first suggested by Maimonides, and approved by Bochart, Spencer, and various later writers, is the best—that we have here the prohibition of a heathen Canaanite rite, the details of which are beyond our ken.

Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 221 n.) is inclined to range this prohibition alongside of the more familiar taboo which forbids the eating of flesh 'with the blood,' inasmuch as milk has sometimes been regarded 'as a kind of equivalent for blood, and as containing a sacred life.' Offerings of milk are found among the ancient Egyptians (Wilk. 3 417), Arabs, and Carthaginians (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 220 with reff.); but such offerings have no place in the Hebrew cultus. Josephus's averment that Abel brought 'milk and the firstfruits of his flocks' (*Ant.* i. 2 1) as a sacrifice to God is only another instance of the confusion, above referred to, of *ḥālāb* and *ḥēleb*. This absence of milk from the sacred offerings of the Hebrews is most probably due, as Robertson Smith has suggested (*op. cit.* 220 n.), to the exclusion of all ferments from presentation at the altar (Ex. 23 18 Lev. 2 11), for in hot climates milk ferments rapidly, and hence, as we shall see presently, is generally drunk or eaten sour.

The last remark leads naturally to the discussion of some of the forms in which milk figures as an article of diet, otherwise than in its fresh or 'sweet' state.

2. *Hem'āh, leben,* and *samn.*

To this day the wandering tribes of Arabia consider the milk of their camels and their flocks as more refreshing if it has been slightly fermented or soured by being poured into the milk-skin (*semīly*), on the inner side of which are still sticking sour clots from the previous milking (cp the use and source of leaven in breadmaking), and there shaken for a brief period (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 263, and Eastern travellers *passim*). To this slightly sour milk (the *oxygala* of Pliny *HN* 28 36), known indeed in the East widely (not, however, in Egypt) simply as *leben* ('milk'), which is also applied to what we term buttermilk (Burckhardt, *Notes*, etc., 1 240), the Hebrews gave the name *ḥem'āh* (חֶמְאָה, from an unused root, חמא, in Arabic, 'to be thick, hard,' but see Ges.-Buhl(13); in 𝔊 rendered βούτυρον,[2] Vg. *butyrum* and hence EV 'butter'). This is placed beyond doubt by the incident of Jael and Sisera, in which the former took the milk-skin (נֹאד הֶחָלָב, Judg. 4 19) and gave her visitor 'milk (yea), sour milk (חֶמְאָה), in a lordly dish' (5 25). The same refreshing draught is probably intended in Gen. 18 8 and Dt. 32 14 ('butter of kine and milk of sheep').

[In 2 Ch. 28 15 EV represents that 'all the feeble' of the captives of Judah taken by Pekah were 'carried upon asses, and (so) brought to Jericho.' וַיְנַהֲלוּם בַּחֲמֹרִים, however, cannot, in accordance with usage, be rendered 'carried them upon asses.' לְכָל־כּוֹשֵׁל is also suspicious (three ל, two כ). There is a great error in the text. Read וַיְכַלְכְּלוּם בְּחֶמְאָה וְקָלִי וַעֲדָשִׁים (cp 2 S 17 28 *f.*), 'and they sustained them with soured milk and parched corn and lentils.' ('Them' = the whole body of captives.) ינהל and יכלכל have a tendency to get confounded (see Ball on Gen. 47 18; Che. on Ps. 31 4).—T. K. C.]

Ḥem'āh, including the miswritten חֵמָה (Job 29 6) and the cognate מַחְמָאֹת (Ps. 55 21 [22], where, however, we should read and point מַחֶמְאָה פָּנָיו, 'his face was smoother than *ḥem'āh*) is found in other places, and in regard to these, as well as to the passages already cited, there has been great diversity of rendering—sour-milk, curds, cream, butter, buttermilk, each having its advocates. Of the eight places referred to, the most explicit, and perhaps the latest, is Prov. 30 33, 'the pressing of milk (מִיץ חָלָב) bringeth forth *ḥem'āh*.'

Here it may be explained that milk consists of numberless minute globules of fat, each encased in a thin albuminous envelope, floating in a watery, colourless fluid. To procure butter, which is simply the fat of milk, it is necessary by concussion to break this albuminous envelope or skin, which allows the enclosed fat-globules to come together and form the fatty mass which we term butter. Now this result the Arab housewives have obtained, from time immemorial, by simply rocking the milk-skin to and fro on their knees till the butter comes 'in a clot at the mouth of the *semīly*' (*Ar. Des.* 2 67), or the skin 'is hanged in the fork of a robust bearing-stake of the nomad tent' (*ib.* 1 324), or it may be suspended, as by the more settled peasantry, from a primitive tripod of sticks (see illustration, *Picturesque Palestine*, Div. 6 48). Butter, of course, does not keep in a hot climate; the Arabs and Syrians, accordingly, boil the fresh butter over a slow fire, throwing in coarse meal or 'burghul' (boiled wheat, see FOOD, § 1) to clarify the mass. This clarified butter, the best of which is said to have 'the odour of a blossoming vine,' is known throughout the Arabic-speaking East as *samn* (in India as *ghee*), and is one of the most valuable articles of commerce in Arabia.[1] In view of the extent to which melted butter enters into the *menu* of Bedouin and fellahin alike—to whom *samn* is all that 'clotted cream' is to a Devonshire man, and more—and in view of the unchanging customs of the East, one is prepared to find something equivalent to *samn* in the earlier biblical period. This we find unmistakably in Prov. 30 33, where we have an exact description of the rocking and pressing of the milk-skin, so that the rendering of EV, which follows 𝔊, is amply justified, 'the churning of milk bringeth forth butter.' Equally clear is the comparison in the amended text of Ps. 55 21, 'his face is smoother than butter,' where neither sour milk nor curds is admissible. Again *samn*, as the most prized of all the preparations of milk, is suggested by Job 29 6, of which a modern paraphrase would run: 'I sat, up to the lips in clotted cream.'[2] The two modern equivalents here advocated for the biblical *ḥem'āh*—viz., *leben* and *samn*—we find side by side in the much-glossed passage, Is. 7 15-22 (for which see Cheyne and Duhm, *in loc.*). In the last verse, in particular, we render 'because of the abundance of milk he shall eat *samn*' (*v.* 22*a*), a gloss entirely at variance with the context, which speaks of the poverty of the land when the few inhabitants shall be reduced to the simplest nomad fare, 'sour milk and wild honey' (22*b*).

Cheese is referred to, according to EV, in three

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1 For some of the more remarkable views entertained regarding this enactment, see art. 'Milk' in Kitto's *Bib. Cycl.* The refinements of the later, and still binding, Talmudic law (see especially *Ḥullīn*, 8 1 *ff.*) are referred to elsewhere (COOKING, § 8). Only locusts and fish, not the flesh of animals, venison, or fowl (see Jewish commentaries on *Ḥullīn, l.c.*) may still be boiled in milk.

2 Βούτυρον, lit. 'cow-cheese,' is now regarded as an instance of *Volksetymologie*, being an attempt on the part of the Greeks to reproduce the sound of the native Scythian name (see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen u. Hausthiere*(6), 153 *ff.* with O. Schrader's note, 159, which see also for the attitude of the classical peoples to butter. Cp Pliny, *HN* 28 35 and the extracts from other classical writers given in Ugolini, *de re rustica Vet. Hebr.* in *Thes.* 29 174 *ff.*).

1 Doughty estimates the trade with Mecca alone at £2000 annually (*Ar. Des.* 2 457).

2 Butter in the East is made ordinarily from whole milk (but see § 3), hence חמאה never probably in any passage literally signifies our 'cream,' although Rashi in his commentary—writing, however, in the West—defines חמאה in Gen. 18 8 as 'the fat of milk (שומן החלב), which they skim from its surface.' As a link between biblical times and the present day, we would point to the usual Targum rendering of חמאה—viz., שְׁמַן (lit. 'fat'), by which we understand the Arabic *samn*. The βούτυρον (𝔊) of the Greek-speaking Jews of Egypt was manifestly in that climate *samn*.

passages of the OT, and in each case it represents a different expression in the original.

3. Cheese. (*a*) The most explicit of these is Job 10 10 where the patriarch, referring to the growth of the human fœtus, asks the Almighty: 'Hast thou not poured me out as milk, and curdled (lit. thickened) me as cheese' (כַּגְּבִינָה)?

Here we have the ordinary Hebrew word for cheese, *gĕbhīnāh*, as found in the Mishna (*passim*), where also הֶעֱמִיד is the standing expression for curdling (reff. below), while the denominative גִּבֵּן, *gibbēn*, signifies to make cheese, hence מְגַבֵּן, *mĕgabbēn*, a cheese-maker (*Tōseftā Shabbāth* 9 [10] 13).

That cheesemaking was a flourishing industry in Jerusalem in NT times is usually inferred from the name of the valley between the eastern and western hills, the valley of the cheesemakers (τῶν τυροποιῶν, Jos. *BJ* v. 4 1 [Niese, § 140]). However, the contention recently submitted by some scholars of note (Halévy; Buhl, *Pal.* 132 etc.), that this name is a euphemism, has considerable plausibility. At the end of the so-called Tyropœon lay the dung gate (שַׁעַר הָאַשְׁפֹּת, Neh. 2 13 etc.), and hence it is conjectured that the original name of the valley was the 'dung or refuse valley' (*gē hā-ašpōth*), changed by a transposition of consonants into *gē ha-šaphōth*, cheese- or curd-valley (see below, *b*).

The milk was curdled by means of rennet (קֵבָה, *'Ăb. Zār.* 2 4; cp Dt. 18 3); also of the acrid juice of the leaves and roots of certain trees and plants (*'Orla* 1 7). After being drained of the whey (קוֹם, *Nĕdār.* 6 5; מֵי חָלָב [water of milk], *Makhshīr.* 6 5), the curds were salted (*Nĕdār.*, *l.c.*), shaped into round discs (עִגּוּל), and dried in the sun. These were hard enough to be cut with a hand-saw (*Shabb.* 17 2). The cheese of Bithynia enjoyed the highest repute in antiquity (Pliny, *HN* 11 97), but was forbidden to the Jews because it was curdled with the rennet that had been procured from calves not ritually slaughtered, or had been offered in heathen sacrifice (*'Ab. Zār.* 2 4).

(*b*) The present which David took to his brothers at the front—viz., ten חֲרִיצֵי הֶחָלָב (lit. 'cuts of milk,' 1 S. 17 18)—can hardly have been anything but 'ten fresh-milk cheeses' (cp 𝔊^L τρυφαλίδας [soft cheeses], 𝔊^A στρυφαλίδας, Vg. *decem formellas casei*).

(*c*) Quite obscure, on the other hand, is the present which David himself received at a later period, of *ḥem'ā* (here probably *samn*) and שְׁפוֹת בָּקָר, which EV (after Pesh. and Tg.) renders 'cheese of kine' (2 S. 17 29; 𝔊^BA σαφφωθ βοῶν, 𝔊^L γαλαθηνὰ μοσχάρια). Wetzstein advocates 'cream of kine,' similar to the preparation of thick cream scalded and sold in small wooden cylinders in Syria under the name of *ḳishṭa*. It is sometimes eaten with sugar[1] (see Wetzstein under 'Viehzucht' in Riehm's *HWB* and *ZATW* 3 276 *ff.*). It is tempting, however, to read שְׁאָפוֹת (from שָׁאַף, to rub down, crush, etc.), and to find in the expression the dried curds of the present day, which, rubbed down and mixed with water, give a most refreshing drink.

So universal an article of food as milk could hardly fail to suggest a variety of figures to the biblical writers.

4. Milk in OT figures. As the natural food of infants milk is used in the NT to express the first elements of religious instruction (1 Cor. 3 2 Heb. 5 12 *f.* 1 Pet. 2 2). In the oft-repeated phrase, 'flowing with milk and honey' (see HONEY), so expressive of the rich productiveness of the promised land, milk represents the common elements of the Hebrew dietary, as honey does its delicacies (cp wine and milk, Is. 55 1). So Joel embodies his conception of the surpassing fertility of the soil in the Messianic age in a picture of the hills flowing with milk (Joel 3 [4] 18). Together with snow, milk is typical of the whiteness of the human skin (Lam. 4 7), and, probably, of the human eye (Cant. 5 12). A bride's kisses are refreshing as honey and a draught of fresh milk (*ib.* 4 11), to which also the joys of the nuptial couch are compared (5 1).

A. R. S. K.

MILL, MILLSTONES. The hand-mill is one of the most widely distributed of human inventions. Under

[1] The writer has eaten this delicacy in the Lebanon under the name of *leben*.

MORTAR will be found some account of the earlier appliances which served the same purpose (cp Nu. 11 8, mill and mortar mentioned together) among the Hebrews as among the Romans. For the latter we have not only the express testimony of Pliny and other writers for the later origin of the hand-mill, but also the still more important witness of the Latin terms *pistor*, *pistrinum*, etc.[1]

The handmill, as consisting like the old Scottish querns of two parts, was named רֵחַיִם, *rēḥáyim* (mod. Egypt *raḥāya*),

1. The mill and its parts. rarely טְחוֹן, *ṭᵉḥōn* (Lam. 5 13; cp *ṭaḥūn*, the Egyptian water-mill) and טַחֲנָה, *ṭaḥănāh* (Eccles. 12 4). Since the stones were originally of the same size, the mill looked as if cleft in two, hence פֶּלַח, *pélaḥ* (something cleft) was the old name for either millstone, the lower of which was then פֶּלַח תַּחְתִּית, *pélaḥ taḥtīth* (Job. 41 24 [Heb. 16], AV following 𝔊, Vg. etc., 'a *piece* of the nether millstone,' but see RV), the upper פֶּלַח רֶכֶב, *pélaḥ rékeb* (Judg. 9 53, 2 S. 11 21). In NT times the stones were distinguished simply as the רֶכֶב (chariot, or perhaps the rider, Arab. *rākib*, already Dt. 24 6), and the שֶׁכֶב (lier, our 'bed-stone,' *Bāb. Bath.* 2 1). The corresponding names in the Greek OT and in NT are: for the mill, μύλος,[2] Ex. 11 5, etc., perhaps Mt. 24 41 (best MSS); millstone is λίθος μυλικός only in Lk. 17 2 (in best MSS, see below), also μύλος Rev. 18 21 (B), 22, according to usual interpretation also Mt. 18 6 Mk. 9 42 (best MSS, but see below); the favourite Greek name of the upper stone, the *catillus* of the Romans, was ὄνος the ass, also ἐπιμύλιον (Dt. 24 6 Judg. 9 53 [B]; perhaps also μύλος, Judg. 9 53 [AL], 2 S. 11 21 *f.*); the nether millstone, the Roman *meta*, was μύλη in the special sense, but does not occur in the Gk. Bible. The mill-house or *pistrinum* was μυλών (Jer. 52 11 [not in Heb.], Mt. 24 41 [D and TR]), and perhaps μύλος (Mt. *l.c.* [א B]).

The hand-mill of the Hebrews (רֵחַיִם שֶׁל יָד, *Zābīm* 4 3, modelled on the Gk. χειρομύλη) can scarcely have differed in any important particular from the mill still in use in the East among Bedouins and fellāḥīn alike, although it probably presented the same variety of shape and size in different parts of the country.

Thus in some parts the stones are both flat, in others the lower is slightly convex and the upper correspondingly concave; some mills have both stones of equal diameter; in others, the upper, which is invariably the lighter, is of smaller diameter. This last seems to have been the usual fashion among the Jews of the first and second centuries A.D., when the diameter of 'the rider' was usually a couple of handbreadths less than that of 'the bed-stone' (*Bāb. Bath.* 2 1). The average diameter of the modern hand-mills is probably about 18 inches.

The lower stone is always of some hard stone, whilst the upper, in Syria at least, is almost invariably of the black, porous lava of Ḥaurān, which has the admirable quality of always preserving a rough surface. Through the centre of 'the rider' a funnel-shaped hole is chiselled out, and in the corresponding part of the bed-stone a stout peg of wood is inserted, by which the upper stone is kept in place. The upper stone is turned by means of an upright wooden handle inserted in its upper surface, near the edge. The mill is fed by pouring the grain in handfuls into the centre opening of the rider and may be placed on a sheepskin, or inside a large circular tray, placed on the ground to receive the flour[3] as it passes out between the stones.

Grinding the flour or barley-meal for the household need has in all ages been peculiarly women's work (Mt.

2. The work of the mill. 24 41—hence 'the grinders' of Eccles. 12 3, lit. as RV^mg. 'grinding women'), and a millstone has more than once in the world's history been an effective weapon in a woman's hand (Judg. 9 53 2 S. 11 21; cp the fate of Pyrrhus). Among the Jews grinding stood first among the housewifely duties, from which the young wife could

[1] Servius' comment on Virgil, *Æn.* I 179, is often quoted: 'quia apud maiores nostros molarum usus non erat, frumenta torrebant et ea in pilas missa pinsebant, et hoc erat genus molendi, unde et pinsitores dicti sunt, qui nunc pistores vocantur.'

[2] The classical μύλη is used in the LXX only metaphorically of the molar teeth.

[3] A large basin or tray for this purpose seems intended by the יָם or 'sea' (*i.e.* basin; cp the 'brazen sea' of the Temple) of the mill (יָם הָרֵחַיִם), several times mentioned in the Talmud.

only be released if she had brought, as part of her dowry, a slave girl as a substitute (*Kĕthūbōth* 55). In the houses of the great, the work of the mill fell to the female slaves (Ex. 11 5), hence the command to 'the daughter of Babylon' to 'take the millstones and grind meal' (Is. 47 2) is a prophecy of impending slavery. The same idea may underlie Job's words regarding his wife (Job 31 10*a*), although the parallelism certainly suggests a coarser interpretation, which the Vg. also finds in Lam. 5 13 (see the comms.). Male prisoners and captives were likewise compelled to this species of hard labour, as was Samson (Judg. 16 21), and, according to the Greek text of Jeremiah (52 11), king Zedekiah in Babylon. In the passage from Lamentations just alluded to (5 13), the Hebrew poet pathetically describes the lot of the young exiles, condemned to bear the heavy millstones to grind for their captors, while the boys stumbled beneath the wood[1] to fire their bread. The slaves were wont to lighten the burden of their labour with a song, the ᾠδὴ ἐπιμύλιος of the classics (a specimen from Plutarch *apud* Blümner, *op. cit.* 33), a practice to which there is a reference in the Gk. text of Eccles. 12 4 (φωνῆς τῆς ἀληθούσης).

The form of the hand-mill or quern above described was doubtless the same as that which it first assumed among the classical peoples (cp Blümner's standard work, *Technologie*, etc. 24); but among the Romans of the later republic and the empire the form was somewhat different.

3. The mills of the Romans.

From a square or circular stone base rose the fixed nether millstone in the shape of a blunted cone, hence called *meta*, with an iron peg or pivot inserted at the top. The upper stone, the *catillus*, was cut into the shape of an hour-glass, or, more precisely, of the old-fashioned reversible wooden egg-cup. Its lower half was hung on the above-mentioned pivot, over and surrounding the *meta*, and the whole *catillus* was turned by means of a couple of handspikes through holes in its waist or narrowest part (see the illustrations in Smith's and Rich's *Dicts. of Antiquities*, *s.v.* 'Mola,' and in Blümner, *op. cit.* 27). The corn was poured into the upper half of the egg-cup, so to say, which served admirably as a hopper, and found its way through certain apertures in the waist to be ground between the surface of the cone-shaped *meta* and the inner surface of the lower half of the *catillus*. We mention these details mainly because we have discovered evidence, overlooked or misunderstood by previous writers, that this form of the mill was not unknown among the Jews of NT times. Thus in the regulations for the sale of house property, we have the following distinction in Jewish law, between fixtures that went with the house, and movables that did not (*Bāb. Bath.* 4 3) 'Whoso has sold a house has sold the door but not the key, the fixed mortar but not the movable one, the *istrobīl* (אסטרוביל) but not the *ḳalath* (קלת), etc.' Again, in *Zābīm* 4 2 we find mentioned together the *istrobīl* and the *ḥămōr* (חֲמוֹר) of the hand-mill (שֶׁלְּרֵחַיִם שֶׁלְּיָד). Now these terms have been entirely misunderstood by the authoritative commentators on the Mishna (see *apud* Surenhusius *in loc.*). In reality the *ḥămōr* of the hand-mill is nothing but the ὄνος (ass) or upper millstone of the Greeks (cp Hesychius, *s.v.* μύλη: καὶ οὕτω λέγεται καὶ ὁ κάτω τῆς μύλης λίθος τὸ δὲ καὶ ἄνω ὄνος),[2] which, again, from the shape of its upper portion, is also named the *ḳalath* (Gk. κάλαθος, a tapering, funnel-shaped basket).[3] Similarly, the *istrobīl* is the Gk. στρόβιλος, a spinning-top, the likeness to which of the *meta* or lower stone with its ribbed surface is self-evident. The mills of this construction were larger and heavier—those of Pompeii are about 5 to 6 feet in height—than the ordinary Jewish hand-mill, and, as we have seen, were built into the floor of the house. They were capable of being adjusted so as to produce flour of varying fineness; by this means, and by the process of bolting described below (col. 3095, begin.), were obtained the different sorts of 'flour' and 'fine flour' to which there is reference in the Mishna (*Makhshīr.* 10 5).

[1] Since Ibn Ezra it has sometimes been absurdly supposed that 'the wood' here means the light and unremovable handles of the mills! (So Hoheisel, *De molis*, etc., adopted in Smith's *DB*, art. 'Mill.')

[2] The learned author of the art. 'Bread' in Hastings' *DB* (1 317 *a*), in the section on the Hebrew hand-mill, in making ὄνος the 'nether millstone' has allowed himself to be misled by the erroneous and now antiquated findings of Hoheisel and other early investigators who wrote before the discovery of actual mills, esp. at Pompeii, had made their construction intelligible.

[3] Thus Pliny (*HN* 21 2) describes the flower of the lily as paulatim sese laxantis (tapering), *effigie calathi.*

In addition to these, the *molæ manuales*, the Romans made use of a still larger mill of the same construction turned by worn-out horses or asses, hence named *molæ jumentariæ* or *molæ asinariæ* (illustr. *ut sup.*).

4. The mola asinaria.

A reference to these ass-mills has been found by all commentators in Jesus' denunciation of him who shall cause the little ones of the kingdom to stumble, for—according to Mt.—'it is profitable for him that a μύλος ὀνικός (AV 'millstone,' RV 'great millstone,' RV^mg. 'a millstone turned by an ass') should be hanged about his neck and that he should be sunk in the depth of the sea' (Mt. 18 6 RV).[1]

We cannot here discuss the readings of the parallel passages, Mk. 9 42 Lk. 17 2; it must suffice to note that the μύλος ὀνικός is repeated in the *textus receptus* of Lk., where the best MSS and editors read λίθος μυλικός—*i.e.* the ordinary millstone (so RV)—which, again, is the received reading of Mk., where the best MSS have μύλος ὀνικός (RV with mg. as above).

What, then, was the μύλος ὀνικός? Is it the case, as a recent commentator puts it, that 'the vehement emphasis of Christ's words is toned down in Lk. here, as often elsewhere' (A. B. Bruce, *Exp. Gk. Test. ad* Lk. 17 2)? Has the third evangelist really reduced the heavier 'millstone turned by an ass' to the stone of an ordinary handmill? We reply that the μύλος ὀνικός of the first two evangelists is simply a literal Gk. rendering of *mola asinaria* or ass-mill, as indeed Jerome (Mt. *l.c.*), and before him the Peshiṭta, have perceived (cp Stephanus, *Thes. Ling. Græc.* 988). The words used by Jesus we suppose to have been the חֲמוֹר שֶׁלְּרֵחַיִם of the Mishna, or their Aramaic equivalent in the Gĕmārā חֲמָרָא דְרֵיחַיָא, the *ass* or *upper millstone*, which, as the removable stone (cp Mishna above), would most readily occur to contemporary readers of Lk.'s λίθος μυλικός. The author of the second gospel, probably followed by the author of the first, has confused the two meanings of חמור and ὄνος as applied to the upper millstone and the live animal that turned it—a confusion from which other Greek writers are not free (Blümner, *op. cit.* 35, n. 3). The result of this confusion is the impracticable suggestion of the offender having hung about his neck the relatively enormous weight of a whole *mola asinaria*. Only large private establishments or professional millers (טוֹחֵן, *Dĕmai* 3 4) would possess one of this class of mill. There is no reference in the Bible, it may be added, to the third class of ancient mills, the *molæ aquariæ*, or water-mills, now so largely used in Syria.

The Hebrew creditor is forbidden (Dt. 24 6) to 'take to pledge' either the whole mill[2] (RV) or even the upper stone, 'for he taketh the man's life to pledge,' in other words, the means by which the family sustenance was provided.

This law was later extended to include all the utensils necessary for the preparation of food (*Bābā Mĕṣī'a* 9 13, cp Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 26 [Niese, § 270]). The user of the hand-mill in this direction

[1] For the Greek punishment known as καταποντισμός see the special treatises cited by Winer, *RWB*(3), 2 13, and Goetz, *op. cit.* In the Gospels, of course, we have a mere figure of speech.

[2] King James's translators, following a tradition as old as the second century A.D. adopted by Jewish commentators (see Rashi on Dt. *l.c.*), quite falsely rendered רֵחַיִם by 'nether millstone.'

was not limited to grinding wheat and barley. Beans, lentils, fruit, etc., might all be passed through the family mill (Mishna, *passim*). For the olive-mill (רחים של זיתים) and the pepper-mill (ר״ של פלפל) see OIL and SPICES respectively.

In order to obtain the 'fine flour' (סֹלֶת) required for the sacred offerings as well as for the finer sorts of bakemeats, it was necessary to bolt or sift the flour (קֶמַח) that came from the mill by means of a bolt-sieve (נָפָה, Is. 30 28, Mishna *passim*, the κόσκινον [Ecclus. 27 4] of the Greeks). To judge from the comparison of the model pupil to the *nāphāh* 'which lets out the *ḳémaḥ* and keeps back the *sōleth*' (*Ābōth* 5 15)—a passage misunderstood both by Jewish and Christian commentators (see, *e.g.*, in Surenhusius)—the *naphah* used for this purpose was not a sieve with meshes like the modern *munḫul* (see Wetzstein, *ZDPV* 14 3 *f.*) but a close-bottomed sieve, the modern *minsef.* The bolting was effected by a combined up-and-down and rotatory motion—the verb (הַרְקִיד), used of the process of sifting the flour in *Shabb.* 7 2, means literally 'to cause to dance'—by which the heavier particles of the flour were collected at one side and thrown over the edge of the sieve.

5. The mill in figures. Among the figures which Hebrew writers have borrowed from the mill, in addition to the figure for slavery (Is. 47 2) already explained, may be noted Isaiah's graphic denunciation of the rich magnates of his day who ground 'the faces of the poor' (Is. 3 15). 'The dull rumour of the running millstones is' at this day 'as it were a comfortable voice of food in an Arabian village, when in the long sunny hours there is often none other human sound' (Doughty, *Arab. Des.* 2 179). So it was in the villages of Judæa, and hence the cessation of the 'comfortable voice' of the mill (קוֹל רֵחַיִם, Jer. 25 10; cp Rev. 18 22, φωνὴ μύλου) is to Jeremiah and the seer of Patmos an important factor in that 'solitude' which a ruthless enemy is wont to make and 'call it peace.' The essential hardness of the 'nether millstone' is the source of a popular proverb, first met with in Job (41 24 [16]). The identity of function in the case of the millstones and the teeth has suggested a figure common to many tongues (Eccles. 12 3 4; cp μύλη in the 𝕲 = *dens molaris*). In the Talmud, to have a millstone round one's neck is to be burdened with domestic cares, which are fatal to the fruitful study of the Tōrāh (*Kiddūsh.* 29 *b*). In the mediæval Hebrew work, the *Choice of Pearls*, 'he who poses as a wise man without the true wisdom is like to the "ass" (חֲמוֹר, the upper millstone) of the mill; which goes round and round without moving from its place' (cited but misunderstood by Goetz, *op. cit.* 219, and by those who quote from him; see *ap.* Hastings, *op. et ll. cc.*). Finally, it may be added that some have found in the Gk. proverb ὁ φεύγων μύλον ἄλφιτα φεύγει the original of Paul's wise injunction, 'if any man will not work, neither let him eat' (2 Thess. 3 10).

6. Literature. A considerable amount of special literature has been devoted to the mills of the ancients. The principal older works are Joh. Heringius, *De Molendinis*, 1663; Hoheisel, *Dissertatio de Molis Manualibus Veterum*, 1728; and esp. Goetzius, *Diss. de Molis et Pistrinis Veterum*, 1730—the two last reprinted by Ugolinus in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, vol. xxix. These have all been superseded by Hugo Blümner's classical treatise *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, 1875, Bd. 1 23 *ff.* A good summary in art. 'Mola' in Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*(3).

A. R. S. K.

MILLENNIUM. Once, and only once, in the NT we hear of a millennium, for neither 1 Cor. 15 23 *f.* nor 1 Thess. 4 16 *f.* points in this direction.

1. References. We hear in Rev. 20 2-5 of a period of a thousand years during which 'the dragon [the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan]'[1] (see DRAGON, § 2) is confined in the abyss, 'that he should deceive the nations no more until the thousand years be finished,' while the martyrs 'who worshipped not the beast nor his image,' alone of the dead live again, and reign with Christ. This revival of the martyrs is called 'the first resurrection' (*v.* 6), and at the end of the millennium Satan shall be loosed out of his prison for a little time to deceive the nations (*v.* 7; cp *v.* 3). See ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 75, 88.

Why this specification of 1000 years? The Book of Enoch (91 12) gives a 'week' (see WEEK) as the period of the Messianic kingdom; the Apocalypse of Ezra (7 28 *f.*) gives 400 years, so also Rabbi, quoting Mic. 7 15 (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 373). It is in the Talmud that we find the statement that this kingdom will last for 1000 (or 2000) years. The world was to last for 5000 or 4000 years of evil; then, in the kingdom of the Messiah, 1000 or 2000 years of Sabbath-rest were to come for God's people. This idea may have been common in the time of the writers of the Apocalypse.

2. Origin of the idea. But was the idea really of Jewish origin? We may reasonably suspect that many of the later ideas were of Babylonian or Persian origin, though the new growths became thoroughly Jewish; and it is quite fair, in dealing with suspected Persian influences, to use the later Zoroastrian Scriptures, because these writings, even if late in composition, are admitted to embody and to develop genuine early traditions. Now it was the later Zoroastrian belief that time consisted of a series of twelve millenniums, the last of which should be marked by a wonderful progressive amelioration of the lot of the human race. Before the end of this twelfth millennium Saoshyans, the 'Triumphant Benefactor,' the last of the posthumous sons of Zarathustra, would be born. During the space of 57 years all evil would be destroyed, and at the end of this period Ahriman the fiend would be annihilated, and the renovation for the future existence (cp 'the new heavens and the new earth') would occur.[1]

3. Influence of the belief. Much fanaticism has sprung up in the Christian church from an exaggerated belief in the millennium. But so much must be admitted—that the doctrines with which this belief is connected have been morally most efficacious. Both Zoroastrianism and Christianity are deeply indebted to the doctrine which they both share, or have both shared, of the conflict between the two principles of good and evil, and of the future renovation of the earth; and when, as in Christianity, this is coupled with a belief in the future advent, not of a mythical Saoshyans, but of the historical Author of the faith, it has given an extraordinary force and freedom to the operation of the Christian spirit.

The expression of what we may call millenarianism in the Apocalypse of John is comparatively temperate. It is quite otherwise with other early Christian works. The Jewish apocalypses were received as sacred books of great antiquity, and their contents were greedily absorbed. Even the Gentile Christians were conquered by millenarianism, and in proportion as, after the war of Bar-Kocheba, the Jews became indifferent to the Messianic hope, chiliastic ideas became naturalised in the Christian communities, and the books containing them were sedulously preserved. Thus Papias confounds expressions of Jesus with verses from the Apocalypse of Baruch (29 5; see Charles's note) referring to the astonishing fruitfulness of the soil in the Messianic days (see Iren. 5 33). Barnabas (*Ep.* 15) accepts the Jewish theory that the present world will last 6000 years from the creation, that at the beginning of the Sabbath (the seventh millennium) the Son of God will appear, to put an end to the period of 'the unjust one,' to judge the wicked, and to renovate the earth. He does not, however, like Papias, expatiate in sensuous descriptions; it is to be a time of holy peace. It is not the end, however; it is followed by an eighth day of eternal duration—'the beginning of another world.' Hence, according to Barnabas, the Messianic reign closes the present

[1] Probably an interpolation from 12 9.

[1] See West's translations in *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. v., xxiv.; especially *Bundahiš* 30 3; *Dinkard* 7 10.

αἰών. Justin (*Dial.* 80) speaks of chiliasm as a necessary element of orthodoxy, though he knows Christians who do not accept it. He believes that a restored Jerusalem will be the seat of the Messiah's kingdom, and assumes that all believers, together with patriarchs and prophets, will enjoy perfect happiness for a thousand years. In fact, he reads this view into the Johannine Apocalypse. Cerinthus, too, speculative as he was, clings to the chiliastic ideas, and pictures Christ's kingdom as one of sensual pleasures (Eus. *HE* 3 28 7 25).

After the middle of the second century these expectations gradually retired into the backgroud. So early as the year 170 A.D., the party of the so-called Alogi rejected the whole body of apocalyptic writings, and denounced the Apocalypse of John as a mass of fables (cp APOCALYPSE, § 4). Perhaps their own hostility to Montanism was the cause. Here we may pause, noting, however, in conclusion that in the time of Eusebius the Greek Church was saturated with prejudice against the Apocalypse, on account of its 'Jewish' chiliasm.

MILLET (דֹּחַן, *dōḥan;* ΚΕΓΧΡΟΣ ; *MILIUM*) is once mentioned, along with wheat, barley, beans, lentils, and spelt, as an ingredient in bread (Ezek. 4 9†).

The Hebrew name is also found in Aramaic and Arabic. It may refer to the dark colour of the grain, since *dahan*ᵘⁿ means 'smoke' and *duḥnat*ᵘⁿ 'a smoky colour.' As it is in modern Egypt and Palestine the name of the common millet, *Panicum miliaceum*, L., this is probably the plant intended; it has been cultivated in Egypt since prehistoric times. Another kind of millet, *Andropogon Sorghum*, Bed., is also grown in Palestine (see Tristram, *NHB* 470): with this De Candolle (*Orig.* 306) is inclined to identify the Heb. *dōḥan*, but remarks that the modern Arabic word is applied to the variety *saccharatus*. *Andropogon Sorghum* seems to have had an African origin and to have been cultivated by the ancient Egyptians.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

MILLO (מִלּוֹא); EV in Judg. 9 6 20 2 K. 12 20 **House of Millo** (בֵּית מ׳).

𝔊's readings are Judg. 9 6 *βηθμααλων* [B], *μααλλων* [A], *ὁ οἶκος μαλλων* [L]; 9 20 *βηθμααλλων* [B], *μαα.* [A], L as before; 2 K. 12 20 *οἰκ. μααλω* [BA], L as before; 2 S. 5 9 1 K. 11 27 *ἡ ἄκρα* [BAL]; 1 K. 9 15 24 om. BL, *την μελω* [A]; 1 Ch. 11 8 om. BℵA, *ἡ ἄκρα* [L]; 2 Ch. 32 5 *τὸ ἀνάλημμα* [BAL].

Generally supposed to be the designation of a kind of castle or other fortification.

(*a*) In Judg. 9 6 20, some identify it with the Tower of Shechem (*vv.* 46-49), a view which Moore pronounces 'very doubtful.' For a probable solution of the problem, see SHECHEM, TOWER OF.

(*b*) In 2 K. 12 20 [21], Joash is said to have been slain 'at Beth-millo (on the way?) that goes down to Silla.' So RV. But הירד סלא is probably a corruption of ירחמאל, which is a (correct) gloss on מלא. Render, therefore, simply, 'at Beth-jerahmeel.' See JOASH.

(*c*) In 2 S. 5 9 1 K. 9 15 24 11 27 1 Ch. 11 8 2 Ch. 32 5 it would seem to refer to some part of the fortifications of the citadel of Jerusalem. Probably, as in (*a*) and (*b*), מלוא is a corruption of ירחמאל. The most probable text of 2 S. 5 6 8 shows that the original population of Jerusalem was Jerahmeelite; and that of Is. 29 1, that it was sometimes called ('Ir) Jerahmeel—*i.e.*, 'city of Jerahmeel' (see *Crit. Bib.*). Winckler, however (*GI*, 2 251), thinks that Beth-millo is an expression for a temple; he compares Ass. *mullû* = *tamlû*, a terrace or artificial elevation (cp Targ. מְלִיתָא). Within the fortification (מְצוּדָה) of the ancient Jerusalem was the sacred hill with its sanctuary; round this, for security, David built his house (2 S. 5 9). It was the same Beth-millo—*i.e.*, 'sanctuary'—which Solomon, according to Winckler, restored; the tradition that the temple of Solomon was erected on a new site being late and incorrect. See JERUSALEM, § 21, and TEMPLE.

T. K. C.

MINA (ΜΝΑ), Lk. 19 13 RVᵐᵍ· See MANEH.

MINES, METAL-WORK (Job 28 1 מוֹצָא, AVᵐᵍ·, RV 'mine'; 𝔊. ΤΟΠΟΣ ΟΘΕΝ ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ; 1 Macc. 8 3 [ΚΑΤΑΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΙ] ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΩΝ EV 'mines').

1. Were there mines in Palestine?

From passages like Dt. 8 9, 'A land whose stones are iron, And out of whose hills thou mayest dig copper,' and 33 25, 'The bolts be iron and bronze,' we might naturally infer that there were mines in Palestine. When we consider, too, that Solomon had his own workmen in the Lebanon who hewed out stone and prepared timber for his buildings (1 K. 5 13-18 [27-32]), it would not be strange if he also had miners. There may be a reference to this in a notice in 𝔊ᴮ of 1 K. 2 46*c*, which precedes a reference to his building of *Θερμαι* (see TADMOR) in the desert, *καὶ Σαλωμων ἤρξατο ἀνοίγειν τὰ δυναστεύματα τοῦ Λιβάνου*, if Winckler (*Alttest. Unt.* 175; *GI*, 2 235 261) is right in assuming that *δυναστ.* covers a Hebrew word meaning 'mines.' That iron was found in the Antilibanus, and copper in the Lebanon, is certain (see COPPER, IRON). It is not easy, however, to find such a Hebrew word as is required.[1] In Job 28 we have a somewhat technical description of mining operations; but the probability is that it refers to the mines of Upper Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula. It is not, indeed, less interesting on that account, and it is fitting that the imagery employed in eulogising wisdom should not be exclusively derived from Palestine. There is, however, so much corruption in the text (cp GOLD, SAPPHIRE) that one may justly hesitate to institute a comparison between the details of the poet and those of a careful collector of knowledge like Pliny, except as regards the obviously sound portions. It is true that *v.* 1 refers to the washing of gold (זקק, properly 'to filter, strain'), such as is described by Diodorus (see GOLD, § 2), and *v.* 2 to the smelting of copper, whilst in *v.* 4 RV quite correctly renders, 'He breaketh open a shaft' (the marginal rendering of *v.* 4*a*, 'The flood breaketh out from where men sojourn' may be suggestive, but can claim no philological plausibility). The only other direct reference to mines is in 1 Macc. 8 3, where the Romans are said to have told Judas the Maccabee of the successful efforts they had made to win the gold and silver mines of Spain. In truth, the mineral wealth of Spain was such that that country seemed to the ancients a veritable El Dorado (see Posidonius, *ap.* Strab. 145 *ff.*). See, further, AMBER, COPPER, GOLD, IRON, LEAD, SILVER, TIN.

Our result thus far is disappointing. Mining was not and could not be as present to the mind of a Jew as it was to that of an Arab. Such a saying as that ascribed to Mohammed, 'Men are mines,'[2]—*i.e.*, they produce only what nature inclines them to produce; they cannot produce what is not already in them,—would have been impossible in the mouth of a Jew (cp Mt. 7 16-18).

There are, however, many references to metallurgical operations.

2. Metallurgy.

(*a*) *Smelting* supplies one of the most favourite figures to Jewish teachers. There is a striking passage in Ezekiel (22 18-22) where the process of the smelter, who blows the fire in which the copper, tin, iron, and lead have been placed, is compared to the judgments about to come on the house of Israel. The same image, however, is also used for consolation—*e.g.*, in Is. 1 25 (cp FURNACE). See Pliny, *HN*, 37 47, and Rawlinson, *Phœnicia*, chap. 10.

(*b*) The *casting* of images and other sacred objects (Ex. 25 12 26 37 Is. 40 19 1 K. 7 46) of gold, silver, or copper, is also mentioned, but not the casting of objects of iron.

(*c*) The *hammering* of metal, and making it into broad sheets (Nu. 16 38 [17 3] Is. 44 12).

(*d*) *Soldering* and *welding* (Is. 41 7); (*e*) *polishing* (1 K. 7 45); (*f*) *overlaying* with plates of gold, silver, or copper (Ex. 25 11-24 1 K. 6 20 2 Ch. 3 5 Is. 40 19). FURNACE, JOB, § 11.

These operations seem to have been carried on to a considerable extent among the Israelites. We learn, however, that in Solomon's time it was necessary to obtain Phœnician assistance in executing the metal work for the temple (1 K. 7 13 *ff.*). See, further, FURNACE; HIRAM, 2; HANDICRAFTS; JOB, § 11.

MINGLED PEOPLE (עֶרֶב, 1 K. 10 15 Jer. 25 24; else-

1 Wi. suggests בְּעָלוֹת; but his arguments are not very convincing.

2 Wellh., *Muhammed in Medina* (Vakidi), 424.

where עֵרֶב, pointed on the assumption that the word means 'mixture'—*i.e.*, 'a mixed multitude' [almost always with art.; see below]; ΕΠΙΜΙΚΤΟϹ, ϹΥΜ., ΤΟΝ ΛΑΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΜΕΜΙΓΜΕΝΟΝ [L in Neh.]). In Jer. 25 20 50 37 it is supposed to mean the foreign mercenaries in the Egyptian and Chaldæan armies respectively (cp ARMY, § 9). In 1 K. 10 15 Jer. 25 24 Ezek. 30 5 it is more difficult to give a plausible justification of the rendering, since here the word undeniably has an ethnographic significance. The most critical course is, probably, in all the passages mentioned, to point עֲרָב, 'Arabia,' though a middle course is preferred by some scholars (see ARABIA, § 1).[1] In Jer. 25 24 it is obvious at a glance (cp 𝔊 and Aq., Theod. in Qmg.) that there has been dittography (see ARABIA, § 1); 'mingled people' is the makeshift of an editor who had to evade this. In Jer. 25 20 'and all Arabia,' which is the correct rendering of the consonants of the text, should be omitted, as due to a scribe's error (cp *v.* 24); in Jer. 50 37 the Arabian population in Babylonia is referred to.

The same word, without the article, occurs in Ex. 12 38 (where רב, ignored by EV, is dittographed), Neh. 13 3, where it is rendered **Mixed Multitude.** In the former passage it is supposed to mean the *colluvies* of various races which accompanied the Israelites at the Exodus (cp Nu. 11 4 Dt. 29 11 [10] Josh. 8 35); in the latter, the Ammonites, Moabites, and others, with whom Ezra found that the Judæan Jews had had intercourse, contrary to Dt. 23 3 *ff.* It is plain, however, that to produce a proper antithesis between ערב and 'Israel' the former word ought to be the designation of a people—*i.e.*, we ought in both passages to point עֲרָב, Arabians (so, in Neh. *l.c.*, E. Meyer, *Entst.* 130). THE MIXED MULTITUDE is also the rendering of הָאסַפְסֻף in Nu. 11 4.

האספסף is usually taken to be a synonym of ערב רב (Geiger, *Urschr.* 71, after Sam. ערברב), and to mean the non-Israelites in the host of the Hebrews. However, if ערב means 'Arabians,' אספסף must be a corruption of some word of similar meaning. A more probable correction than שאסים, *Shāsīm*—*i.e.*, the Shāsu of the Egyptian inscriptions, is צָרְפָתִים, 'Zarephathites.' See MOSES, § 11, ZAREPHATH. A connection with Osarsiph (Manetho's name for Moses) or with Asaph can hardly be thought of. T. K. C.

MINIAMIN (מִנְיָמִין), 2 Ch. 31 15 Neh. 12 17 41. See MIJAMIN.

MINISTER. 1. The word most usually so rendered is מְשָׁרֵת, *mĕšārēth* (ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΟϹ; *minister*), pt. of שרת 'to serve' (in a free and honourable capacity, as distinguished from עבד, which denotes the service of a slave). See Ex. 24 13 (Joshua), 2 S. 13 17 *f.*, 2 K. 4 43 6 15, Prov. 29 12; fem. in 1 K. 1 15. In later writings, it is specially used of the service of God or of 'the altar' (Is. 61 6 Jer. 33 21 Joel 1 9 13 2 17); see also Ps. 103 21 104 4. It is noteworthy that where the Hebrew text of Sirach (4 14) gives מְשרתי קדש משרתיה, 'Ministers of holiness are her (Wisdom's) ministers,' the Greek uses two different verbs, *οἱ λατρεύοντες αὐτῇ λειτουργήσουσιν ἁγίῳ.*

2. פלח, Ass. *palāḫu*, to fear or worship, is used in Ezra 7 24 of the 'ministers of the house of God.' The same verb is met with in Dan. 3 12 14 17 *f.*, 6 17 21 7 14 27 (*φοβεῖσθαι, λατρεύειν, δουλεύειν*).

3. For כֹּהֵן (2 S. 8 18 1 K. 4 5) see MINISTER (CHIEF).

4. *ὑπηρέτης* Lk. 4 20 Acts 13 5, RV 'attendant.'

5. *διάκονος* Mt. 20 26 Mk. 10 43. See DEACON, § 1, and MINISTRY, § 40.

6. *λειτουργός* (*a*) A minister of God, generally; Rom. 13 6 Heb. 1 7 (=Ps. 104 4). (*b*) A minister of Jesus Christ, Rom. 15 16, where *ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ* follows—*i.e.*, 'doing the work of a priest of the gospel' (Jowett). (*c*) Applied to Christ, as the sole officer or administrator in the true sanctuary, *τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργός*, Heb. 8 2.—In Acts 13 2, *λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ* is of course metaphorical, and alludes to the doctrine of the NT and of certain psalmists that prayer is the most acceptable sacrifice. Note that *λειτουργούντων* is followed by *νηστευόντων*; prayer and fasting are naturally combined. In Heb. 10 11 the same verb is used of the OT priests; so *λειτουργία* in Lk. 1 23 Heb. 8 6 9 21. Figurative uses of *λειτουργία* in Phil. 2 17 30 2 Cor. 9 12; cp Rom. 15 27.—Of the more special use of *λειτουργία*, connecting it with the office of the Holy Eucharist, there is no trace in the NT. It is usually said that the ordinary Greek usage gives no suggestion of the application of *λειτουργέω* found in the LXX and the Greek NT, though here and there in Diod. Sic., Dionys. Halicarn., and Plutarch *λειτουργός* is used of priests.[1] It has been shown, however, that *λειτουργέω* and *λειτουργία* are often used of ministering in the temples in the Egyptian papyri (for references see Deissmann, *Bibel-studien*, 138).

MINISTER, CHIEF (כֹּהֵן), the title of an office in the courts of David and Solomon, 2 S. 8 18 (David's sons, ΑΥΛΑΡΧΑΙ); 20 26 (Ira the Jairite, ΙΕΡΕΥϹ); 1 K. 4 5 (Nathan, not in 𝔊BL) in RVmg.. This rendering expresses the view of Baudissin[2] and Buhl[3] (Ges.(13)-Bu.(2)). 'Probably,' says Baudissin, 'the title of priest was attached, *honoris causâ*, to kings' sons and high officers.' H. P. Smith, Löhr, and others support this view. 'The traditional exegesis,' says H. P. Smith, 'has difficulty in supposing David's sons to be *priests* in the proper sense, for by the Levitical code none could be priests except descendants of Aaron.' The Chronicler is supposed to have already felt this difficulty; in 1 Ch. 18 17, we read 'And the sons of David were the chief beside the king' (RV 'chief about the king' *οἱ πρῶτοι διάδοχοι* [*διαδόχου* L] *τοῦ βασ.*). Robertson Smith[4] quotes 2 S. 8 18, along with 2 K. 10 11 12 2, as proving that the higher priests were grandees. (See also Driver, *TBS*, 220.)

But (*a*) in 1 K. 4 5 כֹּהֵן, 'priest,' is followed by רֵעֶה, 'friend.' 'Priest-friend' is impossible; Hushai was a 'friend,' but no priest. Plainly כֹּהֵן is a gloss, which in 𝔊 has actually expelled the word which it sought to explain. כֹּהֵן, therefore, would seem to be the wrong word. (*b*) In 1 K. 4 6, as Klost. has shown, we ought to read, not אחישר, but אָחִיו שַׂר; Zabud then was a כהן (corrupt surely) who was Azariah's brother and the officer over the palace. In Is. 22 15 the governor of the palace is called a סֹכֵן.[5] Obviously סֹכֵן or סֹכְנִים (as the case may require) should be substituted for כֹּהֵן or כֹּהֲנִים in 2 S. 8 18 20 26 1 K. 4 5. David's sons, then, and Zabud, son of Nathan, were *sōkĕnīm*,—*i.e.*, 'chief ministers' or administrators (see TREASURER), or, to adopt another current title, 'friends' (see FRIEND). In 1 Ch. 18 17 we should perhaps read הָיוּ סֹכְנִים לְדָוִיד, 'were David's administrators.' The emendation was incidentally suggested long ago for 2 S. 8 18 by Hitzig (on Ps. 110); independently the present writer has given the same view in a more complete form with a discussion in the *Expositor*, June, 1899. T. K. C.

[1] Aquila and Symmachus, in accordance with MT of 2 Ch. 9 14, actually read עֲרָב in 1 K. 10 15; 𝔊 (*τοῦ πέραν* [BA], *ἐν τῷ πέραν* [L]), however, presupposes הָעֵבֶר (cp *v.* 4)—*i.e.*, 'the country beyond the river' (cp EBER).

[1] Cp Cremer, *Lex.*, ET, 764.
[2] *Gesch. des AT Priesterthums*, 191.
[3] *Samuel*, 310.
[4] Article 'Priest,' *EB*(9).
[5] The argument holds, even if the passage has to be emended (see SHEBNA).

MINISTRY

CONTENTS

1. General. In so far as religion consists in a relation of the devout heart to God, every thing of the nature of a 'constitution,' any relation of superiority or subordination between certain human persons and others, anything that could be described as legal formality is essentially foreign to its nature. (*a*) The fact is certainly noteworthy that Sohm (see § 60), whose lifework it has been to study church law in all its forms, has expressed it as his deliberate judgment that strictly speaking no such thing ought ever to have existed (pp. 1-3). One evidence that a judgment of this kind has never been wholly without its advocates is to be found in the efforts towards reform which have at all times been made—efforts which, if not exclusively, almost always at least partially, were directed against existing ecclesiastical constitutions—as well as in the schisms and the sects which almost invariably have had it as their professed object to effect a return to the primitive Christian simplicity as conceived by them.

(*b*) The same history shows at the same time that any such object is impossible of permanent attainment. On this account alone it would be of importance that we should reach a clear idea of the way in which ecclesiastical forms of government first came into being. With this end in view the student's first task must be to inquire what were the worthy and wholly creditable causes that led to the formation of the first organised Christian fellowships.

Whatever the form of piety, the need of sharing it with others is felt, and once the devout soul has found comrades it cannot but seek to rejoice along with them in the glad possession they have found together. Once formed, this fellowship becomes a powerful support for each individual in the moments when he finds himself wavering, whether through doubts in his own mind as to the truth of his conviction, or through unfavourable outward circumstances, especially a time of persecution. The mutual love drawn forth in such a fellowship will also express itself in various forms of material help as occasion arises. The fellowship, moreover, is able to restrain the individual—even against his own will—from actions which would mean the abandonment of his higher ideals, and cast reproach on his past attainments. In so far as arrangements were necessary for these ends—regular meetings, care for the right conducting of these, articulate expression of the faith held in common, ministration to the necessities of those who might be in spiritual or bodily need, money collections, nay, even interference with the economical or ethical private affairs of those who might suffer without such intervention—everything accomplished in such directions must be regarded as a sign of progress.

(*c*) Such arrangements nevertheless carry within themselves a danger to the purity of religion.

The sharp division between members and non-members leads only too easily to an exaggerated consciousness of selectness and a depreciation of 'outsiders' (cp 1 Cor. 5 12 *f.*). The practically compulsory attendance at the regular meetings, the uniformity of the proceedings there, the formal common prayer, may result in a cooling of the emotions of the heart; such a thing as attachment to the religious principles of the community, yet without full formal assent given and without participation in all ceremonies, is not regarded as admissible; and yet it is easily possible that not only particular institutions but also (and above all) the formulated expressions of the common faith may take such a form as many a one may find himself unable to accept, whilst yet his attitude towards the matter in its religious essence is entirely sympathetic, and the impossibility of full membership in the community is felt by him as involving a grievous loss. The interference in the private affairs of individual members in like manner not only can easily be carried farther than is desirable; what is worse, in place of a pure concern for the imperilled individual may come concern for the interests of the community, for appearances, for the maintenance of decisions once arrived at (though now perhaps in need of reform), in a manner that may lead to grave injustices. Above all, there is apt to develop itself only too readily, in the persons charged with the duty of ruling and judging, an unhealthy sense of superiority, an autocratic, ambitious, and even, where money is concerned, an avaricious temper.

(*d*) All these phenomena, both on the one side and on the other, in their noble and, to an appalling extent, in their ignoble aspects, are already to be seen in the Old-Christian literature, canonical and extra-canonical, down to about 170 or 180 A.D.—that is, to the time which marks the close of the period now to be considered, as being the latest date within which the NT books could have arisen. In view of what these writings reveal, the following general observation admits of being made: the more elaborate the forms and institutions, the more conspicuously do their hurtful effects predominate. In the literature just mentioned we can already observe the beginning of every one of those tendencies which afterwards wrought so perniciously in the church. It will therefore perhaps not be wholly superfluous to remember that our historical investigation of these beginnings ought not to be carried on with too great partiality for them. At any rate it will be necessary at all times to bear in mind that our

research has reference to a subject of only relative and, so far as the essence of religion is concerned, unquestionably only secondary importance. Historically speaking, it is evident that our first weighty thesis regarding the constitution of the church must be the same as that which has to be laid down regarding the canon (the two histories are closely parallel at all points) if we may adopt the famous words used by Arius of the Person of Christ; there was a time when it was not (ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν).

I. JESUS

The truth of the thesis just enounced emerges immediately when we turn to the teaching of Jesus.

2. Jesus and Judaism. (*a*) It would be a great mistake to suppose that Jesus himself founded a new religious community.

The furthest that can be adduced in this direction is the saying (in Mt. 26 61 27 40 and ||s) that he would destroy the temple and in three days build up another—or 'it.' These two readings, however, differ considerably. The interpretation in Jn. 2 19-22 is to be left out of account. Jesus would certainly not have called his body a temple; the sole purpose of the writer in connecting the saying with the cleansing of the temple is to gain another of those words of two meanings which are so characteristic of the Fourth Gospel. If, however, Jesus really gave expression to the thought which, according to the synoptists (most clearly in Mk. 14 58: 'made with hands,' 'not made with hands'; χειροποίητον—ἀχειροποίητον), lies in the words, he certainly did not carry it out.

(*b*) Whatever the freedom of Jesus' outward attitude towards the law when he laid down such maxims as Mt. 5 32 34-37 12 7 *f.* 19 8, he must certainly have been, in the general conduct of his life, if not perhaps a strict legalist (according to Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 2 4, § 42, the Pharisees numbered altogether only some 6000), at least an adherent of the law; had he been otherwise we should not have found his personal disciples clinging so persistently to it or the Pauline doctrine of freedom from the law encountering the opposition it did. In a word, it was hearts not external conditions that Jesus sought to reform. He sought to arouse the conscience to make decision for itself, not himself to give the decisions.

Precisely in this element of restraint, in this confining himself to quite general principles of universal application, lay the enduring vitality of Jesus' work. Seldom do we find him giving definite form to institutions at all, as when he forbids oaths, or divorce; in the result, his adherents with the utmost calmness ignored them. Of the prohibition of oaths Paul knows nothing (Gal. 1 20 2 Cor. 1 23 11 31, etc.), the epistle to the Hebrews nothing (6 16); and, as for the prohibition of divorce, it was set aside by Paul in 1 Cor. 7 15, and by tradition (in Mt. [5 32 19 9], contrary to the testimony of Paul [1 Cor. 7 10 *f.*], as also of Mk. and Lk.) by the addition of the words 'saving for the cause of fornication' (παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας) or 'except for fornication' (μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ) (GOSPELS, § 145 *d*).

(*c*) In a saying which is shown by its very nature to be absolutely authentic (Mt. 5 23 *f.*) Jesus assumes that gifts are offered in the temple and demands merely that fraternal reconciliation shall be regarded as more important. The idea of the Ebionitic source in Lk. (GOSPELS, § 110) that one must wholly divest oneself of every earthly possession is so impossible of reconciliation with the fundamental thought of Jesus as to the all-importance of disposition and spirit that it can only be regarded as based on a misunderstanding. The exhortation given by Jesus to the rich man (Mk. 10 21 and s) to give all his goods to the poor, with utterances of a like kind (COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5), may have given occasion to such a view. We have, however, no certainty that Jesus would have spoken thus to every rich man; possibly he may have spoken as he did to the particular individual in the story either because he knew him or because he saw through him.

Or it may have been because the man desired to be a follower of Jesus and received into the inner circle

3. His inner circle. of his disciples. (*a*) For this inner circle Jesus had of necessity to devise some arrangement differing in various respects from those of ordinary civil life. The injunctions of Mt. 10 1-15 and ||s, however, in so far as they come from Jesus at all and not from a later time (GOSPELS, §§ 128 *b*, 136), are to be taken as applying only to the short missionary journey of the disciples, not to the period during which they are in the company of Jesus. The idea that Jesus gathered together all his adherents into one new religious community being impossible, the attempt is indeed often made to establish the conception of a 'community of disciples' in the sense that Jesus laid down special ordinances for these at least. Neither, however, can this be carried out. It is supposed that in this way justification can be found for the church's present disregard of the prohibition of oaths or of the precepts to let the unjust claimant of a man's coat have his cloak also, and when smitten on the right cheek to turn the other also (Mt. 5 34*a* 37 39-41) and, as regards the prohibition of divorce, for accepting as authoritative precisely those exceptions which were not laid down by Jesus. It is urged that strict principles like these were laid down by Jesus only for an ideal set of conditions such as he saw realised, or wished to see realised, in the community of his disciples but not for ordinary civil life. It would, however, be directly contrary to the ethical conceptions of Jesus that anything should become a rule for one, which did not require to be so for another. Or, were such precepts as those of Mk. 9 35 and ||s, bidding him that would be greatest become a servant, or those of Mt. 23 8, bidding all who hear to avoid the title of rabbi and cherish that of brother, intended only for 'ideal conditions' of society?

(*b*) We come now to the question as to positions of pre-eminence accorded to certain individuals. If Jesus did indeed designate the members of the inner circle of his disciples by the name 'apostles'—which remains doubtful notwithstanding Mk. 3 14 Lk. 6 13 (11 49)—we may be sure, from what has been adduced above, that at any rate he did not do so as conferring a particular rank upon them, but merely in order to denote the manner in which they were to serve. The same is true of Mt. 10 40: he who receiveth you receiveth me. Here the parallel in Lk. 10 16 is very instructive; he that ***heareth*** you heareth me, and he that ***rejecteth*** you rejecteth me. This does not put the disciples on a level with Jesus in respect of dignity, but is only a self-evident consequence of the presupposition that they fittingly carry on the preaching of Jesus. Equally instructive is the other parallel Mt. 18 5 = Mk. 9 37 = Lk. 9 48: whosoever receiveth *a child* in my name receiveth me.

The saying in Mt. 16 18 *f.* as to the primacy of Peter must be viewed in the same light. 16 19*a* ('I will

4. Saying about Peter. give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven') is the most that can be regarded as having actually come from Jesus—not, however, in the sense which it has in its present context where Peter is represented as the highest servant in a household (cp Is. 22 22), but only if we might venture to suppose that Jesus intended to convey something similar to what we find in Mt. 23 13 (ye shut the kingdom of heaven against men)—namely, that it is given to Peter, by preaching of the gospel, to open the door of the kingdom of heaven. 16 19*b* ('whatsoever thou shalt bind,' etc.), on the other hand, cannot have been intended for Peter alone, if only because in 18 18 it is applied to the entire aggregate of disciples in the widest sense (there all hearers of Jesus, not the apostles alone, are being addressed).

To judge by the connection with *vv.* 15-17, by binding and loosing (see BINDING AND LOOSING) is meant the non-forgiveness and forgiveness of sins (cp Is. 40 2 LXX: λέλυται αὐτῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία), and the word is so taken also in Jn. 20 23, though there with limitation to the apostles. In such a sense the word is, in the mouth of Jesus, impossible. The forgiveness and non-forgiveness of sins belong to God, and if Jesus as Messiah laid claim also to the exercise of such power (Mt. 9 6 and ||s) it is nevertheless impossible that he should have delegated it to any merely human authority—whether to each separate individual among his followers (for that only the aggregate of these as a corporation is to have this right, is by no means said in Mt. 18 18), or to the apostles, or even to Peter alone—still less would he delegate the power of declaring sins incapable of forgiveness. Even, however, when we disregard the connection and assume that by

binding and loosing Jesus, in accordance with the original sense of the words, meant forbidding and allowing, it is very difficult to believe him to have said that what his followers, or even Peter, should determine in such a manner would also be held as forbidden or allowed in heaven.

In 16 18 we may entirely believe that Jesus said Peter really was, what his name implied, a rock (πέτρα; in Aram. the name and the appellative are absolutely identical); only the more incredible, on the other hand, is the continuation, the more certainly false its old Protestant interpretation, that by the 'rock' is meant not Peter's person, but his faith. Cp GOSPELS, §§ 136, 151.

A further consideration that tells against the genuineness of Mt. 16 18*b* is the occurrence in it of the word ecclēsia (ἐκκλησία).

5. An ecclēsia?

(*a*) After it has been seen to be impossible to maintain that Jesus founded any distinct religious community, there will still be felt in many quarters a strong desire to discover that he made provision for the founding of such an institution in the future. Whether he would have arrived at this had he lived longer is a question that must remain unanswered. ' In view of the shortness of his public activity, however, it is easy to understand why our sources should fail to supply us with any indication as to this. From the beginning of his ministry down even to the day of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem Jesus cherished the hope of winning the Jewish nation *en bloc* to his side. Only by a very definite act of renunciation could he have brought himself to contemplate but a small part of it as his *ecclēsia*.

(*b*) As for the word itself, it occurs elsewhere in the Gospels only in Mt. 18 17. There, however, it denotes simply the Jewish local community to which every one belongs; for what is said relates not to the future but to the present, in which a Christian *ecclēsia* cannot, of course, be thought of. Even in 18 15-17, however, we are not to see any precept intended to be literally carried out; it is only a concrete and detailed illustration of the thought that one ought to leave no stone unturned in order to bring an erring brother to repentance. Should anyone perchance have succeeded in effecting this in some other way, Jesus would never have looked upon such a result as a violation of the precept he had laid down. If the precept must have been meant to be taken literally, we should have therein a proof of its late origin. In any case, what demands our careful attention is the closing expression: let him be *unto thee* as the Gentile and the publican. No suggestion here of authorised excommunication. After the failure of every attempt at reconciliation the injured person is to *regard* his assailant as he regards a Gentile and a publican.

(*c*) Baptism also and the repetition of the last supper were no ordinances of Jesus (GOSPELS, §§ 136 end, 145 *c*).

On the last evening of his earthly life Jesus' purpose was fully attained when he had supplied his disciples with a mode of looking at his approaching death by which they could be protected against despair. That in after years and generations his actions and words on that occasion were ever anew recalled to memory has certainly been well; but for Jesus there was no occasion to enjoin this, as he could take it for granted as matter of course that what he had said as to the divine purpose of his death would impress itself indelibly on the minds of his disciples and supply them with the strength they needed for steadfastness in his cause. Conybeare (*ZNTW*, 1901, 275-288) shows that Eus. down to 325 A.D. read Mt. 28 19 thus: 'and make disciples of all the nations *in my name*, teaching them,' etc.

(*d*) If, finally, the conclusion of the parable of the tares, Mt. 13 28*b*-30, does not come from Jesus (GOSPELS, § 128 *c*), we are left without any evidence that he instituted measures for the cleansing of the church from its impure elements, whether sinners or heretics. The parable of the net (Mt. 13 47-50) is much slighter; it describes only what happens on the judgment day without dealing with the preceding actions of men.

This whole attitude of unconcern was rendered possible only because the portion of Mt. 23 8, not yet cited above (§ 3 *a*, end), applied to the situation: one is your teacher; cp 23 10 (one is your Master, even the Christ), though Jesus can hardly have expressed himself literally so. It was only the unconditional authority of Jesus and the possibility of his settling at once every question as it emerged that made any hard and fast regulations dispensable.

6. Jesus' authority.

(*a*) Yet, precisely on account of the greatness of the authority which he claimed and actually possessed, it requires further to be pointed out that he made the claim, essentially, not for his person but only for the cause which he represented. Assuredly he required of his disciples in a very energetic way that he should be believed and followed. Yet according to the synoptics he by no means made his own person the centre of religion in the manner in which we find this done in the Fourth Gospel.

Here again the continuation of the passages cited above (§ 3 *b*) is instructive: whosoever receiveth me receiveth him that sent me. Thus God is no otherwise represented by Jesus than Jesus by his apostles or by a child who is received in his name. 'In my name' can here quite simply mean: because I have enjoined such a reception of children. Different, but certainly not original, is the explanation added to 'in my name' (ἐν ὀνόματί μου) in Mk. 9 41: 'because ye are Christ's' (ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστε). Further, it is evident at a glance that one of the two members is superfluous and thus in all probability may be regarded as a later addition. Moreover, 'the name of Jesus' or even 'the Name,' without any addition (Acts 5 41 3 Jn. 7, etc.), became in the apostolic time so much of a watchword —used even in unnatural connections, as for example in Acts 15 26 ('men that have hazarded their lives for'), 21 13 ('to die at Jerusalem for'), 26 9 ('that I ought to do many things contrary to')—that it may be questioned whether it does not owe its origin to this later usage even in Mt. 10 22 ('ye shall be hated of all men for'), 24 9 ('hated of all the nations for' [= Mk. 13 13 Lk. 21 17]), 19 29. Similarly the formulation in Mt. 10 32 *f.* may be held open to question. In any case in Mt. 10 37-39 we may very well apply the principle that when Jesus names himself we ought to think ultimately of the cause represented by him ('whoso loveth father or mother more than me,' etc.). Instructive if certainly not original is the collocation in Mk. 8 35 10 29: 'for my sake and the Gospel's' (ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου: GOSPELS, 119 *b*) with the parallels 'for my name's sake' (ἕνεκα τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος: Mt. 19 29) and 'for the kingdom of God's sake' (εἵνεκεν τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ: Lk. 18 29).

(*b*) The reason why this subordinate relation between the person of Jesus and the cause he represents must be consistently maintained and doubt entertained as to all that militates against it is to be sought in the passage which is elsewhere (GOSPELS, § 139) included among the 'foundation pillars' of a life of Jesus: 'whosoever shall speak' etc., Mt. 12 32. If, accordingly, Jesus demanded faith in his person, it was only as a means, not as an end in itself, and thus also not as an indispensable condition of salvation. The objects of the faith which he unconditionally demands are the reality of the Final Judgment on the one hand and the Fatherly Love of God on the other. Such a faith, however, can be cherished by any one in any position in life and in any religious fellowship. So small was the concern of Jesus to leave behind him, for the new religious fellowship which might be formed in connection with his preaching, even so much as the tangible centre which his person might supply, not to speak of definite institutions and laws. At the moment of his death, the whole church-constitution of future generations was yet to shape.

(*c*) We may perhaps deem this a disadvantage; but we must at the same time allow ourselves to be convinced that in view of what Jesus was it was inevitable; and perhaps after all a blessing lay concealed in the absence of formal constitutions drawn up with the authority of Jesus. When constitutions became antiquated there was no insuperable obstacle in the way of their removal; the pure religious-ethical gospel stood forth as the one eternally abiding thing still possessed of force to regulate and mould the new forms called forth by new times. History has at least clearly taught this: when once, rightly or wrongly, men attributed to Jesus certain arrangements, such as the primacy of Peter (and his alleged successors in Rome), the prohibition of oaths and of divorce (with exceptions in the latter case), the form of celebration of the eucharist, the age for baptism and the trinitarian formula to be employed in it, the immutability of these arrangements has created for the

Christian church difficulties and dangers of the gravest character, seriously impeded its prosperous development, and even at times imperilled its very existence.

II. APOSTOLIC AGE

With the death of Jesus the whole situation changed. (*a*) The master had been taken away. In compensation for this loss came what his followers had not hitherto possessed: the belief in his resurrection. This was not belief in something future, like the Final Judgment, or in some attribute of God, such as his forgiving love, ever anew to be hoped for and experienced. It was belief in a fact of the past. Such a belief was open to historical criticism. In the event of a favourable issue it might promote a clearer intellectual apprehension without any participation of the heart. In the event of an unfavourable issue the whole of the new religion could be endangered. Furthermore, a firm confession of faith towards Jesus was attained; his later designation 'Jesus Christ' was properly speaking and essentially a sentence expressing this new faith: Jesus *is* the Messiah. There came to be a definitely fixed circle of persons who confessed this faith, and a precise delimitation from all those who were not members of the new society.

7. Fundamental facts regarding the primitive church.

(*b*) Moreover, there came into existence recurring meetings with observance of the Lord's supper and—very soon, at any rate—also an outward act of admission into the society, the rite of baptism.

The eucharistic formula in Mk. (14 22-24) and in Mt. (26 26-28) shows that in the regions to which the writers of these gospels belonged the words 'this do in remembrance of me' were still unused in the celebration, and thus also were still unknown as words of Jesus. On the other hand, Paul, who has them, must have believed them to have come from Jesus. The two facts can be reconciled only if we suppose that he had found (not these words indeed, but) as a matter of fact the actual repetition of the celebration current among Christians at the very beginning of his acquaintance with them, that is to say even in his persecuting days, and thus very shortly after the death of Jesus.

As for baptism its origin is strictly speaking very obscure. It is certain, however, that Paul takes it for granted as a matter of course in the case of every one who passes over to Christianity (Rom. 6 3 Gal. 3 27 1 Cor. 12 13—which is by no means invalidated by 1 13-17). This would be hard to understand if he himself was never baptized. Here also, as in the whole of what is said in succeeding sections relating to the apostolic age, we shall leave out of account what is related in Acts (on Paul's baptism, especially, see 9 18) as not being sufficiently trustworthy. Paul himself, however, appears in point of fact in Rom. 6 3-8 to presuppose his own baptism although often enough he inadvertently uses the first plural in cases where it does not apply at one and the same time both to himself and to all his readers (Gal. 3 13 23-25 4 5 1 Cor. 10 1 Rom. 4 1 7 6). Even so, it may still always remain a question whether he received baptism in accordance with a fixed custom or in accordance with a personal wish to receive a penitential baptism after the manner of that of John. In any case it cannot be doubted that the custom became fixed not long after the death of Jesus.

(*c*) Other institutions of the primitive church, which rest on the authority of Acts alone we shall return to later (§§ 21-23), confining ourselves at present to what may be regarded as perfectly certain. In this category we must place, in addition to what has already been indicated, the fact that the function of government in general lay in the hands of the original apostles and that at the time of the Council of Jerusalem James the brother of Jesus held a pre-eminent position; further, that the original apostles and the brethren of Jesus made missionary journeys among the Jewish populations and in doing so claimed for themselves and their wives material support at the hands of the communities which they founded (Gal. 2 9 1 Cor. 9 4-6); lastly, that the communities in Palestine within twenty or thirty years after the death of Jesus stood in need of pecuniary help from those founded by Paul (COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5).

Our information as to the conditions prevailing in the Pauline communities is tolerably exact.

Although Paul certainly liked to begin his missionary activity in the synagogue (ACTS, § 4), as soon as he had won converts, however few, whether Jews or Gentiles, for the faith in Jesus, a separate place of meeting became necessary. One or another of the converts offered the use of a room in his house for this purpose. Here on the one hand the believers came together 'to eat' (εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν: 1 Cor. 11 33)—*i.e.*, for the observance of the love-feast followed by that of the Lord's Supper (not preceded, for otherwise the Supper could not have been disturbed as it sometimes was by the drunkenness of some of the partakers). The foods partaken of were brought by the members of the company, and it was only by a malpractice which had crept in that they were not equally divided. That they were purchased out of a common fund cannot be reconciled with 11 22, for the 'shame' arose only when, in consequence of the discontinuance of equal division, some had to suffer hunger because they were too poor to be able to bring with them a sufficient meal to the meeting. The expression 'supper' (δεῖπνον) points to the evening as the time, as also does the later accusation that Thyestean banquets (Θυέστεια δεῖπνα) were held at which children were slaughtered, and Œdipodean orgies (Οἰδιπόδειοι μίξεις) with a view to which the lights were extinguished.[1] How often the feast was celebrated, however, does not appear. 1 Cor. 16 2 throws no light upon this question, for there the Sunday contribution to the common collection is to be made by each individual at home (παρ' ἑαυτῷ). All that can be definitely made out is that in the 'we-source' of Acts (20 7 11) the observance there spoken of falls upon a Sunday. According to 1 Cor. 10 16-21 only members of the community took part in the celebration, and this (see 11 33: ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχεσθε) not merely at the Lord's Supper but also at the love-feast. From this it appears that there was held, apart from this kind of meeting, that other sort at which the addresses of instruction were delivered; for in these last strangers also may take part (14 16 *f.* 23-25). The question as to who should speak was left entirely to the suggestion of the Spirit (see SPIRITUAL GIFTS); often it happened even that several spoke at once (14 27-31) and women also took part (11 5).

8. The Pauline communities: meetings.

As regards organisation what is of importance here is (*a*) that not only are there no regular teachers, but that in the Epistles to the Corinthians no mention is anywhere made of any heads of the community. For effecting the cure of the malpractices which have crept in, Paul addresses himself not to any such officers but to the community as a whole. So also the community awards punishments (1 Cor. 5 2-5 2 Cor. 2 6) and chooses delegates (1 Cor. 16 3; cp 2 Cor. 8 19) by decision of a majority. We learn indeed that Stephanas and his household had given themselves to the service of the community; but the subordination which Paul desires with reference to them, as with reference to all others who are active in the same direction is not based upon their official position; it is regarded as entirely voluntary (1 Cor. 16 15-18). This is explained if we observe that not only the gifts of doctrine but also 'governments' (κυβερνήσεις) and 'helps' (ἀντιλήμψεις) or 'ministry' (διακονία) (1 Cor. 12 28 Rom. 12 7) are reckoned among the spiritual gifts. It is nevertheless also true that 'leaders' (προϊστάμενοι) occur, and that not merely in the Epistle to the Romans (12 8), on whose organisation as a Christian community Paul has had no influence, but also in Thessalonica (1 Thess. 5 12). It would actually appear therefore as if Paul in so weighty a matter as

9. Little organised.

[1] Just. *Apol.* i. 26 7, ii. 12 2-5; Epistle from Lyons (177 A.D.) in Eus. *HE* v. 1 14; so doubtless also even Tacitus, *Ann.* 15 44 ('per flagitia invisos . . . exitiabilis superstitio') and Pliny (*Ep.* x. 96 7, 112-113 A.D.; affirmabant morem sibi fuisse . . . rursus coëundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium). Perhaps even Acts 20 8 (from the 'we-source') is already intended to ward off this accusation.

this had not moulded all the communities for which he was responsible upon one and the same model, but had allowed himself to be guided in each case by the different local desires, or even had not personally interfered in the matter at all, but left things to follow their natural course of development. If in Rom. 16 2 Phœbe is called 'succourer' (προστάτις), the meaning is simply that as *patrona* she took special care of those under her charge, perhaps in particular exercised patronage in the recognised legal sense; it is not however permissible with Weingarten (see below, § 60) to extend this meaning also to the masc. participle (προϊστάμενοι). On Phil. 1 1 see § 57.

(*b*) How inchoate the state of matters was in the respects now under consideration appears in various other points as well.

In Corinth the members of the community were in the habit of bringing their disputes before the heathen courts; the women asserted their freedom as against the custom of veiling; unchastity occurred in various forms; and there were those, on the other hand, who believed that marital relations ought to be given up or that marriage was a thing to be avoided (1 Cor. 5 *f.* 7 1-7 36-38 11 2-16). The weaker brethren in Corinth who held meat offered to idols to be in all circumstances a thing forbidden (1 Cor. 8 10 23-11 1) were exceeded by those in Rome (Rom. 14). In Thessalonica many gave up regular work and became burdens on the others (1 Thess. 4 11 *f.*). These and similar phenomena show how gigantic were the difficulties to be overcome before the valuable content of the new religion could find for itself forms which should protect it against the danger of degeneration without at the same time suffocating it.

10. House-churches.

A word must here be given to the 'church in the house.' The expression would have nothing remarkable in it if it denoted merely the initial stage of an organised community (see above, § 8). In Rom. 16 5 1 Cor. 16 19 Philem. 2 Col. 4 15, however, we find in one and the same city several 'house-churches'; also in Rom. 16 14 *f.*, whether we are here to understand that there were two or as many as eight. The meetings spoken of above (§ 8), accompanied with celebration of the Lord's Supper and doctrinal discourses, are however held in common for the Christianity of the whole city. It might on this ground be conjectured that the total number of the Christians inhabiting one and the same house is intended by the expression 'church in the house.' This, however, does not accord with the manner in which the word *ecclēsia* is invariably used. It must therefore, doubtless, be assumed that apart from the general meetings of the entire community, sectional meetings also were held,—perhaps because in the greater cities, especially for slaves, the distances were too great for regular attendance at the general place of meeting at certain hours. One can for example suppose sectional meetings for morning devotion.

What has just been said will be inapplicable to Col. 4 15 ('Salute the brethren that are in Laodicea, and Nympha[s], and the church that is in . . . [AV 'his'] house') if with ℵAC (so RV) we read 'their' (αὐτῶν) and refer it to 'the brethren in Laodicea and Nymphas' (τοὺς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ Νυμφᾶν); for these words embrace the entire community. For this very reason the interpretation is unlikely. There is difficulty also, however, in Lightfoot's reference of 'their' (αὐτῶν) to Nymphas and his surrounding only; difficulty, too, attaches in another way to the reading 'her' (αὐτῆς) in B (RVmg.), since a fem. name would be Nymphē (Νύμφη) not Nympha (Νύμφα). The principal point, however, remains unaffected by these various readings.

It becomes at once apparent that in the organisation just described there is no imitation of the Jewish organi-

11. No connection with the Jewish organisation.

sation of communities such as one might have expected to find in view of the high significance of the primitive circle of believers and the Jewish origin of Paul.

Even when the arrangements of a Jewish community in a heathen city, not those which prevailed in Palestine, are assumed as the basis, the difference which emerges is complete.[1] A Jewish community of the sort indicated had a constitution similar to that of a heathen municipal community. At its head stood the *gerusia* (γερουσία), whose members were 'presbyters' (πρεσβύτεροι), even though the latter title has not been established for Rome from the inscriptions. The acting body chosen from the *gerusia* constituted the *archons* (ἄρχοντες); at the head of these stood the *gerusiarch* (γερουσιάρχης). The officials were elected for a definite period. Their functions were civil: administration of property, jurisdiction—even in criminal matters—over the members of the community, and so forth. Distinct from this was the office of the 'ruler of the synagogue' (ἀρχισυνάγωγος) who had charge of the ordering of worship. At his side were an almoner and a synagogue servant. In Rome there were many such communities, each of them with its own governing body. These various 'synagogues' (συναγωγαί)—this was the name not only of the meeting-houses but also of the communities—had no common board as was the case in Alexandria. It is plain that in the Gentile-Christian communities everything was different from this. The participation of the women in the common worship and the love-feasts are also un-Jewish.

Of any reading or explanation of the OT scriptures such as was practised in the synagogue we hear nothing so far as Corinth is concerned; it can only have taken place in private, if at all, not at the stated acts of worship. All that the two institutions have in common, then, apart from the 'Amen' uttered in common by the community (1 Cor. 14 16) which must indeed have been borrowed,[1] will be the very vague feature that instructive discourses were held in both and that speakers were admitted without any special selection. With the Jews indeed these were, so far as we can judge from Acts 13 15, invited by the president of the meeting. In this last point, therefore, the Corinthian conditions are more closely in accord with the analogue to which we must now proceed to direct our attention.

12. Connection with pagan meetings for worship.

The pagan societies or clubs which devoted themselves to the cult of particular deities, and more especially in the form of mysteries, exhibit many instructive points of contact with the arrangements of the Christian community in Corinth.

(*a*) There also the constitution of the society was entirely democratic. It had elective heads; but all decisions were come to by the meeting as a whole. All members stood on a footing of complete equality and were called brethren and sisters. Women also were free to speak. In the meeting-room a place was set apart specially for strangers. To the common meals the individual participants brought each his share. Money grants were made to sister communities. The technical name for all such associations was *eranos* (ἔρανος) and *thiasos* (θίασος); but *ecclēsia* (ἐκκλησία) was also employed.

(*b*) The supposition that all these things arose independently within the community at Corinth under the pressure of an internal necessity, and without any consciousness of any of the coincidences we have enumerated, is not for a moment to be entertained. We may take it as absolutely certain that many of the Christians of Corinth had formerly belonged to pagan clubs of this kind. In that case, however, neither can it be regarded as conceivable that Paul should have remained ignorant of the coincidence. The opinion has been held that nevertheless he would have refrained from making use of any such forms as had served for the worship of demons (1 Cor. 10 20). In that case, however, he would have had to give up many things which nevertheless were indispensable. We shall therefore be safe in assuming that he did not hesitate about adopting any such forms if only he was satisfied that they could also be made of service in expressing the Christian idea.

In this manner the love-feast, for example, even if the bringing of his own provisions by each guest, and perhaps many another detail, were borrowed from the pagan *syssitia*, did not cease on that account to be serviceable for commemoration of the last supper of Jesus and as an expression of the idea of Christian brotherhood. To what an extent Paul was capable of becoming a gentile to gentiles is shown, to take a single example, in his speaking in 11 4 7*a* of a practice quite contrary to that of the Jews as being a matter of course, simply because from his Christian point of view it commends itself to him as being the only right one.

[1] Schürer, *GJV*(2) 2 358-369, 513-533 (ET ii. 2 55-68 243-270); see also below, § 24.

[1] So also perhaps the laying on of hands (§ 37 *b*).

(*c*) Adherence to the forms observed by such pagan associations, however, was even enjoined by a very weighty consideration. Christianity as a *religio illicita* was at all times exposed to prosecution by the State as soon as its distinctness from Judaism, which was a *religio licita*, came to be recognised. If this did not happen in Rome till towards the end of the reign of Domitian, as has been indicated as the most probable conclusion elsewhere (CHRISTIAN, § 9), it has been there also pointed out how singular the fact is. Such action on the part of the State must have been a subject of dread from a much earlier date. Conforming to the usages of a heathen cult gave the Christian the best hope of being able, according to the law cited elsewhere (CHRISTIAN, col. 756, begin.), to escape the attention of the authorities.

(*d*) The fact of this conformity once established, we may perhaps draw certain further inferences regarding Christian institutions as to points on which we have no direct information.

A heathen club had, as already stated (see *a*), elective heads. It is impossible to imagine that the Christian community in its turn can ever have wholly dispensed with such services as those rendered for example by persons who arranged the programme for a given meeting, saw to its being carried out, and the like. In that case it will be possible, indeed, that persons like Stephanas may have discharged such functions with the mere tacit approval of the community; still, another possibility is that those endowed with the gift of 'government' (κυβέρνησις) were actually elected to it. Only, in that case, we must not allow ourselves to forget that their functions by no means extended so far as to make it possible for Paul to demand from them the reform of those abuses which had crept in. Again, a pagan club had a common purse. In the Christian community this was not necessary either for the expenses of the common meals or for the collections made, and hardly in order to defray the costs of a place of meeting (above, § 8). It is possible, however, that such a purse was needed to meet the expenses of the teachers who came from a distance (§ 7, *c*), expenses which we learn were often heavy (2 Cor. 11 20 κατεσθίει). Paul alone made no draft on this source; but even his practice varied in different communities (1 Cor. 9 1-18 2 Cor. 11 7-12 Phil. 4 10-20).

13. Attitude of Paul.

The attitude assumed by Paul towards the communities of his own founding wholly departs from the analogy furnished by the heathen guilds of worship.

(*a*) Paul's attitude is wholly patriarchal. He acted on the ground that he was their father with thoroughgoing seriousness (1 Cor. 4 14 *f.*). He commands (1 Cor. 11 2 17-34 14 26-40 16 1), and that very definitely, precisely where institutions are concerned. He makes very short work with contumacy (7 40 11 16 14 37 *f.*). Partisanship on behalf of individual teachers he sets down (3 3 *f.*) to carnal-mindedness, disregard of his authority to arrogance (4 18). He disclaims judgment (ἀνακρίνειν) of himself in 2 14-16 4 3-5 with a clearness that leaves nothing to be desired. Against the Judaising teachers he declares himself in 2 Cor. 11 13-15 Gal. 1 7-9 5 10-12 with the greatest asperity. In short, in his person there appears the same unconditioned authority which Jesus had. Instead of the deference which Jesus found, Paul, it is true, had to encounter the liveliest opposition; claim the authority nevertheless he did, and for the most part he succeeded in asserting it.

(*b*) The chief enemies Paul had to deal with were the deeply-rooted immorality, and (next to that) the view, due to the influence of his own preaching, that every Christian has within himself the Holy Ghost and therefore does not need to recognise any authority over him. With regard to his decisions on questions affecting the life of the community, a feature of special interest is that, as in the case of Jesus, the decisions received the less attention just in proportion to the degree of speciality they possessed.

Whether his direction as to the punishment of the incestuous person (1 Cor. 5 1-8) was carried out we do not know; for 2 Cor. 2 5-11 7 12 refers not to this but to the case of another member of the community, who had uttered a grave slander against Paul.[1] We know, however, as regards the injunctions, pressed with so much earnestness, that women should be veiled, and that, except where there is danger of unchastity, marriage is better avoided (1 Cor. 11 2-16 7 1 *f.* 7-9 25 *f.* 29-35 40), at all times very little attention was paid to them; and as against his advice (7 21-24) that Christian slaves ought to make no effort to obtain civil freedom, the abolition of slavery is generally and rightly regarded as one of the most glorious, though belated, achievements of Christianity.

(*c*) Of greatest importance are the principles followed by Paul in his decisions. Much of the effect he produced is doubtless due to the fact that he withstood immorality and licentiousness with resolute strictness, without making any concessions, whilst yet avoiding the error of setting up an absolutely fixed law of any kind whereby the community's freedom of movement could be hampered and its enthusiasm for the new faith stifled.

Paul wished to be not lord of his converts' faith but only a helper of their joy (2 Cor. 1 24). Like Jesus, he made his appeal to the conscience,—in a particularly beautiful manner in dealing with the question as to meat offered to idols (1 Cor. 8 10 23-11 1). All things are lawful, but not all are expedient; knowledge puffs up, but love builds up; all things are to be done to edification; all to be done in a decent and orderly way (1 Cor. 6 12 10 23 8 1 14 26 40): such are some of the aphorisms which show in what spirit it was that Paul sought to lead on the members of the Christian community of Corinth to the establishment of well-ordered institutions. Placed upon its religious basis the same thought runs: all things are yours, but ye are Christ's (3 21-23). As regards slaves he has put this thought to an even too ideal use (7 21-24).

14. His standards.

With every effort to allow full play to individual freedom, Paul was nevertheless unable to avoid giving to certain things a normative value which later hardened into a rigid law and did serious injury to the religious life properly so called. (*a*) One such norm his Jewish training led him to find as a matter of course in the OT—that is to say, a book—and moreover in a method of interpreting the OT which found in it such things as the writers could never have dreamed. What was there which could not be deduced from such a book when, for example, in Dt. 25 4 it was possible to find, not somehow by way of later accommodation but actually as the proper primary meaning of the author, an injunction that Christian teachers are entitled to receive support from the communities they instruct (1 Cor. 9 8-10), or in Is. 28 11 *f.* that 'speaking with tongues' must be regarded as of subordinate value to the gift of 'prophecy' (1 Cor. 14 21 *f.*)? (*b*) Next to the OT came in point of authority the words of Jesus (1 Cor. 7 10 *f.* 9 14 11 23-25). This also was quite a matter of course; and yet it was a departure from that fundamental direction of the piety of Paul which declared that it sought in Jesus a redeemer, not a lawgiver. As, however, a church order was what had to be created, it was inevitable that the very individual who preached freedom not only from Mosaic law but from all law whatsoever (imposed on man from without, not emanating from within) had to set up as an external authority the 'law of the Christ' (νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ). Moreover, it is a law that cannot everywhere be expressed, as in Gal. 6 2, by some such word as 'love,' or, as in 1 Cor. 9 21, as the command to subordinate one's own personal inclinations to the great object of bringing about the fulfilment of the kingdom of God. Elsewhere, on the contrary, it is a law made up of a series of precepts, including many about particular things which could equally well have been ordered otherwise without danger to piety. The OT and the words of Jesus, however, taken together constitute the foundations of a canon. (*c*) Alongside of these Paul made tradition also into a norm; for it was a necessity with him to maintain his connection with the primitive Church, and he therefore lays weight upon the fact that what he preaches to the Corinthians he has himself previously received (1 Cor. 11 23 15 3).

15. Dogma.

What demands our attention next is the earliest instance of the action of that growing power which ultimately contributed so much to the moulding of piety into ecclesiastical forms. What, according to 1 Cor. 15 3, Paul received is a

[1] Schmiedel, *HC* 2 1, on 2 Cor. 2 11; Kennedy, *The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (1900), 105 n.

dogma; an explanation, to wit, of the death of Jesus as an atoning sacrifice for the sins of men. In his own experience, indeed, Paul has become acquainted with faith in the deepest way as consisting in the yielding up of the heart to the grace and mercy of God; and he well knows how to describe it as such. Nevertheless, we find him presenting to faith for its object not only, as the primitive Church had done (§ 7 *a*), a bare fact,—that of the resurrection of Jesus,—a fact that could possibly be brought into doubt or even disproved by historical criticism at any time, but also a dogma which has always the disadvantage of being liable to become burdensome to the lay conscience or to be questioned by the theological thinker—moreover, a special dogma that was not extensively held within the primitive Church at so early a time, and still less extensively at a later period when Paul was actually subjected to persecution by the Jewish-Christian party on account of his doctrine of the cross of Jesus (Gal. 5 11 6 12). Nay, more, he declares faith in this dogma to be a command of God.

'Unbelief' (ἀπιστία) in Rom. 11 20 is equivalent to 'disobedience' (ἀπείθεια: Ti. WH; RV) in 11 30; as over against the Mosaic law which insists upon works, there is, according to Rom. 3 27, a divine ordinance (νόμος πίστεως) which demands belief in the atoning death and resurrection of Jesus; and the 'obedience of faith' (ὑπακοὴ πίστεως) of Rom. 1 5 is none other than that obedience to this divine ordinance which consists in believing. Properly speaking, faith is for Paul the exact opposite of works, not only the works of the Mosaic law but also everything upon which man could base any claim to the divine consideration (Rom. 11 6); but as soon as it is a fulfilment of a law it does constitute something which can ask to be considered. By the turn thus given to the matter Paul accordingly has deprived faith of one of its most precious attributes, and over and above the law of Christ, referred to above (§ 14), has introduced into Christianity a second law,—this time in the interests of the divine honour; for, it is argued, if God has once given up his Son to the death it would be a derogation from the greatness of this gift if so much as one individual were to seek salvation in any other way (Gal. 2 21 *b*).

16. Other points.

(*a*) Furthermore, it is hardly possible to avoid the impression that the interest of the community as a whole—in other words, respect for church-considerations—influenced Paul's decisions. Here, again, it is quite natural that he should wish that no occasion for evil speaking should be given by the community either to Jew or to Gentile (1 Cor. 10 32); yet the question must still be asked whether his judgment upon the incestuous person (1 Cor. 5 1-8) is dictated merely by concern for the salvation of the culprit—although, of course, this point of view was by no means wholly lost sight of.

(*b*) The impression left by his attitude towards the sacraments is equally uncertain.

Whilst, according to Gal. 3 26 *f.*, baptism need be nothing more than the external declaration of the fact that the subject of it has embraced the Christian faith, in Rom. 6 3-8 it is represented with considerable vigour as an act producing upon the subject of it a certain effect which could not have been produced apart from the act. Again, the reason of the punishment threatened in 1 Cor. 11 27-30 is not that the bread and wine contained in a magical manner the body and blood of Jesus, but that the disregard shown for the sacred function is ethically wrong in every way; but we find the apostle referring in 1 Cor. 15 29 without any disapproval, on the contrary as if confirming his own position, to the baptism for the dead, in which unquestionably a magical view of the working of the sacrament is involved.

(*c*) Finally, it was Paul who, by the emphasis he laid upon the possession of the Spirit, laid the foundation for the distinction between pneumatic and psychic persons (1 Cor. 2 6-3 3)—a distinction which as employed by the gnostics went near to rending the church and, that this disaster might be avoided, made necessary that violent reaction which certainly would have been in the highest degree distasteful to the apostle himself (§§ 33, 53 *b*).

(*d*) The emphasis on the possession of the Spirit just referred to, however, was for Paul quite inevitable. For him it was upon the inspiration of the Holy Ghost that the validity of his own decisions, whether in matters of dogma or of government, rested. Upon the Corinthians, it is true, this made but little impression. In fact, they themselves possessed the gift of the Spirit, and that, too, according to Paul's own teaching. His subsequent withdrawal from this ideal opinion and declaration that they were not spiritual but carnal (1 Cor. 3 1-3) did not prevent them from continuing to make the claim for themselves and setting up their own views against Paul's as possessing an equal authority; and in such a case the apostle could only answer in the language of 1 Cor. 7 40: 'I think that I also have the Spirit of God.' Here was a conflict of decisions that had each been suggested by the Spirit. The true basis; for the unconditioned authority he claimed he accordingly sought in his apostleship. Here, however, he encountered new difficulties which we must now proceed to consider.

17. 'Apostle': wide sense.

(*a*) If the name 'apostle' itself did not come from Jesus (§ 3 *b*), it can easily have been transferred from those emissaries of the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem who used to travel up and down the countries of the dispersion for the temple dues which they brought with them to Jerusalem, and who were also charged with the function of carrying letters and advices to the people of the dispersion and generally with that of promoting a common consciousness of religious fellowship throughout the entire nation (Lightf. *Gal.*(4), 92-101, 'The name and office of an apostle'; Seufert [see below, § 60], 8-14). In the Pauline writings 2 Cor. 8 23 Phil. 2 25 come nearest to this use of the word.

(*b*) Even apart from these passages, however, other persons also besides Paul and the twelve are included under the name 'apostle.'

The wider meaning occurs in 1 Cor. 9 5 *f.* (Barnabas) 4 9 15 7 ('all the apostles' as distinguished from the twelve in 15 5), and eventually also in 1 Thess. 2 7, if Silas (cp Acts 16 19 40 17 1) and Timothy are included, and in Rom. 16 7, where on account of the καὶ ('who are of note among the apostles, who *also* have been in Christ before me') we can hardly understand the meaning to be that Andronicus and Junias (or a woman named Junia) are of note in the estimation of the original apostles, but must understand that Andronicus and Junias themselves are apostles. Further, the 'pre-eminent apostles' (οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι) of 2 Cor. 11 5 12 11 are certainly not the original apostles (for Paul would never have expressed himself so sharply regarding these as he does in 11 13-15); rather must we take the expression as denoting certain persons who had come to Corinth itself and were looked upon by some as being in comparison with Paul the true apostles. It is not to be supposed that the Corinthians applied to them the expression 'the pre-eminent apostles' (οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι), but Paul hits off their thought very well when he himself—ironically, of course—calls them so. He had seemed to the Corinthians 'simple of speech' (ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ) (11 6); this also would explain itself best if the Corinthians had had opportunity of personally comparing his manner of speech with that of these people. If, now, the apostle in 11 13 calls them 'false apostles' (ψευδαπόστολοι), he does not thereby by any means deny that so far as outward qualification goes—aptness in teaching, and missionary practice of this—they really are apostles; it is only because they bring a 'different gospel' (ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον) and are morally reprehensible that he designates them as false apostles. If this more extended meaning for the word apostle has been made good, Paul can easily have applied it in Gal. 1 19 also to James the brother of Jesus, although this is not exegetically certain, for the language can also mean 'other of the apostles saw I none, but only James [who is not an apostle]'; cp 2 16 Rom. 14 14 Mt. 12 4 Mk. 13 32 Rev. 9 4 21 27.

(*c*) It is quite certain, however, that it is not to Paul that this wider application of the word 'apostle' is due. His interest was quite in the other direction,—to limit the title as narrowly as possible; for his authority would naturally be diminished if the name of apostle placed him only in the same category as a large number of persons—many of them of very subordinate importance. Thus we may infer that the larger use of the word comes from the primitive Church and must have been customary there from the earliest times, for otherwise Paul would not have failed to point out that his opponents of subordinate rank were, strictly speaking, not entitled to be called apostles. What, then, let us ask, was the characteristic mark of an apostle according to this original meaning? It is not having been personally called by Jesus, nor having seen the risen Jesus, nor yet an exceptionally large endowment with spiritual gifts. On the one hand, all three do not apply to every

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person who is called apostle; on the other hand, the power to witness and the special endowment do not apply to those alone who are called apostles. The characteristic feature consists not at all in anything which such a man has or is, but in something which he does. Therefore it is not strictly correct to speak of apostleship as an office. It belongs, as also appears from 1 Cor. 12 28, to the *charismata*. Now, the characteristic activity of the apostle is the missionary one,—carried out, of course, not occasionally merely, but as a lifework (1 Cor. 15 10 Gal. 2 8). According to 1 Cor. 9 5 the original apostles also exercised this activity although at various times they had their abode in Jerusalem. If some of them took less part in the work than others, all equally received the same designation as they constituted a unity.

In the missionary sense of the word no one could possibly ever have disputed Paul's right to be called an apostle; and yet dispute it his adversaries did, as can at once be seen from the emphasis with which he claims the title.

18. Narrower sense.

(*a*) He describes himself, in fact, in 2 Cor. 1 1 as 'apostle by the will of God,' and in Rom. 1 1 1 Cor. 1 1 still more emphatically as called to be such (through the will of God), in Gal. 1 1 as 'apostle not through man but through Jesus Christ.' In 1 Cor. 9 1 as one proof of apostleship the question is asked, 'Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?' but another is added, 'Are not ye my work in the Lord?' This last, along with the addition in Rom. 1 1, 'separated unto the gospel of God,' is the criterion of missionary activity already spoken of above; the new criteria are those of having seen the risen Lord and of having been 'called.' In virtue of what he had seen Paul is qualified to bear witness to the resurrection of Jesus. This, however, many others also were able to do. Thus, what occurred at his conversion comes into consideration primarily, not because he then saw Jesus, but because he was then called by Jesus.

(*b*) To have urged this would have been purposeless had not his adversaries been in the habit of asserting that he was not an apostle because he had not been called thereto by Jesus. In their controversy with Paul his adversaries must thus have narrowed the meaning of the word and have made its differentia consist in a call by Jesus. On this account the original apostles acquired a unique position. On the most conspicuous of their number was bestowed the title of honour 'the pillars' (Gal. 2 9; COUNCIL, § 6). That Paul claimed to have received a similar call they thought they could ignore, as the claim could not be verified. The pseudo-Clementine Homilies (17 19) still represent Peter as saying to Simon Magus—under which mask Paul is disguised (see SIMON MAGUS),—'And how are we to believe your word when you tell us that he appeared to you?'

(*c*) Immediately before, Peter says in the same context, 'Can any one by a vision be made fit to instruct? And if you will say, It is possible, then I will ask, Why did our teacher abide and discourse a whole year with those who were awake?' The vision, it would appear from this, seemed questionable not only as regarded its divine origin but also as regarded its fitness to qualify an apostle for his work; and this, from the point of view of those who had living reminiscences of the conversation of Jesus while on earth to fall back upon, is perfectly intelligible.

(*d*) Hereby, however, at the same time a way was indicated by which it became possible to place above Paul such persons also as could not appeal to any call they had received from Jesus, if only they had known Jesus personally and for a longer or shorter time listened to his instruction.

To this class belonged those persons who first raised the party cry in Corinth, 'I am of Christ.' Their adherents followed them in taking up the same cry although they had never seen Jesus; but originally its simple meaning was, 'I am a personal disciple of Christ,' just as in the competing cries, 'I am of Paul,' 'I of Apollos,' 'I of Cephas' (1 Cor. 1 12). 2 Cor. 10 7 admits of no satisfactory explanation unless by 'any man' who 'trusteth in himself that he is Christ's' we are to understand the same persons as those who set up the party alluded to in 1 Cor. 1 12. These, however, as we can see from the connection in 2 Cor. 10-13, are none other than the 'pre-eminent apostles' (ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι), who had practically won over the entire community to their side and alienated it from Paul. According to 2 Cor. 3 1 they had come with letters of commendation to Corinth. These, however, would have made but little impression if they had not proceeded from the primitive church, for the weightiest commendation which they can have contained must have been simply this: these men are genuine apostles, because they have known Jesus (COUNCIL, § 3).

(*e*) If, over and above this, a definite call is still sought for them, it is always open to us to suppose that they received this from the community which felt itself under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, just as we read in the case of the community at Antioch in Acts 13 1-4. Yet we have no direct proof of this; and the hostile attitude of the primitive church and of the original apostles who were at its head would on such an assumption of an official act appear in a still stronger light than it does on the other supposition which assumes only the irreducible minimum—that the primitive church and the original apostles tacitly sanctioned the issue of the letters of commendation by refraining from laying a veto on them.

(*f*) If the idea conveyed by the word 'apostle' was altered on the part of primitive Christianity in the manner just described, it is still by no means permissible to go so far as Seufert, who thinks that the definite fixing of the number of the original apostles at twelve was arrived at only in consequence of the struggle with Paul. Against such a view Paul would protest with the utmost emphasis. Gal. 2 or 2 Cor. 10-13 offered opportunity enough. He makes allusion to the twelve only in 1 Cor. 15 5; but there is no sufficient reason for our rejecting this passage as spurious with Holsten. It has to be recognised as a historical fact that Jesus himself chose twelve disciples to be his immediate attendants and to carry on his work. The choice of the number, that of the twelve tribes of Israel, becomes quite intelligible if the number of persons who suggested themselves to his mind as suitable approximated twelve. Even the subsequent election of Matthias need not be brought into question, although the discourse of Peter which is reported in connection with it (Acts 1 16-22) is absolutely unhistorical (ACTS, § 14, begin.).

19. Paul's views.

(*a*) Of the original apostles, when it was sought to give Paul a position subordinate to them, Paul speaks with little respect (Gal. 2 6 11-21); but he does not demand anything more than to be co-ordinated with them. The name 'apostle' did not secure for him such a position of equality, for the wider sense of the word was still current. For this reason Paul must have favoured restricting the designation to those who had been personally called by Jesus, and sanctioning the enhanced estimation in which the twelve were held, although by reason of the rivalry of these with himself his own personal interest lay in the other direction. The narrower sense of the word 'apostle' led to the consequence that the apostolate, after the death of its first bearers, could not be handed down, and, as an institution belonging entirely to the past, enjoyed an enhanced appreciation (§ 34). Personal disciples of Jesus who had not belonged to the number of the twelve, were from the end of the first century onwards no longer called apostles but 'disciples of Jesus' (μαθηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου: JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 4 *e*). The wider sense of the word 'apostle' has held its ground in the *Didachè* (see below, § 39 *b*). The story of the mission of the seventy which is peculiar to Lk. (10 1; cp GOSPELS, §§ 109, 128 *b*) is untrustworthy.

(*b*) Paul ranks the apostolic dignity extraordinarily high. In 1 Cor. 12 28 he gives it the first place (πρῶτον). In the same degree in which he humbly ranks himself

far below Jesus, does he feel himself exalted as the ambassador of Jesus. He is a fellow-worker with God (1 Cor. 3 9), a 'minister' (λειτουργός) of Christ (Rom. 15 16), entrusted with the ministry of reconciliation (2 Cor. 5 18 *f.*), capable of exhibiting the 'signs' of an apostle (2 Cor. 12 12; cp Rom. 15 19) which, in accordance with that name, far exceed the wonderful deeds of other Christians (1 Cor. 12 9 28; ἰάματα, δυνάμεις). As an apostle he can claim honour (1 Thess. 2 6, RV^mg.). As an apostle he feels himself also entirely filled and led by God (2 Cor. 3 5 *f.* 4 6); his conception of the gospel is for him absolute truth, and for everything opposed to it he has his 'anathema' (Gal. 1 8 *f.*). However easily we may feel ourselves inclined to agree with him, we must nevertheless never conceal from ourselves that such a degree of self-consciousness in all decisions carried within it the gravest dangers for a sound development of the Christian church. There might easily arise a situation of affairs in which we should find ourselves impelled emphatically to disapprove in another of that which we gladly applaud in the apostle.

The idea involved in the term 'church' has already been touched on in § 16.

20. Conception of the church in the apostolic age. (*a*) It being impossible to regard as historical the employment of the word *ecclēsia* (ἐκκλησία) by Jesus as a designation of the Christian community (§ 5 *a*, *b*), Paul is the first whose manner of using the word is open to our observation. In a quite preponderating majority of instances it denotes with him the community of a definite city or place (CHURCH, § 6), seldom the church as a whole. In Gal. 1 13 1 Cor. 15 9 Phil. 3 6 where Paul says that he persecuted the church (of God), this is spoken in a manner that lays no stress on the fact that the church, notwithstanding the local separateness of the various communities, constitutes a unity. This is done more clearly when, in 1 Cor. 12 28, Paul says that God has set in the church some to be apostles, others to be prophets, and so forth; for the apostles are servants of the whole church. The apostles alone, however: the prophets, teachers, and the rest are the servants only of the community in which they reside. As soon as prophets or teachers undertook missionary journeys, they became in those days forthwith apostles (§ 17). The ideal notion of a general church seems present also in 1 Cor. 10 32: 'give no occasion of stumbling . . . to the church of God.' This comprehensive meaning of the word is prepared for by the LXX using it to render the Heb. קָהָל (assembly), the aggregate of all the constituent members of the Jewish people (CHURCH, § 1), whilst in later Judaism it is the word 'synagogue' (συναγωγή) that is most commonly employed to denote the individual community (Schürer, *GJV*⁽²⁾ 2 36 1, note; ET 4 58, note). Nevertheless it would be an inversion of the natural order of things if we were to take this use of *ecclēsia* in the Pauline writings and elsewhere as primary, and the application to local communities as only derivative and secondary.

The roof cannot be placed upon the house till the walls have been built. The usage of profane Greek also, which can never have been without its influence upon all Gentile Christians at least, contemplates only a local community when *ecclēsia* is employed. Paul, moreover, would hardly have spoken of the Corinthian community taken by itself as a temple of God or a pure virgin of Christ (1 Cor. 3 16 *f.* 2 Cor. 11 2) if in his view these predicates had, strictly speaking, belonged only to the church as a whole. The images would be much more appropriate if Christ were regarded as having but one temple, one pure virgin. Since Paul nevertheless does not so speak, we can see how vague is his vision when he looks beyond the separate communities to the church as a whole. He also attaches but little value to uniformity of institutions in different places. For an example, see above, § 9 *a*. True, he often alludes to the existence of similar institutions elsewhere (1 Cor. 4 17 7 17 11 16 16 1 [14 33 *b*—which, however, along with *vv.* 34 *f.*, in view of the contradiction with 11 5 13, may perhaps not be genuine]); he emphasises the fact that one community enjoys a good reputation in other communities (1 Thess. 1 7 *f.* 2 Cor. 8 1-5 9 2-5 Phil. 2 15) and exercises hospitality towards wayfaring brethren; by his own journeyings and those of his associates he awakens and stimulates the interest of the communities in one another. Still, the idea of the church as a whole does not play any great part in his writings.

If the idea has no great prominence with Paul, who nevertheless was endowed with the widest vision, certainly much less is it to be looked for in his contemporaries, and least of all in the primitive church with which the mission to the Gentiles was at all times a subordinate affair.

(*b*) There is one point, undeniably, in which Paul gave prominence to a thought which at a later date contributed greatly to the externalisation of piety. He promised not only the gift of the holy spirit but also the certainty of eternal life to every one who had become a member of the church (Rom. 8 29 *f.* 10 9-13 5 18-21). This followed as a matter of course for his ideal representation that at conversion every one becomes an entirely new man in the same way as he himself had become an entirely new man. Paul, however, is very far from regarding membership of the church as the *cause* of possession of the spirit and of eternal life.

The cause according to him is ever to be found, upon God's side in the divine mercy and grace, upon man's side in faith, in other words, in a thing which is purely subjective; and when he saw clearly the contradiction between the reality and the ideal he had assumed Paul did not hesitate to deny that the Corinthians were in possession of the spirit (1 Cor. 3 1-3), or to make eternal blessedness dependent for Christians also upon the issue of a judgment in which their condemnation was conceivable (Gal. 5 19-21 1 Cor. 3 17 6 9 *f.* 15 2 2 Cor. 6 1 11 15 Rom. 6 21 11 21 *f.* Phil. 3 19). None the less, however, was his ideal theory open to misconstruction and the abuse indicated above.

We turn once more from Paul to a consideration of the primitive church with the view of supplementing so far as possible what has been said already (§ 7).

21. Conjectures regarding the primitive church. (*a*) It is from the very outset manifest that the arrangements of the primitive church differed greatly from those of the Gentile Christian communities, for in Palestine any borrowing from the usages of pagan religious associations is not to be thought of. It is also clear that it was in Palestine that the development of the ecclesiastical constitution could most readily be slow since some at least of the apostles, or at any rate James the brother of the Lord, to whom willing deference was paid, were always within reach. By way of indicating with what caution the statements in Acts must be received we need only refer the reader here to the article COMMUNITY.

(*b*) The first thing we have definitely to set aside is the view that the Christian church was founded at the first Pentecost after the crucifixion. It had been founded long before, not by an express act of Jesus indeed, but by the faith in his resurrection and by the solidarity which was the result of this faith (cp the five hundred brethren who, according to 1 Cor. 15 6, saw the risen Jesus simultaneously). What happened at Pentecost resolves itself when critically considered into an intense manifestation of the gift of tongues as this is described by Paul and, on the basis of previous sources, by Acts (10 46 19 6; see SPIRITUAL GIFTS). With the discourse of Peter (2 14-36), which says nothing about any miracle, and with 2 12 *f.*, according to which the Christians on that occasion were held to be drunk with new wine, would fit excellently some such sentence as 2 4, which, we may conjecture, immediately preceded in a written source, only with omission of 'different' (ἑτέραις: 'they were . . . speak with tongues . . . utterance'). Perhaps the occurrence intended in 2 1-13 is the same as that described much less fully in 4 31 after another source: 'the place was shaken . . . and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost and spake the word of God with boldness.'

(*c*) Moreover, it is exceedingly doubtful whether the occurrence was at Pentecost at all.

For Pentecost—according to the Babylonian Talmud at least (*Pes.* fol. 68 *b*)—is the feast of the giving of the law at Sinai (according to *Jubilees*, 6 17, in the first century A.D., at least the feast of the making of the covenant with Noah, with which that of the making of the covenant at Sinai could easily be conjoined). But the giving of the law is described by Philo (2 185 *f.* 188 295 ed. Mangey; ET, by Yonge, 3 146 etc.) in terms quite

similar to those used in the description of the miracle in Acts; God's voice spread itself abroad, there went forth over all the earth an invisible sound which became changed into flame-like fire. The flame became articulate into the dialect to which the listeners were accustomed, and rendered the words so clearly that the hearer believed himself to be seeing rather than hearing. If any one finds himself indisposed to accept the miracle in Acts in a literal sense, it will be open to him to conjecture that the narrative is not independent of that in Philo; and in that case the date (Pentecost) was probably supplied by the same source.

(*d*) In proportion as the date is put back to an earlier period shall we be compelled to doubt whether the occurrence can have taken place in Jerusalem.

All that is certain is that three years after his conversion Paul found Peter and James at the head of a Christian community in Jerusalem (Gal. 1 18 *f.*); but that these two individuals and the other followers of Jesus belonging to Galilee should have established themselves in Jerusalem within so short a period as seven weeks after the death of the Master rests only upon the pre-supposition of Lk.—which cannot be accepted (see GOSPELS, § 138 *a*)—that the apostles never left Jerusalem at all after that event. If, however, they had—what is in accordance with all historical probability—betaken themselves to Galilee, it would have been very singular if they had, within a few weeks, again left house and home for a place where the greatest danger threatened them without any apparent motive or necessity for such a migration. It is to Galilee in all probability that we must look for the earliest beginnings and history of the church.

That the Mosaic law as a whole was adhered to is certain. Yet the length of the period—down to the date of the council of Jerusalem (see COUNCIL, § 4)—within which Paul's mission of emancipation from the law was allowed to go on unchallenged, would seem to indicate that the degree of legal strictness to which Christians submitted was not so severe as it became after the middle of the century. It can hardly be doubted that in Jerusalem attendance at the temple worship, and throughout Palestine in general, attendance at the synagogue services was still kept up. The specifically Christian gatherings, notwithstanding, served not only for the observance of the eucharist, but also for the mutual instruction and edification of believers through the word and common prayer. Exposition of the OT may easily have been a feature of such meetings. Appropriately enough, therefore, are the Christians in Acts 24 5 14 spoken of as a sect. They were distinguished essentially from the Jews by their belief in Jesus and by the obedience they yielded to his religious and ethical precepts.

22. The law.

The story of Hegesippus regarding James the brother of Jesus (Eus. *HE* ii. 23 4-18), which tells us that he had permission to go into the temple and pray for his people, and that the Jewish authorities took him, the head of the Christian community, up to a lofty place on the temple in order that he might bear witness against Jesus, is no doubt fabulous. Probably, however, it contains this much of truth that James, and with him the community under his leadership, had some good understanding with the Jews who did not believe in Jesus. We may suppose that James's death by stoning at the hands of the Jews in 62 A.D.—accounted for by Hegesippus as due to the witness he bore to Jesus on the occasion referred to—was what brought about the new turn of affairs when all religious connection of the community with Judaism was deliberately and permanently severed.

As for persons, it is not permissible to base conclusions on what we read in Acts 6 5 as to the election of the seven by the community, in 11 22 as to its sending of Barnabas to Antioch, or in 1 23-26 as to the election of Matthias by lot to the apostleship, whilst according to 8 14 the apostles themselves choose delegates from their own number. The author could easily figure such things to himself just as seemed natural and fitting. Too little prominence is given them to justify us in supposing that he found definite details regarding them in his source (cp § 37 *a*). In addition to the classes just mentioned, the presbyters are the only persons possessed of ruling functions who come into consideration for the apostolic time.

23. Appointments.

In Acts 11 30 the contribution from Antioch for relief of the sufferers from the famine in Palestine, in the reign of Claudius, is sent to the elders in Jerusalem. In itself considered, it is just as natural that in Palestine Christian institutions should be moulded after the Jewish pattern,

24. The presbyters.

as it was that outside of Palestine pagan models were followed; and as the Jews had their elders in every age (GOVERNMENT, §§ 16, 19; PRESBYTER, § 2) it is very natural to derive the Christian presbyters from these. It was not the Jews only, however, who had presbyters; Deissmann (*Bib.-Stud.* 153-155, ET 154-157) shows that there were presbyters in Egypt and in Asia Minor as well. If then we meet with them in Gentile-Christian communities also from the close of the first century onwards,[1] we cannot with confidence say that the institution has been derived from Jewish Christianity, for (1) neither is the epistle of James with its 'presbyters of the ecclesia' (πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, 5 14 *f.*) (to whom the originally quite free gift of healing [1 Cor. 12 9 28] is now confined) essentially older than the two writings cited first in footnote 1, below,[2] nor (2) can we be certain that Acts, in what it says about presbyters, rests upon earlier sources and not rather upon the known conditions of the author's own time merely (cp ACTS, § 16).

Apart from 11 30, 14 23 is open to the suspicion of being an anachronism (see below, § 37 *a*), and elsewhere the presbyters make their appearance always (15 2 4 6 22 *f.* 16 4) in connection with the apostles or (21 18) with James the brother of Jesus, without having, so far as can be seen, any definite function assigned to them. In Jerusalem itself, at any rate, any function possessed by them could hardly have been a very important one to be exercised alongside of the original apostles or of James. In Jewish-Christian communities outside of Jerusalem we may look with greater certainty for presbyters who, in actual fact, stood at the head of their respective communities as we know they did at a later date in the Gentile-Christian churches; but on Gentile-Christian ground the institution could also have originated without borrowing from Judaism or from Jewish Christianity. Even without the presence of pagan examples it would have been a very natural thing for the men of more mature years to be made leaders of the community, and the official name could have developed afresh from its original character as denoting mere age, even if such a thing had not occurred elsewhere long before. The difficulty attaching to the elucidation of the idea contained in 'presbyter' (πρεσβύτερος) lies in good measure in this ambiguity (cp also JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 4 *b*). On the presbyters' sphere of duty in their relation to the bishops, see §§ 44-48; on the 'rulers' (ἡγούμενοι: Heb. 13 17) who 'watch on behalf of souls, as they that shall give account' (cp 13 7 24), see § 47 *b*.

III. POST-APOSTOLIC AGE

Of the post-apostolic age one of the most outstanding characteristics is its steadily advancing appreciation of the church. The idea of individual communities, though still the dominant one in Acts and in James (5 14), falls on the whole into the background, that of the general church becomes the regulative one. The church's most important attributes are unity and purity.

25. Rising appreciation of the church.

(*a*) The Epistle to the Colossians and (still more) that to the Ephesians[3] are specially taken up with this idea which constitutes one of the most important elements in their contents, and frequently recurs.

In both (Col. 1 18 24 Eph. 5 23) the church is the body, of which Christ is no longer as in Paul (1 Cor. 12 12 *f.*) the spirit, but the head, according to Eph. 1 22 the head over all; in spite of its subordinateness to Christ the church is yet a completion to him, so that apart from it he who nevertheless 'filleth all in all' would yet be as incomplete as a head without a trunk (Eph. 1 23); it is the connection of the church, no longer as in 2 Cor. 11 2 that of the individual community, with Christ, that is set forth under the figure of the bridal, or marriage, relation (Eph. 5 25-30, see also Rev. 19 7 *f.*), and is held to have been prophesied in Gen. 2 24 (Eph. 5 31 *f.*); through the church it is that to the

[1] *Circa* 93-97 A.D. in 1 Clem. 44 5 47 6 54 2 57 1: *circa* 112 A.D. (see CHRISTIAN, § 8) in 1 Pet. 5 1 5; *circa* 140 A.D. in Hermas, 170-180 in Ignatius (see below, § 53 *c-i*); and, according to Acts 20 17, if one is disposed to accept the authority, already in the time of Paul.

[2] See CHRISTIAN, § 8, where Jas. is placed between Heb. and 1 Pet.; in JAMES (EPISTLE), § 5, it is placed still later.

[3] The Epistle to the Colossians, controverting the Gnostics as it does, cannot, in view of the statement of Hegesippus in Eus. *HE* iii. 32 7 *f.* that Gnosticism first arose in Trajan's time, be dated earlier than 100 A.D., and that to the Ephesians must be placed still later, exhibiting, as it does, a more advanced development of the idea of the church and also showing literary dependence on Col.; it must not, however, be brought lower than 130 A.D. as it was known to Marcion in 140 A.D.

angels, who have no inherent aptitude for this knowledge, is made manifest the manifold wisdom of God (Eph. 3 10). The establishment of the church is the aim of the world's entire evolution and the object of the divine economy (οἰκονομία: Eph. 1 10 3 2 9), that divine predetermination which has been a mystery from all eternity (3 11) and now is revealed to the apostles and prophets (3 3-5). It is destined to reach perfection even here upon earth (4 13); the prospect of a blessedness to be looked for only in the world beyond is found, in the two epistles, only in Col. 1 12 *f.* 3 1-4 Eph. 4 30. The most important thing in the idea of the church is, especially for Ephesians, its destination for the Gentiles and the fusion of these with the Jewish Christians (Eph. 2 11-22 3 6 Col. 3 11), who have their advantage historically only, in having been high salvation from the first (Eph. 2 13 17).

(*b*) So also in the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 10 16, 'other sheep . . . not of this fold . . . one flock, one shepherd'; 4 22, 'salvation is from the Jews,' cp JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 27, 39). Although the word *ecclēsia* is not employed by this author, any more than by the writer of 1 Jn. or 2 Jn., all three writings together with 3 Jn. have a strong churchly interest. In the gospel, however, as in Ephesians, the high dignity of the church is delineated in a purely ideal way, whilst 1 Jn. and still more 2 and 3 Jn., as also the Pastoral Epistles, draw the practical consequences with much energy. In 1 Tim. 3 15 in particular a new feature is the emphasis with which it is insisted that the Church is the 'pillar and ground of the truth' (στῦλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας). (*c*) From the divine predestination of the church in Eph. 1 10 3 2-5 9-11 there is but a single step further to that of its pre-existence, which is accepted in Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 4 1, and in 2 Clem. 14 1. The church appears to Hermas in his visions, and large portions of his book are devoted to its nature. (*d*) The course of the development through well-nigh two centuries, which can here only be lightly sketched, reached its goal in the designation 'catholic church' which is met with, from about 170-180 A.D. onwards, in the Muratorian fragment (*ll.* 61, 66, 69), in Ignatius (*ad Smyrn.* 8 2), in the Martyrdom of Polycarp (superscription, and 8 1 16 2 19 2) and in an Antimontanistic writing (*ap.* Eus. *HE* v. 16 9). Cp, further, § 53 *e*.

Even Irenæus, however, about 185 A.D. has only periphrases, such as (i. 3 [i. 10 2]) ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη or (ii. 8 1 [9 1]) ecclesia omnis per universum orbem accepit . . . In the NT we find as honorific predicates only '*ecclēsia* of God' (τοῦ θεοῦ: 1 Cor. 10 32 15 9, etc.; of an individual church in 11 22, etc.; in the plural 11 16) and '*ecclēsia* of the saints' (τῶν ἁγίων: 14 33); elsewhere 'the holy (ἁγία) *ecclēsia*' (Herm. *Vis.* i. 3 4, etc.; cp Harnack, *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch. I.*(2) 335, n. 3, ET 2 73, n. 4).

The whole development tends constantly more and more towards the proposition: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus.*

26. Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.

In principle, indeed, it is latent as soon as there is a church at all. A great difference depends, however, on whether the principle is insisted on or not, and, if insisted on, whether this is done theoretically merely, or also practically. Primarily, it is urged in order to make the invitation to join the church all the more pressing. If the invitation is complied with, the proposition becomes innocuous. On the other hand, if it is not complied with, or if the member once received has been expelled, this always comes to be associated with the idea that the person who refuses or is rejected at the same time becomes a lost soul. The thesis 'if thou believest . . . thou shalt be saved' (ἐὰν πιστεύσῃς . . . σωθήσῃ: Rom. 10 9, and frequently in other turns of expression) has always as its necessary counterpart, whether written or unwritten, that other proposition: 'he who has disbelieved shall be condemned' (ὁ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται: Mk. 16 16).

The presupposition that Christianity alone has power to save led to the fine idea in 1 Pet. 3 19 *f.*, according to which Jesus preached in the underworld to the spirits of the departed there, and thereby afforded them the opportunity to become partakers of salvation. Yet the idea is very imperfectly expressed. It is not merely that the writer treats as 'spirits in prison' only those who had been disobedient in the days of Noah (which can only be explained as a borrowing from Enoch 10 11-14); even if the reader ventures to extend the preaching of Jesus to all the spirits of the departed then existing in the underworld, this means of grace fails to reach all those who have gone there after Jesus' time without having heard the gospel upon earth. With Hermas (*Sim.* ix. 16 5-7) the pious souls who died before the coming of Christ need in the underworld not only preaching but also baptism—which they receive through the apostles. In another direction, however, Hermas is very liberal, explaining (*Vis.* iii. 7 5 *f.*) that those who, after receiving the instruction of catechumens, but before receiving baptism, have relapsed into their former sins could, if they did penance, be built as living stones (not into the church, indeed, but) into a lesser building; cp *Sim.* viii. 6 5 *f.* This goes essentially a step further than is taken when Paul (Rom. 4 Gal. 3 6), proceeding on Gen. 15 6, regards the faith of Abraham, and Hebrews (chap. 11) the faith of all OT saints, as fully effectual for salvation; for in the excessive regard paid to the OT this inconsequence was only too natural. Christendom was regarded as simply the continuation of the OT people of God (Gal. 6 16 Heb. 2 16 *f.* 4 9 1 Pet. 2 9 Rev. 14 1, cp 7 4-8, etc.). True emancipation from the ban of the conception of the Church under which all the canonical writers stand is found for the first time in Justin in his memorable utterance (*Apol.* i. 46 2): 'Those who lived with [the] Logos are Christians, even though they have been thought atheists' (this is probably polemic against the 'men without God in the world' of Eph. 2 12 [ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κοσμῳ]), 'as among the Greeks Socrates and Heraclitus and men like them; and among the barbarians Abraham, and Ananias, and Azarias, and Misael [the three men in the furnace in Daniel], and Elias, and many others' (οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοί εἰσιν, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς, ἐν βαρβάροις δὲ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἀνανίας καὶ Ἀζαρίας καὶ Μισαὴλ καὶ Ἠλίας καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί).

If we turn now to a survey of the most important institutions of the church (§§ 27-32), it appears that the

27. The confession of faith.

oneness of that body which the church represents rests according to Eph. 4 3-6 upon the one Spirit, the one Lord, and the one Father; in other words, upon the Trinity—though still without the later dogmatic formulation of the oneness of these three persons or entities. It follows immediately from this that the one faith which is directed towards these three (4 5 13) is not formulated so simply as it was in the oldest times. This triad, which in the mouth of Jesus (Mt. 28 19) is unhistorical (§ 5 *c*; GOSPELS, § 136, end), and with Paul (2 Cor. 13 13) in this collocation has not yet been made an object of faith, constitutes rather the foundation of the *regula fidei* to which converts to Christianity had to signify their adherence at baptism and out of which by ever new additions the so-called *symbolum apostolicum* at last grew.

For the oldest extant forms from as early as the beginning of the second century see, for example, Harnack, *Pat. ap. op.* i. 2 115-142.[1] This rule already contains many more dogmas than those which Paul declared indispensable (§ 15); and faith in the formula 'one faith' (μία πίστις) no longer means the exercise of faith—a meaning which can be upheld for all the passages in Paul, even for Gal. 3 2 5 Rom. 1 5 (upon which cp § 15, end)—but the matter of faith: in a word, no longer *fides qua creditur* but *fides quæ creditur.* So also in the Pastoral Epistles, particularly clearly in Tit. 1 4 1 Tim. 1 19*b* 4 1 6 6 10 21 2 Tim. 3 8 (where a wrong attitude in respect of faith is the same thing as a wrong attitude in respect of truth in 2 18) and Jude 20 and 3 ('your most holy faith . . . once for all delivered unto the saints'). Here, accordingly, and throughout the whole of the post-apostolic literature much greater importance is attached to orthodoxy of belief than formerly.

In the *Didachè*, which is intended for catechumens of the entire church, we find the Lord's Prayer, as also

28. The new moral law.

his Law (upon which chaps. 1-5 are based) as a kindred bond of union. These two constitute the most precious heritage which the church has retained, and their genuineness is un-

[1] The oldest Roman formula runs as follows:—I believe in God the Father, Almighty, and in Christ Jesus his son, the only-begotten, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Spirit and Mary the virgin, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried, who rose on the third day from the dead, who ascended into the heavens, who is seated at the right hand of the Father, whence he will come to judge quick and dead; also in [the] Holy Ghost, [the] holy church, forgiveness of sins, resurrection of [the] flesh. Amen. (πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν· ἀμήν.) Kattenbusch (*Apostol. Symbol*, cp his own excerpt in *ZTK*, 1901, 407-428) dates this formula at about 100 A.D.

doubted. The externalisation, however, of which we have spoken shows itself in the *Didachè* in the manner in which these and other exhortations of the law are invested with the formal character of a positive injunction; the Lord's Prayer is to be offered three times a day, and Christians are to differentiate themselves from the hypocrites, that is, from the Jews, by fasting not on Monday and Thursday but on Wednesday and Friday (8 1-3). Here, as in kindred matters, Christianity takes more and more the form of a *nova lex*. This finds expression in the strikingly paradoxical conception of a law of liberty (Ja. 1 25), which is very well paraphrased in Barn. 2 6: 'the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, being free from constraint' (ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ὤν). Cp § 14 *b*.

29. The canon. The value attached to the words of Jesus led to a corresponding value being attached to the books in which these were recorded, and these formed the first portion of a NT canon. Before this last attained recognition the OT, as from the earliest days of Christianity, was regarded as a holy book: with particular fulness, in Hebrews, and—with far-reaching application of the allegorical method—in the Epistle of Barnabas; but also in the Fourth Gospel (JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 39), in the Pastoral Epistles (2 Tim. 3 15 *f.*), in 2 Pet. (1 19-21), in Ignatius (*ad Philad.* 9 2), etc. Eph. and Col. stand alone in laying no stress upon it. The NT, or rather, part of the writings now contained in it, was first raised to the same rank with the OT as 'holy scripture' somewhere between 170 and 180 A.D., and this not as the result of a gradually and naturally increasing appreciation, but because, in the conflict with Gnosticism and Montanism, a definite norm was needed to which appeal could be made on the one hand against the gnostic forms of the church's faith (*e.g.*, 2 Tim. 2 18), and on the other hand alike against the traditions put forth by the Gnostics as resting on secret apostolic tradition and against the new prophecies of the Montanists. It is not by mere accident that the canonisation of the bulk of the NT dates from the same period as the rise of the designation 'Catholic Church.' See further, §§ 32 end, and 35 *b-e*.

30. The sacraments. In like manner the importance attached to the sacraments increased. In Eph. 4 5, 'one Lord, one faith,' is immediately followed by 'one baptism.' The necessity of baptism for salvation is expressly emphasised even in the 'pneumatic' Fourth Gospel (3 5). The next step is that, whilst in the apostolic age, and to a large extent even in the post-apostolic (GOSPELS, § 136, end; cp also *Clem. Recog.* I 39 73 [although there we read also of trinæ invocationis baptisma in 1 63] and even in the third century the opponents of Cyprian [epist. 73 16-18]), baptism was administered simply in the name of Jesus, the trinitarian formula is met with in *Did.* 7 1 and in Justin, *Apol.* i. 61 3. The intermediate stage, of two clauses only, is perhaps indicated by Rev. 14 14 Jn. 17 3 1 Tim. 2 5. The oneness of the eucharistic celebration is specially insisted on by Ignatius (*ad Philad.* 4, *ad Eph.* 20 2, *ad Magn.* 7 2). In *Did.* 9 4 10 5 the unity of the church, represented by the union of the grains of corn in the bread—an idea which figures in 1 Cor. 10 17 in a subsidiary degree only—appears as the central idea of the eucharist. The indispensableness of this sacrament for eternal life is strongly insisted on in Jn. 6 51-58, although the outward action is again divested of its value by 6 63. What sort of magical ideas were capable of being associated with it is seen in Ignatius (*ad Eph.* 20 2), where participation in the sacrament guarantees immortality:

'Bread, which is the medicine of immortality and the antidote that we should not die, but live in Jesus Christ for ever (ἄρτος ὅς ἐστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός); similarly Justin, *Apol.* i. 66 2: 'food from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished' (τροφὴ ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν); and perhaps *Didachè* 10 3: 'didst bestow on us spiritual food and drink and eternal life' (ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον).

31. Treatment of sinners and of heretics. The purity of the church renders necessary, on the one hand, the conflict with immorality (2 Tim. 2 19), and on the other, the conflict with heresy. In church discipline concern for the salvation of the sinner becomes mingled more and more, not only with the churchly (§ 16 *a*), but also with the hierarchical, interest. As against heretics, since heresy (αἵρεσις), properly speaking, means a peculiar opinion and a special class of men who are held together by it—as in Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5 9, § 171 and often): the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes (cp above, § 18 *d*)—the only appropriate method of dealing with them is, naturally, by endeavouring to convince them, by means of oral discussion, of the erroneousness of their views. The epistle to the Ephesians reveals only in 4 14 5 6 that it has to do with opponents at all. So also the Fourth Gospel meets them not with polemic, but with positive statement. The epistle to the Colossians, in its polemical parts (chap. 2), makes use of restrained language and is at pains to adduce reasons for what it says. For the rest, however, the method of dealing with heretics constitutes one of the darkest pages in the whole history even of the earliest theology. The views disapproved of are simply rejected, and to those who hold them such impure motives are ascribed, and so many crimes (which yet have no sort of connection with the doctrines attributed to them) that it is hardly possible to persuade oneself of the justice of the representations. The conjecture suggests itself only too readily, that the churchly writers were neither able nor willing to do justice to the views of their opponents.[1] Whilst 1 Jn. simply shares the language of strong reprobation and censure, as of moral perversity, not intellectual error merely, which is met with in the Pastoral Epistles, in Jude, and in 2 Pet., 2 Jn. proceeds to practical measures by excommunicating the adversary (*v.* 10 *f.*). In the Pastoral Epistles it is possible to discover the order in which they were written (probably by different authors between 100 and 150 A.D.), by the attitude they disclose towards opponents. In 2 Tim. 4 14 the divine retribution is threatened upon Alexander; but, as a general rule, according to 2 24-26, the attempt ought to be made to win adversaries to a change of view by gentleness of demeanour. According to Tit. 1 13 3 10 the rebuke ought to be 'sharply' ('briefly': ἀποτόμως) given, and after the second admonition adversaries ought to be shunned. In 1 Tim. 1 20 Hymenæus and Alexander, the first mentioned of whom is named also in 2 Tim. 2 17 *f.* are given over to Satan. For a heretic is here prescribed the treatment which in 1 Cor. 5 5 was the punishment of the most scandalous. The conclusion of the parable of the tares (§ 5 *d*) did not everywhere meet with attention.

32. Enhanced appreciation of offices. For giving effect to all these things the church needed ruling persons, and it is for this reason that the scope of the present article has been widened so as to include consideration of institutions which, regarded in themselves, seem impersonal. Step by step, with the enhanced appreciation of the church and its institutions, the appreciation of the persons charged with its conduct advances also, and what originally was only a free activity occasionally exercised, develops from the nature of the case into an office. Whilst Paul (in 1 Cor. 12 28), after enumerating apostles, prophets, and teachers,

[1] As Paul permitted his followers to eat meat that had been offered to idols, and to form marriages with relations or with pagans (COUNCIL, § 11, begin.), it is not impossible that the author of Rev. 2-3 was simply hurling back the reproaches of 2 Cor. 11 13-15 and elsewhere when he used the language which we find in 2 2 (ἀποστ. ψευδεῖς), 2 6 14 *f.* 20-24. If the Epistles were not written till long after the death of Paul, the probability increases that they are directed not against him but against his successors; this, however, does not lessen the violence of their polemic.

goes on to give the sentence an impersonal turn and speaks of miracles, gifts of healing, helps, governments, kinds of tongues, in Eph. 4 11 the 'governments' have become persons—pastors. Moreover, they are promoted in rank, for they come immediately after apostles, prophets, and evangelists, and before teachers (unless, indeed, they are to be identified with these; see below, § 39 *e*). The management and administration of affairs became more and more the chief concern. The ultimate issue of the development is arrived at in Ignatius, with whom the bishop stands before all other bearers of office, apostles alone excepted. It is not by mere accident that this also synchronises with the introduction of the expression 'Catholic Church,' and with the rise of the NT Canon. See, more specially, §§ 49-54.

33. Value of this development.

In spite of every dark side which the development of the church displays when contrasted with the original gospel of Jesus, it has to be acknowledged, from the point of view afforded by history, that the development, as a whole, was inevitable if Christianity was to hold its own at all against two dangers to which it was exposed. On the one hand there was persecution, on the other hand the unlimited freedom involved in possession of the Spirit, as also the speculations—not so much religious as philosophical—of Gnosticism. As matters stood, a strict organisation really was essential. Exactly in proportion as the representatives of traditional Christianity fell below the Gnostics intellectually and otherwise, was it necessary for them to be able to lay hold of a fixed *regula fidei*, a canon, a high valuation of the sacraments. Similarly, the more the individual Christian felt himself unable to withstand the allurements of pagan life, the terrors of persecution, the infectious character of gnostic theories, the more was it necessary for men of strong character to hold the reins with firm hand. The evils which this necessarily brought in its train threatened indeed to carry the church so far away that it could no longer be recognised as truly and faithfully representing the essence of Christianity. At the same time, in what the church had succeeded in conserving—it may be in a violent and, in many respects, unchristian way—she possessed, though in conjunction with assets of a very questionable character, the genuine gospel of Jesus which still preserved its power to frustrate all distortion and obscuration of its true nature. In this way the church development of which we have been speaking has rendered to Christianity a quite inestimable service. What is to be regretted is not so much that the development occurred as that, along with the truly Christian element which was saved, there was transmitted to future ages also much that was foreign, or even hostile, to the essence of Christianity, taken on under stress of circumstances in a manner that now makes purification from such elements extraordinarily difficult.

34. Appreciation of first apostles (the Twelve and Paul).

We come now to a consideration of the various classes of persons whose action resulted in the development of the church which has just been sketched. First in order come the apostles in the narrower sense of that word (§ 18). In respect of their immediate call by Jesus himself it was impossible for them to have successors, and the regard in which they were held by succeeding generations grew all the more on that account.

(*a*) The apostles are represented as the founders of the church, and even Haupt (see below, § 60) accepts the unhistorical theory—possible only to a distant retrospect—that it was in the founding of the church by missions and organisation of communities, and not in the securing of a progressive development, that the task assigned to the apostles by Jesus lay. It is obvious, however, that these two do not admit of being separated, and that it could not have been either Jesus' wish or theirs that they should refrain from any further development of ecclesiastical organisation if this was open to them, especially in the case of so long a lifetime as is assigned, by Haupt as by others, to John the son of Zebedee.

(*b*) The result of this view, however, was that the apostles were also regarded as the foundation upon which the building of the church rests. In 1 Cor. 3 11 Jesus alone is this one foundation; in Eph. 2 20 he is only the corner stone, the foundation being the apostles and (NT) prophets (see § 38 *a*), in the former class Paul also being of course included. In Rev. 21 14, it is the twelve apostles of the lamb (without Paul) whose names are written upon the twelve foundation stones of the heavenly Jerusalem.

This verse has for long been with many theologians an obstacle to their regarding the Apocalypse as the work of one of these twelve. So also the reading of TR in 18 20, 'ye holy [not 'ye saints and ye'] apostles and ye prophets' (οἱ ἅγιοι [without καὶ οἱ] ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται), as long as it was held to be the correct reading constituted a similar hindrance with many. The same consideration, however, demands to be applied to Eph. If it was really Paul who wrote the words in 3 5, 'his holy apostles and prophets' (τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις), the case would be much the same as if to-day a bishop were to speak of the 'holy bishops of God.' According to Harnack (*Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1879, p. 391) the phrases invariably met with everywhere else down to the third century are only 'the good apostles, 'the blessed Paul,' 'the apostle Paul,' and the like; we find in Ignatius, *ad Magn.* 3 1, presbyters, and in *Mart. Polyc.* 17 1, martyrs called 'holy.'[1]

(*c*) The first apostles are further regarded as having received the Holy Ghost as no others had done. In Jn. 20 22 *f.* this gift is communicated by Jesus to his disciples along with the power of forgiving or retaining sins—a power which, according to Mt. 18 18 (§ 4) is not limited to them. According to Acts 8 14-19 19 6 only the Twelve and Paul, not missionaries of subordinate rank such as Philip, possess the power of conferring (by imposition of hands) the gift of the Holy Spirit upon the baptized—a position in direct contradiction not only to Paul but also to Acts 19 2, according to which authorities the gift comes of itself by the act of believing. A new theory of this kind could spring up all the more readily when, during the second century, the consciousness that every Christian possesses the Holy Spirit gradually fell into the background. For further consequences of this change of view, see § 37 *b-e*.

35. 'Apostolic' literature.

This exceptional spiritual endowment of the apostles qualified them also for the production of normative writings. (*a*) This consideration soon found practical application when obscure men, who could hope for no attention to books written in their own names, wrote under the names of apostles (2 Thess., Col., Eph., Pastoral Epistles, James, 1 and 2 Pet.; indirectly also the Fourth Gospel; cp JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 41).

This must not at all be regarded, in accordance with modern ways of looking at things, as forgery. The only reasonable view is that which takes as normal for the whole attitude of the ancient world towards such questions the saying of the Neo-platonist Iamblichus, who set it down to the credit of the Pythagoreans that, renouncing all praise for themselves, they turned everything to the honour and glory of their master. For Christianity in particular we may regard as normal the saying of the presbyter in Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 17), when asked why he had written the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* under the name of Paul, that he had done it for love of Paul ('id se amore Pauli fecisse'). The judgment of Tertullian upon this is also interesting; he has no moral censure for it but only sarcasm—'as if he were augmenting Paul's fame from his own store' ('quasi Pauli titulo de suo cumulans'); so, too, is the information Tertullian gives, that this presbyter was deprived of his office not because he had written a spurious work, but because in that work, contrary to the ecclesiastical order (1 Cor. 14 34), he had introduced Thecla's example as a warrant for women's teaching and baptizing.

(*b*) The view that apostles alone were fitted to be the writers of normative books came to be applied still more extensively when the canon was being fixed. None but apostolic writings could render that service against

[1] The holy prophets of 2 Pet. 3 2, since the apostles are mentioned after, not before, them, must be those of the OT. The expression, 'the holy choir of the apostles' (ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορός) cannot, with certainty, be traced to Hegesippus, since Eusebius (*HE* iii. 32 8) does not quote his words verbatim.

Gnostics and Montanists which the canon, according to § 29, was required to render. Were other writings also admitted it became impossible to establish any hard and fast line over against those Gnostic and Montanistic writings which, nevertheless, it was desired to exclude. Thus it became compulsory, on the one hand, to accept all writings which offered themselves as being of apostolic origin, and on the other hand, to declare to be apostolic every writing which it was not desired to drop, or which had already established itself so firmly that it could no longer be set aside.

(*c*) The violent measures which these considerations rendered necessary supply us with the reason why, in § 29, it was found necessary to reject what would otherwise have been the simplest and most natural view, that the books of the NT came gradually to be regarded as on a level with those of the OT by a silent and natural growth of the appreciation in which they were held.

The gospels attributed to non-apostolic men, Mark and Luke, had to be justified by the assertion that they rested upon the communications of Peter and Paul respectively, although Paul had confessedly not known Jesus at all during his life on earth. Of the epistles to Philemon, Titus, and Timothy we read in the Muratorian fragment (the only writing which enables us to see not only the fact but also the motive of the formation of the NT canon) [*l.* 61]; 'in honorem ecclesiæ catholicæ in ordinatione ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ sanctificatæ sunt.' With regard to the Fourth Gospel the fragment confirms what we know already from 21 24, that a plurality of persons attested the character of its author as eye witness (*l.* 14: 'ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret'; cp JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 40, end).

Of all these writings, in other words, the author of the fragment knew that their canonisation had to be carried through in the face of serious doubts.

(*d*) It has even been conjectured that writings like the epistle of James or 1 Pet. only now had the apostolic names prefixed after having existed for some time in an anonymous form, as the epistle to the Hebrews does even to this day. Conversely it has also been conjectured with regard to Hebrews, which has already reached a full close in 13 21, that the present conclusion—which by its mention of Timothy would seem to point to a Pauline origin—was added at this time, and the beginning, which had named a non-apostolic person as author, removed. The examples cited uuder (*c*), however, are sufficient to show that the establishment of the canon was set about with full deliberation, and that the leading thought in carrying out the task was the demand for apostolic origin.

(*e*) No difference is made by the fact that along with the principle just mentioned that of the catholicity of the contents of the books was also followed. This was done only where the apostolicity of origin was contested, as in the case of the Pastoral Epistles and the Fourth Gospel, and it was done simply in order to meet the doubt as to the apostolic origin. In the case of expressly non-apostolic writings like Mk. and Lk. a third principle was deferred to—that of traditional estimate; but the efforts made to prove an apostolic origin even for them show that the traditional estimate alone was not regarded as decisive any more than catholicity of contents was.

36. Peter and Paul.

The number twelve, as applied to the apostles had, in view of the obscurity of most of those men, only a schematic value. (*a*) Peter alone, in the recollection of the second century, could take a position of importance even approximating to that of Paul and, after him, James the brother of Jesus, and the John of Asia Minor (if we suppose him to have been the apostle; see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 3).

The pseudo-Clementine Recognitions (1 68 73 4 35) and Homilies (beginning, epistle of Peter, Ἰακώβῳ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας) make James the universal bishop and represent Paul under the guise of Simon Magus (see § 18 *bc*, and SIMON MAGUS); and Justin, although acquainted with the writings of Paul, at least never mentions him, and (*Apol.* i. 39 3 50 12 *Dial.* 42) attributes the mission to the Gentiles to the twelve.

The Johannine writings, on the other hand, put forward the John of Asia Minor as the highest authority in such a manner that Peter everywhere falls behind the beloved disciple; he comes into competition with him even at the visit to the empty grave (20 3-9), and not till the appendix in chap. 21 is reached is he, in some measure at least, rehabilitated (JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 40). In Acts, however, care has already been taken to put forward Peter as the representative of the primitive apostles who was on a level with Paul at all points, even in the details of his miracles and sufferings (ACTS, § 4). This view could only be furthered by the belief that Peter had laboured in Rome (see SIMON PETER), which, as the metropolis of the world, very soon acquired a dominating position for all Christendom (so already in 1 Clem. 1 1 63 2 *f.*). So it came about that, in place of Jesus and in place of all the apostles and prophets (§ 34), Peter in his single person could seem, to a later redactor or supplementer of the First Gospel (16 18), to be the foundation of the church (§ 4).

(*b*) The belief, however, that Peter had been in Rome at the same time as Paul constituted the best possible reason for bringing forward, in highest prominence, the two men, who really had been so sharply opposed in their lifetimes, as representatives of Jewish and Gentile Christianity respectively, in fullest accord with each other. So it is that we find Ignatius writing to the Romans (4 3): 'not like Peter and Paul do I lay my commands on you'; and 2 Pet., the latest of the NT writings (160-180 A.D.), ratifies this oneness by making 'Peter' acknowledge the insight that has been given to Paul and reckon his epistles as integral parts of holy scripture whilst yet much that is contained in them—in other words the portions which are unacceptable to him—are gently set aside as 'hard to be understood' (3 15 *f.*).

37. Succession: laying on of hands.

That the first apostles possessed in a pre-eminent degree the Holy Spirit would have been a belief of little value for the later church if they had not been able in some way or other to transmit the gift. Of course, not to every one, but only to those who could be regarded as their successors in office.

(*a*) Already in 1 Clem. 42 4 44 2 *f.* it is represented as a thing quite made out, that the apostles appointed bishops and deacons in the communities founded by them, under the approval of these, and took steps to secure that as these bishops and deacons were removed by death proper men should be their successors. In like manner we read in Acts 14 23 that Paul and Barnabas chose elders in every community. When the absolute autonomy possessed by the community at Corinth is borne in mind (§ 9 *a*), this representation is very hard to believe. In Tit. 1 5 the task of appointing presbyters in every city of Crete is committed to Titus as representing Paul.

(*b*) The conception reaches completion, however, only when at installation there is conferred upon the person chosen a capability or power possessed by the person installing, but not possessed by the person installed without a solemn act. This power is no other than that special high measure of the gift of the spirit which is peculiar to the apostles. For its transmission the same act is needed as, according to Acts 8 17-19 19 6, was required for the communication of the Holy Spirit to new converts by the apostles—namely, the imposition of hands, which in Heb. 6 2 seems to be associated with baptism, and which is also appropriate to acts of blessing (Gen. 48 14-20 Mk. 10 16), and to acts of healing (Mk. 5 23 7 32 8 23 Acts 9 12 17 and often). It appears also as consecration to an office in Acts 6 6, and in the Mishna it is used at the installation of a judge (Schür. *GJV*(2) 2 152; ET ii. 1 177).

(*c*) The spirit of his office conferred upon Timothy is called (1 Tim. 4 14 2 Tim. 1 6) 'charisma,' χάρισμα (τοῦ θεοῦ).

It is, however, no such gift as that which, according to 1 Cor. 12 11, the Spirit bestows 'as he will'; it is bestowed on Timothy, according to 2 Tim. 1 6, 'through the laying on of my hands' (διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου). In other words, a purely magical conception, of which Beyschlag (see below, § 60) p. 95 says 'nothing more un-Pauline is to be met with anywhere in the Pastoral Epistles.' Nor is the criticism obviated by the fact

that, according to 1 Tim. 4 14, this 'charisma' is bestowed upon Timothy 'by prophecy' (διὰ προφητείας). Prophetic indications that this or the other man was the right person to fill a given office may very easily have influenced elections (cp 1 18: 'according to the prophecies . . . on thee'), and such announcements may have been repeated at the solemn installation (cp Acts 13 1 *f.* and doubtless also 20 28: 'the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops'). Still, even in 1 Tim. 4 14 the imposition of hands is by no means lacking.

(*d*) Only, it is another custom that is here referred to —a custom which often enough may have asserted itself and therefore could not be passed over in complete silence by the writer—namely, the laying on of hands by the presbytery. It is, however, to be observed that it is represented only as a concomitant circumstance (μετά), not (as the laying on of hands by Paul in 2 Tim. 1 6: διά) as the cause of endowment with the gifts of office. As we can find a precedent for the act that effects endowment in the imposition of hands by Moses on Joshua, according to what we read in Nu. 27 18-23 Dt. 34 9, so for the act that merely accompanies endowment we have an analogous proceeding in the imposition of hands by the people in Nu. 8 10 at the installation of Levites which also resembles Acts 13 3. Whilst in Acts, however, the whole community lays its hands on the missionaries who are about to be sent forth, we find this function in 1 Tim. 4 14 already limited to the presbytery.

(*e*) The limitation just mentioned is connected with the further restriction that the communication of the gift of office is made not to every bearer of office, but only to Timothy; that is to say, to the representative of the bishop (see below, § 54 *d*). That he does not become a partaker in the apostolical succession for his own person alone, but with the capability, and also the duty, of further transmitting it, is shown by 1 Tim. 5 22 2 Tim. 2 2. From the verb here used (παράθου) it is at the same time clear that the 'trust' (παραθήκη) of 1 Tim. 6 20 2 Tim. 1 14 (less easily 1 12) is to be regarded along with 'charisma' (χάρισμα) as a more precise designation of the gift of office so bestowed. It seems thus to be looked upon as a valuable committed to the custodian's care to be faithfully kept and delivered up undamaged.

38. The prophets.

(*a*) After the apostles the first place is taken, not only in 1 Cor. 12 28 but also in Eph. 4 11, by the prophets; and in Eph. 2 20 3 5 they and they alone are associated with the apostles as constituting a unity. It follows not only from 4 11 but also from 3 5 that NT not OT prophets are intended, since to them the mystery hidden from former generations has now (νῦν) been revealed. The collocation in Rev. 18 20 ('ye saints and ye apostles and ye prophets') is similar, the prophets in this book taking (as can be easily understood) a prominent part throughout (10 7 22 6; along with the saints in 11 18 16 6 18 24, cp 22 9; also the two witnesses in 11 3 10 are called prophets). In *Did.* 13 3 (*circa* 130-160 A.D.) the prophets alone are called 'your chief priests' (with reference to 1 Cor. 9 13) and receive on this account the first-fruits; at the Lord's Supper, the presidency over which, as we can perceive, belongs to them, they are not, according to 10 7, restricted to the use of the formal prayers; to cast doubts upon their pneumatic utterances is the sin against the Holy Ghost (11 7; cp Mt. 12 31 *f.*).

(*b*) In the very next sentences, however, the author of the *Didachè* proceeds to give rules that neutralise this prohibition. He sets up criteria according to which his readers are to be able to discriminate between true prophets and false.

He who has not 'the ways of the Lord' (τρόποι κυρίου), he who does not himself practise what he teaches, he who in pneumatic utterance orders a table and then partakes of it, he who demands money or other things, is a false prophet. The greater the reverence for the spirit of God which speaks out of the prophets, the worse must have been the degeneracy which rendered such cautions necessary. In point of fact Hermas finds a whole *mandatum* (11) required in order to meet this need. Peregrinus was, according to Lucian (ch. 11-13 16), amongst the Christians a prophet (προφήτης), a leader of a Thiasus-band (θιασάρχης: as leader of the love-feast), 'a synagogue officer (ξυναγωγεύς: as preacher), 'president' (προστάτης), and experienced in his captivity the most extraordinary attentions and on his journeyings the richest maintenance. A *goëtes* such as he, who knew how to deal with Christians with the requisite cunning, had it in his power, according to Lucian about 166 A.D., to become a rich man within a very short time. Similar things can be found in Celsus about 180 A.D. (*ap.* Origen 7 9 11; vol. i. 700 and 702 ed. de la Rue). Perhaps we may also interpret Mt. 7 15-23 in the same sense ('false prophets . . . in sheep's clothing . . . have we not prophesied in thy name?' etc.), especially as prophecy in the name of Jesus during his lifetime could much less easily have happened than what Lk. (13 26 *f.*) has in the parallel passage: we have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets. The characterisation given by Hermas may possibly, in view of what has just been said, not be entirely exact. He says that a false prophet gives to individuals privately forecasts as to their future, but shrinks from coming forward in the public meeting of the congregation and speaks only when consulted (*Mand.* 11 5 *f.* 13 *f.*). On the contrary, the prophets just depicted were met with both as itinerant preachers and also as settled members of the communities to which they respectively belonged (cp Acts 11 27 21 10 as contrasted with 13 1). Only in the latter case are they (their good behaviour being, of course, presupposed), according to *Did.* 13 1 3, to receive the first-fruits. As their manner of speech was ecstatic indeed, yet, in contradistinction from the speaking with tongues, capable of being generally understood, it admits of being designated as 'doctrine' (*Did.* 11 10 Rev. 2 20), and conversely the false apostle of *Did.* 11 5 *f.* can be called a false *prophet.*

(*c*) It is only natural that, with the general falling off of that inspiration by which the spiritual gifts of the oldest Christianity are to be explained, the form also of ecstatic preaching became increasingly rare. In *Did.* 13 4 provision is made for the case of there being no prophet in a community; the firstling gifts are then to go to the poor. Partly the abuses already referred to, partly also the very pronounced recrudescence of ecstatic utterance among the Montanists, and the incompatibility of the unbridled individualism implied in this with the ecclesiastical organisation which in the meanwhile had grown to greater strength, served to bring the whole manifestation into discredit, and so to an end. The respect which the prophets lost must naturally have accrued to the bishops, who now came to be looked upon as the sole organs of the Holy Spirit (through the apostolical succession).

39. Apostles of Didachè; evangelists; teachers.

The third place (*i.e.*, next to the apostles and the prophets) is by Paul (1 Cor. 12 28) assigned to the teachers; by the epistle to the Ephesians (4 11), on the other hand, it is given to the evangelists, whilst the teachers are relegated to the fifth place (yet see below, *e*).

(*a*) A possible inference is that the evangelists constitute a special class.

The view that the authors of written gospels are intended is quite impossible; but so also is the other that by 'evangelists' are meant subordinate missionaries who had not to teach but merely to recite the gospel history in accordance with a fixed type of narrative committed to memory (GOSPELS, § 115). If that were so, not only would the high appreciation bestowed upon them in Eph. 4 11 be remarkable; the limitation to a task of this description would be on missionary journeys quite unworkable. 2 Tim. 4 5 throws no light on the subject, for in the expression 'do the work of an evangelist' (ἔργον ποίησον εὐαγγελιστοῦ) it is presupposed that Timothy was not himself an evangelist. The explanation of what is meant by evangelist is doubtless, however, to be found by the help of the last passage in which the word occurs (Acts 21 8).

The evangelist mentioned in Acts 21 8—Philip—is the same as the person whose missionary activity in Samaria and with the Ethiopian eunuch is recorded in Acts 8 5-40. Thus by an evangelist we are to understand a non-apostolic missionary, all the more because in its original meaning 'gospel' (εὐαγγέλιον) also denotes not the history of Jesus but the glad tidings of salvation.

(*b*) In this case, however, an evangelist does not differ from an apostle in the wider sense of the word explained in § 17, and one could at most suppose that the word evangelist, which is met with only in writings of the second century, had come into use in place of the word apostle because the prevailing use of 'apostle' had come to be in the narrower sense. This we may take to be the true state of the case in the three writings referred

to above (Acts, Eph., 2 Tim.). The *Didachè* affords evidence, indeed, that alongside of the narrower meaning the wider sense also maintained itself. The 'apostles,' however, who are contemporary with its author, are by no means on a level with the former bearers of that title. The early apostles figure only in the superscriptions (διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων and διδαχὴ διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν); the contemporary apostles, on the other hand, rank after the prophets even, as only these last are put on a level with the high priests (13 3). According to 11 4 the (contemporary) apostles ought to be received like the Lord himself (cp Mt. 10 40); but according to *Did.* 11 1 *f.* this holds good of every teacher. The *Didachè* shows us how the apostles ought to be classified, ranking them along with the teachers. If prophets and teachers come before us together in 15 2 as 'those who are to be held in honour' (τετιμημένοι) it is impossible that it should be intended to exclude the apostles from this category.

(*c*) Nevertheless, there remains the distinction that the apostles pass from place to place; whilst by the teacher, who (like the prophet who is stationary in the community) is worthy of his hire (13 1 *f.*), we are plainly to understand a resident member of the local community. The apostles, however, do not devote themselves exclusively to mission work; they also come forward with the function of teachers in the already existing communities which they visit in the course of their travels. These itinerant teachers unquestionably did much, not only, as in Paul's time, towards the strengthening of the Christian conviction and zeal of the communities they visited by what they had to tell about things they had seen in other places, but also towards promoting that uniformity in ecclesiastical institutions and that high estimate of the dignity of the church which are so distinctive of the second century.

Of the vocation of the teachers broadly considered the epistle of James (3 1) thinks very gravely ('be not many teachers . . . we shall receive heavier judgment'). The writer of the epistle of Barnabas says (1 8 4 9), with that modesty which he affects, that he wishes to write his epistle 'not as a teacher' (οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος). Hermas (*Sim.* ix. 25 2) still holds to this, that the teachers possess the Holy Ghost (a position resting on Rom. 12 7). From the prophets they are distinguished by the non-ecstatic character of their speech. They are associated with the prophets as in *Did.* 13 1 *f.* 15 1 *f.*, also Acts 13 1.

(*d*) In another respect also are the teachers on a level with the prophets: they were exposed to the same dangers. According to *Did.* 11 5 *f.* the teachers abused the regard in which they were held, exactly as did the prophets; and the same precautionary regulations were needed with respect to them.

In fact, we find one rule laid down with regard to the itinerant apostles which plainly was not ventured upon in the case of the prophets: they are to remain and receive maintenance in a community for only one day, and for two days only in cases of necessity (11 4 *f.*); whilst to a travelling Christian who is not a teacher, two days, or if necessary three, are conceded (12 2). This is certainly very humiliating for the teachers, and shows how bad their behaviour must sometimes have been. But further it has to be feared in the case of teachers—what was not so much the case, it would seem, with prophets—that they spread heretical views (11 2: ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι; 2 Jn. 10). There were, in fact, very many itinerant gnostic teachers, and the mere circumstance that communities were being accustomed to regard Christianity as a sort of philosophical school, and so to allow its practical duties to fall out of sight, was a grave one.

(*e*) Various means were employed to cope with these dangers. Either the churches were armed with a few simple watchwords by which they could themselves test the churchly correctness of the teachers. In this sense it is said in *Did.* 11 2 12 1 and in 1 Jn. 4 1 that teachers and other itinerants ought to be tested, and in 1 Jn. 4 2 *f.* 2 Jn. 7, also Polyc. 7 1, the formula for this is proclaimed as being 'that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh' (cp JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 47). Or, no admission is given to suspicious comers, and it is forbidden to receive them. So 2 Jn. 10. The same policy in the opposite sense was followed by Diotrephes, according to 3 Jn. 9 (cp § 55). This analogy shows how natural it was that the bishops should become the persons to take such measures and exercise their authority in carrying them out. Then, however, it became also necessary that they for their part should themselves see to the providing of correct teaching. The authors of the Pastoral Epistles desire therefore that the presidents of the various churches shall themselves undertake the business of teaching.

The bishop must be 'apt to teach' (διδακτικός: 1 Tim. 3 2; cp 2 Tim. 2 24 Tit. 1 9); his models, Timothy and Titus, are continually exhorted to teach (1 Tim. 4 11 6 3, etc.), their successors must be fitted for this work (2 Tim. 2 2), and the presbyters who labour in word and doctrine are to receive double remuneration (1 Tim. 5 17; cp § 50 *d*). According to *Did.* 15 1, bishops and deacons do the work also of prophets and teachers. The same combination of functions is perhaps indicated in Eph. 4 11 when at the end of the enumeration we find 'the shepherds and teachers' (not 'the teachers': τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους without the repetition of τοὺς δὲ before διδασκάλους). So also already in Heb. 13 7, if 'governors' (ἡγούμενοι) be the heads of the community (see § 47 *b*).

According to Justin (*Apol.* i. 67 4), it is in fact the 'president' (προεστώς) who preaches on Sunday. But it was by no means always the case that bishops were capable of themselves discharging the teaching office. The development nevertheless ended in this, that they at least took in hand the supervision of the teachers. Teaching could never like prophecy become extinct, for it answered to a never-ending need of the Church, and was free from a transitory form such as ecstatic speaking is. The episcopate, however, in this respect also gained in power.

Clearest of all are the functions of the deacons, from the time that their office has become definite and formal.

40. Deacons and deaconesses.

(*a*) As we are compelled to disregard the narrative of Acts 6 relating to the Seven in this connection (see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5, end), and must in the meantime also pass over Phil. 1 1 (see § 57), our first testimony for the office and functions of a deacon is found in 1 Clem. (§ 37 *a*). The more general and comprehensive the meaning of the terms for the person and his work and office (διάκονος διακονεῖν διακονία) in Paul and even in the Pastoral Epistles as applied to Timothy and Titus (see DEACON, § 3), the more certainly may we regard the terms as confined in the case of elected deacons to the humbler services which were found necessary in the community.

These services may, of course, have been very many and varied; the characteristic thing about them, however, is their subordinate nature. As to what they were we learn very little in detail. According to Justin (*Apol.* i. 67 5), one of them was that of carrying to church members detained from the eucharistic service their portions of bread and wine. The enumeration of the qualities to be looked for in a deacon in 1 Tim. 3 8 *f.* 12, and in Polyc. 5 2, says nothing as to their sphere of duty; it shows only that their office was by no means regarded as unimportant. In 1 Tim. 3 10, also, it is expressly enjoined that they are to be tested before receiving office, and in 3 13 a special reward is held out for the faithful discharge of their duties, whatever is meant by the 'degree' (βαθμός) which they are to attain.

(*b*) In particular, however, it is the prohibition of a second marriage (3 12) which brings the deacon so nearly into the same plane with the bishop—all the more because the author in 5 14 expressly wills that the younger widows remarry. Therefore, even though the services required by the deacons included those of the humblest possible kind, they themselves none the less belonged to the clergy. This also explains why it is that according to *Did.* 15 2 they are reckoned, together with the prophets and teachers, along with the bishops to the number of 'those who are to be held in honour' (τετιμημένοι), and according to 15 1 take part in teaching. This not only goes further than 1 Clem., which (1 3 21 6) demands honour only for the 'governors' ([προ-]ηγούμενοι) and the 'presbyters' (πρεσβύτεροι), although according to 42 4 44 2 *f.* the deacons also are instituted by the apostles or at their instance; it also goes beyond the Epistle to the Ephesians, which does not mention deacons at all, and in fact in the enumeration of offices so often referred to already in 4 11 *f.* means by 'ministry' (διακονία) something which all the members of the church ought

to render. Ignatius goes still farther than the Pastoral Epistles and the *Didachè;* eleven times he names bishops, presbyters, and deacons as an inseparable unity, and demands on behalf of the last-named that heed be paid to them as to Jesus himself or to the command of God (*ad Trall.* 3 1; *ad Smyrn.* 8 1).

(*c*) Female deacons are mentioned in 1 Tim. 3 11, whilst the services of Phœbe (Rom. 16 1 *f.*) as 'succourer' (*προστάτις*: see above, § 9 *a*, end) will not have been entirely of a menial character (see DEACON, §§ 6 and 4). Amongst the humbler services rendered by the female deacons we may reckon that of washing the feet of the saints, spoken of in 1 Tim. 5 10. 1 Tim. 3 11 may be interpreted in the sense indicated with all the less hesitation because Pliny (112 or 113 A.D.) already makes allusion to 'females who were called ministers' (*ancillæ quæ ministræ dicebantur*) whom he caused to be put to the torture in his procedure against the Christians of Bithynia (*Epist.* x. 96 [97] 8).

The present will be an appropriate place in which to consider that other part taken by women in the ecclesiastical system, of which we read in 1 Tim. 5 3-16.

41. Widows.

If the passage were dealing only with the question of the support of widows, in the first instance by their own people (5 4 8 16*a*) and in the second instance by the church (*v.* 16*b*), or only with the qualities which were to be regarded as entitling or disentitling them to the support of the church (*vv.* 5-7 10 13-15) it would not have to be considered here. Of the widows who are to be supported by the community, however, three qualifications are demanded which it would not be reasonable to demand if the question were one of support merely: the widow must be not less than sixty, must have been the wife of one man, and be definitely pledged not to marry again (*vv.* 9 11). The author, according to *v.* 14, positively desires the younger widows to remarry, and therefore there would be no reason for making willingness to do so a ground for withholding that support which a widow of less advanced years might yet in certain circumstances urgently need. The renunciation of second marriage is rather to be regarded as placing these widows on the same level with the bishops and deacons (3 2 12). So also the injunction 'honour [them]' (*τίμα*: 5 3; cp *Did.* 15 1 *f.*).

Thus the 'widows' possess an office, and that too, of course, quite distinct from that of the deaconesses of 3 11: probably in fact, so far as we can conjecture, that of supervision of the female members of the community. This is what is pointed to also by the 'going about from house to house' (*v.* 13), and we can now perceive that the qualities which seemed to be spoken of with reference merely to eligibility for support may equally well have been insisted on as fitting their possessor for an office of oversight.

The enrolment in a formal list (*v.* 9) will also have reference to an office, and the 'first faith' (*πρώτη πίστις*) which, according to *v.* 12 is broken by re-marriage, will be not the promise of fidelity made to the first husband, but the promise to remain single which these widows in all probability had to make when appointed to their office. Thus the only point which could mislead is this, that the 'widows indeed' (*ὄντως χῆραι*) of *v.* 3 are defined in *vv.* 4 *f.* only as those who are childless, whilst the injunction to honour them rests not upon their childlessness but upon the office they hold. 'Those who are widows indeed' (*τὰς ὄντως χήρας*) has thus a double meaning which nevertheless has its reason in the state of the facts. For a suggestion that perhaps a trace of this use of words is even to be found already in Acts 6 1 see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5, end.

The Ignatian Epistles which here also go beyond the Pastoral Epistles bring the matter into perfect clearness. In *Smyrn.* 13 1 Ignatius greets 'the households of my brethren with their wives and children, and the virgins who are called widows' (*τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας*). Here 'widows' (*χῆραι*) is already so strictly technical an expression that its literal meaning no longer exactly fits. Outside of the families which Ignatius first names stand virgins as members of a class to which originally only widows belonged.

There still remain to be considered certain categories of persons with regard to whose employments our information is exceedingly scanty. (*a*) In Rev. 1 3 ('blessed . . . prophecy') it is presupposed that the book is to be read in presence of a congregation. This is, of course, a thing that is capable of being done in a quite casual way, and each several time, should the reading be repeated, by a different individual. It would, however, be somewhat pointless to invoke a blessing upon the reader as distinct from the hearers if his function was not a stated one. The art of reading is not universally diffused throughout those circles of society from which the Christian communities largely drew their membership. Again, in Justin (*Apol.* i. 67 3 *f.*) the reader is a distinct person from the president, who follows him with the sermon. Once more, the author of the homily, dating from about 160-180 A.D., which is usually known as the Second Epistle of Clement, says (19 1) that he reads this his present discourse to the hearers. One of the sources postulated by Harnack (in *TU* 2 5) for the Apostolic church-order (sources which he finds for the most part related to the Pastoral Epistles and the accounts of Justin, and assigns to a date somewhere between 140 and 180 A.D.) demands that the reader shall be 'a good narrator, knowing that he discharges the function of an evangelist' (*διηγητικός, εἰδὼς ὅτι εὐαγγελιστοῦ τόπον ἐργάζεται*).

42. Lectors, exorcists, etc.

Harnack is thus led to conjecture (*l.c.* 79-84) that 2 Clem. may have had some such reader as its author, especially as the writer goes on to say, further, that his preaching is an exhortation to pay heed to the text on which it is founded 'in order that ye may prepare salvation alike for yourselves and for him who reads in your midst' (*τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν*).

(*b*) We mention exorcists here, only in order to say that, even if their services were necessary at baptism, they had within our period by no means advanced in the direction of a stated position even so far as the readers conjecturally had, and that in any case information with regard to them is wholly wanting. The same holds good of the other inferior offices of later times—subdeacons, acolytes, ostiarii. Much rather would it be incumbent to speak of the martyrs, the ascetics (saints), and the virgins, as important personages of the post-apostolic, if not even of the apostolic, age, were it not that they all, though indeed enjoying a high degree of personal regard, were not in the several capacities mentioned in the regular service of the church. Cp § 44 *c*, end.

The last class remaining to be considered is that of the 'younger [men]' (*νεώτεροι*) who according to Acts 5 6 bury Ananias and Sapphira (in *v.* 10 they are called *νεανίσκοι*).

43. The νεώτεροι or νέοι and the πρεσβύτεροι.

(*a*) Since this act unquestionably comes under the category of the inferior services which, so far as we can conjecture, probably fell to the lot of deacons at a later period, the term 'younger men' (*νεώτεροι*) has been taken to be an expression to denote the forerunners of the deacons (the seven are first chosen in chap. 6), and it has even been held that the recurrence of the expression in 1 Pet. 5 5 is a proof that this epistle comes from the most ancient times, in which there were no deacons as yet. On this assumption, it would indeed be all the more singular that even at that early date the presbyters should have needed to be warned (*v.* 2 *f.*) against discontent with their office, greed, and ambition. We may be certain, however, at least of this, that these presbyters were not simply elderly people but leaders of the community, for only these last can tend (*ποιμαίνειν*). The flock (*ποίμνιον*) of *v.* 2 *f.* must be separated from the pastors (*ποιμαίνοντες*) by something more definite than mere age, which, indeed, furnishes no hard and fast limit, and Peter would not have called himself (*v.* 1) a 'fellow presbyter' (*συμπρεσβύτερος*) if 'presbyter' (*πρεσβύτερος*) were not an official position. It does not follow from this, however, that the 'younger men' (*νεώτεροι*), because contrasted with the presbyters, were also bearers of a definite office. Not they alone, but the whole community, have to obey the presbyters.

(*b*) We have here, therefore, a peculiar change of usage. In the primitive condition of matters when (as for example in Corinth; see § 9 *a*) there still was no president, a community naturally fell into two classes, the seniors and the juniors, and the seniors, even without any fixed regulation, were entitled to respect and deference from the juniors for their counsel and advice. This simple division continued, of course, even after the introduction of presbyters as governors of the community. Thus it comes about that in 1 Tim. 5, alongside of the official titles (*v.* 17), their age is also spoken of in *v.* 1 (so we must interpret, for in *v.* 2 we have 'elder women,' *πρεσβύτεραι*, which was never an official designation). In Tit. 2 1-6 the same rendering is made certain by the consideration that to the 'younger men'

(*νεώτεροι*) of *v.* 6 the antithesis is not 'elder men' (*πρεσβύτεροι*) at all but 'old men' (*πρεσβῦται*) (*v.* 2). But when 'elders' (*πρεσβύτεροι*) came to be used as an official designation 'younger men' (*νεώτεροι*) also changed its meaning so that it still continued to form the antithesis to the other word; it became a step towards, or a parallel to, the idea of 'layman.'[1] Thus it is in 1 Pet. 5 5 and, in all probability, also in Polyc. 5 3, where the duties of the 'younger men' (*νεώτεροι*) and of the virgins (*παρθένοι*) are enumerated in the middle place, between those of deacons and those of presbyters, and at the same time obedience towards the presbyters and deacons is enjoined on the 'younger men' (*νεώτεροι*).

(*c*) The most difficult of explanation are the 'young men' (*νέοι*) of 1 Clem. (in this writing *νεώτεροι* does not occur). In 1 3 and 21 6 the structure of the sentences is in harmony to the effect that honour is demanded in the first place for the 'governors' ([*προ-*]*ἡγούμενοι*) and next for the 'presbyters' (*πρεσβύτεροι*); then the duties of the 'young men' (*νέοι*) and afterwards those of the women are spoken of. The mention of the women, which is parallel to that of the 'virgins' (*παρθένοι*) in Polycarp, renders it probable that by 'young men' (*νέοι*) we are to understand all the male laity. The question still remains open whether the official persons with whom they are brought into contrast are to be sought in the 'governors' ([*προ-*]*ἡγούμενοι*) or in the 'presbyters' (*πρεσβύτεροι*: see below, § 47 *b*). In 3 3 allusion is made to the deposition of certain church leaders, but in dependence on Is. 3 5 (see BISHOP, § 8, end) where of old age it is said: 'the child will press against the old man' (*προσκόψει τὸ παιδίον πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτην*). Clement can very well have preserved this meaning in his words 'the young were stirred up against the elder' (*ἐπηγέρθησαν . . . οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους*) as he has also retained the other general antithesis from Isaiah: 'the base against the honourable' (*ὁ ἄτιμος πρὸς τὸν ἔντιμον*). Yet the selection of the word 'elders' (*πρεσβύτεροι*) instead of 'old men' (*πρεσβῦται*) points, as will be seen in § 45, to the fact, only too well known to the readers, that it was against official presbyters that the rising was. 'Elders' (*πρεσβύτεροι*) in this case has a double meaning which rhetorically is very effective; and so also 'young men' (*νέοι*). For since according to 47 6 only one or two persons had given occasion to the offence, it is very easily possible that these were young persons, but also at the same time that they stood in the position of laymen towards the presbyters in so far as these were official persons.

When we turn now to the most difficult portion of the whole question relating to the constitution of the church — that of the origin of monarchical episcopacy, it will be advisable to start from the hypothesis of Hatch (see BISHOP, § 5), as by its introduction an entirely new course has been given to the investigation. As, however, its author imposed upon himself at various points a cautious reserve, we shall arrive at the most questionable points more directly if we take as the basis of our remarks the more elaborated form which the hypothesis subsequently received from Harnack.

44. The bishops, according to Hatch and Harnack.

(*a*) Harnack distinguishes three organisations. (1) First, there is the spiritual or religious organisation consisting of apostles, prophets, and teachers, which served the church as a whole, not the separate communities, and possessed divine authority in virtue of its being endowed with the gift of the Holy Spirit. (2) The patriarchal, arising out of the natural preponderance of the older members of the community over the younger, yet not involving the attribution to the elders of any official quality. For Jewish-Christian communities Harnack assumes elective presbyteries on the basis of the Jewish model (§ 24); but so far as Gentile-Christian communities are concerned he disputes their existence for the whole of the first century and especially as regards 1 Clem., Acts, and 1 Pet. When the second century is reached, he recognises them, especially in Jam. 5 14 (*τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας*) and in Polycarp and Hermas; adopting the expression of the last-named author (*Vis.* ii. 4 3) he calls them 'the presbyters who superintend the church' (*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προϊστάμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας*).[1] They thus formed a ruling body selected from among the senior members of the community after the manner of the body which, under the name of *συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς*, constituted the council in Greek cities in the Roman period. Ignatius (*ad Trall.* 3 1) calls the presbyters a 'synedrion of God' (*συνέδριον θεοῦ*). (3) Already in Phil. 1 1 (see below, § 57) Harnack finds the administrative organisation — *i.e.*, episcopi and deacons who were chosen by the community to look after money matters, and more particularly the distribution of doles, yet still more, as Harnack, going beyond Hatch, urges, for the conduct of the worship.

The last thesis Harnack supports specially by reference to 1 Clem. 44 4: 'those who have brought forward the gifts' (*τοὺς προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα*), because by the 'gifts or 'offerings' (*δῶρα* or *προσφοραί*, 36 1), according to 41 1 (where the Jewish form of worship in which these expressions occur is applied to the Christian), the prayers offered in the meetings of the congregation are intended; also by reference to the 'therefore' (*οὖν*) of *Did.* 15 1, after treating of the Sunday service in chap. 14: 'Appoint for yourselves *therefore* episcopi and deacons.' The distribution of doles, including the care for travelling brethren, which was a very important matter in those days, is the one characteristic function of the episcopi and deacons referred to by Hermas (*Sim.* ix. 27 2, cp 26 2).[2]

(*b*) These functionaries (episcopi and deacons) were, according to Harnack, chosen not without regard to the question whether they were possessed of a charismatic endowment for their sphere of duties; but their office did not place them in a position of superiority over the community as a whole; it only gave them an oversight over many members of the community. Originally between episcopi and deacons there was no distinction whatever; they were differentiated, however, quite naturally by reason of age, the humbler duties falling to the lot of the younger among them. Those who had to undertake the more responsible part of the duty thus belonged as matter of course to the senior section of the community, and since there was a select body chosen from among these, individual members of this smaller body — in other words individual 'presiding presbyters' (*πρεσβύτεροι προϊστάμενοι*) — were readily chosen to be episcopi. If those chosen to be episcopi did not already belong to the body just mentioned, they were, according to Harnack, very soon taken into it. Such members of this body as were at the same time episcopi are designated by Harnack in an expression which is not met with in the sources, as 'episcopal presbyters' (*πρεσβύτεροι ἐπισκοποῦντες*).

(*c*) The episcopi at first in respect of organisation had held a place apart from the presbyters and in respect of dignity had been inferior to them. The respect and influence enjoyed by the 'episcopal presbyters' (*πρεσβύτεροι ἐπισκοποῦντες*), on the other hand, according to Harnack steadily increased as compared with the non-episcopal members of the board. This was partly because the administration of money matters was in their hands, partly because they had charge of the worship, but principally because they also took upon themselves the work of teaching. Thus, with the gradual disappearance of the apostles, prophets, and teachers (see §§ 37 *e*, 38 *c*, 39 *e*), the divine authority possessed by these several orders passed to the episcopal presbyters, who had received through their election only a human authority and through their charismatic endowment only a general resemblance to the persons charged with the duty of teaching.

This transference of the regard enjoyed by the teaching persons to the officials charged with affairs of government is held by Harnack to be one of the most important particulars

[1] *Λαϊκός* does not occur in the LXX but is met with in Aq., Symm. Thdt., 1 S. 21 4 [5] (LXX *βέβηλοι*, scil. *ἄρτοι* as against *ἱεροὶ ἄρτοι*), similarly in 21 5 [6] Ezek. 22 26 48 15. The verb *λαϊκόω* is used by one or more of these translators in Ezek. 7 22 Dt. 20 6 28 30, and by LXX in some codices in Ruth 1 12. 1 Clem. 40 5 already has the expression *ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασι δέδεται*. The next instances of the employment of the word (Harnack, *ad loc.*) are not earlier than about 200 A.D.

[1] Yet 'presbyters' without qualifying phrase also occurs in Hermas (*Vis.* ii. 4 2 and iii. 1 8). As Hermas in the last passage says 'let the presbyters sit down first' they are doubtless also intended by the *πρωτοκαθεδρῖται* of *Vis.* iii. 9 7 (cp § 47 *b*).

[2] The only other passage where episcopi and deacons occur in Hermas is *Vis.* iii. 5 1, in this connection: apostles, episcopi, teachers, deacons.

which the *Didachè* has transmitted to us (so, already, the Pastoral Epistles also: see above, § 39 *e*). By this transference was brought about the cumulation of the dignity of all three groups (apostles, prophets, teachers) upon the one class of officials, the connecting of the presbyterate with the episcopi having been brought about before. All that was now wanting to the episcopi was participation in the dignity of a fourth group—the spiritual aristocracy, as it were—that, namely, of the ascetics, virgins, martyrs, etc. (§ 42 *b*). On the other hand, there arose as a new element in their favour the idea of the apostolic succession (§ 37).

(*d*) All that has been said holds good of the episcopi even for the time during which they still constituted a college; the special supremacy of the episcopi over the non-episcopal presbyters is older than the monarchy of the one bishop in the church of each separate locality. How this monarchy arose is one of the obscurest problems. According to the Ignatian Epistles, which Harnack regards as genuine and now (*ACL*, II. [= *Chronol.*] 1 381-406) assigns to 110-117 or at latest 117-125 A.D. (see, however, below, § 53 *c-i*), it appeared in Syria and Asia Minor at a much earlier date than in Rome, where Justin (*circa* 152 A.D.) is the first to give evidence for it whilst Hermas still knows nothing of it. The most various causes may have contributed together to its rise; Harnack regards as the most important of these the habituation of the otherwise so democratically constituted communities to the despotic influence which from the very first was exercised by apostles, prophets, and teachers in virtue of their possession of the Holy Spirit, and now passed over to the bishops.

In forming an opinion upon this unquestionably most important and acute construction it is necessary to set aside all vague impressions, such as that it is 'attractive,' or that it is 'complicated,' and to take one's stand upon facts that have been ascertained with as much certainty as may be possible. With this end in view let us examine in the first instance the preliminary question as to whether the 'presbyters' in Acts and 1 Clem. really are all the senior members of the community and not rather an elected board. That this last is the case in 1 Pet. we consider to have been established already (§ 43 *a*); yet this is without bearing upon the question of what is meant by episcopi. In Acts and 1 Clem., on the other hand, the episcopi are mentioned in conjunction with the presbyters.

45. The presbyters official persons in Acts and 1 Clem.

Now, that chosen rulers are intended in Acts 20 17 follows from the same considerations as those on which it follows (according to § 43 *a*) from 1 Pet. 5 1-5: in *v.* 28 the 'flock' (*ποίμνιον*) is mentioned as contradistinguished from them, and they are to feed the church of the Lord (read *κυρίου*) which he has purchased with his own blood. Here unquestionably the whole church, not the junior members alone, is intended. In 1 Clem. we have (§ 43 *c*) left the meaning of *πρεσβ.* in 1 3 and 21 6 undetermined, and do not require to determine it till later (§ 47 *b*). For a decision on the other passages we must start from the fact that according to 44 4 several episcopi had been deposed: 'It will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out of the bishop's office those who have offered the gifts unblamably and holily' (*ἁμαρτία οὐ μικρὰ ἡμῖν ἔσται, ἐὰν τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλωμεν*), where 'bishop's office' (*τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς*) depends on 'thrust out' (*ἀποβάλ.*), not, as might at first sight appear, on 'the gifts' (*τὰ δῶρα*). Immediately afterwards we read (44 5): blessed are the departed presbyters: they need not to fear lest any one should depose them.

Harnack (*TLZ*, 1889, p. 419) renders: 'blessed are the deceased senior members of the community,' and urges in support that not only episcopi but also deacons are meant. Both together have been in fact mentioned in chap. 42. On the other hand, however, throughout the whole of chaps. 43 and 44 the deacons are mentioned only incidentally with 'the aforesaid persons' (*τοὺς προειρημένους*) in 44 2; but in 44 1 exactly as in 44 4 (see above) it is expressly the 'episcopate' (*ἐπισκοπή*) that is alone being spoken of; the apostles foresaw that strife would arise regarding the episcopal office. Thus 'presbyter' must be an official designation. In 54 2 we even find such an expression as this: 'the appointed presbyters.' Harnack (*l.c.* 424) renders: 'the old men who have been installed in the office' (of episcopi, that is, not the presbyterate). In that case, however, the expression ought to have run 'the appointed episcopi' (*οἱ καθεσταμένοι ἐπίσκοποι*).

If, however, the idea of office is made good for this place, we have no longer any right to refuse to admit it in 47 6 and 57 1 (see the passages under BISHOP, § 8). Neither is it by any means a 'desperate assumption' (so Harnack, *loc. cit.*) if in the same epistle elsewhere, 1 3 21 6, we still understand by the word *πρεσβύτεροι* not official persons, but seniors (see § 47 *b*). In the case of 3 3 it has been seen (§ 43 *c*) that in one passage a working together of both meanings is possible.

46. Presbyter identical with episcopus.

(*a*) We have now reached a point at which it will be proper to formulate the proposition which has been continually offering itself in the preceding section; the word presbyter, in the later chapters of 1 Clem. and also in 3 3 according to one sense of its twofold meaning, denotes not merely some kind of office, but definitely that of the *episcopos*.

In 44 4 *f.*, in particular, both words stand in close proximity as expressions for the same idea. When Hatch's hypothesis was still unknown, Harnack had observed in his *Patrum apostol. opera* upon the 'episcopi and diaconi' (*ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους*) of 42 4: that then, as in the time of the apostles, the offices were two: episcopi (= presbyters) and diaconi ('luce clarius est, duos in clero ordines et apostolorum tempore et tum temporis {cap. 44} fuisse, episcopos {= presbyteros} et diaconos'). This still holds good.

The same remark, moreover, applies to Acts 20 17 where Paul summons *the* presbyters (*τοὺς πρ.*) of the church of Ephesus to Miletus and says to them (*v.* 28), 'the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops.' We by no means take this as representing the view of Paul; but all the more must it be held to represent the view of the writer of Acts. So too with Tit. 1 5-7 ('that thou shouldest . . . appoint elders in every city . . . for the bishop must be,' etc.). For the epistle of Polycarp, in which bishops are not mentioned, Harnack himself (transl. of Hatch, 233, n. 12) makes it plain that, according to 6 1 11 1, the presbyters (who figure as official persons) exercise the functions which on his view pertain to bishops (cp Lightfoot, *Christ. Ministry*, 53 *f.*, and, on the date of the epistle, JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 47).

(*b*) It is true that, in Hermas, in the few places where presbyters are mentioned (see above, § 44 *a*, 2), the leadership of the church is the only thing predicated of them, whilst in the still fewer passages where bishops occur no function is expressly assigned to them beyond that of seeing to the support of the poor; but as against the facts already adduced this cannot be brought into account as turning the scale (cp further, § 47 *a*). So also with the argument that, apart from Polyc. 5 2-6 1, the conjunction presbyters and diaconi is never found, but always episcopi and diaconi; for the most obvious verbal antithesis of presbyter-elder is 'younger' (*νεώτερος*) (§ 43), whilst episcopus and diaconus have this in common that they describe the nature of the work of those respectively designated. Similarly too with the fact that along with apostles, prophets, or teachers, only bishops (and deacons), never presbyters, are enumerated; the instance in which this last is done being according to Harnack's own survey (*TU* ii. 2 111 *f.*; cp 148, n. 77 *b*) a solitary one (Herm. *Vis.* iii. 5 1),—for in *Sim.* ix. 25 2 26 2 27 2 the four cannot be regarded as members of a consecutive enumeration—and alongside of the solitary instance just mentioned we have Eph. 4 11 with its 'pastors' (*ποιμένες*) in such an enumeration—in other words, with an idea which Harnack (transl. of Hatch, 230) finds to be precisely identical with that of presbyters when it occurs in Hermas (*Sim.* ix. 31 5 *f.*). Nay, more: in the Pastoral Epistles Harnack himself finds this series: 'apostle, prophet (1 Tim. 1 18 4 14), evangelist (teacher), presbyters functioning as episcopi (*πρεσβύτεροι ἐπισκοποῦντες*), deacons' (on the third member of this series cp § 54 *c* below).

Lastly, as against the conclusion arrived at above nothing is to be gained by the suggestion that the absence of the word 'presbyter' from the *Didachè* is to be explained by the fact that it denotes no office. The bishops are mentioned in the *Didachè* only once (15 1); on the supposition that the presbyters were identical with them it must be regarded as a mere accident that the one name, not the other, was chosen. Or rather, not even an accident, for the deacons are placed in juxtaposition with them, and to 'deacon' the word 'presbyter' is not the most natural complement. Greater weight would be due to the consideration that for the *Didachè* there is no more a governing body in the church than there is in the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians (§ 9 *a*). On this point, however, see § 56.

(*c*) In the meanwhile, we are in a position to say so much as this by way of answer to our question—that Harnack's expression 'presbyters functioning as episcopi' (πρεσβύτεροι ἐπισκοποῦντες) not only does not occur in the sources, but also is in contradiction with them, and that it is precisely in the First Epistle of Clement, which Harnack ranks so high as our first document for the amalgamation of the administrative with the patriarchal organisation, that this theory—upon which his entire construction depends—is most decisively wrecked. In it not only are the presbyters already official persons; the episcopi are also identical with them and are designated as presbyters neither because they were of more advanced age nor because they formed a part of the elected presbyterial college.

Or shall we say that linguistic usage is decisive against the identity of presbyters and episcopi?

47. Meaning and synonyms of ἐπίσκοπος.

(*a*) The proofs adduced by Hatch to show that *episcopos* in those times meant a finance officer are very interesting and weighty; but they are not wholly conclusive. The word has also quite other senses. In the LXX, for example, it signifies a military officer (Nu. 31 14 2 K. 11 15), or it is applied to God (Is. 60 17 Wisd. 1 6), as in fact it also is in 1 Clem. 59 3, or to Christ (1 Pet. 2 25: 'shepherd and bishop'; cp BISHOP, §§ 4 and 6). But, indeed, even apart from such examples as these, we should be by no means precluded from thinking that the etymological meaning of the word (to oversee) must be taken into account. It is pointed to by such phrases as (Herm. *Vis.* iii. 5 1) 'episcopi . . . who . . . discharged their overseership . . . purely' (ἐπίσκοποι . . . οἱ . . . ἐπισκοπήσαντες . . . ἁγνῶς) (which at the same time weakens the force of the remark of Harnack about Hermas referred to in § 46 *b*), or (Acts 1 20) 'overseership' (ἐπισκοπή). (More in Loofs, *St.Kr.*, 1890, p. 628 *f.*).

(*b*) The synonyms also lead to a like conclusion. According to Acts 20 28 the bishops' duty is to shepherd (ποιμαίνειν); the bishops thus are synonymous with the 'pastors' (ποιμένες) of Eph. 4 11, as also appears from 1 Pet. 2 25. The pastors again, however, even Harnack (see above, § 46 *b*) has perceived to be in Hermas synonymous with 'presbyters,' and 'shepherding' (ποιμαίνειν) is the distinctive task of presbyters according to 1 Pet. 5 2. Further, where the shepherd goes before the flock he is their 'leader' (ἡγούμενος).

That 'leaders' (ἡγούμενοι) in Heb. denotes the heads of the church is an interpretation very much recommended by 13 17 ('they watch on behalf of your souls') and *v.* 24 and not set aside by *v.* 7; for in *v.* 7 it is not said that teaching is the primary task of the leaders (cp § 39 *a*)—in fact, the meaning may even be such an 'admonition' (νουθετεῖν) as we find in 1 Thess. 5 12 expressly attributed to the church rulers.

The phrase 'chief men' (ἄνδρες ἡγούμενοι) applied in Acts 15 22 as a title of honour to Judas Barsabbas and Silas is much too general to warrant us in taking it for a technical term which, were it to be so regarded, would rest upon the circumstance that, according to 15 32, they were prophets. Equally little reason is there for holding that in Hermas (*Vis.* iii. 9 7-10) the 'leaders' (προηγούμενοι) as teachers are distinguished from those who have precedence (πρωτοκαθεδρῖται) as presidents (see above, § 44 *a* 2, note), for the exhortation immediately following—'be not like sorcerers'—is given not to the first merely but to both. In *Vis.* ii. 2 6 'the leaders of the church' (οἱ προηγούμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας) fits the presidents very well. As regards 1 Clem., Harnack (*TLZ*, 1889, p. 419, n. 2) has already withdrawn the view previously set forth by him (*TU* 2 2, pp. 95 and 111) that 'leaders' ([προ-] ἡγούμενοι) in the sense of 'held in honour' (τετιμημένοι, *Did.* 15 2) applies *only* to apostles, prophets, and teachers. It was all the more certainly a mistaken view inasmuch as 'leaders' (ἡγούμ.) in 1 Clem. is six times used to denote high political functionaries (5 7 32 2 37 2 *f.* 51 5 55 1 61 1). It was necessary for Harnack to hold it as long as in 1 3 21 6 the presbyters for whom honour is demanded after the 'leaders' (ἡγούμενοι)—but in different phraseology (see the structure of the passages in § 43 *c*)—were taken to be official persons (§ 46 *a*). If, in accordance with his present view, we take the word in these two passages as meaning elderly people, there is yet nothing to hinder us from taking—contrary to his view—the 'leaders' ([προ-] ἡγούμενοι) in the sense of presidents of the church, as in all other passages.

This 'ruling' (ἡγεῖσθαι), however, in turn, is nothing else than the 'presiding' (προΐστασθαι) of 1 Thess. 5 12 Rom. 12 8 1 Tim. 5 17 or the exercise of the gift of 'government' (κυβέρνησις) in 1 Cor. 12 28. Such a church ruler is very well described in Tit. 1 7 comprehensively as a 'steward of God' (Θεοῦ οἰκονόμος). Thus the synonyms also lead us to the conclusion already indicated, that the distinction between the function of church government by presbyters and that of administration of finance and worship by episcopi must be given up.[1]

Much value is attached by Hatch and Harnack in support of their theory to episcopi and deacons being

48. Connection between deacons and bishops.

apparently closely connected, not only linguistically but also in respect of their functions. The fact is admitted; but it does not prove the theory. If there was only a single superintendency it of course carried with it the supervision also of the activity of the deacons, and was exercised in conjunction with them.

So was it, admittedly, at a later date when the episcopus, as with Justin, was leader of the divine service and chief almoner in addition to his other duties; so also can it have been, therefore, at an earlier date, and all the more so as the conditions were comparatively simple. Already in 1 Cor. 12 28 only the gift of 'government' (κυβέρνησις), and in Rom. 12 6-8 only 'ruling' (προΐστασθαι), is presented as what can be regarded as the primitive form alike of the duty of the presbyters and of that of episcopi in the sense intended by Hatch and Harnack. For the very earliest times Hatch in point of fact supposes only one superintendency. This is valid, however, for the whole development; if in the 'helps' (ἀντιλήμψεις) the later deacons are prefigured, the later episcopi are prefigured in this whole function of leadership and not in an activity limited to matters of cultus or of finance. The warning against greed in which Harnack sees a weighty support for his description of the sphere of duty of the episcopi is given in 1 Pet. 5 2 to the presbyters.

The state of the question is essentially simplified by what has just been observed. The problem—first created

49. Rise of episcopate.

by the hypothesis itself—as to how it came about that the episcopi who in the earliest times ranked after the presbyters came to rise above them, falls to the ground with that hypothesis. Thus the question that alone remains is simply this: how was it that the episcopate reached to the high position it ultimately did gain? This of its own accord divides into two: on the one hand, the question as to the origin of the supremacy of the episcopate—not, however, the supremacy of the college of episcopi over the college of presbyters, for the two were identical, but the supremacy over the community in the surprisingly high degree actually attained—and, on the other hand, as to the origin of the monarchy of the episcopus in the individual church. The explanations that can be given for the latter fact are only partially different from those that can be given for the former.

If we follow Harnack's representations as to the various organisations, summarised above (§ 44 *a*), then we can in point of fact actually distinguish three: that of the persons who teach, the patriarchal organisation of the senior members of the community, and that of the elective officials—that is to say, of the superintendents (without distinction between presbyters and episcopi) and of the deacons. Now, it is certainly correct to say that ultimately the dignities belonging to the two first-named organisations accrued by cumulation to the episcopi, even although the increment from the patriarchal element cannot, from the nature of things, have been very great; and the change is enormous. Nevertheless, it is at the same time reasonable to demand that the explana-

[1] In the present discussion the 'angels' of the churches in Rev. 2 *f.* are (in agreement with Lightfoot, *Christ. Ministry*, 29-31) left out of account.

tion shall endeavour to dispense, if possible, with any assumption of a break in the development, with any such supposition as that (with which Löning, for example, works in accounting for the monarchy of the bishop) of a change of constitution; for we have no trace of any such abrupt change. As a means towards this end, however, nothing can be said in favour of the suggestion of Loofs that the monarchy of the episcopus began already soon after 1 Clem., before the position of the episcopate as highest had established itself. Not only are the sources unanimous against this; the argument also that in the conduct of divine service the shifting presidency by various members of the governing college, and the alternation of these also in the free prayer and the preaching was not long tolerable, can claim little weight.

If now, in our search for the immediate causes which led to the supremacy of the episcopi, we leave out of account all such fanciful notions as that Christians believed representatives of Christ to be necessary before his own actual parusia, unquestionably (*a*) great weight is to be attached to the matter of financial control.

50. Money matters, conduct of service.

A considerable portion of the community was only too easily dependent on the officials who had control of the church's alms. (*b*) Only, this aspect of their functions would hardly in itself have led to the episcopi as conceived of by Hatch and Harnack becoming leaders of the service. The fact that expenses are incurred in connection with divine service was far from involving the necessity that the men whom we may liken to paymasters should offer the prayers and preside at the celebration of the eucharist. Much rather would this be naturally, and in the first instance, the function of such church members as are marked out for it by their Christian experience and worth. Such were, according to the view taken in the present article, the chosen presidents who at the same time managed the money matters of the community. The conduct of the service thus constitutes a second element which contributed to the raising of their dignity. Still, it was not in itself of extreme importance, for the teaching addresses delivered in the course of the service by any persons qualified for the task must doubtless have been looked upon as something still more important.

It is also surprising that our sources practically nowhere have anything to say as to the person to whom it pertains to conduct the eucharistic service; and the indication as to this point in the *Didachè* (10 7) actually points to the inference that prophets had precedence over the regular leaders of the function, not only in delivering free addresses but also at the eucharist. At the same time the function of conducting the divine service has given the author of 1 Clem. (40 *f.*) occasion to put the presidents on a level with the OT high priests or priests, which the *Didachè* does from a quite different point of view (that, namely, of their being entitled to the first-fruits) precisely with the prophets (13 3). From the end of the second century onwards this equation redounded greatly to the benefit of the bishops (cp § 59 *a*).

(*c*) For the sake of supplying the counterpart from the post-apostolic period to what has been shown in § 8 regarding the worship of the oldest Christian time, we briefly mention here that Pliny (§ 40 *c*)—more particularly for the Sunday (*stato die:* cp Barn. 15 9, *Did.* 14 1)—made out two distinct gatherings: one in the morning (*ante lucem*) for the purpose of responsive singing to Christ as a deity (*carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem*), and to exhort one another mutually to good deeds, the other for a repast (*ad capiendum cibum*). The latter had been abandoned after Pliny's publication of the emperor's prohibition of 'hetæriæ' or religious confraternities. In fact, we find in Justin (*Apol.* 1 67) only one Sunday service, with lessons from the gospels or the prophets (§ 42 *a*), preaching by the president (προεστώς), common prayer, free eucharistic prayer by the president, Amen by the congregation, partaking of the eucharist, offering of voluntary alms to the president. When in 2 Pet. 2 13, in spite of the retention of 'feasting with' (συνευωχούμενοι) from Jude 12, the word 'love-feasts' (ἀγάπαις) gives place to 'deceivings' (ἀπάταις), this

may perhaps be regarded as indicating that the *agapæ* or love-feasts were no longer in use at the date of 2 Pet.

(*d*) The application of the OT law concerning first-fruits to bishops led to another result: they were able to give up their civil callings and devote themselves wholly to the duties of their ecclesiastical office. By this they, and the presbyters and deacons under them, became for the first time a definite order of a spiritual kind. As citation is made in 1 Tim. 5 18 of the OT saying about the ox that treads the corn, and of the aphorism of Jesus (Lk. 10 7) that the labourer is worthy of his hire, we cannot doubt that by 'double honour' (διπλῆ τιμή) in *v.* 17 for the ruling presbyters who labour in teaching, is meant double remuneration, although perhaps in the form of gifts in kind, since fixed salaries were, even at the end of the second century, still uncommon and not looked upon with favour. Cp also 2 Tim. 2 4 6.

Since, however, the most material step in the development of the supremacy and monarchy of the episcopi was made in the period of gnosticism, the part taken by the episcopi in the work of teaching (§ 39 *e*) was in all probability one of the most important of the causes of their advancement.

51. Teaching authority.

It was not so much that the bishops themselves regularly preached, as that they looked after the orthodoxy of those who did preach.

At the same time, it would doubtless be too ideal a way of looking at matters were we to suppose that the communities accorded an increased reverence to their bishops on the ground that as teachers they came forward clothed with a divine authority in virtue of their endowment with the Holy Spirit, and no longer merely with the human authority that had been bestowed on them by the fact of their election. In a constitutional matter of such far-reaching import we may conjecture that the issue was really determined by common-sense practical considerations. As over against gnosticism, if the church was not to fall to pieces, very fixed and definite norms were needed, and he who applied them firmly and unhesitatingly was the man for the time. We may be sure that opposition was not absent; but what gained the victory here also, as so often, was clearness and decision of aim. The suppression of personal freedom and of the democratic power of the community was not flinched from; a majority could always be found which saw in these things the lesser evil. This holds good, not only with respect to the whole field of doctrine, but also with respect to all spheres within which energetic episcopi gradually extended their powers.

Thus it was not the transference of the teaching authority to the episcopi that, in itself considered, was decisive for the supremacy; it was their whole governing activity; and this whole activity, not their doctrinal authority alone, was aided by the idea of apostolic succession (§ 37), which naturally, where it existed, had great influence.

The greater the dangers arising from gnosticism and from persecution, the more indispensable was unity of authority. This would serve to explain not only the steps we have already enumerated, but also the final step, the transition from a college of presidents to a monarchical bishop, although, apart from the actual evidence of the transition in question, one would hardly have ventured to declare it inevitable.

52. Special causes of monarchy of bishops.

In any case little value is to be attached to any one of the analogies which have been adduced. There are no close analogies in the Græco-Roman religious institutions or the Græco-Roman municipal government; nor is it very much to the point to remark that a monarchical position arises with some sort of necessity out of presidency over a college. There must always be extraordinary conditions if this is to happen. Such extraordinary conditions were, in fact, to be found in the necessity of the time. We may be sure, moreover, of this—that the great majority of the bishops of that period who rose above the college to which they belonged, or ought to have belonged, were conspicuously fitted for their work, otherwise the encroachments which were inevitable before the monarchical position could be secured would not have been acquiesced in.

It may also be allowable to suggest that corruption among the presbyters and deacons, such as, *e.g.*, Hermas rebukes and 1 Pet. 5 has in view, may have elicited within the community

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itself the wish for a strong hand to control such persons. Whether, on the other hand, we ought to give much prominence to the leading of the Spirit which, according to Loofs, may have given rise to such wishes, or to the example of James the brother of Jesus, or even, as Löning thinks, to that of Symeon the son of CLOPAS (*q.v.*, § 4 *f.*), his successor, as having been monarchical 'bishops' of the primitive church, is doubtful. The final issue here also will have been the result of very simple and practical considerations. In any case we shall have to concede that, after all our efforts to ascertain it, the exact course of the process by which the monarchy of the Christian bishop arose remains obscure.

On the contrary, the goal which was attained at the close of our period is quite clear.

53. Acme of episcopal idea: Ignatius. (*a*) As regards the conduct of worship, we have already seen (§ 50 *c*) how, according to Justin, all functions except those of the deacons and that of the reading aloud were united in the person of the 'president' (προεστώς). The title chosen, however, for which we may be sure that the community of Rome, to which Justin belonged, used *episcopos*, reminds us that Justin is writing for pagans and chooses his language with pagans in view (see BISHOP, § 14). On this account we must reckon with the possibility that he has also somewhat simplified for his readers his account of the Christian institutions.

(*b*) In the Ignatian epistles, on the other hand, the ideal of the episcopate is delineated with perfect clearness.

The community at Ephesus is one with its bishop just as the church is one with Christ (*Eph.* 5 1). The bishop ought to be regarded as the Lord himself is regarded (*Eph.* 6 1), and obedience given to him as to Christ (*Trall.* 2 1). The bishop is God's representative, and the presbyters represent the synedrium of the apostles (*Magn.* 6 1, *Trall.* 2 2 3 1). The deacons are to be honoured like Jesus, like the bishop (*ibid.*), like the commandment of God (*Smyrn.* 8 1). As Jesus followed the Father, so ought all to follow the bishop (*ibid.*); as Jesus did nothing without the Father, so ought the Christian to do nothing without the bishop and the presbyters (*Magn.* 7 1, *Trall.* 2 2): especially, and before all, nothing that has relation to the church (*Smyrn.* 8 1). Where the bishop appears, there ought the laity (τὸ πλῆθος) to be; just as where Christ is, there the catholic church is (8 2). Without the bishop and the presbyters nothing deserves the name of 'church' (*Trall.* 3 1). A celebration of the eucharist is in order only when it is conducted by the bishop or by some one to whom the duty has been committed by him; without the bishop's authority neither may baptism be administered nor a love-feast held; he who does aught without the cognisance of the bishop is serving the devil (*Smyrn.* 8 2 9 1). A marriage is to be gone about with the bishop's concurrence. If an ascetic becomes more famous by his abstinence than the bishop he has incurred perdition (*ad Polyc.* 5 2). A layman is not entitled even to have a private opinion (*ad Magn.* 7 1). In short, the hierarchy is *in optima forma.*

(*c*) What we do not find in Ignatius is the idea of the apostolic succession, of consecration, and of the equation of bishops with the priests of the OT. In everything else, however, he shows himself to be the thinker who has travelled farthest on the path which we are now surveying—not only in respect of predominant point of view, but also in all the other individual points detailed in preceding paragraphs. Nevertheless, his epistles are often regarded as genuine and assigned to the beginning of the second century. As regards the matter of church-constitution, the question of genuineness is not so important as that of date. It is not, after all, incomprehensible if any one should think the genuineness of the epistles defensible as long as he leaves it open to bring the date down as late as to 150 A.D.

It must, however, be pointed out that the manner also in which Ignatius writes to his readers is such as to raise the gravest difficulties in the mind of a critic who looks for what is natural and in the circumstances probable. The judgment as to this will vary, it is true, according to the subjectivity of each individual. Nevertheless, we are constrained to believe that it is unmistakable in at least the Epistle to Polycarp that Ignatius could not have sent to his honoured colleague, whom in 8 1 he speaks of as possessing the mind of God, exhortations so elementary, and even sometimes containing such an element of censure, as the following:—'vindicate thine office in all diligence of flesh and of spirit' (1 2); 'despise not slaves' (4 3); 'be thou wise as the serpent in all things, and harmless always as the dove' (2 2); 'ask for larger wisdom than thou hast' (1 3); 'be thou more diligent than thou art' (3 2), etc. They are still more inappropriate than those of the Pastoral Epistles (§ 54 *b*). How little the author in reality bears in mind that he is claiming to be writing to Polycarp is shown also in the fact that, without any attempt at a transition, from chap. 6 forwards he addresses the church of Polycarp: 'give ye heed to the bishop,' etc.

(*d*) On the other hand, the assignment of the Ignatian epistles to the first decennia of the second century is attended by insurmountable difficulties.

Ignatius does not seek, like 1 Tim. (see § 54), to introduce monarchical episcopacy as something new; he takes it for granted as a matter of course. What he is contending for is merely unconditional subjection to the bishops. Whoever assigns the earlier date to the epistles is compelled, therefore, to assume that, in Antioch (and all Syria), the home of Ignatius, and in the communities of Asia Minor to which he writes, monarchical episcopacy had arisen as early as about the year 100 A.D., whilst throughout the whole of the rest of the church it was unknown, and especially at Rome, the central point, was still unknown to Hermas in 140. It can readily be allowed that the development of the constitution of the church may in many provinces have taken a different course from that which it followed in others; but a difference so immense as that just indicated is attended with the gravest difficulties. All the more ought it to be considered that we have no other witness for the early existence of monarchical episcopacy than precisely the Ignatian epistles themselves.

The circumstance that no bishop of Rome is mentioned in the Ignatian Epistle to the Romans is often regarded as a proof of the genuineness of all seven epistles, inasmuch as this representation is in accordance with the actual position of affairs in Rome before Justin's time (see above, *a*). What it actually does prove is one or other of these two things:—(1) Either that the author, out of deference to the Roman community (3 1: 'Ye were the instructors of others, and my desire is that those lessons shall hold good which as teachers ye enjoin'), deemed it unfitting to give to them in the same manner as he had given to the other churches his theories and exhortations regarding the episcopate (so Sohm, 168-170, on the assumption of the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles; but on the hypothesis of their spuriousness the argument remains equally applicable). Or, (2) the Epistle to the Romans is not by the same hand as the other six epistles (so Völter, *Die ignat. Briefe*, 1892, who, however, combines this idea with an untenable hypothesis).

(*e*) If, however, it be suggested that in the provinces indicated the early realisation of the idea had to encounter practical hindrances such as, let us say, the democratic habitude of the communities or the want of outstanding episcopal personalities, the observation does not apply at any rate to a pure idea, such as that of the catholic church, which finds expression in *ad Smyrn.* 8 2. As an idea it figures in Col. and Eph. and the Pastoral Epistles as a matter of great importance; had the word (καθολική) been pronounced, it must have spread like wildfire and met with acceptance everywhere. Instead of this, what do we find? Complete silence down to the decennium from 170-180 (see above, § 25 *d*).

In the Martyrdom of Polycarp (Superscription and 8 1 16 2 19 2) Harnack (*Expos.* 1885 *b*, p. 410 *f.*; *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.* 1(2) 336, n., ET 275, n.) disputes the genuineness of the word 'catholic' (καθολική); plainly what he has in his mind is that this writing could not have come into being immediately after the death of Polycarp in 155 or 156 A.D. if it contained this word; yet we are to be told that it had already been spoken about 110-117 by Ignatius. Harnack seeks to gain acceptance for this by drawing the distinction that in *Mart. Polyc.* ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία means 'the orthodox church' (a sense which 'first came into use a long while after the middle of the first century'), whilst on the other hand it means in Ignatius 'the universal church, in contrast to the particular congregations,' which last sense was, he maintains, undoubtedly known even in the apostolic age (cp also Sohm, 196-198). Harnack himself shows how little tenable is this distinction, as well as the conjecture of so early a date for the expression 'the catholic church,' and draws the right inference from the facts mentioned, when in *ACL* II. (= *Chronol.*) 1 391 he prints the word καθολική in Ignatius also with a mark of interrogation, although unfortunately without giving a word of explanation of the reason for his doubt. This is a very questionable way of getting over difficulties, to be resorted to only in cases when all other indications are against the possibility of the occurrence of such a word in the circle of ideas of the writer who is in questino.

(*f*) Here, however, this is not the case. Harnack himself acknowledges two matters which present equally great difficulties against the earlier dating of the epistles; viz., the theological terminology which breathes the spirit of the close of the second century, and the unacquaintance with the epistles shown by all the ecclesiastical writers previous to Irenæus. (The Epistle of Polycarp cannot be regarded as an external testimony to their early date; see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 47.)

(*g*) The most important of Harnack's proofs for the higher antiquity of the Ignatian epistles is, to begin with, the absence of the idea of the apostolic succession.

This idea, however, is no more than prepared for in the Pastoral Epistles (§ 37 *c-e*), and according to Harnack himself (*Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.* 1[2] 330*f.*, ET 2 69*ff.*) there are even as late as "in Irenæus and Tertullian only the first hints of the new conception." It is therefore hardly to be wondered at that Ignatius always places not the bishops but the presbyters on a level with the apostles. And how would it be if in drawing his parallel, in consequence of this, between the bishop and Christ, he was conscious of saying something advanced, just as in the Fourth Gospel the theory of the virgin birth of Jesus is ignored because the writer is conscious that he can call him the Logos (cp MARY, §§ 10, 16)?

(*h*) The observation of Harnack that the Ignatian epistles betray no knowledge of the great gnostic systems, whilst yet they frequently are found controverting gnosticism and especially docetism, also deserves attention.

Here, however, it has to be remarked in the first place with regard to the reading referring to Valentinus (*ad Magn.* 8 2), 'eternal logos not proceeding from silence' (λόγος ἀΐδιος οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών), that it cannot be finally disposed of by passing a judgment upon the general superiority of the MSS and versions which omit the two words 'eternal,' 'not' (ἀΐδιος οὐκ), and thus depriving the passage of all its colour; what has to be done is to explain how the longer could have arisen out of the shorter reading; and this will be found a difficult task, as the copyists, of course, had no inkling of the Valentinian ideas. As for the shorter reading itself, it is, indeed, possible at a pinch to say what its meaning would be if the author had written it; but it will be difficult to suggest any satisfactory occasion as explaining why he should have wished to express any such thought at all.

If we leave this passage, however, out of account, may it not be that the author, like the majority of the NT writers (see above, § 31), regarded it as beneath his dignity to go with any detail at all into the views of his opponents? In the case of a writer who (to take a single instance) speaks of those whom he is controverting as mad dogs who bite secretly (*ad Eph.* 7 1), there would be nothing surprising in such a thing.

(*i*) When, moreover, Ignatius enjoins obedience, not only as towards the bishops, but also as towards the presbyters and deacons, this is not a proof of defective zeal for the episcopal dignity, as soon as it is presupposed that, before all, the presbyters and deacons obey the bishop. But this must suffice; the Ignatian question cannot be pursued further here. What has already been said may perhaps, however, serve in some measure at least to justify the judgment of critical theology that the epistles came into being about 170-180 A.D., and therefore are not genuine.

54. Preparatory stage in Pastoral Epistles.

(*a*) If we fix our eye upon what we find in Ignatius as representing the final phase in the development, we shall be able to understand better one of the intermediate stages on the same road, leading towards the same terminus. In what has hitherto been said we have made use of the Pastoral Epistles as a source for our knowledge of actual conditions only with caution, since they are open to the suspicion that they do not reflect a clear image of any one definite time. However that may be, the purpose of the author, or of the authors, which was to bring about a condition of things such as we see actually existing in the Ignatian epistles, claims our attention. In the course of our examination it will incidentally appear how utterly impossible it becomes, in view of the course which the development of the ecclesiastical constitution took, to attribute these epistles to Paul; on the question of their authorship, see TIMOTHY [EPISTLE]; TITUS [EPISTLE].

(*b*) In 2 Tim. we already meet with the idea of the apostolic succession (§ 37 *c-e*), although church offices are not as yet expressly treated. Needless to say, the exhortations—which, in the highly elementary form in which we find them for example in 1 13 2 22 3 14 *f.*, were certainly quite unnecessary for Timothy, Paul's intimate associate and fellow-worker for many years—have no other object than to exhibit the qualifications which must be looked for in one who is to occupy a position of leadership in the church. In Tit. and 1 Tim. they are of the same character; here, however, we find added a formal catalogue of the attributes that are necessary in a bishop (Tit. 1 6-9 1 Tim. 3 2-7); in 1 Tim. 3 8-12 those required in deacons and deaconesses are also enumerated. As Titus is to appoint presbyters in every city of Crete (1 5), and as, according to 1 7, 'episcopus' is only another word for 'presbyter,' we may not say that the singular (τὸν ἐπίσκοπον) implies the precept or the presupposition that each community is to have only one bishop.

In 1 Tim. the case seems to be different in so far as the singular 'the episcopos' (τὸν ἐπίσκοπον) in 3 2 has the plural 'diaconi' (διακόνους) as its parallel in *v.* 8. Nevertheless, to infer monarchical episcopacy from this would be insecure; for the singular in 3 2 can quite well, exactly as in Tit. 1 7, where it is simply a carrying on of the plural 'presbyters' (πρεσβυτέρους), be due to the circumstance that on each occasion in the preceding verse 'any [man]' (τὶς) is used: (Tit. 1 6) 'if any man is blameless,' etc.; (1 Tim. 3 1) 'if a man seeketh the office of a bishop,' etc. Indeed, as the presbyters are wanting in ch. 3 and yet are found in 4 14 5 17 19, we are compelled, if we suppose the author of the epistle to be the same throughout, to conclude that here also they are identical with the bishops.

(*c*) In other passages, however, 1 Tim. goes farther, and that too in the injunctions laid upon Timothy himself. In 5 19 a precept is given with reference to judicial proceedings against a presbyter—not against a senior member of the community, which is the meaning of the word in *v.* 1 (§ 43 *b*),—for immediately before (*v.* 17) it is found in its official sense.

It is, therefore, a great mistake to suppose that the position assigned to Timothy is merely that of an evangelist or teacher, inferior, not only to that of apostles, but also to that of prophets, and superior to that of presbyters (= episcopi) only in virtue of the precedence due to Timothy in his capacity of teacher (so Harnack, *TU* 2 2, p. 112; cp above, § 46 *b*). Not only is it illegitimate to take a single expression of 2 Tim. as conclusive for the Pastoral Epistles altogether: it has further to be remembered that 2 Tim. 4 5 says no more than that Timothy ought to do the *work* of an evangelist. His own proper position may easily, therefore, be something different, and similarly the repeated exhortations addressed to him with respect to his teaching by no means imply that he is only a teacher; similar exhortations are addressed in the same epistle to the bishop (§ 39 *e*).

Equally mistaken, however, is the other extreme, which goes so far as to hold that it is the metropolitan dignity that is described and founded in the delineation here given of Timothy and Titus. As in § 20 *a*, so here again, it has to be said that the roof cannot be laid in its place until the walls have been built.

(*d*) It is of great importance to remember that the authors of the Pastoral Epistles found themselves in a very difficult position. They desired to set forth the church ideals of their own time in the form of epistles of Paul, and therefore made it their concern to represent Paul as having instituted that apostolic succession which they were setting forth as a matter of theory for the episcopal dignity. We have to judge of this undertaking of theirs on the same principles as have been laid down in § 35 *a*. The most prominent of Paul's fellow-workers seemed the most suitable persons to select for addresses; perhaps the selection of the particular names may in part have been occasioned by the existence of a few genuine scraps from the hand of Paul which various critics believe they can detect in 2 Tim. 4 9-18 19-22 *a* (1 15-18) Tit. 3 12 *f.* The ideal of the author of 1 Tim., however, in particular, was none other than that which lay so close at hand at the time in which he lived,—namely, monarchical episcopacy. It is in this sense that he draws his picture of Timothy—without, however, being able to prevent the intrusion of inappropriate features into the picture since, in point of fact, Timothy was not the stationary bishop of one community but an itinerant missionary. It is easy, however, to see that the exhortations addressed to him are much more appropriate to the case of a local bishop.

55. In 3 Jn.?

The authority of an apostle, or of a disciple of an apostle, over the entire number of the communities founded by him was, wherever it existed, a hindrance to the development of a local episcopate; and Harnack regards 3 Jn. as a vain attempt

by John the Presbyter (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 3-7) to uphold the territorial authority which, according to Rev. 2 *f.*, he possessed in Asia Minor.

The journeys of the emissaries of the Presbyter, who carried messages from him and brought back to him their reports (*v.* 3), were ever found to be more and more inconvenient, according to Harnack, and ultimately led Diotrephes, the first local bishop whose name we know, to refuse any longer to receive these messengers, and to excommunicate those members of the community who showed themselves friendly to them. The Presbyter, who in 2 Jn. 10 himself warns against peripatetic teachers, was not in the end triumphant. Monarchical local episcopacy forced its way, and the Presbyter retained the respect in which he had been held only in virtue of his writings, which according to Harnack were the Apocalypse, the Fourth Gospel, and the three epistles. In Harnack's view this consideration supplies us with a final but hitherto unnoticed means of accounting for the development of monarchical episcopacy.

The theory is by no means lacking in inherent probability, and may therefore be accepted as a welcome addition to our conjectures on the subject, even though it should not prove to be supported by 3 Jn. It presupposes that the epistle in question really did proceed from the church-leader of Asia Minor towards the end of the first century. In this, however, there is little probability (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 65). Apart from this, the reasons of Diotrephes for the conduct referred to may have been other than those which Harnack, on purely conjectural grounds, has supposed: in fact, Diotrephes need not have been a bishop at all; unless the expression, 'who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them' (ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν), in *v.* 9, be a very unjust one, we must rather hold him to have been a member of the community or of the ruling body who knew how to win for himself an influence extensive enough to enable him to carry out his terrorising measures.

56. Right understanding of *Didachè*.

The *Didachè* also demands a word. It has shed much new light on our present subject, yet the use we make of it ought not to be such as results in a *bouleversement* of all our previous knowledge.

This is what would be the inevitable result if we were to draw from it the inference that the Christian communities at the date of its composition were still as much without regular heads as was the community of Corinth about 58 A.D. (see above, § 9 *a*), and that bishops and deacons were still non-existent and requiring to be introduced. To escape this consequence, it has either been proposed to carry the date of the *Didachè* back to the middle of the first century, or it has been suggested that it describes in the second century either a stage of the development that has been already passed, or else the actual conditions prevailing in some belated province. Of these three possibilities the last-named would be the preferable.

Better still, however, will it be, as in the case of the Pastoral Epistles (§ 54 *d*), to bear in mind the presuppositions under which the author is writing. His intention is to give a 'doctrine for the Gentiles' who are being converted to Christianity. To these the whole constitution of the Church is of course new, and what has long prevailed in consolidated communities must be imparted as a novelty. Hence the exhortation to choose to themselves bishops and deacons. At the same time, however, the continuation in 15 1, 'for they also perform such and such a service,' or in 15 2, 'for they are your honourable men,' shows that he has before his eyes conditions that have long existed; were it otherwise, he would have said: 'and it will be theirs to,' etc. So long, however, as he cannot presuppose the presence of bishops among his readers, he is also precluded from directing his exhortations to these, but must address them to the members of the community at large, and thus necessarily produce the appearance of knowing nothing of any constitution already existing.

We close with Phil. 1 1, the passage which Hatch makes almost the starting-point of his investigation. We have kept it to the end because the words 'with episcopi and diaconi' (σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις) are very questionable. In connection with the address

57. Phil. 1 1.

'to all the saints in Christ Jesus who are at Philippi' (πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις) they are not merely superfluous but even confusing.

As a counsel of despair they have sometimes been taken as part of the subject ('Paul and Timothy together with bishops and deacons'); 'syn-episcopi' (συνεπισκόποις) has even been taken as a single word—which is certainly very meaningless,—or it has been regarded as the marginal gloss of an ancient reader who, desiderating a salutation somewhat in the manner of Heb. 13 24 addressed in the first instance to the officials, made good the need as best he could. This last explanation is certainly the preferable one, if the words are found incompatible with a Pauline authorship of the epistle; to declare the whole epistle to be ungenuine because of them is a course not to be recommended,[1] as the epistle as a whole becomes much less comprehensible on this assumption than on that of the genuineness (so also it is advisable to omit ἀλλά of 2 7, all of 2 6 except ὅς [Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus who emptied himself], and the last five words of 2 10 [of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth] or the whole of 3 10 *f.*, rather than to reject the whole epistle).

Yet it will not be found possible categorically to maintain that the two expressions in 1 1 cannot by any means have come from Paul; they are foreshadowed by the 'governments' (κυβερνήσεις) and 'helps' (ἀντιλήμψεις) of 1 Cor. 12 28 (§ 48); and in the last resort it is even conceivable that Paul, dictating his epistle, introduced the episcopi and diaconi without having at the outset intended to mention them—and did so not very felicitously indeed, but in the only way that the form of the sentence permitted,—the consideration which led him to do so being in all probability the fact that these persons had specially exerted themselves in connection with the gift sent him by the Philippians (2 25 4 10-20). Only, we must not infer from this that the episcopi were mere administrators of finance (and worship); they had to do with the matter in their capacity of church leaders also.

58. Too early dates for monarchical episcopacy.

In conclusion we briefly notice certain characteristic views which appear to assign too early an origin to monarchical episcopacy.

(*a*) The dogma of an unbroken apostolic succession need not any longer detain us after what has been urged in the course of the present article.

(*b*) Richard Rothe (*Anfänge der christl. Kirche*, 1837) thought he could show that shortly after 70 A.D. a council of apostles and teachers drew up a constitution of which the centre was episcopacy, and that the new constitution was immediately and generally adopted.

To Lightfoot's refutation (*Chr. Min.* 32-40) we need only add that Pfaff's Fragments of Irenæus have now been shown by Harnack (*TU* 20 3, 1900) to be forgeries by Pfaff.

(*c*) According to Lightfoot himself, 'James, the Lord's brother . . . can claim to be regarded as a bishop in the later and more special sense of the term,' even although also he 'was still considered as a member of the presbytery' (25 *f.*). 'After the fall of the city, St. John . . . would not unnaturally encourage an approach in the Gentile churches (of Asia Minor) to the same organisation' (40). 'Before the middle of the second century each church or organised Christian community had its three orders of ministers, its bishop, its presbyters, and its deacons' (9).

The foundation on which Lightfoot's views ultimately rest is the postulate of the credibility of Acts and of the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles and Epistles of Ignatius, a postulate which need not be discussed afresh here. A word, however, must be devoted to a proof, not yet adverted to, which Lightfoot finds for his last-mentioned thesis in the fact that bishops are already known to us by name before the middle of the second century (42-72). The force of this proof is completely destroyed by Lightfoot's own admission (56) that Dionysius of Corinth, about 170 A.D., according to whom (Eus. *HE* iv. 23 3) his namesake the Areopagite, 'having been brought to the faith by the apostle Paul, according to the account in the Acts [17 34], was the first to be entrusted with the bishopric of the diocese of the Athenians,' had 'not unnaturally confounded the earlier and later usage of the word bishop.' The same admission is made by Lightfoot (63) with regard to the 'bishops' of Rome, two of whom are even reckoned as predecessors of Clement, although the Epistle of Clement shows that 'he was rather the chief of the presbyters than the chief over the presbyters.'[2] There is, however, no

[1] [Cp, however, PHILIPPIANS.]

[2] So far as the words of Hegesippus (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iv. 22 3) in particular are concerned: γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαδοχὴν ἐποιη-

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reason discernible why this confusion should not be regarded as possible in every case where we read of a bishop as living at a period for which monarchical episcopacy has not been shown by independent and incontestible evidence to have existed. In fact, in one instance even Lightfoot himself has fallen into the like confusion. He says (p. 49): 'Polycarp evidently writes as a bishop, for he distinguishes himself from his presbyters.' The opening words of the letter of Polycarp here cited, however, Πολύκαρπος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι, are just as appropriate for a chief of the presbyters as for a chief over the presbyters.

(*d*) As against the view of Sohm, that monarchical episcopacy arose in Rome about 100-110 A.D. as a result of the First Epistle of Clement, cp §§ 44 *d*, 45, 46 *a*. (See also ROME [CHURCH].)

59. Sketch of the development after 180 A.D.

However great the distance travelled within our period from the primitive conditions of the earliest Christianity, many steps in the development of the catholic system still remained to be accomplished in the period which succeeded.

(*a*) It was not till the end of the second century that the idea of 'priest' began to be connected with any officers of the Christian church.

If this appears to have happened as early as in 1 Clem. 40 *f.* (see above, § 50 *b*), the object is simply to show by the example of the OT (as being of divine appointment) that in the church also each individual has his determinate place and must not encroach upon the functions of his neighbour; it is not intended to be held that the bishop actually possesses the same functions as the high priest, the presbyter those of the priest, and so forth. So also in *Didachè* 13 3 the prophets are co-ordinated with the high priests only in respect of that which they receive in the way of doles, not in respect of that which they do. Moreover, neither bishop nor prophet can take the place of the high priest if, as we read in Heb. (2 17 3 1 4 14 *f.* etc.) and also in Ignatius (*ad Philad.* 9 1), it is Christ who holds that position and also in actual fact exercises the functions of the high priest.

The idea of the universal priesthood of believers is still the prevailing one throughout the period we have been considering. It is infringed, however, by the theory of Ignatius that no ecclesiastical action can be taken in hand apart from the bishop (see above, § 53 *b*). The designation 'clergy' (clerus), too, for the officials of the church makes its appearance for the first time with the end of the second century; but in substance the thing can already be found at a fairly advanced stage in Ignatius (cp Lightfoot, *Chr. Min.* 97-132). (*b*) Within our period the bishop was chosen by his church. Only in cases where the community numbered fewer than twelve men qualified to give a vote was it enjoined, according to an ordinance placed by Harnack between the years 140 and 180 A.D. (*TU* II. 5 7-10), to invite the 'established' neighbouring churches each to send three men for the proving of the bishop to be elected. In the third century this developed itself into an arrangement that at every election of a bishop at least three other bishops should co-operate with the members of the church electing and should have the decisive voice. During the same period the Roman bishops successfully carried into effect the view that a bishop could not be deposed from his office even for mortal sin. (*c*) Joint meetings of the leaders of the various churches for purposes of consultation were held, we may be sure, from a very early date; but we hear nothing of authoritative synods being held within the period we have been considering. The way was prepared for them, however, by the theory that the gift of the Holy Spirit is concentrated in the bishops; in fact the language of the apostolic decree at the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15 28: 'it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us') had only to be imitated. (*d*) Within the period under consideration few traces are to be found of a bishop's being set over the other bishops of his province or over several communities each of which was under the guidance of presbyters merely. Apart from Egypt, where there actually were many communities of the kind just mentioned, it holds true as a general rule that each community has its own bishop or (in the earlier time) its college of bishops, and that all bishops stand on an equality. Even Harnack who (*SBAW*, 1901, 1191-1212) finds the beginnings of a metropolitan dignity as early as in the time of Ignatius, about 115 (in *ad Rom.* 2 2 Ignatius is called bishop of Syria instead of bishop of Antioch), is nevertheless wholly disinclined to regard it as a direct continuation of the primitive conditions described in § 55. But the struggle for power, naturally inherent in the episcopacy, must also have led to the subordination of the less important episcopal sees and especially of the village-bishops (*chorepiscopi*).

(*e*) In the First Epistle of Clement it is still the Roman church as a whole which makes the claim to exercise supervision over the Corinthian (see ROME, CHURCH OF). From the close of the second century onwards the Roman bishops as such laid claim with ever growing pretensions to this right of supervision over the entire church, and in fact in the theory which regards Peter and Paul as apostles of Rome (§ 36) and still more in what we read in Mt. 16 18 *f.* (§ 4) a quite suitable foundation for the papacy is laid. In short, however far the full consequences of the catholic constitution of the church may have been from having been explicitly drawn up prior to 180 A.D., all the premisses were present, and they necessarily pressed forward to their full expression.

60. Literature.

Weizsäcker, 'Kirchenverfassung des apost. Zeitalters' in *JDT*, 1873, pp. 631-674; *Apostol. Zeitalter*, 1886, pp. 566-645, (2) 1892, pp. 544-622; *TLZ*, 1883, pp. 435-440 (on Hatch-Harnack; see below); Beyschlag, *Christliche Gemeindeverfassung im Zeitalter des NT*, and Maronier, *De inrichting der Christelijke gemeenten voor het ontstaan der Katholieke Kerk* (both Teyler prize essays, new series, part iii., nos. 1 and 2, Haarlem, 1874); Heinrici, *ZWT*, 1876, pp. 465-526 ('Die Christengemeinde Korinths u. d. relig. Genossenschaften der Griechen'); 1877, pp. 89-130; *St. Kr.* 1881, pp. 505-524; *Das erste Sendschreiben des Paulus an die Korinthier*, 1880, pp. 20-29; in Meyer's *Commentary on 2 Cor.*(7) 1890, pp. 409-417; *on 1 Cor.*(8) 1896, pp. 4-9; Holsten, *Evang. des Paulus*, i. 1 (1880) 236-245; Schürer, *Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom.*, 1879 (cp his own excerpt in *TLZ*, 1879, pp. 542-546); Holtzmann, *Pastoralbriefe*, 1880, pp. 190-252; Weingarten, 'Umwandlung der ursprüngl. christl. Gemeindeorganisation zur kathol. Kirche' in *Histor. Ztschr.* vol. 45, 1881, pp. 441-467; Seyerlen, 'Christl. Cultus im apostol. Zeitalter' in *Ztschr. f. pract. Theol.*, 1881, pp. 222-240, 289-327; 1887, pp. 97-143, 201-244, 297-333; Hatch, *Organisation of the Early Christian Church*, 1881, Germ. transl. by Harnack, *Gesellschaftsverfassung der christlichen Kirchen im Alterthum*, 1883, with Harnack's *Analekten*, 229-259; Harnack, *Lehre der 12 Apostel* (in *TU* 2 1 *f.*, 1884); *Quellen der apostol. Kirchenordnung nebst . . . Ursprung des Lectorats u. der andern niedern Weihen* (in *TU* 2 5, 1886); *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, i. 3 7, (2) 180-184, (3) 204-207; *TLZ*, 1889, pp. 417-429 (on Löning; see below); *Ueber den dritten Johannesbrief* (in *TU* 15 3, 1897) (also Krüger's review in *ZWT*, 1898, pp. 307-311); 'Vorstudie zu einer Geschichte der Verbreitung des Christenthums in den ersten 3 Jahrhunderten' (*SBAW*, 1901, pp. 810-845, 1186-1214); Harnack, Sanday, and many others on the origin of the Christian Ministry, *Expos.* 1887, 1888 *b*, pp. 321-337; Kühl, *Gemeindeordnung in den Pastoralbriefen*, 1885; Cunningham, *The Growth of the Church in its Organisation and Institutions*, 1886; Hilgenfeld in *ZWT*, 1886, pp. 1-26 (review of Hatch-Harnack), 456-473 (review of Kühl); 1890, pp. 98-115 ('Verfassung der Urgemeinde'), 223-245 ('Vorkathol. Verfassung ausser Palästina'), 303-314 ('Gemeindeverfassung in der Bildungszeit der katholischen Kirche'); Seufert, *Ursprung u. Bedeutung des Apostolats* (Haager prize dissertation, 1887); Löning, *Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, 1888; Loofs, 'Urchristl. Gemeindeverfassung' in *St. Kr.*, 1890, pp. 619-658; Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, i. 1892; Zöckler, 'Diakonen u. Evangelisten' in *Bibl. u. kirchengesch. Studien*, ii. 1893; Réville (Jean), 'Les origines de l'épiscopat,' I. in *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, sciences relig.*, vol. 5, 1894; 'Le rôle des veuves dans les communautés chrétiennes primitives,' *ibid.* vol. 1, 1889, pp. 231-251; Haupt, *Zum Verständniss des Apostolats* (Halle Easter programmes), 1895-96; Weinel, *Paulus als kirchlicher Organisator*, 1899; Wernle, *Anfänge unsrer Religion*, 1901, pp. 8, 45 *f.*, 52 *f.*, 61-63, 71-82, 112-115, 126-130, 165-167, 208, 237-251, 356-369; Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*, 1901 (originally in the Comm. on Philipp., and afterwards in *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*).

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σάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου, which are generally interpreted as meaning that he drew up a list of the Roman bishops to his own time, Zahn (*Forschungen*, 6 243-246) thinks they mean neither this nor anything else that can be clearly made out, and that Rufinus either read or conjectured the correct reading—say, διατριβήν for διαδοχήν—when he thus rendered the words 'cum autem venissem Romam, permansi inibi donec Aniceto Soter et Soteri successit Eleutherus.'

MINNI (מִנִּי), a land mentioned in Jer. 51 27† [𝕲, chap. 28]; παρ εμου [BℵAQ], *menni* [Vg.]), the *Mannu* of the Assyrians, which was W. of the Lake of Urumiya. Its inhabitants are the *Mannai*, of whom we read in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II., Sargon, Esarhaddon, and Ašur-bāni-pal.

See ASHKENAZ, ARARAT, and, for the Assyrian (and Vannic) notices, Schrader, *KAT*(2) 423; Sayce, *RP*(2) I 163 *ff.*; Winckler, *GBA* 200 241 243 269; *AOF* I 486 *ff.* On the מני of Ps. 45 8 [9], which Tg. Pesh. render 'Armenia,' see IVORY.

MINNITH (מִנִּית; εν αριθμω [B], εις σεμωειθ [A], σεμενειθ [L; ? σε μενειθ], σε εις μωιθ εως της οδου μανωε [see HP], μανιαθης [Jos. *Ant.* v. 7 10]; *MENNITH* [Vg.]; 'ascent of Machir' [Pesh.]), a locality E. of Jordan mentioned in the account of Jephthah's victory over Ammon (Judg. 11 33; on Ezek. 27 17 see end of article). The identification is most uncertain,[1] and one may question the correctness of the reading (see below). The matter cannot be treated without reference to literary criticism (see JEPHTHAH, § 2). It is probable that Holzinger and Budde are correct in their view that the chapter contains the traces of another war where Moab, not Ammon, is the foe. The geographical notices of both defeats survive (doubtless not in their original form) in *v.* 33, where עַד־בּוֹאֲךָ מִנִּית and וְעַד אָבֵל־כְּרָמִים are clearly doublets. The mention of Aroer, however, constitutes a difficulty. It is generally assumed to be the Ammonite city (AROER, 2); but this is unlikely if ABEL-CHERAMIM is rightly identified, and if Minnith is indeed the *maanith* which Eusebius (*OS*(2) 280 44) places 4 m. from Heshbon on the road to Rabbath-Ammon. 𝕲, however, inserts ἄχρις Αρνων and Budde (*KHC, Richter*) suggests that from Minnith to Aroer (on the Arnon, cp *v.* 26) was the extent of the Moabite defeat, and that of the Ammonites was in an easterly direction to Abel-cheramim. This view does not sufficiently allow for the possibility of deeper corruption. One expects the Ammonite defeat to have extended from N. to S., and hence it is possible that מִנִּית has arisen from מַחֲנֶה, a parallel form to MAHANAIM (*q.v.* n. 1, cp We. *CH*(3) 43 n.). [For another view, that originally Miṣṣur (the N. Arabian Muṣri) and Amalek = Jerahmeel, kindred peoples, took the place of Moab and Ammon, see MOAB, § 14 *ff.*]

Originally, perhaps, the Ammonites were routed 'from Mahanaim to Abel-cheramim'; the extent of the Moabite defeat, on the other hand, must remain unknown. The existence of a Moabite Minnith (cp Bu. *l.c.*), in spite of the testimony of Eusebius, is doubtful. Minnith, in fact, is nowhere else mentioned, since, although the land of Ammon was rich in cereals (cp the tribute of barley, 2 Ch. 27 5), the mention of 'wheat of Minnith' (Ezek. 27 17) is due to a textual corruption, for which Cornill with an obvious gain in sense reads חִטִּים וּנְכֹאת ('wheat and spices'); see PANNAG, STORAX. S. A. C.

MINSTREL. 1. מְנַגֵּן, *mĕnaggēn*, 2 K. 3 15†; cp נֹגְנִים, *nōgĕnīm*, Ps. 68 25 [26], RV 'minstrels,' AV 'players on instruments.' See MUSIC.

2. αὐλητής, Mt. 9 23. See MUSIC, § 4; MOURNING CUSTOMS.

MINT (ἡδυοσμον; *mentha;* Mt. 23 23 Lk. 11 42†) was a well-known garden herb in ancient times (γνώριμον βοτάνιον, Diosc. 3 41). Dioscorides does not think it necessary to describe it. The species chiefly grown in Palestine is the horse-mint, *Mentha sylvestris*, L. The tithing of mint is not expressly referred to in the Talmud (cp Löw, 259 *ff.*).

MIPHKAD, THE GATE (שַׁעַר הַמִּפְקָד), Neh. 3 31. See JERUSALEM, § 24 (10).

MIRACLES. See WONDERS; also GOSPELS, §§ 137 *ff.*, and JOHN (SON OF ZEBEDEE), §§ 20, 25, etc.

MIRAGE (שָׁרָב), Is. 35 7, RV^mg. (ἡ ἄνυδρος), 49 10, RV^mg. (καυσων).

This well-known phenomenon of dry regions might of course be referred to in these passages (so Ges. and most moderns); but see DESERT, § 2 (8).

[1] See Moore, *Judg., ad loc.;* Buhl, *Pal.* 266.

MIRIAM (מִרְיָם; μαριαμ [BAFL], cp Targ. מַרְיַם, etc. and see NAMES, § 6). Possibly from עַמְרָמִית (Che., cp Nu. 3 27); see MOSES, § 2; Bateson Wright, however, connects the name with 'Merari' (*Was Israel ever in Egypt?* 213; see also MARY, § 1).

1. The sister of Aaron and Moses who accompanied Israel as far as Kadesh, where she died and was buried (Nu. 20 1). If we pass over the inclusion of her name in the Levitical genealogies (Nu. 26 59 [‖ Ex. 6 20 MT om. but cp 𝕲^BAFL], 1 Ch. 6 3 [5 29]) Miriam is first mentioned in the older narratives on the occasion of the crossing of the Red Sea. She is styled 'the prophetess' (הַנְּבִיאָה) and appears at the head of a female choir celebrating the recent deliverance (Ex. 15 20 *f.* E, see POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4, iii.). Although not specifically named, Miriam is no doubt the 'sister' alluded to in the story of the birth of Moses (Ex. 2 1 *ff.*, cp *vv.* 4 7), and if *v.* 1 belongs to the original narrative it is certain that the writer looked upon her (and also Aaron) as the step-sister (and step-brother) of the child. Apart from the notice of her death at Kadesh (Nu. *l.c.*), she is only once again mentioned in the Hexateuch—viz., Nu. 12 1-15, where with Aaron she rebels against the authority of Moses and is punished with leprosy.

The passage is not free from difficulties.[1] That connected with *v.* 1 is dealt with elsewhere (see MOSES, § 15). We are indeed reminded of the manner of E; but there is nothing in common with E_2's doctrine of the universal nature of Yahwè's gift of prophecy as expressed in 11 24*b*-30. The reference to Miriam in Dt. 24 9 is not clear. It is difficult to see how Miriam's *punishment* was a warning for Israel to observe the orders of the Levites in the case of an outbreak of leprosy. The difficulty in the reference, implying a discrepancy in the traditions, suggests that Nu. *l.c.* has been pretty thoroughly revised by R_P (the seven days' seclusion *v.* 15 reminds one of the Levitical enactment, Lev. 13 5).[2]

From these few notices we can obtain but a bare idea of the figure of Miriam. She first appears in E (so probably also Aaron), and it is noteworthy that the only reference to her in the prophetical writings is made by a writer who lived about the time of E_2 and names 'Moses, Aaron, and Miriam' as the forerunners to redeem Israel (Mi. 6 4, see, however, MICAH [BOOK], § 4 *f.*, col. 3073). To about the same age belong the oldest narratives which mention HUR (1), an equally obscure figure, whom tradition connected with Miriam.[3]

It may be asked here whether Aaron and Miriam were not originally represented as members of the family of Jethro? The sudden appearance of Aaron in Horeb (Ex. 4 27 E) seems to suggest that he already lived in the neighbourhood; whilst, on the other hand, the narrative in Ex. 2 1-10, which seems to treat Miriam as living in Egypt, does not necessarily militate against the view that Aaron and Miriam were brother and sister respectively of Zipporah the wife of Moses. It may also be conjectured that the well-known branch of Levitical Merari derived its name, or traced its descent, from the 'prophetess' Miriam (מררי, מרים)? Cp GENEALOGIES, § 7 [v.], MERARI.

2. Son (or daughter) of Jether (cp JETHER, 1), and BITHIAH (*q.v.*), named in a Judæan-Calebite genealogy, 1 Ch. 4 17 (so Ki. after 𝕲, MT obscure; μαιων [BA], μωεωρ and μαρω in a doublet [L]). The coincidence is remarkable; was there a tradition associating Moses and the other characters of the Exodus with the Calebites? Cp MOSES.

It is true the reading 'Miriam' is not convincingly supported by 𝕲;[4] but the tradition (accepted and amplified by the Targ.) may not be wholly late. Distinct traces of a Calebite element have been suspected in portions of JE's narrative of the Exodus,[5]

[1] See NUMBERS, § 2.

[2] We cannot be quite certain that Dt. *l.c.* is original—directions regarding leprosy are wanting in JE. It is just possible that Miriam alone belonged to the original narrative in Nu. 12 1. The exceptional order of the names in Nu. 12 1 may be taken to suggest that Aaron's name has been added. 𝕲^L, on the other hand, following the usual custom, gives Aaron the priority.

[3] His wife (so Jos. *Ant.* iii. 2 4), or mother (Targ.).

[4] 𝕲^BA suggests the reading Maon, which Cheyne prefers.

[5] See EXODUS i., § 5 *f.*, KADESH, § 3.

and a close connection between Calebites, Kenites, etc., is borne out by a comparison of the distribution of the proper names (see GENEALOGIES, §§ 5, 7 [*v.*]). S. A. C.

MIRMA, RV **Mirmah** (מִרְמָה, 'deceit'?, § 74; ιμαμα [B], μαρμα [A], -μια [L]), a name in a genealogy of Benjamin (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 10†, probably from 'Jerahmeel' (Che.). See *JQR* 11 108 (§ 6).

MIRRORS. Egyptian mirrors consisted of a disc of polished bronze, though the bronze might be covered with a varnish of gold and have a handle of wood, ivory, or bronze, which was often ornamented with a statuette. Such hand-mirrors were indispensable for the toilette of an Egyptian lady, and we find them referred to in Ex. 38 8, as used by the women who performed service in the Tent of Meeting, and, according to a traditional but surely erroneous opinion, in Is. 3 23. In Job 37 18 the sky (firmament) is compared to a metal mirror. In Wisd. 7 26 wisdom is called 'an unspotted mirror of the working of God.' In the Greek Ecclus. 12 11 a 'mirror' is somehow brought into connection with the malice of an enemy.

Whether it is worth while to speculate as to the possible meaning of the Greek translator, may be doubted; see RV, which gives an alternative rendering for the last clause of the verse, and cp Edersheim. The Cairo Hebrew text gives, 'Be to him (the enemy) as one that revealeth a mystery' (Schechter and Taylor, 25). In *1 Cor.* 13 12 ἐν αἰνίγματι ('in a riddle') seems to be a gloss on δι' ἐσόπτρου; see RIDDLE.

In 1 Cor. 13 12 the imperfect spiritual knowledge of the present life is likened to the imperfect representation of objects in an ancient metal mirror ('through a glass' should be 'by means of a mirror'—see below). Not so Ja. 1 23 *ff.* Here 'the perfect law, the law of liberty' is compared to a bright, polished mirror, which really shows a man what are the points in his outward appearance which need correction. Lastly, in 2 Cor. 3 18 Christians are compared to mirrors, inasmuch as they reflect the glory of Christ. The writer doubtless has in his mind circular discs with ornamental handles such as were known in Greek as well as in Egyptian society.

As to the words and phrases. 1. גִּלָּיוֹן, *gillāyōn*, Is. 3 23 (AV 'glass,' RV 'handmirror') should probably not be reckoned. Tradition is not consistent. Vg. Tg. favours 'mirrors'; but 𝔊 (διαφανῆ λακωνικά) suggests 'transparent, gauze-like dresses,' and Peiser, comparing Bab. *gulinu*, holds, perhaps correctly, that some unknown garment is meant (see DRESS, § 1 [2]).

2. מַרְאָה, *mar'eh* (√ראה, 'to see') Ex. 38 8 (𝔊 κάτοπτρον) Job 37 18 (𝔊 ὅρασις).

3. ἔσοπτρον, Ecclus. 12 11 Wisd. 7 26 1 Cor. 13 12, and Ja. 1 23. The classical Greek word is κάτοπτρον (Æsch. *Ag.* 839). Hence κατοπτρίζεσθαι in 2 Cor. 3 18. Compare Mayor on Ja. 1 23 and Spiegel, *HC* on 2 Cor. *l.c.*; but cp Heinrici's note on the passage, where the older rendering (AV, RVmg.) is supported. Certainly Philo (1 107) uses κατοπτρίζεσθαι in the sense of beholding something in a mirror.

MISAEL (Μ[ε]ιcαнλ [BAL]). 1. 1 Esd. 9 44 = Neh. 8 4 MISHAEL, 2.
2. Song of Three Children, 66 = Dan. 1 7, etc. MISHAEL, 3.

MISGAB (הַמִּשְׂגָּב; το κραταιωμα [ℵ], αμαθ [B], αμ. το κρ. [A], *fortis* [Vg.]), according to EV of Jer. 48 1 a chief city of Moab. So Rashi and Kimhi. No such place, however, is known. Moreover, the Hebrew, which has the article, means 'the high fort' (so RVmg.); but if we render thus the fem. verbs are peculiar, and the parallel clauses contain undoubted names of places. Not improbably we should read *v.* 1*b* thus: 'Woe unto Nebo! it is laid waste; Kiriathaim is put to shame and dismayed.'

The point is that הבישה המשגב resembles חשבו בחשבון. These words, which occur in *v.* 2, were probably written too soon by the scribe, and, as usual, not cancelled; corruption naturally followed. וחתה therefore belongs to נלכדה קריתים. The suggestion is new, but has many parallels. T. K. C.

MISHAEL (מִישָׁאֵל; Μ[ε]ιcαнλ [BℵAL], but in Lev. μιcαδαι [BA]). The name may have been explained 'Who is what God is' (see § 39; Gray, *HPN* 165); cp MICHAEL. P's names, however, are so often (in our opinion) distortions of ancient ethnic or tribal names that we may (see below) reasonably assume this to be so here, and even connect the presumed underlying name with the שלמי; see SALMAH, and cp SHALLUM, MESHALLEMIAH, MESHULLAM.

1. A Kohathite, son of Uzziel and nephew of Amram (= Jerahmeel), Ex. 6 22 (𝔊BA om.) Lev. 10 4 (both P). The name corresponds to the Simeonite name Shemuel, b. Ammihud (= Jerahmeel), Nu. 34 20.

2. One of Ezra's supporters (see EZRA ii., § 13 [*f.*]; cp i. § 8, ii. § 16 [5], ii. § 15 [1] *c*), Neh. 8 4 = 1 Esd. 9 44, EV MISAEL. The next name is MALCHIJAH, originally perhaps a distortion of Jerahmeel.

3. One of the companions of Daniel, also called MESHACH (*q.v.*), Dan. 1 6 etc. See DANIEL.

4. See MICHAEL, 8. T. K. C.

MISHAL, AV **Misheal** (מִשְׁאָל, Josh. 19 26, μααcα [B], μαcαψ [A], μαcαλ [L]; 21 30, βαcελλαν [B], μαcααλ [A], μιcαλα [L]; once MASHAL, מָשָׁל, 1 Ch. 6 74 [59] μααcα [B], μαcαλ [A*a*], μαcιλ [L]), a town in Asher, wrongly described in *OS* (280 36 139 21) as near Carmel, which is excluded by the right translation of Josh. 19 26. Perhaps the Mi-šа-'a-ra of the list of Thotmes III., which occurs immediately before 'A-k-sap or Achshaph (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 181; cp *RP*(2) 5 46).

MISHAM (מִשְׁעָם; μεccααμ [B], μιcααλ [A], μεcοαμ [L]), a Benjamite of the b'ne Elpaal (see BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. β); 1 Ch. 8 12†; perhaps the same as Meshullam in *v.* 17. See *JQR* 11 103 [§ 1].

MISHMA (מִשְׁמָע; μαcμα [BAL]). A tribal name, perhaps to be read שֶׁמַע (Josh. 15 26), the duplicated מ being due to the influence of the name Mibsam, which precedes Mishma in all the lists. See SHEMA. The name Jebel Misma' near Teimâ (see TEMA), however, invites comparison (see Di.).

1. A son of Ishmael (Gen. 25 14; μασμαν [*D*EL]; 1 Ch. 1 30: μαμα [B*], μασεμα [L]); also
2. A son of Simeon (1 Ch. 4 25). Cp SIMEON. T. K. C.

MISHMANNAH (מִשְׁמַנָּה), a Gadite warrior; 1 Ch. 12 10 (μαcεμμανη [B], -εμαννη [ℵ], -cα. [L], μαcμα [A], אשור [Pesh.]). See DAVID, § 11, n.

MISHNAH. See LAW LITERATURE, § 23, and the Introduction to the present work, p. xxiii.

MISHNEH (הַמִּשְׁנֶה; see COLLEGE; 𝔊 has μασεν(ν)α in 2 K.; μασαναι [B], μεσαναι [A], μασσεννα [L] in 2 Ch.; τῆς δευτέρας in Zeph. [cp τῇ δευτερώσει Sym. in 2 Ch.]), a part of Jerusalem, 2 K. 22 14 = 2 Ch. 34 22 Zeph. 1 10, RVmg.. So perhaps Neh. 11 9 (Rödiger in Ges. *Thes.*, Buhl), though EV gives 'Judah the son of (has-) Senuah was *second* over the city' (מ', as in 1 Ch. 15 18 etc.). There is, however, we believe, reason to think that על־העיר משנה should be עַל־הָעִיר הַיְשָׁנָה (just as המשנה elsewhere should be הישנה), so that the passage should read 'and Judah, a native of the old city, was over the old city.' See COLLEGE, JERUSALEM, § 23. T. K. C.

MISHRAITES (הַמִּשְׁרָעִי; ημαcαρειμ [B], -ν [A], μαcερεθι [L]), a post-exilic family of Kirjath-jearim; 1 Ch. 2 53†. See SHOBAL.

MISPAR (מִסְפָּר), Ezra 2 2 RV, AV MIZPAR = Neh. 7 7 **Mispereth.** See MIZPAR.

MISREPHOTH-MAIM (מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם), a point in Sidonian territory to which Joshua chased the Canaanites after the battle of Merom, Josh. 11 8 ([JE]; μαcερων [B], μαcρεφωθ-μαειμ [A], -μαιθ [Fvid], μαcρεφωθ μαιν [L]), and which a later writer regarded as the ideal western boundary of the northern hill-country, and apparently as the limit of the Sidonian territory (Josh. 13 6 [Ds], μαcερεθμεμφωνμαιμ [B], μαcερεφωθ μα[ε]ιμ [AL]). Guérin identified it with 'Ain Mušerfe, at the S. foot of the Rās en-Nākūra, N. of Achzib (see LADDER OF TYRE); but this is too far from Sidon. Apparently the place was well-known;

we have therefore to see if we cannot emend the text so as to justify this impression. In Josh. 13 4 we have elsewhere (see MEARAH) found mention of 'Zarephath which belongs to the Zidonians.' The same name is probably intended here. We may either read צרפתים[1] for משרפות מים, or follow Sym. (μαστρεφωθ τῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης[2]) in reading, for מים, מִיָּם, 'westward,' corresponding to מִזְרָחָה, 'eastward.' In the latter case the name of the place is Misrephoth, or rather Masrephoth. The former view is preferable (cp ZAREPHATH). We may illustrate by Judg. 5 17, where the true reading probably is,

Asher dwelt toward the coast of the sea
And abode by the Zarephathites.[3]

We need not therefore compare Ar. *mušrafun*, 'a lofty place' (Di.), nor explain מים, 'hot springs' (Ḳimḥi.)

It should be noted, however, that the original story of the war with Jabin may have placed the scene of it in the S. of Palestine (see SHIMRON); צידון = 'Zidon,' and מצור 'Miṣṣur' are sometimes confounded (cp ZAREPHATH), so that a southern Zarephath may originally have been meant in Josh. 11 8.

T. K. C.

MITE (λεπτον), Mk. 12 42 Lk. 12 59 21 2†. See PENNY, §§ 2-4.

MITHCAH, RV **Mithkah** (מִתְקָה; ματεκκα [B], μαθ. [AF], ματτεκα [L]), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness, Nu. 33 28 *f.* See WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.

MITHNITE, an improbable gentilic in 1 Ch. 11 43. See JOSHAPHAT, 1.

MITHREDATH (מִתְרְדָת, 'from [or, to] Mithra [the sun-god] given'? cp Mithrabouzanes [see SHETHAR-BOZNAI], and in Aram. מתרוהשת, מתרצתד, μιθραδατης [BA]; cp Herod. 1 110 μιτραδατης and μιθραδατες borne by Pontic kings; μιθριδατης [L] so Jos. *Ant.* xi. 1 3).

1. The treasurer (גִּזְבָּר) of Cyrus who handed over the temple treasures to SHESHBAZZAR (Ezra 1 8, μιθρι- [Ba.bA]) = 1 Esd. 2 11, **Mithridates,** RV **Mithradates** (μιθρι- [BA]).

2. A Persian official, temp. Artaxerxes, mentioned with BISHLAM, and others, Ezra 4 7 = 1 Esd. 2 16 EV as above (μιθρα- [B*Aa], μιθρι- [Ba.bA*vid.]).

MITRE. It will be convenient under this heading to notice the priestly head-dresses of the Hebrews, postponing to TURBAN [*q.v.*] further remarks concerning the head-dresses worn by other classes. In Judith 4 15 'mitre' (κίδαρις) is used of the head-covering worn by all priests in common; but in 1 Macc. 10 20 it is called simply 'crown' (στέφανος); according to the older Hebrew usage the *miṣnépheth* (מצנפת) of the high priest is carefully distinguished from the *migbā'āh* (מגבעה) of the ordinary priests, a distinction which is followed in EV.[4]

1. Hebrew terms.

These two words (both only in P or Ezek.) are practically the only terms which need consideration; on the occasional employment of *pĕ'ēr* (פאר) and *ṣānīph* (צניף), see TURBAN.

1. מִגְבָּעָה, *migbā'āh* (Ex. 28 40 29 9 39 28 [with פַּאֲרֵי][5] Lev. 8 13, κίδαρις [BAFL]), AV 'bonnet,' RV 'head-tire,' the head-dress worn by the sons of Aaron. It was very probably of a conical shape (cp גָּבִיעַ, 'cup,' also כּוֹבַע, קוֹבַע, 'helmet'), and resembled, we may suppose, the well-known conical cap of the Assyrians and Babylonians,[6] and

2. מִצְנֶפֶת, *miṣnépheth* (Ex. 28 4 39 Lev. 16 4 Ezek. 21 26 [31]), κίδαρις (Ex. 28 37 29 6 39 28[7] 31 Lev. 8 9, μίτρα), EV 'mitre,' the head-covering of the high priest (see also Ezek., *l.c.*, where AV 'diadem'). RVmg. prefers 'turban,' which is supported by the verb צָנַף, 'to wind in a coil'; cp צָנִיף, and see TURBAN.

[1] מים (תים) may be a repeated fragment of צרפתים.
[2] In Josh. 13 6, however, Symm. reads ὑδάτων.
[3] For מפרציו read צרפתים (*Crit. Bib.*).
[4] So at Hierapolis in Syria a πῖλος was worn by the ordinary priests; but the head of the high priest τιάρῃ χρυσέῃ ἀναδέεται (Lucian, *de Syr. Dea*, 42).
[5] 𝔊 seems to have transposed מצנפת and פ׳ מגבעת. The pl. κιδάρεις naturally refers to the ordinary head-dress (of which there were many) rather than to that of the high priest (cp Sinker in Smith's *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Mitre').
[6] Cp also the old Italian *Pileus*, etc., and see Di.-Rys. on Ex. 28 37 40.
[7] See n. 2 above.

The distinction referred to above does not appear to have held good in the time of Josephus, who applies the term μασναεφθης (= *miṣnépheth*) to the head-dress of all priests (cp also *Yōmā*, 7 5). In his day it appears that they wore (upon the occasion of sacrifices) a circular cap (πῖλος), not conical in shape (ἄκωνος), covering only about half of the head, and somewhat resembling a crown (στεφάνη). It was made of thick linen swathes doubled round many times and sewed together, surrounded by a linen cover to hide the seams of the swathes, and sat so close that it would not fall off when the body was bent down (*Ant.* iii. 7 3).

2. Evidence of Josephus.

The high priest, too, wears a cap (πῖλος), which was the same in construction and figure with that of the common priest; but above it there was another, with swathes of blue, embroidered, and round it was a golden crown (στέφανος), polished, of three rows (στέφανος χρύσεος . . . ἐπὶ τριστιχίαν), one above another, out of which rose a cup of gold, which resembled the calyx of the herb σάκχαρον (the Greek hyoscyamus; see Löw, no. 326). After a laborious description, in which he compares the shape of the herb to a poppy (cp *turban*, Ital. *tulipano*, Eng. tulip), Josephus goes on to add that of this (ἐκ τούτου) a crown (στέφανος) was made reaching from the nape of the neck to the temples. This ἐφιελίς ('for so the calyx may be called'), however, did not cover the forehead (*Ant.* iii. 7 6).

In his earlier work (*BJ* v. 5 7) Josephus gives an account of the high priest's head-covering, which can scarcely be reconciled with the preceding. In *BJ* (*l.c.*) the high priest wears a linen τιάρα, tied with a blue band, which was encircled by a golden fillet (στέφανος), upon which were engraved the 'sacred characters' (ἱερὰ γράμματα), consisting of four 'vowels' (φωνήεντα). In *Ant.* (*l.c.*), on the other hand, the divine name is engraved upon a golden plate (τελαμών, Lat. vers. *lamina*; cp below), which was set upon the forehead (ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετμημένος ἐστί).[1]

To this we may add the description of Jerome (*Ep. lxiv., ad Fabiolam*): *Quartum genus est vestimenti, rotundum pileolum, quale pictum in Ulyxi conspicimus, quasi sphæra media sit divisa, et pars una ponatur in capite: hoc Græci et nostri* τιάραν, *nonnulli galerum vocant, Hebræi Misnepheth: non habet acumen in summo, nec totum usque ad comam caput tegit; sed tertiam partem a fronte inopertam relinquit: atque ita in occipitis vitta constrictum est: ut non facile labatur ex capite.* The *lamina aurea* is placed *super pileolum . . . ut in fronte vita hiacynthina constringatur.*

From the description of Jos. in *BJ*, it seems not improbable that we have to think of a head-covering the lower part of which is encircled by a fillet or diadem thus closely resembling the royal Persian *Khshatram.* This was a cap not conical in shape, which, swelling slightly as it ascended, terminated in a ring or circle projecting beyond the lines of the sides. Round it, probably near the bottom, was worn a fillet or band—the diadem proper—blue spotted with white (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* 3 204 n. with illustration); see DIADEM. The crown with three rows in Jos. *Ant.* (*l.c.*) does not seem to admit of any explanation at present, though Babylonian seals may be suggestive. Golden crowns, however, were worn by the *sacerdotes provinciales* (Tertullian, *de Idolatr.* 18), and in Grecian states the superior priests are called στεφανηφόροι (cp Di.-Rys., *l.c.*).

When we turn to P's account of the high priest's *miṣnépheth* in Ex. 28 36-38, it seems that it was made of fine linen, and probably was folded many times round the head (according to the Talm. it contained 16 cubits). Its distinctive feature was the *ṣīṣ* (ציץ), the golden plate (πέταλος, *lamina* [Vg.]), with its sacred inscription, 'holy to Yahwè'[2] (קֹדֶשׁ ליהוה), which was fastened upon the forehead.[3]

3. P's description.

[1] The crown survived till the days of Origen, Reland, *de Spol. Templi*, 132. Cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 3 8: ἡ δὲ στεφάνη εἰς ἣν τὸν θεὸν Μωυσῆς ἔγραψε μία ἦν καὶ διέμεινεν ἄχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας.
[2] [Or, perhaps, 'taboo, devoted to Yahwè,' cp CLEAN, § 1.]
[3] So, according to the Boraitha *Ḳidd.* 66 *a*, King Jannai (? Jannæus) was advised הקם להם (the Pharisees) בציץ שבין עיניך (quoted from *REJ* 35 [1897] 218).

We know nothing of the size of the high priest's frontlet, nor is it clear how it was attached to the turban. There was a blue thread which went round the plate and was knotted behind; but the texts leave it uncertain whether the thread passed on the inside or outside of the plate (cp Ex. 28 36 *f.* with 39 31). It seems the more probable that it passed on the inside, as otherwise the inscription would have been partially covered. It is likely that the frontlet did not reach to the lower edge of the turban, and that it extended lengthwise only from temple to temple.

When Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7 6) speaks of the 'sacred letters' with which the *ṣîṣ* was inscribed, he refers probably to the archaic characters, such as were employed to write down the divine name even in post-biblical times (*e.g.*, in the recovered fragment of Aquila;[1] Burkitt, *Fragments of Aquila*).

The symbolical meanings given to this frontlet need not be recapitulated (cp, *e.g.*, Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 673 *a*); that it was originally understood in a mystic sense appears from Ex. 28 38. It may be of interest to add that, according to the Talmud, it was two fingers in breadth.

The *ṣîṣ* is otherwise called *nēzer* (נֵזֶר), crown, or diadem (see CROWN, § 2); cp the renderings of *ṣîṣ* in the Pesh. and Ar. versions, which may, however, have been influenced by a recollection of the Gk. στεφανηφόρος; see above, § 2 (end).

4. The meaning of ṣîṣ.

The precise meaning of *ṣîṣ* is uncertain. The view (*a*) that it was a burnished metal plate, though commonly accepted, is devoid of philological support; a more plausible meaning would be 'flower' or 'bud' (cp Is. 40 6 *f.* Ecclus. 43 19, see FRINGES, LOCKS), which suggests (*b*) a flower-like ornamentation, and (*c*), a garland, and so a fillet or diadem. In favour of *b* (which was the view, long ago, of Bishop Horsley), we have the description of Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7 6, above § 2), and, on the analogy of the suggested origin of the golden CANDLESTICK (*q.v.*, § 3, col. 647), it would be tempting to find in the symbol a survival of nature-worship. As regards the third view (*c*)—which virtually identifies the *ṣîṣ* with the *nēzer*—the chief support is to be found in such a passage as Is. 28 1 (probably of the end of the 8th cent. B.C.), where *ṣîṣ* stands in parallelism with *'ăṭārāh* (עטרה), 'crown,' and apparently denotes a chaplet or garland.[2] On this view, the *miṣnépheth* was probably encircled with a fillet or diadem—the evolution from garland to diadem is easy—agreeing with the representation in Jos. *BJ* v. 5 7, and with the Persian custom already referred to (§ 2). Finally, early tradition supports the conventional view *a*, and if it be accepted, it may be plausibly held that the inscribed plate worn upon the forehead is a direct descendant of primitive flesh-cuttings, and a simple variation of the *ṭôṭāphôth* (see CUTTINGS, § 7, FRONTLETS).

The view of Jos. *Ant.*, *l.c.* which distinguishes the τελαμών from the στέφανος seems to find support in the evidence cited in n. 3, col. 3156, and n. 1 below, and was apparently held by Ben Sira, Jerome, Philo, and the Pseudo-Aristeas.[3] From the discrepant accounts of Jos. it is obvious that the form of the mitre varied from time to time. Only on this assumption can we understand the statements in P. In Ex. 29 6 the *nézer* is (as we should expect) placed upon the mitre, and this, too, is the position of the *ṣîṣ* in Ex. 39 30 *f.* Lev. 8 9. But in Ex. 28 36 *ff.* the *ṣîṣ* is both on the mitre (cp *c* above), and on Aaron's forehead (cp *a* above). These contradictory statements are evidently the result of a conflate text, for a satisfactory solution of which the accessible evidence is insufficient.

5. The mitre in Christian times.

In the Christian church the ecclesiastical head-dress is styled *mitra* and *infula*. The former, being originally characteristic of the Phrygians, is sometimes called 'Phrygium' by ecclesiastical writers of the Middle Ages (Marriott, *Vest. Christ.* 220). The *infula* is the long fillet of heathen priests and vestals. It was also a sacrificial ornament of victims (cp CHAPLET).

Polycrates (see Eus. *HE* 5 24, cp 3 31, Jer. *de Vir. illustr.* 45) mentions that John the apostle became a priest, τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς. James, the brother of Jesus, according to Epiphanius (Hær. 29 4), was permitted to wear τὸ πέταλον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. The survival of the term πέταλον is of interest, even if it is not to be understood literally.

Gregory Nazianzen († 389 A.D.) uses κίδαρις of the priestly cap (*Orat.* 10 4); Jer. (*Ep.* 64 n. 13), on the other hand, employs *tiara*. According to Sinker (*Dict. Christ. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Mitre'), there are no real grounds for supposing that an official head-dress was generally worn by Christian ministers during the first nine or ten centuries after Christ.

The mitre is not even now a badge of order, but only of dignity; not only are there mitred abbots, but in certain privileged chapters all the members on certain festivals wear mitres.

For the usages in the church in general cp Bunz, Herzog-Plitt, *RE* 8 44 *ff.* It is interesting to note that in the early Abyssinian church upon high occasions a turban (*matémtemia*) is worn along with a metal crown.

I. A. (§§ 1, 3); S. A. C. (§§ 2, 4, 5).

MITYLENE (ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΗ, Acts 20 14 Ti. WH; in classical authors, and on coins, ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΗ), the chief city of the island of Lesbos, to which in the Middle Ages it gave its own name, as now in its Turkish form, *Midüllü*; it is itself now called *Kastro*, 'castle,' from the Genoese castle which occupies the old acropolis. Its position is accurately marked in Acts, as midway between Alexandria Troas and Chios, viz., one day's run of Paul's vessel from either point. Mytilene lies on the SE. coast of Lesbos, on a peninsula which was once an island protecting two small but excellent harbours. The southern basin held fifty warships, and was closed by a chain; the larger and deeper northern basin, protected by a mole, was reserved for merchantmen (Strabo, 617); a narrow canal connected the two (Paus. viii. 30 2; Diod. 13 77). The roadstead, 7 m. N. of the SE. end of the island, is good in summer (hence Paul's vessel in April lay off the town all night), but in winter is exposed to the violent SE. and NE. winds. The city had from early times an extensive commerce, *e.g.*, with Egypt as early as 560 B.C. (Herod. 2 178).

In the domain of literature Mytilene gained undying fame as the home of Alcæus and of Sappho (θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα, Strabo, *l.c.*). Its situation and buildings are often praised (Strabo, *l.c.*; Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2 40, *urbs et natura ac situ et discriptione ædificiorum et pulchritudine in primis nobilis*; Hor. *Ep.* i. 11 17: *Mytilene pulchra*; Vitr. 1 6). Mytilene, therefore, like Rhodes, became a fashionable resort for Romans compelled to withdraw from public life (Cic. *Ad. Fam.* vii. 3 5, *exsulem esse non incommodiore loco, quam si Rhodum me aut Mytilenas contulissem*; cp id. *Ad Fam.* iv. 7 4; *Ad Att.* v. 11 6; Tac. *Ann.* 14 53). In Paul's time it was a free city (Pliny *HN* 5 39, *Libera Mitylene, annis MD potens*), and claimed the title πρώτη Λέσβου (see Marq.-Momms. *Röm. Staatsverw.* 1 345).

Description in Tozer, *The Islands of the Ægean*, 134 *f.*

W. J. W.

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[1] Did the inscription originally bear only the name יהוה? cp Isid. *Orig.* 29 21 (petalum, aurea lamina in fronte pontificis quæ nomen Dei *tetragrammaton* Hebraicis litteris habebat scriptum), and Jos. *BJ* v. 5 7.

[2] In Ecclus. 40 4 the wearing of the צניף and ציץ (στέφανος [BℵAC], *corona*) typifies the man of high estate. Is the reference to priestly or royal authority? In the former case we may infer that the high priest's characteristic ornament could be called variously ציץ, עטרה, or נזר, and in the latter case we should find an interesting allusion to the sovereign's imperial head-gear, with its distinctive fillet. For the use of צָנִיף to denote a royal or priestly head-dress, see TURBAN.

[3] In Ecclus. 45 12 the Heb. reads עטרת פז מעיל ומצנפת וציץ קדש . . . . For מעיל ומ' we must certainly read מעל מ'; מעיל is out of place and has been already mentioned in *v.* 8. The *ṣîṣ*, here, is quite distinct from the עטרת which appears to correspond to P's נזר. Jer. *Ep. lxiv., ad Fabiolam*: habet cidarim et nomen Dei portat in fronte, diademate ornatus est regio. Philo (*de Mose*, ed. Mangey, 2 152): χρυσοῦν δὲ πέταλον, ὡσανεὶ στέφανος ἐδημιουργεῖτο . . . μίτρα δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸ, τοῦ μὴ ψαύειν κεφαλῆς τὸ πέταλον. πρὸς δὲ καὶ κίδαρις κατεσκευάζετο. κιδάρει γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἑῴων βασιλεῖς ἀντὶ διαδήματος εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι. Aristeas (ed. Thackeray, apud Swete, *Introd. to OT Gr.*), p. 536: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχει τὴν λεγομένην κίδαριν ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἀμίμητον μίτραν, τὸ καθηγιασμένον [cp Lev. 8 9 𝔊] βασίλειον, ἐκτυποῦν ἐπὶ πετάλῳ χρυσῷ γράμμασιν ἁγίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ. κατὰ μέσον τῶν ὀφρύων δόξῃ πεπληρωμένον.

MIXED MULTITUDE. See Mingled People.

MIZAR, THE HILL OF (מֵהַר מִצְעָר; [απο] ορογc μικρογ; [*de*] *monte minimo* [Jer.]), Ps. 42 6 [7]. It being assumed that the text is sound, Mizar has been thought to be the name either of one of the lower hills of Hermon (so GASm. *HG* 477; cp Che. *Ps.*(1); Kirkpatrick, Duhm), or of a mountain in the Gileadite ranges (Del., assuming the psalm to be Davidic), and modern names have been indicated which somewhat resemble Miṣ'ar (GASm.,[1] *l.c.*; *Th. L.-bl.*, 1882, p. 45, see Now.-Hupf. *Psalmen* 1 604). But the conjunction of a little-known hill or mountain with such a famous mountain-range as Hermon is most improbable, and the phrase 'little mountain'[2] (הר מצער) has, therefore, been taken to be a designation of Zion, which, though outwardly insignificant, to the eye of faith was far grander than Hermon, because Yahwè dwelt thereon (43 3; cp 68 15 [16] *f.*). In this case we must explain either (Smend, Baethgen) 'I think upon thee (O God!) far from the land of the Jordan and of the Hermons, far from the little mountain' (*i.e.*, though an exile from the land of Israel), or (Hitz.; Che. *OPs.* 115 316 *f.*; We.), 'I think upon thee now that I have reached the land (or 'above [all] the land,' as We.) of the Jordan and the Hermons (*i.e.*, the neighbourhood of the most famous sources of the Jordan), thou little mountain' (omitting the initial מ in מהר as due to dittography). Neither of these views, however, is satisfactory. There must be much deeper corruption than critics have suspected.

The passage (*v.* 6 [7]) must be treated, as a whole, from the point of view of a keen textual criticism. Probability is all that can be reached; but if we take this passage with others, in which a similar result seems almost forced upon us by criticism, the degree of probability may be considered to be high. Read therefore—

> Preserve me, [O Yahwè] my God, from the tribe of the Arabians,
> From the brood of the Jerahmeelites [rescue thou me].

The last word, תפלטני, is restored from 43 1, where nearly the same restoration of the distich is required. מהר מצער is a corruption of a dittographed מורע ירחמאלים. See Che. *Ps.*(2), *ad loc.*

On Pss. 42-43 44 120 137 140, in all of which the Jerahmeelites (*i.e.*, the Edomites), and in some the Arabians, are referred to, according to a plausibly emended text, as enemies of the Judahites or Judæans; see Psalms, §§ 28; cp also Lamentations.

T. K. C.

MIZPAH (הַמִּצְפָּה, 'the watchtower'; cp Mizpeh; μαccηφα [BℵAFL]).

1. A hill-town of Benjamin, Josh. 18 26, where it is called Mizpeh (μασσημα [B], μασφα [A]), near Gibeon (Jer. 41 12) and Jerusalem (1 Macc. 3 46), and, if Eusebius and Jerome may be followed, also near Kirjath-jearim (*OS* 278 97 138 14). Asa fortified it, 1 K. 15 22 (τὴν σκοπιάν [BAL]), and Gedaliah the governor adopted it as his place of residence, 2 K. 25 23 (μασσηφαθ [B]) Jer. 40 10 (μασηφα [ℵQ], but μασσηφαθ [Q] in *v.* 6 and Q^mg. 41 1 μασηφαθ [Q] *v.* 8). Into the great cistern constructed there by Asa, Ishmael, legend said, threw the dead bodies of the seventy pilgrims whom he had murdered after slaying the governor (Jer. 41 7-9). The hill on which Mizpah stood seems to have been regarded as sacred. The narrative in Judg. 21 (see *v.* 1) may be partly, and those in 1 S. 7 3-12 (μασσηφαθ [B] and A in *v.* 7[3]) 10 17-24 (μασσηφα [A]) even altogether, untrustworthy from a historical point of view (cp We. *Prol.*(4), 258); but they would hardly have contained references to the sanctity of Mizpah if there had not been a holy place there from very early times (cp Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 185). According to Jerome it was one of the places where the ark rested (*Quæst. Heb.* on 1 S. 7 2; so also Eus. *OS* 278 97), and—a more valuable authority—1 Macc. 3 46 describes it as containing an ancient Israelitish 'place of prayer,' such a spot perhaps as there was on the Mount of Olives (2 S. 15 32, RV). It was at this holy place that faithful Israelites gathered when the Syrians had profaned the temple (1 Macc. 3 46 54). The thrilling account may illustrate Ps. 74 (Che. *OPs.* 94), even if we regard this psalm as pre-Maccabæan (see Psalms, §§ 8 [*b*], 17 *f.*, 28 [v.]). We also hear of Mizpah as an administrative centre under the Persian rule (Neh. 3 7 [μασφα (L), BℵA om. *v.* 7] 19 [μασφε (BA), -α (L), μαμφε (ℵ)]). It was Robinson who first saw where with most probability its site may be placed (*BR* 1 460)—viz., on the mountain now called *Neby Samwīl*. This noble height rises 2935 ft. above the sea-level, and commands the most comprehensive view in southern Palestine, including within its range Jerusalem, which is only $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. off on the NW. (cp 1 Macc. 3 46, 'over against Jerusalem'). On a lower hill to the N. lies the village of *el-Jīb* (see Gibeon), which reminds us that the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah worked together on the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3 7).

Poels' attempt (*Le Sanctuaire de Kirjath-jearim*, 1894, part ii. chap. 1) to show that Gibeon and the town called ham-Miṣpah were two distinct places on the same sacred hill, to which the name ham-Miṣpah originally belonged, can hardly be taken seriously.

2. (הַמִּצְפָּה, Gen. 31 49 Judg. 11 11 34; מִצְפָּה, Hos. 5 1; מִצְפֵּה גִלְעָד, 'Mizpeh of Gilead,' Judg. 11 29). A town in Gilead where Jephthah resided; consecrated in sacred legend, as presented by E, by the compact of Laban and Jacob. It is the Ramath-mizpeh of Josh. 13 26, and is most probably to be identified with Penuel—*i.e.*, the citadel and sanctuary of Ṣalḥad—though, to suit the present narrative of JE in Gen. 31 46-54, it is plausible to identify it with Sūf, NW. of Jerash (see Gilead, § 4).

3. A 'land' or district (אֶרֶץ), and a 'valley' (בִּקְעָה), at the foot of Hermon, to the NE. of the waters of Merom, Josh. 11 3 (μασευμαν [B], μασσηφαθ [A]) 8 (μασσωχ [B], μασηκαφατ F], μασ[σ]ηφα [L]). In MT, which is followed by RV, the land is called the 'land of Mizpah' (הַמִּצְפָּה); but obviously the same region is meant, and we must read in both places either 'Mizpah' (L in both μασσηφα) or 'Mizpeh' (so Bennett, *SBOT*). In early times this district was inhabited by Hivites, or, according to a necessary correction, Hittites (see Moore, *Judges*, 81). Probably the Mizpah, or watchtower, was on some hill in one of the valleys of the Upper Jordan above Lake Ḥūleh. Robinson placed it at the mod. *Muṭalleh*, a Druse village, on a high hill, N. of *Ābil* and E. of *Nahr el-Ḥāṣbāny*. This, however, seems to be not far enough to the east. Buhl (*Pal.* 240) suggests the site of the castle on the mountain above *Bāniās* called *Ḳal'at eṣ-Ṣubēbeh*. Certainly the spot well deserves to be called Mizpeh.

T. K. C.

MIZPAR, or rather [RV] **Mispar** (מִסְפָּר; μαcφαρ [AL]), a leader (see Ezra ii., § 8*e*) in the post-exilic list (*ib.* ii., § 9), Ezra 2 2 (μαλcαρ [B]) = Neh. 7 7, Mispereth (מִסְפֶּרֶת; μαcφεραν [B], μαcφαραδ [ℵ], μααcφαραθ [A]) = 1 Esd. 5 8, Aspharasus (αcφαραcοc [BA]). This last form suggests a connection with Aspadata (אספדת) = ἀσπαδάτης (Ctesias); so Marq. *Fund.* 35. Some other names, however, in the same verse favour a connection with Misrephath, another form of Zarephath (?); cp Hassophereth.

T. K. C.

MIZPEH (מִצְפָּה, *i.e.*, 'watchtower'; μαccηφα [BAL]).

1. A town in the lowland of Judah, Josh. 15 38 (μασφα [BA], μασηφα [L], φασμα [B^a.b mg.]), mentioned in the same group with Lachish and Eglon. Eusebius records a Maspha or Massema 'in the district of Eleutheropolis on the north' (*OS*(2) 279 19). This agrees with the position of Tell eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh, which is $7\frac{1}{2}$ m. NNW. from Beit Jibrīn, and by Van de Velde and Guérin is identified with this Mizpeh (but cp Gath). There was,

[1] Names with the radicals mentioned by Smith are not uncommon in Palestine (*e.g.*, Wādy Za'ārah, S. of Bāniās).

[2] Cp Gen. 19 20, where Zoar is called מִצְעָר, 'a little thing'; but the text may be corrupt (see *Crit. Bib.*).

[3] In *v.* 5 θ sup ras B? vid., μασηφατι A^vid.; A has *v.* 6 -τ, *v.* 12 -α and in *v.* 11 A om. In *v.* 16 A has μασηφα.

however, a second Maspha on the way from Eleutheropolis to Jerusalem (Eus.). Jerome ($OS^{(2)}$ 139 5) fuses the two statements of Eusebius into one.

2. A town of Benjamin, Josh. 18 26 (*μασσημα* [B], *μασφα* [A]). See MIZPAH, 1.

3. (מִצְפֵּה מוֹאָב) a place in Moab visited by David in his wanderings; 1 S. 22 3 (*μασηφα* [A]). Consistency requires us to suppose the same place to be referred to in *v.* 5, reading בַּמִּצְפָּה for בַּמְּצוּדָה (Klo., Bu., HPSm., Buhl). The geography of the section, however, is improved if for מוֹאָב we read מצור—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), and for מִצְפָּה, צִפַּת. 'Adullam' is probably a disguise of 'Jerahmeel,' and 'Hareth' a corruption of 'Kadesh'; we should expect the original of MT's 'Mizpah of Moab' to be 'Zephath (or Zarephath) of Muṣri.'

4. Mizpeh of Gilead (Judg. 11 29). See MIZPAH, 2.

5. A region by Mt. Hermon (Josh. 11 8). See MIZPAH, 3.

T. K. C.

MIZRAIM (מִצְרַיִם; ΜΕϹΡΑΙΝ [AE]; ܡܨܪܝܢ *meṣrên*; ΜΕΡϹΗ, var. ΜΕϹΤΡΗ, and [for the 'son' of Ham] ΜΕΡϹΑΙΟϹ, var. ΜΕϹΡΑΙΟϹ, ΜΕϹΤΡΑΙΟϹ, ΜΕϹΡΑΜΟϹ [Jos.]), or **Miṣraim**; generally the Heb. name for Egypt or Lower Egypt, and hence, according to the prevalent view, represented in Gen. 10 as a 'son' of Ham, as a brother of Cush, and as the father of Pathrusim = Pathros (Gen. 10 6 [P] 13 14 [J]: Gen. 10 6 ΜΕϹΤΡΑΙΜ [*D*], 13 ΜΕϹΡΑΕΙΜ [E]; ΜΕϹΑΡΑΙΜ [L in both verses]).

The termination has been commonly regarded as dual, and as referring to the division of Egypt into Upper and Lower. It is better, however, to regard Miṣraim as a locative form, developed out of Miṣram (see especially E. Meyer, *GA* 1, § 42).

1. Form and meaning of the name.

This view is rejected by Dillmann and König,[1] but gives the easiest explanation of the facts, (1) that מִצְרַיִם, Miṣraim, is twice expressly distinguished from PATHROS (*q.v.*) or Upper Egypt (Is. 11 11 Jer. 44 1), and (2) that the collateral form מָצוֹר, Māṣōr, is also (see below) used of Lower Egypt. It is, moreover, the only view which does justice to the Bab. and Ass. forms.[2] These are Miṣri (Am. Tab., 2 1, etc.), Muṣur, Musuru, Muṣri, and (in the Babylonian versions of the inscriptions of Darius) Miṣir. There is also an old form Miṣṣari (Mi-iṣ-ṣa-ri), which occurs once in a letter from the king of Assyria to the king of Egypt (Am. Tab. 15 2), while the Mitannite letters favour Mašri or Mizirri (Wi. *Am. Tab. Glossary*, 39*).[3] The form Miṣṣari seems to Winckler to suggest *miṣṣōr*, מִצּוֹר, as the right punctuation of the form מצור; the Massoretic pointing *māṣōr*, מָצוֹר, is due to a faulty conjectural interpretation of Maṣor as 'fortification' or the like (cp Mic. 7 12, 𝔊 and AV). Maṣor (Miṣṣor) is generally recognised only in 2 K. 19 24 (= Is. 37 25) Mic. 7 12 Is. 19 6. Very possibly, however, מצר (מצור) at one time appeared more frequently in the Hebrew texts. Sometimes it may have been distorted or (see Klo., Che. on Is. 59 19) mutilated by the ordinary causes of corruption; sometimes it may have been altered into מצרים by editors, who may perhaps have imagined that they saw a sign of abbreviation after מִצְר. As to the meaning of the name we can be brief. Mizraim is certainly not *aquæ clausæ* (2 K. 19 24, Vg.), a view which Naville (Smith, $DB^{(2)}$) adopts, with the explanation 'water enclosed in dykes or walls, basins or canals' (cp n. 1), nor 'double fortified enclosure' (Ebers, *Aeg. u. d. BB. Mos.* 1 87). [W. Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 20 (1898), 40, attempted an Egyptian etymology *mz(ors)r*, 'fortification, wall,' thinking that the origin of Mizraim is to be sought for in the fortifications of the eastern frontier of the Delta, especially at the entrance to GOSHEN. As long as we cannot prove the use of *mzr* (?) in the wider sense, this theory possesses little probability. Besides, the pronunciation of the Egyptian word is doubtful.—W. M. M.]

Misraim, as the extended application of the name Muṣur (Miṣir) in Assyrian (see §§ 2 *a*, 2 *b*) suggests, is most probably an Assyrian appellative = 'frontier-land.' See Hommel, *GBA* 550, n. 2; Wi., *AOF* 1 25; and below, § 2 *b*, end.

Schrader long ago pointed out (*ZA*, 1874, p. 53) that the name Muṣri in the Assyrian inscriptions did not always mean Egypt. It was left for Winckler, however, to show that there was not only a N. Syrian but also a N. Arabian Muṣri, and to bring this discovery into relation to OT criticism.

2*a*. N. Syrian Muṣri.

About 1300 B.C. (Shalmaneser I.) and again about 1100 B.C. (Tiglath-pileser I.) we find the name Muṣri applied to a state in N. Syria, S. of the Taurus, which also included parts of Cappadocia, Cataonia, and Cilicia, and reached southward perhaps as far as the Orontes (see $RP^{(2)}$ 1 109 *f.*; *KB* 1 35; Rogers, *Bab. and Ass.* 2 12). In Ašur-naṣir-pal's time it is called Patin (so Wi., cp PADDAN-ARAM); but under Shalmaneser II. we again hear of a state—it is a very small one—called Muṣri, which sent auxiliaries to Benhadad at the battle of Ḳarḳar. As is pointed out elsewhere (see JEHORAM, § 2), this must be the state referred to in 2 K. 7 6 ('the kings of the Hittites and the kings of מצרים'), unless indeed we can believe (as J. Taylor well puts it) 'that the local Egyptian kings would serve as *condottieri* for Israel' (*Exp. T* 7 406 *f.*). Such a relation, however, might quite conceivably have been entered into by the kings of the Hittite territory and its neighbourhood. We may even go a step further, and criticise the common interpretation of 1 K. 10 28 *f.*, 2 Ch. 1 16 *f.* The question is, did the agents of Solomon procure horses and chariots (both for Solomon and—as the text stands—for the Hittite and Aramæan kings) from Egypt or from the N. Syrian land of Muṣri? It must be admitted that the critics before Winckler were somewhat credulous. Certainly, it may be assumed that the Egyptians bred horses for their own use.[1] But is it in the least probable that they ever had an export-trade in horses, when we consider the lack of extensive pastures in Egypt? Now that we know of a N. Syrian and Cilician Muṣri, we cannot help interpreting the מצרים in 1 K. 10 28 2 Ch. 1 16, as the name of that region. It would, indeed, be passing strange if, while the Egyptians themselves imported powerful stallions from N. Syria,[2] the Israelites should have imported horses from Egypt.[3] But did Israel import chariots as well as horses from Muṣri? Must the מצרים of 1 K. 10 29 be the N. Syrian Muṣri? We know that the Egyptians had the most perfect of chariots. Though in the first instance they had imported chariots from Syria, their workmen soon became independent and improved upon their teachers (see Maspero, *l.c.*, and cp CHARIOT, § 5). If we believe that Solomon had close friendly relations with Egypt, we may, if we

[1] König's argument against Meyer (*Theol. Lit.-blatt*, June 19, 1896) is by no means cogent. That the Phœnician מצרם might be a dual form, if there were no special reason to the contrary, may be admitted. But there is such a special reason (see above). König's reference (made already by Ges.) to an old Egyptian appellation for Egypt—ta-ui 'the two worlds (or lands)'—is not more relevant than Naville's (in Smith's $DB^{(2)}$, 861) to another title of Egypt (common in Ptolemaic times)—Kebḥui, 'the two basins' (rather 'the two cool, or pleasant, places')—and to the references to the two Niles (of Upper and Lower Egypt) in the inscriptions. [Egyptian sacred poetry revels in such allusions to the prehistoric two kingdoms (see EGYPT, § 43). Egypt has a double Nile, two classes of temples, etc. But these plays never entered into colloquial Egyptian, hence they can never have influenced the Asiatics. It is even questionable whether the designation 'both countries' (*taui* or *toui*) was constructed grammatically as a dual in common parlance after 1600 B.C.—W. M. M.] Jensen's suggestion of מִצְרִים (*ZDMG*, 1894, p. 439), which is also rejected by König, is, however, not impossible (in the Amarna inscriptions the usual form is Mi-iṣ-ri-i). It had already been made by Reinisch (see Ebers, 1 90) and Friedr. Delitzsch (*Par.* 309). Cp פַּשְׂדִּים.

[2] See Wi. *AT Unters.* 168-174, esp. 170, and cp Schr. *KGF* 246 *ff.*; Del. *Par.* 308 *ff.*

[3] Cp Mṣr in Minæan inscriptions, and Ar. Miṣr (Egyptian-Ar., Maṣr). Also old Pers. Mudhrāya (from Ass. Muṣur, Muṣri), and the form **Μυσρα** ascribed by Steph. Byz. to the Phœnicians (?).

[1] See Erman, quoted by Wi. (*op cit.* 173).

[2] See Maspero, *Struggle of Nations*, 215, with the references.

[3] The 'great horses' which Ašur-bāni-pal (Annals, 2 40; *KB* 2 169) took as booty from the Egyptian city of Kipḳip may or may not have been all bred in Egypt. Nowhere is any reference made by Assyrian kings to Egyptian horses as tribute; the supply would have been insufficient. Ašur-bāni-pal himself *gave* chariots and horses to Necho (Annals, 2 14; *KB* 2 167). See HORSE.

will, suppose that he procured a few chariots from Egypt as models,[1] and that the compiler of 1 K. 10 28 *f.* interwove a tradition respecting the chariots imported from Mizraim (Egypt) with a tradition respecting the import of horses from the N. Syrian Muṣri (and Ḳuë, or E. Cilicia). The connection of Solomon, however, with Egypt is very disputable; it was probably with the N. Arabian Muṣri that he was connected by marriage. Moreover, as we shall see presently, Solomon's agents were not Israelites, but merchants of the Hittites and of Syria. These merchants had of course no dealings with Egypt. The source of supply for Solomon's horses and chariots was the N. Syrian Muṣri; not only this district, however, but also the region called Ḳuë, or Eastern Cilicia. מקוה in *v.* 28, as Lenormant (*Orig. de l'hist.* 39) and Winckler (*AT Unt.* 174) have pointed out,[2] most probably enfolds this long-lost name (Ḳuë).[3] We know from Herodotus (3 90) that Cilicia was a famous horse-breeding country, and from Ezekiel (27 14) that the Tyrians obtained their horses from Togarmah, at any rate from Asia Minor.

The whole passage should possibly run nearly as follows:—'And the source from which Solomon's horses were derived was Muṣri, and the king's young steeds used to be fetched from Ḳuē. And a chariot was estimated at 600 pieces of silver. And [ ] pieces of silver [they used to pay] for a young steed to the merchants of the Hittites and of Syria, by whom they were exported.' With Ruben (*JQR* 10 543) read יֻקְחוּ for יִקְחוּ; the word should close *v.* 28. For סחרי read סחירי (see Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.* 'Suḫiru'), and for בִּמְחִיר read בסחיר transferring it to *v.* 29*b*. Omit ותצא and כל (Ruben). For כן read perhaps כסף and for מלכי read רכלי (Che.).

In 2 K. 7 6 (siege of Samaria) we should also apparently read מצרים, and explain it of the N. Syrian Muṣri (see Jerohoram, § 2).

We turn to another Muṣri. It was not, as Schrader (*KB* 2 21) thought, over the marches towards the Egyptian Muṣri that Tiglath-pileser appointed Idi-bi'il (see ADBEEL) governor, but over a distinct, though not far distant, Muṣri in N. Arabia, bordering on Edom.

2*b*. N. Arabian Muṣri.

Nor was it in Egypt that Ḫanunu of Gaza and Yaman of Ashdod sought refuge from the Assyrians, but in a nearer country, the N. Arabian Muṣri, which was in Yaman's time under the supremacy of the king of Meluḫḫa (in N. Arabia; see SINAI, map). Further, the king whom Sargon calls 'Pir'u šar (mat) Muṣuri' was, not the Egyptian Pharaoh (Schr. *KAT*(2), 397), but a N. Arabian king (the next sovereign mentioned is Samsieh, queen of Arabia). This turtan (=tartan), or general, is Sib'e; he joined Ḫanun of Gaza, and fled from the field of battle; he is commonly but incorrectly known as 'So, king of Egypt' (see SO). Now it was only to be expected that some references to this Muṣri in the OT should become visible to keen eyes. It is with a shock of surprise, however, that we gradually find out how many they are.[4] We are still further startled to hear that there was not only a Muṣri but also a Kuš (Cush) in N. Arabia (see CUSH, 2); we find, however, that a flood of light is thrown thereby on a very large group of interesting passages. Caution no doubt is necessary. Winckler's theory, that the belief in the early residence of Israelitish tribes in Egypt arose *simply and solely* out of a confusion of the N. Arabian with the Egyptian Muṣri, is at any rate very plausible (see MOSES, §§ 2 *ff.*, but cp EXODUS i.).[5] And it is in the highest degree likely that, in the original tradition, Hagar ham-miṣrīth (EV 'the Egyptian') came not from Egypt but from N. Arabia (see BEER-LAHAI-ROI), and that the Pharaoh (Pir'u?) or Abimelech (Jerahmeel?) with whom, in duplicate forms of the same story, Abraham and Isaac are brought into connection, was a king of the N. Arabian Muṣri (see ABIMELECH, GERAR). In the description of the district which Lot chose it is probably Miṣrim, not Miṣraim, that should be read, though some will demur to this on account of the interference with the text which Winckler (rightly) allows himself (Gen. 13 10 *f.*). There can hardly be a doubt, too, that ABEL-MIZRAIM [*q.v.*] originally meant 'Abel in the land of Muṣri,' and that the phrase נחל מצרים originally meant, not 'the Egyptian Wādy,' but 'the Wādy (or Torrent) of Muṣri' in N. Arabia (see EGYPT, RIVER OF).

The present writer has sought to show that the land to which Abraham was sent with his son Isaac, according to Gen. 22, was Muṣri, not 'Moriah' (see ISAAC, MORIAH), and that Dinhabah (Gen. 36 32), and Pethor, from which Balaam came (Nu. 22 5*a*) are merely corruptions of Rehoboth (by the river of Muṣri), and Mezahab and Dizahab corruptions of מצרים (Gen. 36 39; Dt. 1 1; see BELA, MATRED, PETHOR, etc.). So too the family of Jarḥa traced its origin, no doubt, to a Miṣrite or Muṣrite, not to an Egyptian ancestor (see JARHA, JERAHMEEL). The slave left behind by an Amalekite in the story of the capture of Ziklag (1 S. 30 13), and the tall foe of Benaiah, who was slain by his own spear in the hand of Benaiah (2 S. 23 21), were also both Muṣrites. It was the king of Miṣrim who gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon and conquered Gezer for his son-in-law (1 K. 9 16; see SOLOMON), and Miṣrim, not Miṣraim, should be read in 1 K. 5 1 [4 21] 8 65. It was also with the N. Arabian Muṣri that JEROBOAM [*q.v.*] was connected through his mother, and there he took refuge from the wrath of Solomon; and the same country gave a home to another adversary of Solomon (who likewise had a Muṣrite mother), Hadad the Edomite (see HADAD, § 3).

That Muṣri had close relations with Palestine in later times, we have seen already (story of Ḥanun and Yaman). The story of Elijah also contains indications of the same important fact. It was probably 'Arabians,' not 'ravens,' that the original text represented as the friends of Elijah, and the 'brook Cherith' should be the 'wady of Rehoboth' (see CHERITH, RAVEN). A pre-exilic writer too, gives, most probably, a list of districts bordering on N. Arabia as 'sons' of Miṣrim (not Mizraim) in Gen. 10 13 *f.*, whilst Miṣrim itself is, according to P, a 'son' of Ham (Jerahmeel).[1] P of course is not himself pre-exilic; but we can at any rate refer to the prophecies of Isaiah; Is. 20 in its most original form, and 30 6 7 *a*, according to the original meaning, speak of Miṣrim not of Miṣraim. (See 'Isaiah,' *SBOT* 98, 102. On 1 K. 14 25, see SHISHAK.)

The N. Arabian Muṣri is also very probably referred to in Am. 1 9 and 3 9,[2] also, by an archaism, in many other late passages, only a few of which can be mentioned, *e.g.*, Is. 43 3 45 14 [*SBOT*, 140], Joel 3 [4] 4[3] 19, Hab. 3 7, Lam. 4 21 5 6, Ps. 60 11 [9] 83 8 [7] 87 4 120 5 and, probably, elsewhere in the Psalter (see PSALMS, LAMENTATIONS).

Glancing once more in conclusion at the origin of the form Mizraim, we cannot help seeing how well E. Meyer's view (see § 1) agrees with the theory adopted

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1 More than a few chariots for Palestine would have taxed the resources of the Egyptians too much. They were not rich in timber.

2 Cp Ki. ('Chron.' *SBOT*), Maspero (*Struggle of Nations*, 740). Maspero's theory of 1 K. 10 28 *f.* is improbable.

3 See Schr. *KGF* 236 *ff.*; Tiele, *BAG* 153; cp in 1 K. 𝔊 ἐκ θεκουε and the Hexaplar variant εκ κωα; 𝔊L adds καὶ ἐκ δαμασκοῦ.

4 The biblical references which follow are partly due to the keen insight of Winckler. Take them altogether, and they seem almost to open up a new stage in OT criticism and history; but the student will be amply rewarded for the trouble of investigating and appropriating even a few of the chief results.

5 It is no drawback to Winckler's originality that an Englishman, Dr. C. T. Beke, in 1834 anticipated him as to the general situation of the מצרים of the Exodus (see EXODUS, § 4; MOSES, § 6). Though noticed in due time by Ewald, the leading OT scholar of the day, the suggestion produced no impression upon criticism. Internal evidence was not enough; archæological data were necessary to complete the proof, or at any rate to enforce a respectful consideration of the hypothesis.

1 According to the view proposed here and in *Crit. Bib.*, Gen. 10 13 *f.* should run thus (on *vv.* 10-12 see NIMROD)—'And Miṣrim begat Carmelites, and Meonites, and Baalathites, and Tappuhites, and Zarephathites, and Ziklagites, and Rehobothites, from whence came forth the Pelištim [to fight with David; cp 2 S. 21 18-22].' All these are places in S. Judah or on its border; the substitution of 'Rehobothites' for 'Caphtorim' and of 'Zarephathites' for Pathrusim may specially deserve attention.

2 See the cogent argument of Wi., *Muṣri* 2 (1898), 8 *f.* It should be noted that Am. 1 10 corresponds with 3 9 where the 'palaces' or 'fortresses' in the land of מצרים are mentioned. The writer assumes that the capital of Muṣri was called מצר. See AMOS, § 9.

3 'O Tyre and Zidon' (צר וצידון) should probably be 'O Miṣṣur' (מצור); N. Arabia is meant. 'Philistia' (פלשת) should perhaps be 'Zarephath,' a place and district which were reckoned to the N. Arabian Muṣri. See ZAREPHATH.

above from Winckler. In fact, in a Minæan inscription (*Hal.* 535) we find the terms Miṣran and al-Miṣr used indifferently for the same N. Arabian region (Wi. *AOF* 337). See especially Winckler, '*Muṣri, Meluḫḫa, Ma'în*,' I. and II. in the *MVG*, 1898. It should be noticed in connection with this subject (1) that there are textual phenomena—too many to be mentioned here—which strongly favour the theory that מצרים is often wrongly pointed מִצְרַיִם; (2) that historical results are appearing which clear up various obscure parts of the Hebrew historical tradition; and (3) that there are other ethnics and place-names which have been misread in certain contexts, and which, if correctly restored, illustrate and confirm the view here given respecting מצרים, among which may be especially mentioned מואב for מִצּוּר (see MOAB, iii.), שכם for כֻּשָׁם (see SHECHEM, and SHECHEM, TOWER OF), עמון for עֲמָלֵק, יְרָלִים for Jerahmeel, Jerahmeelim (see JERAHMEEL, MOSES, § 6 *f.*), חברון, כרית, and כרתי for רְחוֹבֹת, רְחוֹבֹתִי, (see REHOBOTH), אשור for גְּשׁוּר (see GESHUR, 2), חרשת for קָדֵשׁ (see SISERA), etc. It is not necessary to accept all these in order to do justice to the arguments in favour of מִצּוּר (מָצוֹר?) and מִצְרַיִם; but it is needful to see that the foundations of Israelite history have to be re-examined, and to realise that we have now fully passed the stage of merely speculative inquiry, and are reaching or have reached that of well-assured methodical investigation. If our general theory is sound, nothing indeed is stranger than the regularity with which scribes make their mistakes, and editors, under the influence of historical theory, their conjectural corrections. T. K. C.

The following illustrative passages from the inscriptions, relative to the N. Arabian Muṣri and Kuš, are taken chiefly from Schrader, *KAT*(2):—

1. p. 289, *l.* 73. Šarrāni māt Muṣri, the kings of Muṣur, mentioned along with the kings of Miluḫḫi (cp 80, 81).

2. p. 255, *l.* 19 *ff.*, and Wi. *AOF* i. 26. Ḥanunu of Gaza fled to māt Muṣri. Cp 396 *f.*; the same Ḥanunu joins Sab-'i, who is called silṭannu (or turtannu) māt Muṣri, on which see Wi. *AOF* i. 26 *f.* Both together march against Sargon at Raphia. In *l.* 3 of the second inscription pir'u šar māt Muṣri occurs. Pir'u is not, as Schrader supposed in 1883 = Pharaoh, but the *name* of a N. Arabian king; he is mentioned with a N. Arabian queen, Samsieh, and a Sabæan, It'amar.

3. p. 398, *l.* 6 *f.*; cp Wi. 27. Sargon advances against Yaman; who flees 'ana iti māt Muṣuri ša pa-aṭ māt Miluḫḫa innabit'—*i.e.*, towards the district of Muṣur which belongs to Meluḫḫa. See ASHDOD.

4. p. 301, *l.* 23; Wi. 27; šar māt Muṣuri mentioned between Ashkelon and Ekron-and-Meluḫḫa—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian region, including, as Wi. contends, the lands of Muṣri and Kus.

5. A fragment (Rm. 284) of Esar-haddon's Annals (Wi. *AOF* ii., 17 *f.*). 'Esar-haddon, king of Aššur, *šakkanak* of Babylon . . . Kus, whither none of my fathers . . . [messengers] had sent, [answer] had not come back, . . . whither birds do not fly (?).'

This is illustrated by the description which Esar-haddon gives in a fragment of his Annals (Budge, *Hist. of Esar-haddon*, 114 *ff.*; cp Wi. *Unters.* 97 *f.*), in which the king, speaking of his second Egyptian campaign, says, 'From the country of Egypt the camp I withdrew, and to the land of Meluḫḫa I set straight the road (expedition) . . . Four kasbu of ground, a journey of two days, snakes (with) two heads . . . of death, and I trampled upon . . . gazelles, of lizards winged (?) . . . The god Merodach, the great lord (to my) help came, he saved the life of my army.' This passage, indeed, is of illustrative value, not only for the frequent relation to Kus just quoted, but also for the striking description in Is. 30 6*b* 7*a*, which (see ISAIAH [BOOK], § 11) really refers to the flight of Ḥanunu of Gaza to Pir'u king of the N. Arabian Muṣri. The Assyrian and the Hebrew descriptions of the inhospitable region traversed are in singular agreement. We should remember, in reading the former, that Esar-haddon sought to bring all Arabia under the supremacy of Assyria.

6. Esar-haddon's account of his tenth campaign (Budge, 117). The phrase 'which (is called) in the language of the men of the land of Kus and Muṣur' can hardly refer, as Budge thought in 1880, to Ethiopia and Egypt. The order of the names would have been the reverse. So Winckler, *Muṣri* ii., 2, who gives another illustrative passage which need not be quoted.

MIZZAH (מִזָּה; § 32 n.), one of the four 'sons' of Reuel b. Esau; Gen. 36 13 17 1 Ch. 1 37 (in Gen. ΜΟΖΕ, but ΜΟΖΑΙ [D] in *v.* 17; in Ch. ΟΜΟΖΕ [B], ΜΟΧΕ [A], ΜΑΖΕ [L]). See EDOM, and cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7, col. 1665.

MNASON (ΜΝΑΣΩΝ [Ti. WH]), a man of Cyprus, and 'an old disciple,' in whose house in Jerusalem Paul lodged on the occasion of his last recorded visit to that city (Acts 21 16), the apostle and his party having been conducted thither by the friends from Cæsarea.

In EV Mnason is represented as having accompanied the party from Cæsarea; but ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνί τινι ought rather to be resolved into ἄγ. πρὸς Μνάσ. ἵνα ξενισθῶμεν παρ' αὐτῷ, and translated 'bringing us to one Mnason . . . with whom we should lodge.' D Syr. p. marg. for ἄγοντες κ.τ.λ. reads as follows: οὗτοι δὲ ἤγαγον ἡμᾶς πρὸς οὓς ξενισθῶμεν, καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἴς τινα κώμην ἐγενόμεθα παρὰ Μνάσωνι Κυπρίῳ, μαθητῇ ἀρχαίῳ. κἀκεῖθεν ἐξιόντες ἤλθομεν εἰς Ἱερ., ὑπεδέξαντό (Tisch. ὑπέδεξάν) τε ἡμᾶς ἀσμένως οἱ ἀδελφοί—thus making out Mnason to have been Paul's host, not at Jerusalem, but at some village intermediate between Cæsarea and Jerusalem. The reading is accepted by Blass, Holtzmann, and Hilgenfeld; but, as Wendt (*ad loc.*, 1899), remarks, it is not easy to see how such a reading, had it been the original one, should have disappeared from the received text, whilst, on the other hand, its introduction into the received text may be easily explained as due to a certain difficulty caused by *v.* 17, which seemed to imply that Paul did not arrive in Jerusalem until after he had been with Mnason.

Mnason is conjectured to have been a Hellenist and to have belonged to that circle of the (Hellenistic) 'brethren' by whom Paul was received gladly the day before he presented himself to James and the (Judaistic) elders (*v.* 17 *f.*). The designation 'old disciple' (ἀρχαῖος μαθητής) is perhaps to be associated with the 'at the beginning' (ἐν ἀρχῇ) of Acts 11 15; he may have been one of the men of Cyprus who were driven from Jerusalem by the persecution after the death of Stephen, and may have been first introduced to Paul at Antioch.

MOAB

1. Name and geographical terms.

The exact form of the name is tolerably certain; Heb. מוֹאָב, Gen. 19 37, and 178 times (acc. to BDB), once מֹאָב,; 2 S. 8 12; 𝔊 ΜΩΑΒ, ΜΩΑΒ[Ε]ΙΤΗΣ, Η ΜΩΑΒ[Ε]ΙΤΙΣ; Ass. *Mu-'-a-ba*, but also *Ma-'-ba*, *Ma-'-ab*, *Ma-'a-ab* (Schr. *KAT* 140, 257, 355 and Glossary; Del. *Par.* 294 *ff.*), MI מאב. The etymology offered in Gen. 19 37 is hardly sufficient proof that Mō'ab was ever slurred to Mē'ab, though such change was possible (Nestle, *St. Kr.*, 1892, p. 573). The etymology in question is given in the Greek of Gen. 19 37, λέγουσα ἐκ τοῦ πατρός μου, which Ball (*SBOT*) adds to the MT: לֵאמֹר מֵאָבִי. Neither this derivation, however, nor an alternative of similar meaning (Ges. *Thes.*) can be the real one. The form seems participial, and the Heb. יאב, 'to desire,' has been suggested, as if Moab = 'the desirable' land or people. It is more in accordance with what we know of the Moabite tongue to seek for the root in Arabic, where, however, the only possible one is *wa'aba*, 'to be affected with shame or anger.'

To this question is allied the other, of the original and principal object of the name. Some authorities (*e.g.*, Bennett in Hast. *BD* 3 403) take this to have been the land. The Hebrew evidence, however, rather points to the people.

It is indeed doubtful whether in any OT passage 'Moab' by itself means the land. BDB *s.v.* cites Nu. 21 11 as a passage where the land is meant; but in *v.* 13 Moab is parallel to the gentilic Amorite: in *v.* 15 also it is the people. 'Moab' is not necessarily the land even in Judg. 3 29, nor in Am. 2 1 *f.*, nor Zeph. 2 9 (parallel to Ammonites); and everywhere else the people are obviously meant.

This evidence is confirmed by the facts: that Moab has not survived as a geographical term; that the Greek translators found it necessary to form the geographical expression Μωαβεῖτις; and that similarly in Hebrew itself when the territory is intended one or other of several compound expressions is used: ארץ מואב, 'land of Moab' both in D (and Dt. 1 5 28 69 [29 1] 34 5 *f.* and Dt. passages in other books, *e.g.*, Judg. 11 15 *ff.*) and

in P (Dt. 32 49); שדה מואב, 'territory of Moab' E (? Nu. 21 20); שדי מ' in P (Gen. 36 35) and in Ruth 1 1 *f.* 6*b* 2 6 4 3. Other names for parts of the territory are הַמִּישׁוֹר, 'the tableland,' in P (Josh. 13 10 16 *ff.* 20 8); probably also שָׁרוֹן (1 Ch. 5 16, cp *HG* 548) from the same root; מדבר מואב, 'wilderness of M.' (Dt. 2 8)=מ' קדמות, 'wilderness of Kedemoth' or 'the eastern parts' (Dt. 2 26); עַרְבוֹת מוֹאָב, 'steppes of M.,' the parts of the Arabah opposite Jericho on the E. of Jordan: always in P (Nu. 22 1 26 3 63 31 12 33 50 36 13 Dt. 34 1*a* 8 Josh. 13 32);[1] אֶרֶץ יַעְזֵר, 'the land of Ja'azer,' is used by JE (Nu. 32 1) for the bulk of the country; and in Ezek. 25 9 we find כֶּתֶף מוֹאָב, 'shoulder of Moab,' doubtless meaning the ridge above the Dead Sea.[2]

2. Boundaries. The natural boundaries of the land of Moab are well defined except in the N., where there is practically no frontier. To the E. lies the Arabian desert; but even here the line between arable land, on which men may settle, and the real desert suitable only for nomads, is indeterminate. As the ruins of towns, however, all cease before the Ḥajj (Mecca pilgrimage) road is reached, and as very few of the wadies rise farther E., the road may be taken as a conventional boundary in that direction. On the S., Is. 15 7 gives the נַחַל הָעֲרָבִים ('torrent valley of the Poplars': see ARABAH [BROOK]) as the frontier; this is probably the long Wādy el Ḥasy (or Ḥesi or Ḥessi of the PEF reduced map, or el-Aḥsā of some travellers), running up SE. from the south end of the Dead Sea, and described by Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 26) as dividing the uplands of Moab from those of Edom (the מִדְבַּר אֱדוֹם, 'wilderness of E.,' 2 K. 3 8). On the W. the boundary was the Dead Sea and the Jordan. On the N. and NE. lay the territory of Ammon; but here there are no natural features conspicuous enough to form a boundary. When Moab's political frontier lay so far N. it probably took a diagonal direction, running SE. from the torrent valley now called W. Nimrīn, to the present Ḥajj road: there are no Moabite towns identifiable at any distance to the N. of W. Ḥesbān (but see under AMMON and JAZER). Within these boundaries, measuring from the W. Nimrin on the N. to the W. el-Ḥasy on the S. and from the Dead Sea coast on the W. to the Ḥajj road on the E., we get a territory about 60 m. long by 30 broad; but the actual utmost length of Moab may have been rather under than over 50 m.; of the breadth, not more than two-thirds was ever cultivated or settled land.

3. Character of region. The bulk of this territory consists of high tableland on much the same level as the great deserts to the E. of it, but broken by several wide, deep, and precipitous cañons across the greater part of its breadth, and by many shorter, but as abrupt, glens immediately above the Dead Sea.[3] *In other words, Moab is but the cracked and gaping edge of the great Arabian plateau.* The elevation is from 2300 to 3300 above the Mediterranean, or from 3600 to 4600 above the Dead Sea;[4] rising slowly from N. to S., and as a rule a very little higher along the W. edge (before the promontories run out) than towards the desert, to which there is a slight dip. The geology is the same as that of the range on the other side of the great Jordan fault: a basis of Nubian sandstone (as can be seen in the cañons and along the Dead Sea coast) rising to 1000 ft. above the Mediterranean; upon that a crystalline limestone some 1500 ft. thick; and then 500 ft. of soft cretaceous limestone, on which lies the soil of the plateau.[1] The springs all rise at the junction of the hard and soft limestone. Thus the plateau itself is without them; but they are found in all the cañons and glens, which for the most part have in consequence perennial streams. As throughout Eastern Palestine, there are volcanic features: scattered outbreaks of black basalt, many of them with warm and sulphurous fountains. The rainfall is 'fair' (Wilson, *PEFQ*, 1899, p. 309), 'the climate colder than that of W. Palestine, and snowstorms[2] are not uncommon in winter and spring, and then the easterly winds are very cold. The summer is hot, but the nights cool' (*ibid.*).

Seen from Western Palestine, with the Dead Sea between, Moab presents the appearance of a mountain-wall (mountains of the ABARIM [*q.v.*]), the red sandstone glowing above the blue waters, and broken only by two or three valleys, of which the Mōjib or Arnon offers the widest gap. Seen from the Jordan valley, the range of 'Abārim breaks up into what seem separate mountains, rising from the Dead Sea by slope and precipice to a height of 3000 and 4000 ft.; but in reality these are not so much mountains as piers or promontories of the plateau, at pretty much the same level as the latter. Behind them runs, a very little higher than they, its long western ridge (already referred to), from which the plateau slopes very gently to the desert.

The general exposure of the plateau is thus eastwards and to the desert; the slight western ridge shuts out the view to the W. From the similar geology, the scenery of the plateau is very like that of the hill-country of Judæa. In most localities one would not know the difference, except that in Judah the inhabitant always feels the great gulf lying to the E. and isolating the land from the rest of Asia; whilst from Moab the open desert rolls eastward without trench or bulwark between. This fact is pregnant with much of the distinction between the histories of the two countries. In Moab you never feel out of touch with Arabia; but Western Palestine belongs to the Levant.

The limestone soil of Moab, though often shallow, stony, and broken by ridges and scalps of rock, is extremely fertile, and produces, without artificial additions, large crops of wheat. Every traveller has been impressed with this. Visiting it in March, Bliss calls it 'the green plateau' (*PEFQ*, 1895, p. 205); even in July (1891), when the present writer was there, though the general aspect was brown and white, the amount of edible grass was considerable and the still unreaped fields were heavily laden with corn. In the town of Kerak, Doughty says (*Ar. Des.* 1 22, cp 12 *f.*) that grain 'is almost as the sand.' Where there is no cultivation the high healthy moors are tolerably covered with rich aromatic pasture and scattered bushes of 'retem' or broom; and in the hollows, upon the non-porous limestone, the grass grows high and thick (*ib.* 27), and even the surrounding slopes are in spring 'staidly green' (Bliss, *op. cit.* 213). With the nomadic character of so many of the present population, there are few vineyards (only about Kerak); but the English survey discovered many ancient winepresses, especially about Heshbon and about Sibmah in the Jordan valley. The plateau itself is almost absolutely treeless,[3] and the slopes towards the Jordan valley bear little more than thorns and thistles; but in the well-watered cañons there is *much bush, tamarisks are frequent, and especially long* lovely groves of oleander; in places rushes and ferns grow luxuriantly. Consequently there is a wealth of bird-life (Tristram, *Land of Moab*); wolves, jackals, hyænas, gazelles, wild cows, and the *beden* or ibex are

1 [It is not impossible that in documents used by the writers of our present Hexateuch the geography differed in important respects from that which we find in this work, and that the geographical difficulties which this work presents are largely owing to this. See special articles on the place-names, and WANDERINGS. *Thus 'Moab' may often have come from Miṣṣur (the N. Arabian* Muṣri; see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), and 'Arboth-Moab may have been corrupted out of 'Arāb-miṣṣur.—T. K. C.]

2 See col. 3170, n. 2.

3 The surface falls into two parts: N. of W. Wāleh there is a rolling plain, now part of the Belḳā', and probably the *Mīšōr* of Josh. 13 16, etc. (see § 1): it is broken only by short glens in the W. From W. Wāleh southwards the surface is broken as far E. as the desert by the great cañons.

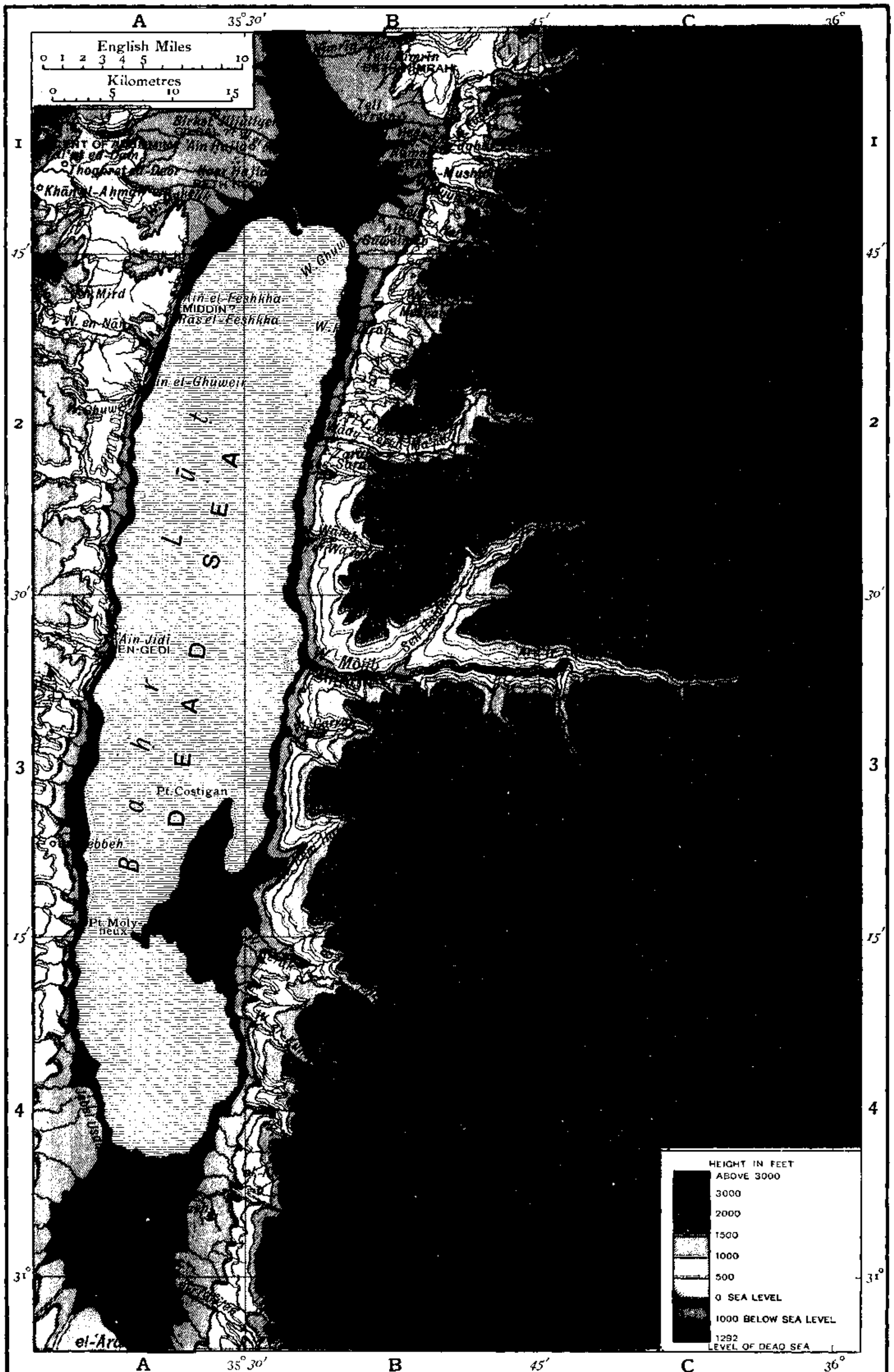
4 The PEF Survey Maps give the following heights from N. to S. Elealeh 3064 (on a height above the surrounding plateau), Heshbon 2964, Mt. Nebo 2643 (rather below the plateau), Medeba 2380 (?); other neighbouring figures are 2600, 2700, 2800; Kerak is 3323, Mōteh 2800, Jafar 4114 (?). The figures on the Ḥajj road from N. to S. run 2400, 2700, 2500, 2900.

1 Cp Conder, Append. A to *PEFM*, *Heth and Moab;* Wilson, *PEFQ*, 1899, p. 307.

2 In Feb. 1898 Brünnow was delayed by deep snow in the Belḳā' (*MDPV*, 1899, p. 24).

3 Whilst Gilead is thickly wooded, the woods cease S. of the Jabbok; here the only wood is the Ḥirsh el-'Amrīyeh. See *PEF Survey*, *E. Pal.*, 109, cp group of firs at eṣ-Ṣinōbarāt, *i.e.*, 'the Firs' (*idem*, 220).

MOAB.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

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MOAB

all found (*Heth and Moab*, 122 *f.*). Bees abound, and there is considerable cultivation of honey.

4. Watercourses and headlands.

The principal valleys with watercourses and intervening mountains or headlands are the following, beginning from the N. First, there are a dozen or more short watercourses (of which the longest is hardly 16 m.) falling rapidly from the surface level of the hard limestone, 2500 ft. above the Mediterranean, by more or less narrow glens, almost straight into the Jordan valley and Dead Sea, 1290 ft. below the Mediterranean. They contain shallow burns or brooks of water. The chief are the Wādies Nimrīn, Kefrein, Ḳuṣeib, Ḥesbān, 'Ayūn Mūsā, el-Jideid, el-Meshabbeh. 'Ain Ḥesbān (see HESHBON) is about 500 ft. below the village of that name, and gives birth to a considerable stream of pure water in a valley with many gardens and some ancient ruins. The headland between Wādy Ḥesbān and W. 'Ayūn Mūsā, el-Mešuḳḳar, is probably the biblical BETH-PEOR (*q.v.*; פעור probably = 'gorge' or 'pass'). The next headland, that to the S. of the W. 'Ayūn Mūsā, still bears the name Nebā, and may [as the text stands] confidently be identified with the Mt. Nebo of P, for which E and D give 'the Pisgah' (see *HG*, 563 *f.*; but cp NEBO, MOUNT). The ASHDOTH PISGAH are the barren terraces and steep slopes, covered with thistles only, which fall down into the W. 'Ayūn Mūsā, and the Seil el-Ḥery or W. Jideid. The W. 'Ayūn Mūsā would therefore be the 'glen' of Nu. 21 20; though some prefer for this the W. Ḥesbān. The headland S. of W. Meshabbeh is taken by Conder and others to be Beth-peor; behind it on the plateau is Mā'īn, probably BAALME'ON.

5. The three cañons.

After this series of short watercourses and intervening headlands we have the three large cañons, which, with some of their tributaries, break from the desert itself. At first broad, shallow basins, they slowly shelve westward, narrowing as they deepen to some thousands of feet below the level of the plateau; with colossal cliffs and, in some places before they reach their mouths on the Dead Sea coast, narrow ravines, almost impassable.

The first of these great trenches is the Wādy Zerḳā Ma'īn, with sources so far N. as the southern side of the watershed from the 'Ammān, in Ammonite territory, and draining the whole of the northern plateau. The higher elevation of the plateau to the S. prevents any but the most meagre of tributaries from that direction. Ten miles from the Dead Sea the W. Zerḳā Ma'īn is nearly 2 m. wide from lip to lip and 1400 ft. deep. The whole of the stream in the Wady (not merely the hot wells upon it) appear to be the Καλλιῤῥόη, Callirrhoe, of Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 6 5; *BJ* i. 33 5) and Pliny (*NH* v. 16 72).

Josephus places 'down upon it' (*κατά*) the hot baths to which Herod was carried.[1] *BJ* vii. 6 3 seems to describe the same wells in the valley to the N. of Machærus (the modern Mkaur on the headland to the S. of W. Zerḳā Ma'īn) under the name of Βαάρας, in which Greek form one may perhaps recognise בארות. Jerome (*OS s. Beelmeon*) gives the name as 'Baaru in Arabia [*i.e.*, in the Roman province of that designation] ubi aquas calidas sponte humus effert' (while under *Cariathaim* he mentions Baare 10 R. m. W. of Medeba). Now 4½ m. from the mouth of the W. Zerḳā Ma'īn, and due N. from Mkaur, there are hot wells: four large and some smaller, of which the hottest have a temperature of about 140° F. with strong deposits of sulphur. Ancient roads have been traced leading to the spot (which lies on the N. side of the shallow stream in a ravine 120 ft. broad, with luxuriant vegetation); and Roman medals with tiles and pottery have been discovered (see Seetzen, *Reisen*, 2 336 *f.*, Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, 144 *f.*, Tristram, *Moab*, Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 145, 149). The identity of the W. Zerḳā Ma'īn with Callirrhoe is therefore tolerably certain. Conder suggests the same Wady and stream as the Nahaliel of Nu. 21 19 (see, however, NAHALIEL). S. of the W. Zerḳā Ma'īn, the plateau bears one of its few high eminences, Jebel 'Attārūs (c. 4000 ft.); see ATAROTH. In this connection we may refer to Buhl's suggestion (*Pal.* 124) as to the הַר הָעֵמֶק of Josh. 13 19 (see ZARETH-SHAHAR; cp 'Zārah, *PEF Survey*, 289).

The next cañon southwards is the Wādy Mōjib, the biblical ARNON. The main branch starting in the wilderness of KEDEMOTH [*q.v.*] receives its first considerable contribution of water from the Rās el-Mōjib, a fountainhead some 5 m. W. of the Ḥajj road. The stream after running through a shallow depression falls in a cascade over 30 ft. high into a valley, which deepens rapidly (Buhl, *Pal.*, after Langer's *Reisebericht* 16 *ff.*). From the S. it is met by a wady, in which three have joined: the W. es-Sulṭān, the Seil Lej(j)ūn, with their sources not far from Ḳaṭrāneh on the Ḥajj road, and a shorter W. Balu'a. See the new survey (which differs from previous accounts) by Bliss, *PEFQ*, 1895, pp. 215 *ff.*, with map, p. 204. Again, about 4½ m. from the mouth it receives from the N. the W. Wāleh with tributaries draining the plateau from as far N. as the Ḳal'at el Belḳā' on the Ḥajj road. In biblical times all (or at least all except the last) of these branches appear to have borne the name Arnon: cp the plural phrase 'valleys of Arnon' in Nu. 21 14[1] (on *vv.* 14 *f.*, cp VAHEB).

The main valley where it is crossed by the great high road of Moab (about 8 or 9 m. from the Dead Sea) is some 2000 ft. deep, with cliffs which have impressed every traveller: 'the cliff of the valleys,' Nu. 21 15; 'ostendunt regionis illius accolæ locum vallis in prærupta demersæ, satis horribilem et periculosum, qui a plerisque usque nunc Arnonas appellatur' (Jer. *OS*, *Arnon*); cp Burckhardt and Seetzen's *Travels*, Doughty, *Ar. Des.*, and Bliss (*PEFQ*, 1895, p. 215): 'a thrilling moment of surprise on coming suddenly to the edge of the almost perpendicular cliffs.' From edge to edge of these the distance is over 2 m.; at the bottom the bed is 40 yards wide. The Mōjib issues on the Dead Sea through a chasm little more than 100 ft. wide. Altogether there is not S. of the Jabbok another natural division so decisive and impressive. It cannot, therefore, surprise us that, although lying across the middle of what we have seen to be the land of Moab, the Arnon should so often in history have proved a political boundary.

On the arrival of Israel the Arnon separated the Amorites from Moab, whom the former had driven S. of it (Nu. 21 13[2] Judg. 11 18). It is also given as the S. limit of Reuben. In 37 A.D. it appears to have been the border between the territories of Herod and those of the Nabatæans, whom Herod had pushed to the S. of it (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5 1; *HG*, 569). Till 1893 the Arnon formed the S. boundary of the Turkish Mutaṣerraflik of the Belḳā and of effective Turkish rule in E. Palestine:[3] and it is still the border between the lands of the Keraki and Ḥamādeh Arabs (Bliss, *op. cit.* 216).

The third great cañon across Moab starts close to Ḳaṭrāneh on the Ḥajj road as the Wādy 'Ain el-Franjy (perhaps the Brook ZERED[4] of Nu. 21 11 *f.*), and then, as the W. Kerak, winds a narrow and deep ravine past Kerak (just before it leaves the plateau) and falls into the Dead Sea N. of the Lisān peninsula. By Kerak there is cultivation of olives, figs, pomegranates, and some vines. Between the Wādies Mōjib and Kerak are two short glens with [watercourses W. el-Ġarrah and W. Beni (Hamid or) Ḥammād; somewhere here was the ascent of LUHITH. S. of the Mōjib the Jebel Shiḥān rises above the plateau to a height of about 3000 ft. Between the Wādies Kerak and el-Ḥasy (or

[1] This distinction between the stream on which the baths were and the baths themselves is overlooked by those who take Callirrhoe as referring to the baths (so Robinson, *Phys. Geog.* 164), and wonder why Josephus describes *them* as flowing into the Dead Sea. This removes any reason for finding Herod's Baths at es-Ṣara (Zarah) farther to the S., as Dechent proposes to do (*ZDPV* 7 196 *ff.*).

[1] In *v.* 13 the Arnon crossed by Israel is described as 'in the wilderness which comes forth from the border of the Amorite,' which may refer to one of the branches of the W. Wāleh.

[2] [Elsewhere (see WANDERINGS, and cp VAHEB) it is pointed out that under the present text, which is not free from critical difficulty, there are traces of an earlier narrative in which the place-names belong to the Jerahmeelite and Miṣrite region. According to this view, Arnon in Nu. 21 13 *f.* has displaced 'Arām = Jerahmeel, and Moab (as often in the narrative books) is a corruption of Miṣṣur (*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Muṣri).—T.K.C.]

[3] In 1893 a new mutaṣerraflik was established S. of the Arnon with its centre at Kerak, but taking its name from Ma'ān near Petra.

[4] [The present geography of Nu. 21 11 *f.* may perhaps be of later origin (cp ZERED); but this does not dispense us from the duty of seeking to understand it.]

MOAB

Aḥsā) are several shorter watercourses, of which the most important are W. el-Kuneiyeh (?) and W. Numēre, the latter held by many to be the WATERS OF NIMRIM (Is. 15 6 Jer. 48 34).

Along with this great plateau, the people of Moab at certain periods in their history held, and gave their name to, that part of the Jordan valley immediately below its northern section—*i.e.*, opposite to Jericho on the E. of the river. This is what P calls the 'Arboth Moab' (see above, § 1). The name Moab does not appear here before P; yet earlier conquests of the eastern Jordan valley by Moab are not only asserted by presumably ancient narratives (*e.g.*, Judg. 3 12-30; see Moore's commentary), but were at all times extremely probable from the geographical relations of the Jordan valley to the Moabite plateau. The long level stretch just to the N. of the Dead Sea and E. of Jordan lies as much at the mercy of the occupants of the tableland above it as the opposite plains of Jericho lie open to the highlanders of Judæa and Ephraim. The warmth of the valley makes it an attractive refuge from the winter weather of the plateau, where according to an Arabic proverb 'the cold is always at home' (*HG* 56). Nor is the whole district so barren as the names 'ARABAH, JESHIMON, and BETH-JESHIMOTH [*qq.v.*] would seem to imply. These are terms strictly applicable only to the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. Farther N. there are many streams, and the soil in the warm air is exceedingly fertile. Irrigation is very easy. At the present day the Arabs of the plateau have winter camps in the valley; and the 'Adwān tribe cultivate fields upon it (as the present writer on a visit in 1891 learned through the absence from the camp in W. Ḥesbān of the chief 'Ali Dhiāb, who was said to be attending to his harvests in the Ghōr). Then the Jordan with its few and difficult fords opposite Jericho forms a frontier, which its more passable stretches farther up, opposite Ephraim, cannot provide. Consequently, even when Israel crossing the latter held Gilead, it was quite possible for Moab to hold the part of the valley opposite Jericho. In every way this belongs to the tableland above it. Similarly Moab must have held the well-watered and fertile land at the S. end of the Dead Sea.

6. Moabite portion of Jordan Valley.

The fertile plateau (see above, § 3) with its extensive pasture-lands, and its much cultivation, producing corn, vines, and many fruit-trees, enjoyed a temperate climate (§ 3). It was therefore able to sustain an abundant population. To this the frequent ruins of small villages and not a few considerable towns still bear testimony. For the most part they evidently date from the Roman and Byzantine periods,[1] when the country was well protected from the desert Arabs by forts and camps, and was traversed by well-made roads (§ 8), with a considerable commerce. Under native kings, or when held by Israel, the land of Moab cannot have been quite so safe, and therefore hardly so thronged; still, we shall not be far wrong in conceiving of the population even then as abundant. In OT times we read of the 'cities of Moab'; and the people are pictured in multitudes and always as aggressive and tumultuous ('sons of tumult' Nu. 24 17 [see SHETH], cp Is. 15 *f.* Jer. 48 45).

7. Population.

If we were sure of the exact character of the many dolmens and cromlechs scattered over the NW. of the plateau (Conder reckons 200 in the portion he surveyed) we might add these to the proofs of a large population in the very earliest period. On the other hand, we must keep in mind that very large stretches of the plateau must always have been pastoral with few inhabitants. The figures on the Moabite Stone are puzzling; in *l.* 16 Mesha claims to have put to death in one place no fewer than 7000 Israelites; but again in *l.* 20 the forces he led against Jahaz consisted only of 200 men, taken 'from all the clans of Moab.'

The disposition and nature of the land cannot have been without effect on the character and manner of life of the inhabitants. So tempting a province, so open to the desert, must always have had a large portion of its population in various stages of transition from the nomadic and pastoral to the settled and agricultural conditions of life. So they are pictured throughout history and so they are to-day. The OT recognises Moab as a Semitic people, therefore of nomadic and Arabian origin, who had settled in their land shortly before the arrival of Israel.[1] It mixes up Moab and Midian (Nu. 25). From the fifth century onwards we find them dispossessed or overrun by 'Arabs' and 'Nabatæans.' The Roman Empire—by means of chains of forts and several large and heavily fortified castles like those whose ruins are now called Lej(j)ūn, Ḳaṣr Bshēr, and perhaps also Meshetta (Bliss, *PEFQ*, 1895, with plans and views)—kept the nomads back; and hence villages and cultivation multiplied in Roman times more than other periods. Under the nominal government of the Turks the bulwarks gave way; and to-day we find the pure Arab tribes like the 'Anazeh harassing the E. border; whilst within it other Arabs like the 'Adwān are settling to the cultivation of definite lands. Thus there must have been many successive deposits on the broad plateau from the restless human tides of Arabia. This may partly explain the noisy, aggressive character attributed to Moab by the OT (see above). The story of the origin of the nation (Gen. 19 30 *ff.*) and other passages in the OT (Nu. 25 Jer. 48 26) seem to charge them with drunkenness and licentiousness. We have seen that the vine was extensively cultivated, and in the portion of the land surveyed by Colonel Conder's party many winepresses were discovered both on the plateau (especially about el-Meshaḳḳar and Ḥesbān and at Sūmiā). The heat, too, of the Jordan valley enervates and demoralises: it was on its plains that Israel gave way to the impure rites of Beth-peor. Altogether we see from the geography, and from the OT pictures of Moab, a wild Arab race decadent under the first temptations of vine-culture and a relaxing climate.

The main lines of wayfaring and traffic across Moab have always been very much the same; and now the less important tracks of ancient times are still discernible. From the fords of Jordan opposite Jericho (there were four or five, all difficult) and the bridge which in Roman times (according to the recently discovered Mosaic map, see MEDEBA) spanned the river in the neighbourhood of the present bridge, various roads crossed the Jordan valley to the E. and SE. In contrast to the W. coast of the Dead Sea the E. coast gives no room for a road at the level of the sea; for the most part the cliffs come down to the water's edge (see a paper by Gray Hill in the *PEFQ*, 1900).[2]

8. Roads.

Yet a track runs somewhat up the side of the hills as far as the W. Zerḳā Ma'īn; and some distance above it, just after the W. Ghuweir is passed, there is a stretch of ancient road marked on the PEF reduced Map at a level of 183 ft. below the Mediterranean or about 1000 ft. above the Dead Sea. It appears again on the S. of the W. Ḥawārah, and must have led to the healing springs in the valley of Callirrhoe (see § 5), converging on which several ancient tracks have been discovered. One must have continued at least to Machærus.

All the other roads from the Jordan made for the slopes and passes leading to the plateau. One, at present much frequented, by which the present writer travelled, climbs the ridge of Rās Ḳuṣeib and then curves S. towards Ḥesbān. But there are tracks, with remains of ancient roads,[3] apparently Roman, up the W. Ḥesbān, from which a road led through a steep rock-cutting upon Ḥeshbōn on the edge of the plateau. Another ancient track passed by el-Meshaḳḳar (§ 4) on Heshbon (*PEFM E. Pal.* 151); another by the W. 'Ayūn Mūsā to Nebo (?); and another by W. Jideid

1 Cp Brünnow, *MDPV*, 1898, p. 34.

1 [Compare, however, GAD, § 8.]

2 N. of the W. Zerḳā Ma'īn there is a broad shelf before the plateau itself is reached.

3 Also near Sūmia.

to Medeba or Ma'īn. The name of the lower stretches of the latter Wādy (Ghuweir, 'the little Ghôr' or 'chasm'), suggests to Conder (*PEFM*) the Heb. חור, with probably the same meaning, and therefore the 'ascent of HORONAIM [*q.v.*] (Is. 15 5 Jer. 48 5).[1] Less plausible is the same explorer's suggestion of Ṭal'at Heisah or el-Heithah (a glen running up from W. Jideid upon Nebo) for the 'ascent of LUHITH' (Is. 15 5 Jer. 48 5).

All these roads from the Jordan valley struck a trunk road running S., along the whole extent of the plateau by Elealeh, Heshbon, and Medeba, across the W. Wāleh, by the W. of Dibon close by Ḳaṣr el-Besheir, across Arnon, by Rabbah to Kerak, and so ultimately across Edom to the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. Its course is marked by Roman milestones, many still *in situ*, and other ancient remains. In the Wādies Mōjib and el-Ḥesi 'the gradients were laid out with great skill' (Sir Ch. Wilson, *PEFQ*, 1899, p. 309). A branch connected this road with Ma'īn (Bliss, *PEFQ*, 1895, p. 213), which lies to the W. of it. Other branches struck N. and NW. from Heshbon to Rabbath-Ammon, and can still be traced past Kh. el-'Amrīyeh, and to the NW. of Umm el-Ḥanāfīsh (PEF red. Map). Other branches struck across the country to the second great N. and S. road along the borders of the desert, represented to-day by the Ḥajj road.[2] Whilst the remains of all these ancient roads are Roman, dating from the Antonines, the great road-makers in Syria, they probably represent still older lines of travel. Whilst the western trunk road must always have been the more secure from the nomad Arabs, the deep cañons which it crosses make it much the more difficult. The line of Israel's passage N. lay along the E. trunk road till at least the W. Wāleh was passed, when it turned NE. upon Heshbon, and so down either the W. 'Ayūn Mūsā or the W. Ḥesbān to the Jordan Valley (see *HG* 564).

9. Cities of Moab.

Of the 'cities of Moab' we have first of all a group in the Jordan valley: BETH-NIMRAH [*q.v.*] at Tell Nimrīn; BETH-HARAN [*q.v.*] at Tell-Rāmeh; both of which, though they are mentioned in the OT only in connection with the Amorites and Gad, must have belonged to Moab at many periods (cp NIMRIM of Is. 15 6); BETH-JESHIMOTH [*q.v.*] at Suweimeh; HORONAIM [*q.v.*] on one of the passes leading up to the plateau (see above, § 8). According to Eusebius BETH-PEOR [*q.v.*] lay between Beth-nimrah and Beth-haran; but see above, § 4. SEBAM or SIBMAH [*q.v.*] is placed by Conder (*PEFM* 221) at Sūmia in the W. Ḥesbān, 2 m. from Ḥesbān.

On the plateau N. of W. Zerḳā Ma'īn were situated the following towns, beginning from the N.: ELEALEH, HESHBON, NEBO, MEDEBA, BETH-MEON. These are either on high sites on the promontories and considered as sacred, like Nebo and Beth-meon, or on mounds by the main road, like Elealeh, Heshbon, and Medeba. Kh. 'Abū Nalḳeh Merrill identifies with the 'Moabite town' Νέκλα of Ptolemy; in es-Sāmik, a few m. E. of Ḥesbān, some see Samaga, taken along with Medeba by John Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 1). Kefeir el-Wusṭa and Kefeir 'Abū Sarbūṭ, on the main road, must have been considerable towns in Byzantine times and perhaps earlier (*PEFM E. Pal.*). Ḳal'at Zīzā, about 4 m. to the W. of the Ḥajj road, was a military post of the Romans (*Not. Dignit.*). On Mashetta or Umm Shetta, to the E. of the Ḥajj road see Tristram (*Land of Moab*) and Bliss (*PEFQ*, 1895). On Ḳal'at Belḳā, a castle on the Ḥajj road, see Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 13 19).

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15 4 mentions Oronas as a town of Moab.

[2] A third Roman road N. and S. appears to have run from Rabbath-Ammon by el-Kahf, Umm el-Walid, Remeil, Trayya, Ḳaṣr Bshēr and Rujūm Rīshān to Lejjūn. On this, and on the line of forts protecting the springs to the E. of it, and on the Roman roads S. of Lejjun, see Brünnow's papers in *MDPV*, 1898-1899.

Between the W. Zerḳā Ma'īn and the W. Wāleh there were no towns on the main road; but to the W. lay 'ATAROTH [*q.v.*, modern 'Attārūs], KIRIATHAIM [*q.v.*, modern Ḳureiyāt], and the strong fortress of MACHÆRUS (*q.v.*, and cp ZERETH-SHAHAR).

South of the W. Wāleh lay DIBON [*q.v.*], the modern Dhībān to the E. of the main road, on which farther S. are the ruins of the Roman castle, now called Ḳaṣr el-Besheir. North-east of Dibon is el-Jumeil, identified by some with BETH-GAMUL of Jer. 48 23: cp the el-Gamila of Idrisi (*ZDPV* 8 128). Buhl, however, puts Beth-gamul S. of Arnon. East of Dibon (Bliss, *op. cit.*, 227) are the important ruins of Umm er-Reṣāṣ reckoned by some to be KEDEMOTH [*q.v.*]; JAHAZ [*q.v.*] (which Eusebius places between Dibon and Medeba) must also have lain about here; and MEPHAATH (Josh. 13 18 Jer. 48 21), according to Eus. a castle on the edge of the desert. Upon the main road just as it dips into the precipitous W. Mōjib lay AROER [*q.v.*].

In the valley of the Arnon there apparently lay 'the city in the midst of the valley' (Josh. 13 9): see AR.

Of the sites S. of the Arnon the following lie on or near the great trunk-road. On the S. edge of the W. Mōjib are the ruins, Meḥâtet el-Ḥajj, which Tristram and others propose to identify with AR. To the W. of the road at the foot of the hill called Shiḥān are ruins of the same name: and farther S. on the road others at Haimer, Eriḥah, Beit el-Karm, called also Ḳaṣr Rabba with 'tanks and a great building evidently Roman' (Irby and Mangles, ch. 8), and Hemēmat with a tower, Misde (also at Mejdelein, west of the road). Then come the more considerable remains of Rabba (*ib.*, 'two old Roman temples and some tanks' but no trace of walls; Brünnow, *MDPV*, 1895, p. 71, notices 'a kind of forum'). This appears to be Rabbath (*i.e.*, chief town of) Moab (see *OS*) to which the Greeks gave the name of Ἀρεόπολις (see AR). Buhl (*Pal.* 270) thinks it possible that we have here KERIOTH and KIR-MOAB (see KIR-HERES); but KIR-MOAB, known also as KIR-HARESETH, is placed by most at Kerak,[1] for a description of which see KIR-HERES. To the proofs of the identification of KIR-HERES with Kerak, given there, add the name (hitherto overlooked in this connection) of Wādy Ḥarasha (with a ruin Ḳaṣr Ḥ.) which is applied, according to Brünnow (*MDPV* 1895, p. 68) to the lower part of the Wādy Kerak. Some 12 m. E. of Kerak lies the ruin Lej(j)ūn, for the exact orientation of which, with plans, see Bliss, *PEFQ*, 1895. South of Kerak Eusebius places EGLAIM (*q.v.*).

Indeed, this district of Moab, 'a country of downs with verdure so close as to appear almost turf and with cornfields,' is 'covered with sites of towns on every eminence and spot convenient for the construction of one . . . ruined sites visible in all directions' (Irby and Mangles, ch. 7, May 14 and 15). Here was the scene of the first encounter of Moslem troops with the Romans and their defeat at el-Mōteh; Ḏāt-rās on the N. edge of the W. el-Aḥsi is the Thorma of the 'Itinerary' (Wilson, *PEFQ*, 1899, p. 315).

From Kerak a Roman road led SW. into the Ghōr (Brünnow, *MDPV*, 1895, p. 68) by Derā'a on the W. Ḥarasha[2] (see above); and on this flank of Moab also not a few remains have been noted by travellers (see LUHITH, NIMRIM, and cp Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 57; Buhl, *Pal.* 272).

In the time of Josephus there lay at the S. end of the Dead Sea a town **Ζοαρα** (*BJ* iv. 8 4, *v. ll.* ζωαρα, etc.). In *OS* under βαλα, Eusebius calls it σηγωρ and ζωαρα, and describes it as lying on the Dead Sea, with a garrison: 'the balsam and palm grow by it.' It is the same, which under the name Zughar, Ṣughar, or Suḳar is mentioned by the Arab geographers (Le Strange, *Pal. under Moslems*, 286 *ff.*), as a station on the trade route from the Gulf of 'Aḳabah to Jericho, one degree of lat. S. of Jericho. They describe it as on the Dead Sea, near the desert, overhung by mountains, near el-Kerak,

[1] Besides Irby and Mangles (*Travels*, ch. 7 *f.*), cp A. L. Hornstein in *PEFQ*, 1898, pp. 93 *ff.*, with views.

[2] Here some place the 'descent of Horonaim'; but see § 8.

with a hot and evil climate; the people thickset and swarthy. The Crusaders knew it as Segor (Röhricht, *Gesch. Königr. Jerus.* 15, 409, 411; see also *ZDPV* 14, the Florentine map) but called it Palmen (Will. of Tyre, 108 22 30), Villa Palmarum, and Paumer. It is curious that Napoleon should mention the place under its biblical name 'at the extremity of the Dead Sea 20 leagues from Hebron, 15 from Kerak' (*Guerre d'Orient, Camp. d'Égypte et de Syrie*, vol. ii. 12 *f.*). Where did he get this information? Irby and Mangles (*Travels*, 1st June, 1818) place it in the lower part of the W. Kerak. Clermont Ganneau (*PEFQ*, 1886, p. 20) proposes a site near the Ṭawaḥîn es-Soukhâr in the Ghōr eṣ-Ṣâfieh; Kitchener (*PEFQ*, 1884, p. 216) found many ruins of great antiquity under the name Kh. Labrush. See also Reland, *Palest.* 577, 957, and Robinson, *BR* 648 *ff.* The Arab geographers identify it with the Zoar of Lot and this is accepted by those modern authorities who place the 'cities of the plain' at the S. end of the Dead Sea. See further ZOAR, SODOM. G. A. S.

Moab and Ammon (children of Lot) constitute along with Edom and Israel (children of Isaac) that group of four Hebrew peoples which in early antiquity had issued from the Syro-Arabian wilderness, and settled on the border of the cultivated land eastward of the 'great depression.' According to Genesis, they had come out of Mesopotamia, and so were precursors of the larger wave which followed from the same quarter, forming the most southern outpost of the Aramæan immigration into the lands of Canaan and Heth (see AMORITES, CANAAN, CANAANITES). The aborigines in whose lands the B'ne Ammon and Moab and the B'ne Israel successively settled were not extinguished by the conquest; they even exercised a far-reaching influence over their lords. The Moabites, and doubtless also the Ammonites and the Edomites, spoke the language of Canaan as well as the Israelites. They must have learned it from the Canaanites in the land eastward of Jordan. Our knowledge is extremely imperfect as regards other departments of the Canaanite influence; but in religion it has left a noticeable trace in the cultus of BAAL-PEOR (*q.v.*), which was carried on in Moabite territory but was certainly of Canaanite origin. The special god of Moab, however, was Chemosh. Just as Israel was the people of Yahwè, and Ammon the people of Milcom, Moab was the people of Chemosh (כְּמוֹשׁ, Nu. 21 29). The kingship of Chemosh was regarded as thoroughly national and political in its character, but did not on that account exclude the institution of a human king, which appeared in Moab much earlier than in Israel; in the time of Moses the Moabites had a king, and the institution was even then old. The capitals of the kingdom were 'Ar Moab and Kir Moab, S. from the Arnon; these were not, however, the constant residences of the kings, who continued to live in their native places, as, for example, Mesha in Dibon.

10. The four Hebrew peoples.

The historical importance of the Moabites lies wholly in their contact with Israel.[1] After the Israelites had quitted Egypt and passed a nomadic life for about a generation in the neighbourhood of Kadesh, they migrated thence into northern Moab, dispossessing the Amorites, who had made themselves masters of that district. The interval from Kadesh to the Arnon could be passed only by a good understanding with Edom, Moab, and Ammon,—a proof that the ethnical relationships, which at a later period were expressed only in legend, were at that time still living and practical. In all probability the Moabites called the Israelites to their aid; they were not as yet aware that this little pastoral people was destined one day to become to them a greater danger than the Canaanites by whom they were threatened at the moment.[1]

11. Early Moabite history.

As the story of Balaam indicates, the Moabites would willingly have been rid of their cousins after their service had been rendered, but were unable to prevent them from settling in the land of Sihon. The migration of the tribes of Israel into western Palestine, however, and the dissolution of their warlike confederation soon afterwards made a restoration of the old frontiers possible. If king Eglon took tribute of Benjamin at Jericho, the territory between Arnon and Jordan must also have been subject to him, and Reuben must even then have lost his land, or at least his liberty. It would appear that the Moabites next extended their attacks to Mount Gilead, giving their support to the Ammonites, who, during the period of the judges, were its leading assailants. So close was the connection between Moab and Ammon that the boundary between them vanishes for the narrators (Judg. 11). See AMMONITES, JEPHTHAH.

Gilead was delivered from the Ammonites by Saul, who at the same time waged a successful war against Moab[2] (1 S. 14 47). The establishment of the monarchy necessarily involved Israel in feuds with its neighbours and kin. The Moabites being the enemies of the Israelite kingdom, David naturally sent his parents for shelter thither when he had broken with Saul (1 S. 22 3 *f.*; see, however, MIZPEH, 3); the incident is precisely analogous to what happened when he himself at a later period took refuge from Saul's persecution in Philistine territory, and needs no explanation from the book of Ruth. As soon as he ceased to be the king's enemy by himself becoming king, his relations with Moab became precisely those of his predecessor. The war in which apparently casual circumstances involved him with the Ammonites really arose out of larger causes, and thus spread to Moab and Edom as well. The end of it was that all the three Hebrew nationalities were subjugated by Israel; the youngest brother eclipsed and subdued his seniors, as Balaam had foreseen. Both Ammon and Moab, however, must have emancipated themselves very soon after David's death, and only now and then was some strong king of Israel able again to impose the yoke for a time, not upon the Ammonites indeed, but upon Moab. The first to do so was Omri, who garrisoned some of the Moabite towns and compelled the king to acknowledge Israel's suzerainty by a yearly tribute of sheep—a state of matters which continued until the death of Ahab ben Omri. That brave king, however, fell in battle with the Aramæans at Ramoth Gilead (about 850 B.C.), and Mesha of Dibon, then the ruler of Moab, succeeded in making himself and his people independent. In his famous inscription (see MESHA) he gives his patriotic version of the story; in the book of Kings we find only the curt statement that Moab rebelled against Israel after the death of Ahab (2 K. 1 1); on the other hand there is a full narrative (2 K. 3) of a vain attempt, made by Jehoram ben Ahab, to bring Mesha into subjection. See MESHA, § 6, and JEHORAM, § 4.

As the Moabites owed their liberation from Israelite supremacy to the battle of Ramah—that is, to the Aramæans—we find them (as well as the Ammonites) afterwards always seconding the Aramæans in continual border warfare against Gilead, in which they took cruel revenge on the Israelites. With what bitterness the

[1] [Three kings of Moab (Ma'ba, Mu'aba, Ma'ab) are mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions,—Salamanu who was subdued by Tiglath-pileser in 733; Kammušunadbi (Chemoshnadab), who paid tribute to Sennacherib in 701; and a king of uncertain name who warred against the king of Kedar in the name of Ašur-bāni-pal (Schr. *KAT*(2), 251, 291, Wi. *GI* 1 108 *f.*).]

[1] The facts as a whole are indubitable; it cannot be an invention that the Israelites settled first in Kadesh, then in northern Moab, and thence passed into Palestine proper. The only doubtful point is whether the song in Nu. 21 27 *ff.* is contemporary evidence of these events.

[2] [There is indeed, as so often, a doubt whether the original document did not refer rather to Miṣṣur [see MIZRAIM] than to Moab. See SAUL, § 3.—T.K.C.]

MOAB

Israelites in consequence were wont to speak of their hostile kinsfolk can be gathered from Gen. 19 30 *ff.*—the one trace of open malice in the story of the patriarchs, all the more striking as it occurs in a narrative of which LOT (*q.v.*) is the hero and saint, which, therefore, in its present form, is of Moabite origin, although perhaps it has a still older Canaanite nucleus. Of these border wars we learn but little, although from casual notices it can be seen (2 K. 13 20 Am. 1 13 ; cp 2 K. 5 2) that they were kept up long, although not quite uninterruptedly. When at length the danger from the Aramæans was removed for Israel by the intervention of the Assyrians, the hour of Moab's subjection also came ; Jeroboam II. extended his frontier over the eastern territory, as far as to the 'Brook of the Poplars'[1] (Am. 6 14 ; but cp ARABAH, BROOK OF THE).

12. Later history.

It would seem that subjugation by the Assyrians was not as heavy a blow to the Moabites as to some neighbouring peoples. Probably it helped to reconcile them to the new situation that the Israelites suffered much more severely than they. From these, their deadly enemies, they were henceforth for ever free. They did not on that account, however, give up their old hatred ; they merely transferred it from Israel to Judah. The political annihilation of the nation only intensified the religious exclusiveness of the Jewish people. Terrible expression was given by the Edomites and the Moabites to their malignant joy at the calamities of their kinsfolk.[2]

'Because Moab saith : Behold the house of Judah is like all the other nations, therefore do I open his land to the Bne Kedem,' says the prophet Ezekiel (25 8 *ff.*). His threat against the Moabites, as well as against the Edomites and the Ammonites is, that they shall fall before the approach of the desert tribes (see EAST, CHILDREN OF THE ; REKEM). Probably in his days the tide of Arabian invasion was already slowly rising, and of course it swept first over the lands situated on the desert border. At all events the Arab immigration into this quarter began at an earlier date than is usually supposed ; it continued for centuries, and was so gradual that the previously-introduced Aramaising process could quietly go on alongside of it. The Edomites gave way before the pressure of the land-hungry nomads, and settled in the desolate country of Judah ; the children of Lot, on the other hand, appear to have amalgamated with them—the Ammonites maintaining their individuality longer than the Moabites, who soon entirely disappeared.[3]

13. Israel and Moab compared.

Israel and Moab had a common origin, and their early history was similar. The people of Yahwè on the one hand, the people of Chemosh on the other, had the same idea of the Godhead as head of the nation, and a like patriotism derived from religious belief—a patriotism that was capable of extraordinary efforts, and has had no parallel in the West either in ancient or in modern times. The mechanism of the theocracy also had much that was common to both nations ; in both the king figures as the deity's representative, priests and prophets as the organs through whom he makes his communications. Still, with all this similarity, how different were the ultimate fates of the two ! The history of the one loses itself obscurely and fruitlessly in the sand ; that of the other issues in eternity. One reason for the difference (which, strangely enough, seems to have been felt not by the Israelites alone but by the Moabites also) is obvious. Israel received no gentle treatment at the hands of the world ; it had to carry on a continual conflict with foreign influences and hostile powers ; and this perpetual struggle with gods and men was not profitless, although the external catastrophe was inevitable. Moab meantime remained settled on his lees, and was not emptied from vessel to vessel (Jer. 48 11), and corruption and decay were the result. This explanation, however, does not carry us far, for other peoples with fortunes as rude as those of Israel have yet failed to attain historical importance ; they have simply disappeared. The service the prophets rendered at a critical time, by raising the faith of Israel from the temporal to the eternal sphere, cannot be exaggerated (see PROPHECY). J. W.

14. More on biblical references.

The authors of the above sections are scholars who have a right to speak, and whose writings will not soon be forgotten. A union of forces, however, seems necessary in order to take a fresh step in advance. The geographical section would be very incomplete without the historical, and it may perhaps be hoped that a supplement to the historical section will add somewhat to its usefulness. For there is a preliminary inquiry, which no good scholar in recent times has altogether neglected, but which requires to be taken up in a more thorough and methodical manner—the state of the texts on which our geography and our history are based. It must also be confessed that our criticism of the narratives has been, until very lately, too literary, and not quite sufficiently historical. A criticism of the local names may not have led as yet to as many important results as the criticism of the personal names of the OT ; but an examination of the special articles dealing with the names of the 'cities of Moab' (§ 9) will show that an inquiry which cannot safely be ignored is being made, and that identifications have in the past too often been tried, and views of the route of the Israelites in their migration taken, which presuppose doubtful, even if ancient, readings. Textual criticism, too, has objections to make to some of the historical inferences of earlier critics because of their precarious textual basis. It is obvious that if 'Moab' and 'Miṣṣur,' 'Midian' and 'Miṣṣur,' 'Ammon' and 'Amalek,' 'Edom' and 'Aram' (=Jerahmeel), are liable to confusion, the greatest care becomes necessary in steering one's way between the rocks. Mistakes will sometimes occur, as when, after correcting some of the most corrupt names in Gen. 36 31-39, 'Edom' is retained by the author of the article BELA (col. 524) in *v.* 31 *f.* and 'Moab' in *v.* 35. For these two (corrupt) ethnic names 'Aram' and 'Miṣṣur' should probably be substituted. The historical result would be that it was not Midian and Edom but Midian and Jerahmeel that fought together in the early times referred to, and that the territory that was contested was the highland of Miṣṣur, not the plateau of Moab.[1] The story of Balak and Balaam also needs to be re-read in the light of text-critical discoveries. It is most probable, from this newer point of view, that Balak, with whom the Israelites are said to have had to do, was king, not of Moab, but of Miṣṣur. It is doubtful, too, whether in its original form the story of Eglon and Ehud represented the former as being of Moab and not rather of Miṣṣur (note that Eglon gathers 'the b'ne Ammon and Amalek,' really, the b'ne Jerahmeel, and that they occupy 'the city of palm trees' (*i.e.*, really, the city of Jerahmeel).[2] Even if in this instance we adhere to MT, Winckler (*GI* 1 205) will probably still be right in using the narrative as an evidence of the lateness of the Moabitish people as compared with the b'ne Israel. More probably, however, Eglon was a Miṣrite king. Nor can we at all trust the records of the conquests of Saul and David. A group of phenomena make it very nearly certain that in 1 S. 14 47 2 S. 8 2 'Miṣṣur' has been transformed into 'Moab.'

That Saul conquered either the Moabites or the Miṣrites is of course most unlikely ; but the probability is strong even against

1 Perhaps the song in Nu. 21 27 *ff.* refers to these events ; some critics will add Is. 15 1-16 12.

2 Zeph. 2 8 *f.* 2 K. 24 2 and Ezek. 25 8 *ff.* It need hardly be said that the Moabites shared the fate of all the Palestinian peoples when supremacy passed from the Assyrians to the Chaldæans, and that, notwithstanding their hatred of the Jews, they had no difficulty in seeking alliances with them, when occasions arose on which they could be made useful (Jer. 27 3). [The prophecy against Moab in Jer. 48 cannot be the work of Jeremiah. See JEREMIAH ii., § 20, ix. ; col. 2392.]

3 We. *Kleine Propheten*(2), 206 (on Obadiah) ; [on certain references to the Moabites in late OT writings—Ezra 9 1 Neh. 13 1 Is. 25 10 *f.* Ps. 83 7 [6]—cp *Intr. Is.* 159, 161].

1 Cp Judg. 5 4, where we should probably read 'Miṣṣur' (not 'Seir') and 'the highland of Aram (=Jerahmeel).'

2 See JERICHO, § 1. The 'city of Jerahmeel' may quite as well mean Kadesh-barnea ('barnea' should be read 'Jerahmeel') as Jericho.

the view that David had to do with the Moabites. The whole passage (2 S. 8 1-3) first becomes intelligible when we read it thus, 'And David smote the Philistines, and took the Maacathite country out of the hand of the Philistines. He smote Miṣṣur and Jerahmeel and the Zarephathites, and those of Miṣṣur became servants to David, bringing tribute.' If we are reluctant to admit the change of 'Moab' to 'Miṣṣur,' let it be remembered that the same textual criticism dispenses us from the obligation of pronouncing David guilty of barbarity to the conquered—to a people from whom, according to one tradition, his parents had received hospitality.[1] The right reading was probably known to the writer of Nu. 24 17.[2]

Thus it is probable that the first trustworthy notice of contact between Israel and Moab is in 2 K. 1 1. This notice, however, as Kittel points out, is very isolated (cp § 11), and we naturally infer that a record of wars between the two peoples has been lost. Moab, then, is at any rate a younger people than Israel.

What event is referred to in Is. 15 1-16 12 has been much disputed. According to Duhm and Marti, the foes of Moab are the NABATÆANS (*q.v.*). Diodorus (19 94) says of these nomads that they regarded it as wrong to plant wheat and trees and wine. This would make the destruction of the vines referred to in the prophetic elegy intelligible. If so, Is. 15 1-16 12 may be referred to the fifth century; the postscript (*v.* 13 *f.*) will be later (time of Alexander JANNÆUS [*q.v.*]?).

There is little more to add by way of supplement to §§ 10-13. The absence of the name of Moab in the list of the vassal states of Bir-'idri (*KB* 2 173) is accounted for by Winckler (*GI* 1 207) by the supposition that a Moabite contingent was included among the troops of Ahab, who is mentioned (see AHAB, § 4 *f.*). Whether the Moabites are rightly included in 2 K. 24 2 among the peoples which sent 'bands' against Judah in the reign of Jehoiakim may be doubted. A comparison of passages in the Psalms, Lamentations, and later prophecies and narratives irresistibly leads the present writer to the conclusion that the right names are Cushites, Jerahmeelites, and Miṣrites (see OBADIAH [BOOK]). It is also very possibly an error to suppose that the Moabites are specially referred to in the Book of Nehemiah; this, however, is partly connected with the question as to the ethnic names in the narrative of the migration of the Israelites. There is, at any rate, much confusion in the names mentioned in Nehemiah, and elsewhere (see SANBALLAT) it is maintained that both 'Sanballat' and 'Horonite' are probably miswritten: the one for 'Nebaiothite' (= Nabatæan?), the other (which is to be taken with the miswritten 'Tobiah') for 'Rehobothite.' Cp also RUTH [BOOK].

Winckler (*GI* 1 204) makes the striking remark that Moab at the time of its immigration was probably just such a small tribe as the Calebites and the separate Israelitish tribes. In civilisation and racial consciousness there was no difference, and in language none worth mentioning, between them and the Israelites. Nöldeke (*Die sem. Sprachen*, 17) also remarks that the style of the inscription of Mesha is essentially that of the OT, and allows us to infer the existence of a similar literature among the Moabites. As Nöldeke also points out, the only important un-Hebraic feature of the inscription is the occurrence of the eighth Arabic 'conjugation' (with *t* after the first radical). The inscriptional style may, however, have differed considerably from the type of the actually spoken tongue. Cp MESHA, § 4.

G. A. S., §§ 1-9; J. We., §§ 10-13; T. K. C., § 14.

MOADIAH (מוֹעַדְיָה, §§ 33. 72, 'Yahwè promises?'), a priestly family temp. Joiakim (EZRA ii., § 6 *b*, § 11), Neh. 12 17 (om. Bℵ*A; ΕΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΙϹ [ℵc.a mg. inf.]; ΜΑϹΑΙ [L]); cp MAADIAH.

[1] 1 S. 22 3, where read 'Zephath (Zarephath) of Miṣṣur.' See MIZPEH.

[2] שָׁאוֹן (Jer. 48 45) is accepted by Di. for שֵׁת. שָׁאוֹן, however, as also in Am. 2 2, comes from כּוּשָׁן (the N. Arabian Cush), which at once suggests מִצּוּר for מוֹאָב.

MOCHMUR (ΜΟΧΜΟΥΡ [B; om. A], ΜΟΥΧ. [ℵ*], ΜΟΚ. [ℵc.a vid.], *machur* [Vet. Lat.]; ܦܟܘܪ [Syr.]), a brook upon which stood CHUSI (Judith 7 18). It was situated near to EKREBEL (mod. 'Aḳrabeh), whence Schultz has identified it with *Makfūrīyeh* close to 'Aḳrabeh.

MODIN, a city or village of Judæa. Most modern authorities (*e.g.*, Grimm, Schürer, Zöckler) rightly prefer the form Modein or Modeim.

1. Name. 𝔊's readings vary considerably; μωδειν [ℵ* 1 Macc. 2 1, ℵc.b 16 4 V 9 19]; -εειν [A 2 1 etc.]; -μ [A 2 23 9 19]; -αειν [ℵc.a 2 1, ℵ 9 19 etc.]; -μ [A 16 4]; -ιειν [V 2 Macc. 13 14]; -μ [A *ib.*]; -ιν [ℵ* V 16 4]; -μ [V 2 15 23]; -ω [V 2 1]; other readings are μωδαις [Jos., ed. Niese, *Ant.* xii. 6 1], -εειμ [*ib.* 11 2], -ν [*BJ* i. 1 3]; in *OS* 281 59 140 20 μηδεειμ *Modeim*; *Modin* [Vg., whence EV].

The later Hebrew form (which often has the article also) varies. Pal. Mishnah (ed. Lowe) reads המודיעית (Mōdī'ith) *Pĕsāḥ.* 9 2 (*Talm. Bab.* 93*b*), *Ḥag.* 3 5 (*Talm. Bab.* 25*b*). Other readings are מודעים, מודעין, המודעים, המודעית.

In the Medeba mosaic (see MEDEBA) the reading Μωδιθα occurs, and this seems to point back to the Hebrew Modiith.

In 2 17 Modin is called a *city*, πόλις (so in *v.* 15 εἰς Μωδεεὶν τὴν πόλιν). Josephus, on the other hand, describes it as a *village* of Judæa (ἐν Μωδαί, κώμῃ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, *Ant.* xii. 6 1 11 2). Eus. (κώμη) and Jer. (*vicus*) agree with Josephus; so Jerome on Dan. 11 38. In Vg. it is referred to as a *hill* (*in monte Modin*), and this, curiously enough, reappears in later Rabbinical authorities. See Grimm on 1 Macc. 2 1, and Rashi on T. B. Bābā Bathrā 10 b. Naturally the place was of most importance in Maccabæan times; by the time of Josephus it may have dwindled. The ruins at el-Medyeh, with which Modin is usually identified, seem to point to an ancient collection of villages, a fact which the *plural* form of the name also attests. Grimm reconciles the two statements by describing Modin as a κωμόπολις.

2. History. The interest in Modin arises from its association with the Maccabæan history. The place is not named in MT (though curiously enough Porphyry on Dan 11 38 read Modiim for the difficult מעוים. See Jer. *ad loc.*). We first hear of Modin in 168 B.C.; it became the residence of Mattathias, when he felt it no longer safe or honourable to remain in Jerusalem (1 Macc. 2 1). By Simon's time Modin was the special city of the Hasmonæans (τῇ πατρίδι, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6 6); but even in Mattathias's day it must have been the permanent home, not merely the temporary asylum, of the family; Mattathias (1 Macc. 2 17) is termed 'a ruler and an honourable and great man in this city.' From another passage (1 M. 2 70) it appears that the sepulchres of Mattathias's ancestors were situated in Modin.

Modin was the scene of the outbreak of the revolt against Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Here it was that Mattathias was summoned by a Syrian officer to follow the general example and offer a pagan sacrifice. He refused, and his slaying of an apostate Jew at the altar erected in Modin was the first act of armed rebellion (1 Macc. 2 15-28). Mattathias then fled from Modin; but the place was not garrisoned by the Syrian forces, for, on his death shortly afterwards, his sons buried him there (1 Macc. 2 70 Jos. *Ant.* xii. 6 4). Modin is again mentioned in 2 Macc. 13 14. Judas Maccabæus is there reported to have fixed his headquarters at Modin before his victorious night attack on the army of Antiochus V. Eupator. When Judas subsequently fell in battle at Elasa his body was recovered by his brothers Jonathan and Simon, and buried at Modin (1 Macc. 9 19 Jos. *Ant.* xii. 6 2). Simon rendered a similar service to Jonathan (1 Macc. 13 25) and he erected in Modin a splendid monument to his illustrious family (13 27-30). See below § 3.

At Modin Judas and John, sons of Simon, passed the night before making their successful attack on Cendebæus (1 Macc. 16 4) whose headquarters were at Cedron (Ḳaṭra) in the Philistine lowlands. In Rabbinic times Modin was regarded (Mishna, *Pĕsāḥīm* 9 2) as fixing the legal limit of distance with regard to the injunction in Nu. 9 10. Rabbi 'Ăkiba held that any Jew who happened to be as distant from Jerusalem as Modin might be regarded as 'on a journey afar off.' The

Bab. Talmud (*Pĕsāḥīm* 93*b*) explains that this distance was 15 m. In another case of ritual law Modiith is cited by the Mishna (*Ḥag.* 3 5), and from this passage it has been inferred by some Rabbinical authorities that the city or district of Modin was the centre of the pottery industry.

A Rabbi Eleazar of Modin (contemp. with 'Ăkība, 2nd cent. A.D.) is quoted with respect in the Mishnah (*Ābōth* 3 5) and Talmud (T. B. *Shabbāth* 55*b*. *Bābā Bathrā* 10 *b*). He is sometimes designated simply *Ham-modai* or *Ham-mudai* 'the man of Modin.' (Clermont-Ganneau found that the modern ethnic name of the inhabitants of Medyeh is Midnāwy, pl. Medāwneh.)

3. Simon's mausoleum. The monument which Simon erected (see above) was lofty, of 'polished stone behind and before.' Seven pyramids, over against one another, commemorated Simon's father, his mother, and his four brothers; the remaining one being designed for himself. Stanley (*Jewish Church*, 3 318) describes the mausoleum as a square structure surrounded by colonnades of monolith pillars. The pyramids were ornamented with bas-reliefs of weapons.[1] Mindful of the commercial use to which the Phœnician coast was put by the Maccabæans, Simon added carvings of ships εἰς τὸ θεωρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πλεόντων τὴν θάλασσαν. This phrase is commonly rendered 'that they should be seen of all that sail on the sea.' As the sea is at least 13 m. from Medyeh (and farther still from any other site with which Modin has been identified) this statement has given considerable trouble. Josephus, it may be observed, omits this detail (*Ant.* xiii. 6 6). Commentators explain, 'only in its main outlines, and not in its minor features could this monument be visible from the Mediterranean' (*Camb. Bib.*, *ad loc.*). But the association of the 'ships' with the 'seafarers' raises some difficulty against accepting this theory. E. le Camus (*Rev. Biblique*, 1 109, 1892), explains the Greek to mean that the ships were so naturally carved that they won the admiration of expert seamen. This is certainly ingenious, and Buhl (*Pal.* 198) adopts the theory of Le Camus on this point though he contests the same writer's other objections to the identification of Modin with Medyeh. The writer of 1 Macc. (about 100 B.C.) tells us that the monument was standing in his day, and Josephus repeats the assertion nearly two centuries later. Eusebius and Jerome also seem to declare that the monument was still intact, though the language they use is not conclusive. (As the passage from the *Onomast.* is of importance for the discussion that follows it is cited in full: Μωδεείμ, κώμη πλησίον Διοσπόλεως, ὅθεν ἦσαν οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι, ὧν καὶ τὰ μνήματα εἰς ἔτι νῦν δείκνυνται. *Modeim vicus juxta Diospolim, unde fuerunt Maccabæi, quorum hodieque ibidem sepulchra monstrantur.*) Supposed remains of the monument have been shown at Soba, while Guérin in 1870 created some sensation by claiming to have discovered the Mausoleum at Kh. el-Gherbāwi in the neighbourhood of Medyeh. The structure so identified by him was, however, shown by Clermont-Ganneau to be of Christian origin. There is certainly nothing at Medyeh above ground or (as yet) excavated that in the slightest degree resembles the description in 1 Macc.

4. Geographical position. The geographical position of Modin cannot be determined with absolute certainty. Ṣōbā, about 6 m. W. of Jerusalem, was long identified with Modin; but this identification has nothing but a late tradition in its favour. The proposal of Robinson (*BR* 3 151 *f.*; cp, on Ṣōbā, *ibid.* 2 6) to locate Modin at Lāṭrūn has won little support. It is now very commonly believed that the village of el-Medyeh marks the site of the old home of the Hasmonæans (Conder, *PEFM* 2 297 341-352; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res. in Pal.* 2 359). The identification was first proposed by Em. Forner in 1866, and a little later by Neubauer (*Géog. du Talmud*, 1868, p. 99), and by Sandreczki (1869), who located the mausoleum at the Ḳabūr el-Yahūd, a little to the SW. of Medyeh. El-Medyeh is a large village a little off the old Roman road which passed from Jerusalem to Lydda through the two Bethhorons (see EPHRAIM, map; Midieh). It is about 16 m. NW. of Jerusalem, and 6½ m. from Lydda. The village proper is separated on three sides from higher ground; to the W. lie several ruins, among them the Kh. Midyeh, Kh. el-Himmām, and especially the Sheikh el-Gharbāwī where Guérin erroneously thought in 1870 that he had discovered the Maccabæan Mausoleum. (*La Samarie*, 2 401; *Galilée*, 1, 47.) South of the village is a conical knoll called er-Rās, ('the head'), about 700 ft. high, and this has been taken by Conder and others as the most likely spot for Simon's monument. Er-Rās has the appearance of having been artificially cut. The village is shut in by the surrounding heights; but there is a fine view obtainable from er-Rās, and Jaffa and the sea are clearly seen. From the sea the bare outlines of Simon's monument would have been visible when the sun was behind the observer.

There are many tombs in the neighbourhood, deeply cut in the rock, the openings covered with great stones. Nothing has so far come to light, however, to suit the description in 1 Macc.; hence it may be said, that a personal visit to Medyeh, while revealing no valid objection to its identification with Modin, does not produce a sense of absolute conviction. Medyeh certainly fulfils all the other requirements. Though we must eliminate the condition of visibility from the sea, Modin probably stood on a hill. It is unlikely that Simon would have erected a monument, meant to be conspicuous, unless it was so situated as to be clearly seen from afar. Moreover, the most natural inference from 1 Macc. 16 4 is that Modin stood near the plain, but not in it. Medyeh admirably suits this inference. The statement of the Talmud that Modin was 15 m. from Jerusalem, and the assertion of the *Onomast.* that Modin was near Lydda, both support the claims of Medyeh. The identity of name is also a weighty support. Clermont-Ganneau (*PEFQ*, 1897, p. 221) asserts the general rule that the Aramaic termination *-ītha* becomes regularly *-ié* in Arabic. Hence Μωδιθα (see § 1) would be represented by the Arabic Medié (pronounced, according to Ganneau, Meŭdié). (The present writer, when in Judæa in 1898, came across an Arab in Jerusalem who suggested as the site of Modin a high hill just above 'Amwās. This hill is locally known as Medemneh. An examination of the site revealed some, but very few, ruins of ancient buildings.) Le Camus (*loc. cit.*) objects to the identification of Modin with Medyeh: (*a*) that Medyeh was in Dan, not Judæa, (*b*) that 1 Macc. 16 4-10 requires a more southerly position than Medyeh, and (*c*) that Medyeh is not sufficiently central to have formed the headquarters of the revolt. These arguments are none of them conclusive. I. A.

MOETH (μωεθ), 1 Esd. 8 63 = Ezra 8 33, NOADIAH (1).

MOLADAH (מוֹלָדָה; usually μωλαδα), a place in S. Judah towards Edom mentioned in (*a*) Josh. 15 26 μωλαδα [A], (*b*) Josh. 19 2, κωλαδαμ [BA], .δαμ [B[b] per ras], μωλαδαμ [B[a (vid.) mg.]]; (*c*) 1 Ch. 4 28, μωαλδα [B], μουλαδα [L]; (*d*) Neh. 11 26 (Bℵ*A om.). The notice in (*c*), however, is admitted to be derived from (*b*), and the words 'and Shema and Moladah' in (*a*) are an interpolation (see SHEMA) from Neh. 11 26 (see Bennett, *SBOT* 'Joshua'). The two remaining passages (*b* and *d*) tell us this—that Moladah was first Simeonite, then Judahite (see Sta. *GVI*, *ib.* 154), and that it was in the neighbourhood of Shema or Sheba and Beersheba. Originally it was probably Jerahmeelite, as its name appears to indicate (see MOLID). Moladah is very possibly the Malatha or Malaatha in Idumæa, to the 'tower' of which Agrippa at one time retired (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6 2). Respecting this Malatha, Eus. and Jer. tell us (*OS* 87 22, 214 55, 119 27, 255 78, 133 3, 266 42) that it was 4 R. m. from Arad and hard by Ether (Jattir). If this statement is correct, it is fatal to the identification (in itself phonetically difficult) of Moladah with *Kh. el-Milḥ* (13 m. E. of Beersheba), which has been adopted from Robinson (*BR* 2 621 *f.*) by Guérin, Mühlau, and Socin (cp SALT, CITY OF). The fortress of Malatha seems to have been entirely razed. The ruin of *Derējās* or *Darējāt*, on the slopes and summit of a knoll, with caverns, referred to by Buhl (*Pal.* 183), seems too insignificant. It is, however, in the right district, being NW. of *Tell 'Arād* towards *'Attīr*. Cp JERAHMEEL, § 2. T. K. C.

MOLE, 1. (לַחְפֹּר פֵּרוֹת; but some MSS, Ibn Ezra, and the moderns read חֲפַרְפָּרוֹת, from √חפר, 'to dig?'—only in plur., cp Theodot. φαρφαρωθ; τοις ματαιοις [BℵAQΓ]; Is. 2 20†). The idolaters, say the commentators, will have to throw their idols into the holes burrowed by moles. The genus *Talpa* (mole) has not been found in Palestine; but its place has been taken by the mole-rat, *Spalax typhlus*. Mole-rats are common about ruins and the outskirts of villages, etc. They are considerably larger than moles. Their eyes are completely covered by skin; the ear conchs are small and the incisor teeth large and prominent. They

[1] [It may be noted that for πυραμίδας the Syr. has *naphšāthā*, perhaps 'grave-stones,' and μηχανήματα may have been simply machines for raising the pillars.]

form long burrows, sometimes 40 ft. in length and about 18 in. below the surface, in which they live gregariously, seldom, if ever, coming to the surface. The objection is (1) that the existence of a word 'חפר, 'moles,' is uncertain, and (2) that the common view makes a miserable sense. One can hardly doubt that there is a textual corruption, and that the 'moles' and 'bats' have to disappear. Read 'In that day men shall cast away the idols of silver and gold which the Jerahmeelites (ירחמאלים) made for them to worship'; cp *v.* 6, where פלשתים, as usual, is a popular corruption of צרפתים, 'Zarephathites' (often a synonym for 'Jerahmeelites'; see PELETHITES).

2. In Lev. 11 30 occurs תִּנְשֶׁמֶת, which is now generally explained 'chameleon' (see LIZARD, 6). Onk., however, gives אשותא, 'the mole,' with which 𝔊 Vg. ([ἀ]σπάλαξ, *talpa*) agree. Did 𝔊, Onk., read in this passage אֲשׁוּת (or אֶשֶׁת)? In *v.* 18 'תנש evidently means some kind of bird, and it is unlikely that this name was really given to animals belonging to quite different categories. It is noteworthy that Tg. reads אֲשׁוּת, 'mole,' instead of MT's אֵשֶׁת, in Ps. 58 9 (see OWL, § 1 [*c*]).

3. On the proposed rendering MOLE for חֹלֶד in Lev. 11 29, see WEASEL. T. K. C.—A. E. S.

MOLECH, MOLOCH.[1]

Heb. הַמֹּלֶךְ, Lev. 20 5, in MT always pointed with the article except in 1 K. 11 7; 𝔊 in Pent. ἄρχων, ὁ ἄρχων [= מֶלֶךְ, as in Gen. 49 20 Nu. 23 21 Dt. 17 14 15, etc.], in 1 K. 11 7 [𝔊L, μελχομ] Jer. 32 35 βασιλεύς, which was probably the original rendering in all passages in Kings and Prophets where later Greek translators find Molech;[2] Aq. Symm. Theod. Μολοχ, which has intruded into 𝔊BNA as a doublet in Jer. 32 35 [𝔊 39 35] and in different manuscripts in a number of other places; in some cases it has supplanted the rendering 'king,' as in 𝔊Q, etc., in Jer. 32 35, 𝔊AB 2 K. 23 10 [𝔊L Μελχομ, cp *v.* 13], 𝔊 vid. omn. Am. 5 26 [see Hexapla]; Pesh. in Pent., following an old Jewish exegesis,[3] interprets of impregnation of a heathen woman; 2 K. 23 10 Jer. 32 35 *'amlek* [1 K. 11 7 Am. 5 26 Zeph. 1 5 *malkōm*, Milcom]; Tgg. מולך.

1. Name.

The name of a deity to whom the Judæans in the last ages of the kingdom offered their own children in sacrifice with peculiar rites. The places in which the name Molech occurs in MT are Lev. 18 21 20 2-5 1 K. 11 7[4] 2 K. 23 10 Jer. 32 35 [= 𝔊 39 35]; Greek translators have Moloch also in Am. 5 26 Zeph. 1 5. Allusions to the worship of Molech are recognised by many modern scholars in Is. 30 33 57 9 (EV 'the king'); but the view of Geiger, who found references to this cult in a much larger number of passages, has been generally rejected.[5] The evidence of MT and the versions, a brief summary of which is given above, shows that the older interpreters took the word (המלך, מלך) not as a proper name, but as an appellative or a title used in the cultus (see below, § 5), and read it *mélek*, 'ruler, king'; the pronunciation *mṓlek*[6] is probably an intentional twist, giving the word the vowels of *bṓšeth*, 'shame.'[7]

The oldest witness to the pronunciation *mṓlek* is the text of Acts 7 43. The name does not occur in Philo, Josephus, or any of the remains of the Jewish Hellenistic literature of the time, and is not found even in the Greek *Onomastica*. In Jubilees 30 10 the Ethiopic text has Moloch, but the Old Latin version *alienigena* (see footnote 3 below).

[1] Moloch, EV Acts 7 43, AV Am. 5 26.

[2] Cp the variants of 𝔊 and the Hexapla in Zeph. 1 5 Am. 5 26—where the testimony is confused under the influence of Acts 7 43—Is. 30 33.

[3] Cited to be condemned in *M. Mĕgillā*, 4 9; cp Tg. Jer. 1 on Lev. 18 21; see Geiger, *Urschrift*, 303. Add *Jub.* 30 10 Lat. *alienigena*.

[4] In 1 K. 11 7, Molech is an error for Milcom; cp MILCOM, § 1.

[5] Geiger, *Urschrift*, 306 *ff.*; against Geiger, Oort, *Menschenoffer*, 60 *ff.*; Kuenen, *Th. T* 2 562 *f.*; Eerdmans, *Melekdienst*, 24 *f.*

[6] Μολοχ, *Moloch*, by vowel assimilation; cp Βοοζ, Αχιναομ, etc., Frankel, *Vorstudien*, 119.

[7] Geiger, *Urschrift*, 301 (1857); Dillmann, *MBAW*, 1881, June 16; G. Hoffmann, *ZATW* 3 124 (1883); WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 372 n., and many. Cp the substitution of *bṓšeth* for *ba'al* in Jer. 3 24 11 13 Hos. 9 10; also 𝔊 ἡ αἰσχύνη, ἡ Βααλ (ἡ Μολοχ 𝔊247 2 K. 23 10). See IDOL, § 3.

The term regularly employed to describe the rites of Molech worship is הֶעֱבִיר (*he'ĕbīr*), cause to pass, make over to a deity, synonymous with 'give' or 'pay' (in sacrifice);[1] thus, to Yahwè (firstlings), Ex. 13 12; to Molech, Jer. 32 35 Lev. 18 21 (in the latter a doublet or gloss to 'give,' cp Ezek. 16 21); cp 'give to Mólech,' Lev. 18 21 20 2-4; 'make over' victims to idols, Ezek. 16 21 23 37; frequently, 'make over, offer, by fire' (without the name of the deity), Dt. 18 10 2 K. 16 3 17 17 21 6 2 Ch. 33 6 Ezek. 20 31 (𝔊 generally διάγειν ἐν πυρί); 'make over by fire to Molech (2 K. 23 10).' The common rendering, 'make (a son or daughter) pass through the fire to Molech' (so EV), is also possible, if 'to Molech' be understood not locally but as the dedication of the sacrifice. The verb occurs so constantly in this connection that were it not for Ex. 13 12 it would doubtless have been regarded as belonging distinctively to the Molech cult.

2. The sacrifice.

The words הֶעֱבִיר בָּאֵשׁ, rendered 'cause to go through the fire,' have often been thought to describe a ceremony of consecration or februation by passing through fire,[2] such as has been practised in different forms and on different occasions in all parts of the world,[3] the Roman Palilia being a familiar example.[4]

Thus Theodoret (*Quæst. 47 in iv. Reg.*) brings to the explanation of the phrase customs which had fallen within his own observation: 'I have seen in some cities once in the year fires lighted in the public squares, and persons leaping over them and jumping—not merely boys but grown men, while infants were handed through the flame by their mothers. This was regarded as an expiation and purification.' The 65th Canon of the Concilium Quinisextum (692 A.D.), in forbidding under severe penalties the ancient custom of leaping over bonfires in the streets at the new moon, quotes as warrant for the prohibition 2 K. 21 6.[5]

This interpretation is old; it is expressed in 𝔊 Dt. 18 10, 'No man shall be found among you who purifies his son or daughter by fire';[6] cp Vg. Jer. 32 35 *ut initiarent filios suos et filias suas Moloch.* The Mishna seems to understand the rite as an initiation—not as a sacrifice;[7] in the Babylonian Talmud Rabbi Abaye (4th cent.) explained the custom as he imagined it: there was a row of bricks with fires on both sides of it, between which the child must pass. His contemporary Raba compared it to the Jewish custom of swinging over the Purim bonfires.[8] Similarly Jewish interpreters in the Middle Ages—*e.g.*, Rashi on Lev. 18 21: the father handed over his son to the heathen priests; they built two large fires between which the boy was made to pass.[9] It is generally assumed that the child went through unscathed (so Rashi, Maimonides); but others believed that the ordeal had a more serious ending: the child was compelled to go back and forth till the flames seized him or he fell into the fire;[10] or at least that the trial was sometimes fatal. Another old interpretation of the laws in Lev. 18 21 20 2-5 (commerce with heathen women) has been mentioned above (§ 1, n. 3).

The testimony of both the prophets and the laws is abundant and unambiguous that the victims were slain and burnt as a holocaust: see Jer. 7 31 19 4-6, cp 32 35 Ezek. 16 20 *f.*, cp 23 37-39 (? 24 6 *ff.*), Dt. 12 31. cp 18 10; also 2 K. 17 31; see further Jer. 3 24 Is. 57 5 *f.* 9 Ps.

[1] For this interpretation see Vitringa, *Obss. sacr.*, lib. 2, chap. 1; Kuenen, *Th. T* 1 60 *ff.* (1867); Dillmann, *Exod.-Lev.*(3) 141 *f.* 599; Eerdmans, *Melekdienst*, 7 *f.*

[2] Cp Nu. 31 23, of the spoil of war whatever will stand fire, תַּעֲבִירוּ בָאֵשׁ וְטָהֵר, 'ye shall pass through the fire and it shall be clean'; cp the following clause on purification by water.

[3] On fire festivals and ceremonies see Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, 497 *ff.*; Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 3 237 *ff.*

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, 4 721 *ff.* [5] Mansi, 11 973.

[6] περικαθαίρων, Vg. *qui lustret*; cp Chrysost. *Hom. in Joann.* 1 16, φοιβάζειν. 𝔊F om. ἐν πυρί.

[7] M. *Sanhedrīn*, 7 7: cp *Tos. Sanhedr.* 10 4 *f.*; *Siphrē* on Dt. 18 10: Jer. *Sanhedr.* 7 13 (fol. 25 *b c*); Bab. *Sanhedr.* 64 *a b*.

[8] Bab. *Sanhedr.* 64 *b*; see *Aruch*, *s.v.* שוור. On the Purim fires, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 3 172 *f.*

[9] Cp Rashi on *Sanhedr.* 64 *b*; Maimon., *Yad Ḥăzāḳā*, *'Ăbōdāh Zārāh*, 6 3; *Mōrè Nĕbōkīm*, 3 37.

[10] See *Aruch*, *l.c.*

106 37 *f.* These passages, it will be observed, prove also that the children were not burnt alive, but were slaughtered like other sacrificial victims; see especially Ezek. 16 20 *f.* 23 37 *f.*, cp also Gen. 22. Josephus, therefore, correctly interprets 2 K. 16 3 when he says of Ahaz, 'he also sacrificed his own son as a burnt offering to the idols (ὁλοκαύτωσε), according to the custom of the Canaanites.' Some of the midrashim give gruesome descriptions of the roasting of children in the arms of the idol of Molech (see below, § 3).

Ibn Ezra bluntly explains the word העביר as equivalent to שׂרף, 'burn,' 'for thus was the cult.'[1] Many scholars have endeavoured to reconcile these conflicting views in the theory that children were sometimes only 'passed through' the fire in rites of initiation or februation, sometimes actually burned. Analogies have been cited both for the attenuation of a sacrifice to a symbolical delivery to the flames, and for the growth of a real offering out of a more harmless rite.[2]

3. Seat of the worship.

The only seat of this cult of which we have certain historical knowledge is Jerusalem. The catalogue of the sins for which the northern kingdom was destroyed, 2 K. 17 7 *ff.*, in which the Israelites are charged with offering their sons and daughters by fire (*v.* 17, ויעבירו), was drawn up by a deuteronomistic writer (in the sixth century) from Dt., Jer., and Ezek. The prophets of the eighth century, in their indictment of contemporary Israel, say nothing of such sacrifices. (On 2 K. 17 31 and Is. 57 3 *ff.* see below, § 4.)

In Am. 5 26, ונשאתם את סכות מלככם, 𝔊 has τοῦ Μολοχ (cp Acts 7 43), Vg. *Moloch* (Aq. Μολχομ, Pesh. *malkōm*), and many interpreters down to our own time find here the name of Molech (see AV), some—chiefly older scholars—thinking that the idolatry of the forefathers in the wilderness is meant,[3] others, foreign cults of the author's own time. If, however, 'Siccuth' (Sakkut) is, like 'Chiun' (Kaiwān), the proper name of a Babylonian deity, as is now the generally accepted and most probable opinion, מלככם can only be appellative, 'your king,' and thus, apart from the question of the genuineness of the verse, the reference to Molech disappears; see CHIUN, and AMOS, § 13 [but cp MOSES, § 11; SHECHEM, ii.] Even with the appellative interpretation of סכות, 'tabernacle,'[4] the verse would testify only that to some (unnamed) god the epithet 'king' was applied; there is no allusion to the peculiar rites of Molech worship. Hos. 13 2 has been understood to refer to human sacrifice[5] to the calves of Israel (not Molech); but the better interpretation is, 'Human offerers kiss calves!'[6]

The place of sacrifice at Jerusalem was in the Valley of Ben Hinnom (see HINNOM, VALLEY OF; JERUSALEM, col. 2423 n. 7), just without the city gate 'Ḥarsith' (Jer. 19 2), not far from the Temple, and is called 'the Tophet' (התפת).[7] This pronunciation of the name is probably, like 'Molech,' one of the cases in which MT has given a word of idolatrous association the vowels of *bōšeth* (Geiger; see above, § 1); cp 𝔊 θαφεθ, ταφεθ, θαφφεθ, Pesh. *tappath.* On the derivation and meaning of the word see TOPHET. If we may connect it with Aram. תפיא (Jer. Tgg., Talm.) and the cognate words (see especially *RS*(2) 377 n.), תפת (pronounced *tĕphāth*) is a loan word of Aramaic origin (cp Heb. *'ašpōth*, and the denom. vb. *šāphath*, set (a pot) on the fireplace).[8] The meaning 'fireplace' would agree well with Is. 30 33, the only passage in the OT which seems to describe Tophet.

[1] Geiger's surmise, on Lev. 18 21 (*Urschrift* 305), based on MT 2 Ch. 28 3 (against all the versions) compared with 2 K. 16 3, that the original reading was everywhere הבעיר, 'consume' by fire, for which העביר is a euphemistic substitute, is generally rejected.

[2] See G. Voss, *De origine . . . idolatriæ*, lib. 2, ch. 5; Spencer, *De legibus ritualibus*, lib. 2, ch. 13, § 2. Braun, *Selecta Sacra*, 471 *ff.*; Witsius, *Miscell. Sacra*, lib. 1 diss. 5, § 18 *f.*

[3] See Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, 1 250; cp *Th.T* 2 592 (1868). Literature of the question in Eerdmans, *Melekdienst*, 142 n.; further, Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, 257 *ff.*

[4] So, most recently, Nath. Schmidt, *JBL* 13 9 *f.* (1894).

[5] So Oort, Kuenen, Eerdmans (23).

[6] Wellhausen, Stade, Nowack, and others.

[7] On human sacrifices outside of cities see WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 371 *ff.*

[8] The supposed Aramaic origin of the word seems at variance with the probably Phœnician origin of the cult; see below, § 6.

MOLECH, MOLOCH

Whatever explanation be given of the form, the word *tophtè* is obviously synonymous with תפת; it is a fireplace, apparently a pit or trench—'deep and wide'—in which the fuel was piled.[1] Compare the χάσμα πλῆρες πυρός in Diodorus' description (probably from Duris of Samos) of the child sacrifices of the Carthaginians (20 14), and the lines of Euripides, *Iphig. in Taur.* 621 *f.*, quoted by Diodorus in the same connection, where Orestes, about to be sacrificed asks, Τάφος δὲ ποῖος δέξεταί μ' ὅταν θάνω; Iphigenia answers: πῦρ ἱερὸν ἔνδον χάσμα τ' εὐρωπὸν πέτρας.[2]

The language of Jeremiah when he says that the people of Judah had built 'high places of Tophet' (7 31), or of Baal (19 5 32 35), does not contradict this inference, for these expressions mean no more than a 'heathen sanctuary' (see HIGH PLACE, § 5).

There is nothing in the OT about an image at this sanctuary; Ezek. 16 20 *f.* is hardly—in this rhetorical indictment—to be put into such close connection with *v.* 17, that we should understand the 'images of a male' in the latter verse of a Molech idol to whom the children were sacrificed;[3] and the author of 2 K. 23 10 would scarcely have failed to mention the image, if one had been there.

The descriptions of the idol of Molech in *Ĕchā rabbāthī* on Lam. 1 9, and *Yalḳūt* on Jer. 7 31 (from Midrash *Yelammeaēnu*, cp *Tanchuma*, ed. Buber, *Dĕbārīm*, fol. 8*a*) which have been repeated by many Jewish and Christian authors, are not only much too late to have any value as evidence to the fact, but are manifestly derived from Greek accounts of the image of Kronos to which the Carthaginians burned their sons.[4]

That the 'Tophet' was to the Molech worshippers a very holy place is evident from 2 K. 23 10, but especially from Jer. 7 32: in the day when the Valley of Ben Hinnom shall be called the Valley of Slaughter, they shall bury the slain in Tophet for want of room, and thus be constrained themselves to defile it (cp Ezek. 9 7, of the temple), Jer. 19 12 *f.*

4. Age of the cult in Judah.

The testimonies in the OT concerning the sacrifice of children to 'Molech' with peculiar rites—the question is not here of the antiquity of human sacrifice in general[5]—relate chiefly to the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century B.C. We have, indeed, a statement that Ahaz (reigned from about 734) 'offered his son by fire' (2 K. 16 3, העביר), and many scholars are accordingly of the opinion that the cult was introduced in the eighth century—most likely by Ahaz himself, whose penchant for foreign fashions in worship is known (2 K. 16 10-16). There is no intrinsic improbability in this; but we may hesitate to affirm the fact on the sole testimony of the author of Kings (end of 7th cent.) in his pragmatic judgment of the reign of Ahaz (2 K. 16 1-4). The prophets of the eighth century—in striking contrast to those of the next—make no mention of child sacrifices in their enumeration of the sins of their contemporaries; and, if Ahaz really offered up his son it would be more natural to regard it as a last resource in desperate straits,[6] like Mesha's sacrifice (2 K. 3 26 *f.*), than as an early instance of the 'Molech' cult.

Is. 30 33 (cp § 3) obviously plays upon this cult: for the enemies of Judah a vast fire pit is prepared (*tophtè*), like the Tophet in the Valley of Ben Hinnom; 'this, too, is for the king,' as that Tophet for the king-god ('Molech'). The elimination of the latter clause (Duhm) removes but half the difficulty. If the horrid rites of Tophet had been as familiar in Isaiah's day as this verse implies, is it conceivable that we should have but one reference to them, and that in sarcasm rather than in abhorrence? The difficulty would not exist if

[1] See Che. *Isaiah* (*SBOT*) 157.

[2] Examples of burning men in fire pits are cited from Arabic literature by WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 377.

[3] Kuenen, *Th.T* 2 577 *ff.*, cp 574 *f.* Oort, *Menschenoffer*, 79 *f.* thinks that Molech was properly the name of the image, which was arranged to serve as an altar.

[4] See Moore, *JBL* 16 161 *ff.* (1897). For the Greek and Roman testimonies see Maximilian Mayer, in Roscher, *Lex.* 2 1501 *ff.* See also WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 377 n.

[5] See SACRIFICE, § 13.

[6] As the occasion we should probably think of the invasion of Judah by Pekah and Rezin (Is. 7 1 2 K. 16 5). But it would be strange that we find no allusion to the deed in Is. 7 *f.*

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we could assume that *tophtè* was a common name for a fire pit, which only later became specifically associated with the offerings to Molech, but the probability is that *tôpheth* (*tĕphāth*) is a foreign word which was adopted with the cult (see above, § 3); the corresponding Hebrew words have not developed similar meanings.

Is. 30 27-33, as a whole, is regarded by several recent critics as 'post-exilic' (Guthe, Hackmann, Cheyne), and this may be confidently affirmed of *v.* 30; the tone of the allusion is rather that of a writer remote from these atrocities, than of a prophet in the midst of the struggle against them.

In the last half century of the kingdom of Judah the denunciations of the prophets (Jer. 7 31 19 5 *ff.* 32 35, cp 3 24; Ezek. 16 20 *f.* 36 20 26 31 23 37 39, cp Mic. 6 6-8) and the prohibitions of the legislation (Dt. 18 10, cp 12 31; Lev. 18 21 20 2-5)[1] prove that the sacrifice of children was a common thing, not on occasions of extremity, but as part of an established cult. The victims were frequently, if not always, firstborn sons or daughters of their mother (Ezek. 20 26, cp Mic. 6 7; see below, § 7). The author of Kings, in his recital of the sins of Manasseh for which Judah was doomed (2 K. 21 2-9, cp Jer. 15 4), includes the offering of his son by fire (*v.* 6, העביר, see also 23 10), and although the verse is little more than an application to Manasseh of Dt. 18 10 *f.* and the testimony of such catalogues of crimes is always to be taken with caution, in this case it may very well be true. A public cult of this kind is more likely to have been introduced from above than to have sprung up from below; particularly if, as we shall in the sequel find reason to think probable, the peculiar rites came from abroad.

The sacrifices were suppressed and the sanctuary dismantled and defiled by Josiah in 621 (2 K. 23 10); but the worship was revived under Jehoiakim and continued till the fall of Jerusalem (Jer. 11 10-13 Ez. 20 30 *f.*). Is. 57 5 has sometimes been thought to attest the survival—or revival—of the sacrifice of children among the descendants of the ancient Israelites at a very late date;[2] cp *v.* 9 where the 'king' is understood of the divine king ('Molech,' Ewald); but the evidence is of doubtful interpretation, and it is uncertain how far the writer is describing cults of his own time.

It has generally been held that these sacrifices were offered to a foreign god named Molech, cognate or perhaps identical with the Ammonite Milcom, whose worship for some reason received a great impulse in the last century or two before the fall of Judah. The language of the prophets seems to confirm this view: Jeremiah calls the place of sacrifice 'the high place of the baal' (*i.e.*, a heathen deity, Jer. 19 5 32 35), 'the baal' (MT *bōšeth*) had devoured the children of the Judæans (3 24); Ezekiel speaks of sacrificing children to idols (23 39, *gillūlīm*), and characterises the worship as fornication (*e.g.*, 16 20) or adultery (23 37), expressions which since Hosea had been standing metaphors for apostasy. There can, indeed, be no question that to the prophets this cult was an apostasy to heathenism; as little can we doubt that the rites were introduced from a foreign religion (see below). But we cannot be equally certain that the judgment of the prophets accurately reflects the intention of the worshippers; we shall find evidence in the prophets themselves that those who brought these sacrifices devoted them to no foreign god.

5. To whom were the sacrifices offered?

The pronunciation 'Molech,' as we have seen (§ 1), is a figment of Jewish readers; the word was originally spoken as it was meant by the writers, *ham-mélek*, 'the king,' a title or ἐπίκλησις,[3] not a proper name. There is a strong presumption that the deity who was thus addressed in Jerusalem was the national God, Yahwè. The title 'king' implies the belief that the god to whom it is given rules the destinies of the people; and whatever foreign deities Manasseh admitted to his pantheon, he and his people never ceased to acknowledge Yahwè as the god of Israel.

'The king' (*mélek*) is, in fact, a common title of Yahwè: see Is. 6 5, 'the king, Yahwè of Hosts'; Jer. 46 18, 'As I live saith the king, whose name is Yahwè of Hosts' (cp 48 15); Is. 44 6, 'Yahwè, the king of Israel' (cp 41 21 43 15 Zeph. 3 15); a contemporary of Jeremiah bears the name Malchiah, 'my king is Yahwè' (Jer. 21 1 38 1), nor is there any reason to think that in the older names Malchishua (son of Saul, 1 S. 31 2), Abimelech (Judg. 9 1), Ahimelech (a priest of Yahwè, contemporary of David, 1 S. 21 *f.* 2 S. 8 17), *mélek* is to be understood otherwise; note the analogy of baal-names (see BAAL, § 5).[1]

This presumption is strongly supported by the testimony of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Jeremiah is constrained to protest repeatedly that Yahwè had not enjoined these sacrifices: the people of Judah built the 'Tophet' sanctuary in the valley of Ben Hinnom 'to burn their sons and daughters with fire; a thing which I commanded them not, nor did it enter into my mind' (7 31, cp 19 5 32 35). The prophet's emphatic denial is the best evidence that those who offered these sacrifices offered them to Yahwè, as they believed in obedience to his command. This conclusion is confirmed in a remarkable way by Ezekiel: the people had obstinately disobeyed the good laws which Yahwè had given them (20 18 *ff.*), therefore 'I gave them statutes not good and ordinances whereby they cannot live, and defiled them by their sacrificial gifts in offering every firstborn, that I might fill them with horror' (Ezek. 20 25 *f.*, cp *v.* 31). The prophet does not, like Jeremiah, deny that Yahwè had commanded any such thing; he declares that these bad and destructive laws were what the people had deserved by rejecting better ones. He leaves us in no doubt what the law was, for he uses the very words of Ex. 13 12, 'Thou shalt offer every firstborn to Yahwè' (והעברת כל פטר רחם ליהוה); see below, § 7. The prohibition Lev. 18 21 also shows that the 'Molech' sacrifices were offered to Yahwè: 'Thou shalt not give any of thy children [offering them, להעביר, gloss] to the king, and shalt not [thus] profane the name of thy God.' Cp also Mic. 6 6 *f.* Gen. 22.

6. Whence was the cult derived?

The natural, and indeed almost inevitable, inference from the facts that have been brought out in the foregoing paragraphs—the place at which the sacrifices were offered, the peculiar rite, the time in which the worship first appears—is that the offering of children by fire at the 'Tophet' in the Valley of Hinnom to Yahwè the king was a foreign cult introduced in the reign of Manasseh. And, inasmuch as in this age, when the relations of Judah to Assyria were uniformly friendly, the influence of Assyrian civilisation—which, as always, necessarily includes religion—was at its height, and since other cults which then came into vogue can with much probability be traced to Babylonia,[2] it is not surprising that many scholars should have thought that the 'Molech' worship came from the same quarter.[3] This conjecture seemed to be confirmed by the fact that the colonists from Sepharvaim—long identified with Sippara in northern Babylonia—are said in 2 K. 17 24 31 to have burned their sons to their gods ADRAMMELECH and ANAMMELECH (*qq.v.*), whose names are obviously compounded with *mélek* (Adar-malik, Anumalik). The divine name or title *malik* was read in many Assyrian inscriptions;[4] texts were

1 Perhaps only 20 2*a* is the old law; see LEVITICUS, § 18.

2 Verse 5 is regarded by Duhm and Cheyne as secondary in a late context. That Is. 56 9-57 11*a* is not a fragment of a prophet contemporary with Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as was thought by critics of the last generation, is now generally recognised.

3 On the religious importance of these ἐπικλήσεις see Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 1 35.

1 On these names see Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, 115 *ff.* 138 *ff.* 146 *ff.*; Kerber, *Hebräische Eigennamen*, 37 *ff.* [Cp also MALCHIAH, SAUL, and *Crit. Bib.*, where an attempt is made to go behind MT, and recover more original forms of the names.—T. K. C.]

2 See QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

3 So Graf, *Jeremia*, Preface, 12 *f.* (1862); Tiele, *Vergelijkende Geschiednis*, 692 *ff.*; Stade, *ZATW* 6 308 (1886).

4 Schrader, *Th. St.* 47 324 *ff.* (1874): Adar or Adrammelech = Saturn = Moloch-Kewan-Sandan-Hercules, etc., 328 *f.*

understood to speak of human sacrifice;[1] reliefs and figures on seal-cylinders were thought to represent it.

The progress of investigation has left but little of this seemingly sufficient demonstration. Sepharvaim is not the Babylonian Sippara (Abū Habba), but a city in Western Syria (see SEPHARVAIM); the texts supposed to speak of human sacrifice were wholly misinterpreted; the representations in art are more than doubtful.[2] *Malik* is an epithet of various gods, probably not, however, in the meaning 'king' (*šarru; e.g., šar ilâni Ašur;* id. *Marduk; Sin šar ilâni ša šamê u irṣitim*),[3] but 'counsellor,' 'decider' (prop. *mâlik*),[4] or perhaps 'prince.' The cases in which Malik appears alone as though a proper name, particularly the inscription of Nabu-bal-iddin from Sippara (col. 5 5 40 6 7),[5] where it occurs in connection with Šamaš and Bunènè, are variously explained;[6] but it is at least certain that if *malik* ever became locally a proper name, the god to whom it was given occupied no such conspicuous place in the Assyrian pantheon as to make it probable that his worship should be taken up with so much zeal in distant Palestine, and, so far as our evidence reaches, there is no trace in Babylonia of the peculiar child sacrifices of the 'Molech' worship.

The OT represents these sacrifices as Canaanite.[7] The value of this testimony is diminished by the fact that from Hosea onwards the contaminating influence of Canaanite culture was the common prophetic explanation of the religious corruption of Israel; and the late date at which the peculiar Molech cult appears forbids us to suppose that it was adopted, like the baal worship, from the old population of the land in the period of occupation and settlement. But if we may take Canaanite in the larger sense in which it includes the Phœnicians,[8] this theory of the origin of the cult is probably true. For, though there is sporadic or inferential evidence of child sacrifice in many parts of the world,[9] the Phœnicians and their colonists, especially the Carthaginians, are the one civilised people of antiquity of whom we know that the sacrifice of their own children was practised, not as an occasional recrudescence of savage superstition, nor in the hole-and-corner rites of some abominable mystery, but as an established and prominent part of the public religion. These sacrifices seemed to the Greeks so remarkable in their atrocity, that no author who touches upon the history or customs of the Phœnician race fails to mention them. And it is of great significance for our question that in the descriptions of these rites, whether in mythical or historical form, the pit of fire constantly recurs.[10]

The deity to whom these sacrifices were offered is

[1] Sayce, 'Human Sacrifice among the Babylonians,' *TSBA* 4 25; Lenormant, *Études accadiennes*, 3 112; see Eerdmans, *Melekdienst*, 105 *ff.*

[2] See W. H. Ward, 'Human Sacrifice on Babylonian cylinders,' *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 5 34 *ff.* (1889); C. J. Ball, *PSBA* 14 149 *ff.* [1892]; A. Jeremias in Roscher, *Lex.* 2 3110.

[3] Del. *Ass. HWB*, 692.

[4] *Ibid.* 412 *f.*; A. Jeremias in Roscher, 2 3109.

[5] *KB* 3 1, 174 *ff.*

[6] See Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. and Ass.* 176 *f.*; Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyr. Geschichte*, 524; Jeremias, *l.c.* See also Eerdmans, 73 *ff.*

[7] Dt. 12 29-31 18 9-14 Ezek. 16 20 (in the midst of a description of the corruption of Israel in Canaan; cp *v.* 26 *ff.*, intercourse with foreigners); Jer. 3 24 19 5 (the 'baal'—*i.e.*, Canaanite deity). [Cp PLAGUES, TEN.]

[8] Sidon the firstborn of Canaan, Gen. 10 15; see CANAAN, §§ 1 *f.*

[9] See Bachofen, *Mutterrecht*, 212 *ff.* 229 *ff.*; Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 2 38 *ff.*

[10] The testimonies are collected by Münter, *Religion der Karthager*, 17 *ff.*; Maximilian Mayer, in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Kronos,' 2 1501 *ff.* (cp E. Meyer, *ib.* 1 1223 2869 *f.*). The most important are: the Platonic *Minos*, 315 C; Kleitarchos, quoted in Scholia to Plato, *Rep.* 1 337 A; Diodorus Siculus 20 14 (from Duris of Samos?), 13 86; Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, c. 13; Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, 2 56; cp Philo of Byblos, frg. 3, 4 (*FHG* 3 570). On the fiery pit cp also the myth of Talos, Sophokles, *Daidalos*, frg. 163, 2; Simonides, frg. 202 A, Bergk; Eustath. on Odyss. 20 302 (p. 1893), etc. See Moore, *JBL*, 16 164 (1897).

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called by the Greeks Kronos. Philo of Byblos tells us that the native name of the Phœnician Kronos was El (frag. 2 14, *FHG* 3 567, cp frag. 4, *ib.* 570 *f.*), and relates of this god that he killed a son and a daughter with his own hands, 'so that the other gods were amazed at Kronos' disposition' (frag. 2 18, *l.c.* 568); and that in a time of plague he sacrificed his only son to his father Ouranos (frag. 2 24); another passage narrates the sacrifice of his only son when great peril of war threatened the country (fragg. 4 *f.*, *l.c.* 570 *f.*); human sacrifices *to* Kronos, of which, according to Porphyry, the Phœnician history of Sanchoniathon was full, followed the example given by the god himself. It would be too much to infer from our evidence that the 'Kronos' sacrifices were always dedicated to the one god El; indeed, in the light of what we know of the Phœnician religion this is altogether improbable. Human sacrifices were offered to other gods, for example, to Melkarth, the city god of Tyre, whom the Greeks called Herakles.[1]

Many Phœnician proper names are compounded with *melk*, *milk*, 'king.'[2] The title, like *ba'al*, was doubtless given to the divine rulers of different cities; whether in time it attached at least by eminence to certain among them is not proved, though inherently probable enough. In particular we do not know that the god (El) or gods to whom children were sacrificed were specifically invoked with this ἐπίκλησις. At this point the chain of evidence connecting the Molech sacrifices of the Israelites with the Phœnician cult is not complete. It is perhaps not irrelevant to observe, however, that not only does the Kronos-El of Philo of Byblos reign upon earth in a way that no other god in his pantheon does (frag. 2 26; cp 24 28 etc.), but that in Greek authors also the epithet βασιλεύς is applied to Kronos in a much more primitive sense than to Zeus.[3]

7. Why did the Jews sacrifice their children?

We should err widely if we imagined that these heart-rending sacrifices were introduced, like Ahaz's new altar, in idle imitation of a foreign fashion. The spirit in which they were offered is expressed in the words which the author of Mic. 6 7 puts into the mouth of the people: 'Will Yahwè accept thousands of rams, myriad streams of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?' The sacrifice of the firstborn, the dearest thing on earth, is the most costly and therefore the most efficacious piaculum by which the wrath of God can be averted. It is not strange, therefore, that these sacrifices should have been multiplied in the last age of Judah, when disaster after disaster proved how heavily the anger of Yahwè rested upon the nation.[4] If their neighbours, at such a time, offered to their gods this uttermost atonement, would Yahwè expect less of his people? Nay, did not he *demand* as much? We have learned from Jeremiah and Ezekiel (above, § 5) that their contemporaries alleged a law in which Yahwè claimed these sacrifices, and Ezekiel quotes the law: 'Thou shalt offer every firstborn to Yahwè' (Ex. 13 12).[5] In the law books as we have them, this and the parallel laws are protected by clauses prescribing the redemption of firstborn children (see, however, Ex. 22 29 [28]). If these provisions attached to the laws from the beginning,[6] the worshippers may have treated them as permissive, and thought that a more unreserved devotion would not avail itself of the privilege of substitution. More probably the safeguarding clauses were added to exclude the interpretation of the law—not contemplated by its framers—which became current in the seventh century, according to which it demanded the actual sacrificing of the firstborn of men as well as of beasts.

A story repeated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus presents a

[1] Plin. *NH* 36 39; cp Quint. Curt. 4 5.

[2] See Baethg. *Beitr.* 37 *ff.*; E. Meyer in Roscher, *Lex.* 2 3106 *f.*

[3] On the latter point see Max. Mayer, in Roscher, *Lex.* 2 1457 *ff.*

[4] The same causes led to the foreign cults and strange mysteries described in Ezek. 8.

[5] See FIRSTBORN.

[6] On this question see Kue. *Th. T* I 53-72 (1867); Tiele, *Vergelijkende Geschiedenis*, 695 n.; against Dozy, *Israëlieten te Mekka*, 10 *f.* etc.

striking analogy:[1] the Tyrrhenians [Dionys. 'Pelasgians'] in a time of scarcity vowed to Zeus, Apollo, and the Kabiri to sacrifice tithes of all their increase. Their prayer having been heard, they offered tithes of their cattle and the fruits of the soil. A direr famine, with many other signs of the wrath of the gods, came upon them, and when they consulted the oracle they received this response: It was because, when they got what they desired, they did not pay what they had promised, but were still owing the most valuable part of all. They did not understand the response, but one of the older men interpreted it: The gods were just; they had indeed paid the first-fruits of their property honestly, but they still owed the tithe of human kind, which the gods prized above all.[2] There was a division of opinion about this interpretation, some rejecting it as given with evil intent; but a second appeal to the oracle confirmed it.[3]

If our hypothesis is correct, the religious motive of the child sacrifices in Judah came from within; the form of the piacula was foreign, probably Phœnician.

8. Literature. Jn. Selden, *De dîs Syris*, 1617; in later edd. with additamenta by Andr. Beyer; Jn. Spencer, *De legibus ritualibus* (1685), lib. 3, ch. 13; Jn. Braun, *Selecta sacra*, ch. 8; Herm. Witsius, *Miscellanea sacra*, lib. 2, diss. 5; Goodwin, *Moses et Aaron*, lib. 4, ch. 2; dissertations by Dietzsch and Ziegra in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, 23 861 *ff.* 887 *ff.*; Münter, *Religion der Karthager*,(2) (1821); Movers, *Phönizier*, 1 322-498 (1841); Daumer, *Feuer- und Molochdienst der alten Hebräer* (1842); Ghillany, *Die Menschenopfer der alten Hebräer* (1842); E. Meier, *Th. St. u. Kr.*, 1843, pp. 1007-1053; Geiger, *Urschrift*, 299 *ff.*; Oort, *Het Menschenoffer in Israël* (1865); Kuen. 'Jahveh en Molech,' *Th.T* 2 559-598 (1868), cp *ib.* 1 53 *ff.* 691 *ff.* (1867); *Godsdienst van Israël*, 1 250 *ff.* (1869) = *Religion of Israel*, 1 249 *ff.*; Tiele, *Vergelijkende Geschiedenis*, pp. 457 *ff.* 508 *ff.* 692 *ff.* (1872); cp *Gesch. van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid*, 1 228 *f.* 327 *ff.* (1893); Baudissin, *Jahwe et Moloch* (1874); art. 'Moloch' *PRE*(2), 10 168 *ff.* (1882); Scholz, *Götzendienst u. Zauberwesen*, 182 *ff.* (1877); Eerdmans, *Melekdienst en Vereering van Hemellichamen in Israël's Assyrische Periode* (1891); V. Hoonacker, *Le vœu de Jephté* (1893); Kamphausen, *Das Verhältnis des Menschenopfers zur Israelitischen Religion* (1896). G. F. M.

MOLI, AV, 1 Esd. 8 47 = Ezra 8 18, MAHLI.

MOLID (מוֹלִיד), a name in the genealogy of Jerahmeel; 1 Ch. 2 29† (μωηλ [B], μωλαδ [A], μοωλι [L]).[4] The name of his brother is Aḥbar (so read, with 𝔊[B]). Aḥbar and Molid are, with the help of transposition, carved out of Jeraḥme'el, like Jeraḥ and Almodad (probably) in Gen. 10 26. This does not exclude the possibility that Molid, or perhaps Molad (cp A), may have been regarded as the 'father' of MOLADAH [*q.v.*], which is indeed probably another record of Jerahmeel. Cp JERAHMEEL, § 2 *a*. T. K. C.

MOLOCH (Am. 5 26 AV and RV[mg.], Acts 7 43†). See MOLECH and CHIUN AND SICCUTH.

MOLTEN IMAGE (מַסֵּכָה), Dt. 9 12. See IDOL, § 1, *e*.

MOMDIS, 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 34, MAADAI.

MONEY. As in the case of metals, it has been judged best not to give a long comprehensive article, but to treat the subject in a series of special articles (see especially MANEH, PENNY, SHEKEL, STATER; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES).

The Hebrew narrators (J, E, P) who recast the Hebrew legends relating to primitive times had not forgotten the advanced civilisation prevalent in Canaan when their forefathers entered it; they presuppose the existence of a metallic currency, in harmony with the ancient Egyptian tribute lists and the Tell el-Amarna letters.

A favourite opinion connected with the patriarchal story must, however, be abandoned. The notion that the *kĕśîṭah* of Gen. 33 19 and two other passages was a piece of precious metal, with the stamp of a lamb, indicative of its value, is based on the fact that 𝔊, Vg., and Onk. render 'lamb' or 'sheep'—a very insufficient ground (Che.; for a better explanation, see KESITAH).

There is no passage in the OT suggestive of anything like the Assyrian ingots stamped with 'the head of Ištar of Nineveh,' to which Babelon (58, quoted by Kennedy) refers. At the same time, there can be no doubt that ingots of fixed weight were in use among the early Israelites (see, *e.g.*, 1 S. 9 8), and in those transactions in which the strictest accuracy was required, the money was specially weighed. Hence שָׁקַל (*šāḳal*), properly 'to weigh,' often means 'to pay'—*e.g.*, Gen. 23 16 Ex. 22 16 1 K. 20 39 Is. 55 2 Ezra 8 25. Gen. 23 16 is especially interesting, from the vividness of the description of a business transaction in the course of which it occurs. The meaning, however, is hardly given correctly by the commentators whom Kennedy (Hastings, *DB* 3 420 *a*) follows. Methodical emendation of the text brings out a meaning which is far more satisfactory and suggestive (see KESITAH).

The clue to the problem of the *kĕśîṭah* has been given by a misreading of 𝔊 in Chronicles, and in solving this problem light has been thrown on another passage (Gen. 23 16), where the phraseology had not been questioned. It was for four Carchemish-minæ of gold that Abraham, according to P, purchased Machpelah (Gen. 23 16), and for one mina of Carchemish that Jacob, according to E, bought a piece of land at 'the city of Shechem' (Gen. 33 19, cp Josh. 24 32; but see SHECHEM). How important the Carchemish mina was, is seen by the fact that it was carried by Phœnician traders to Greece. The description of the purchase in Gen. 23 reminds us of many Assyrian documents in which the mina of Carchemish is expressly mentioned as the standard of money payments (*KB*, vol. iv.).

Literature.—To ascertain the value of the coins in use among the Jews in the post-exilic age, we must have recourse to metrology. Works relating to this subject are therefore to be included here. See especially J. Brandis, *Das Münz-, Maas- u. Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien* (1866), and 'Literature' under WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

On the Egyptian and Babylonian use of the precious metals for the purposes of exchange, cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 324 *ff.* 749 *ff.*; and on the question, 'Did the Assyrians coin money?' see the essay by C. H. W. Johns, *Expos.*, Nov. 1899. On Jewish coins, see Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881); Lévy, *Gesch. der jüd. Münzen* (1862); de Saulcy, *Recherches sur la numismatique judaïque* (1854), and *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte* (1874); and Th. Reinach, *Les monnaies juives* (1887). See also A. R. S. Kennedy's excellent monograph 'Money' in Hastings, *DB* 3 417-432. On the statement of Herodotus (1 94) that the Lydians first coined money see LYDIA, § 1.

MONEY CHANGERS. See TRADE.

MONSTER (תַּנִּין), Lam. 4 3 AV, etc. See JACKAL, LILITH, WHALE.

MONTH, the period from the first appearance of one new moon to that of the next—in other words, the period of a lunar revolution.

1. Meaning of terms. Naturally, therefore, when months are spoken of, only lunar months can be meant; of any such artificial product as the so-called 'solar' month the ancient Israelites took no more account than do the modern Jews in arranging their calendar. Both the OT words for month—*ḥōdeš* (חֹדֶשׁ) and *yéraḥ* (יֶרַח)—correspond to the natural definition given above. *Ḥōdeš*, the commoner and specifically Hebrew name, denotes originally the new moon (the 'new' light), a meaning which the word retained throughout in Phœnician (cp the n. pr. בן חדש = Νουμηνιος, of the inscrr.); *yéraḥ*, the word for month common to all the Semitic languages (cp Phœn. ירח, Aram. יְרַח, Assyr. *arḫu*, etc.), though comparatively rarely employed in the OT (Ex. 2 2 Dt. 21 13 33 14 1 K. 6 37 38 8 2 2 K. 15 13 Job 36 7 3 29 2 39 2 Zech. 11 8 Ezra 6 15 and Dan. 4 26 [29]), tells the same story plainly enough by its close relationship to *yārēaḥ* (יָרֵחַ), the word for moon. The appearance of the new moon (חֹדֶשׁ) inaugurated a new period, a new month, and was festally observed by the Israelites from ancient times (cp, *e.g.*, Am. 8 5 Hos. 2 11 [13] Is. 1 13 *f.*). See NEW MOON.

The mean length of such a month is 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 2.82 sec., and accordingly it was impossible that the determination of the month, as long as it rested on direct observation only, could arrive at any absolutely uniform result; the observed months inevitably varied in length between twenty-nine and thirty days, and the order in which the months of twenty-nine days (חֹדֶשׁ חָסֵר) alternated with those of thirty days (חֹדֶשׁ מָלֵא) had not yet been fixed even at the time when the Mishna

[1] *Antiqq. Rom.* 1 23 *f.*, from Myrsilos of Lesbos; see *FHG* 4 445 *ff.*

[2] Cp Varro's explanation of child sacrifice cited in Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 7 19: quod omnium seminum optimum est genus humanum.

[3] See also what follows in Dionysius.

[4] 𝔊[BL] suggests (but cp Ki. in *SBOT*) that the ד is intrusive.

was composed; even at that late date, in the second century A.D., the point was decided by the first visibility of the new moon (cp also Jer. 316). It was only with the introduction of a fixed calendar in the fourth century, that a regular order was determined in this matter also (see YEAR).

2. Old (Canaanite) names.

The oldest names of months of the year preserved in the OT are the following four:—(1) Ābīb (הָאָבִיב, always with חֹדֶשׁ preceding), Ex. 134 2315 3418 Dt. 161, *i.e.*, the month of the ripening ears of corn, ear month; (2) Zīw (יֶרַח זִו, 1 K. 637, and חֹדֶשׁ זִו, 1 K. 61 [where also, however, יֶרַח ought probably to be read]), the month of splendour, flower month; (3) Ēthānīm (יֶרַח הָאֵתָנִים, 1 K. 82), perhaps meaning the month of perennial streams, the month, that is, in which only such streams contained any water; and (4) Būl (יֶרַח בּוּל, 1 K. 638), probably meaning rain month, but according to others, with less likelihood, the month of growing crops. Plainly these four names were originally Canaanite, and were taken over by the Israelites when they settled in that country; Ēthānīm and Būl are met with on still extant Phœnician-Cyprian inscriptions (ירח בל, *e.g.*, at the beginning of the inscription of Eshmunazar; ירח אתנם, *CIS* 1, no. 86 *a*), and the meaning of all four, so far as can be seen, has reference to the regular rotation of the seasons of the year as experienced in Palestine.

Other Phœnician names of months are preserved on Phœnician-Cyprian inscriptions, but partly only in mutilated form (their interpretation also still remains very problematical): כרפא or כרפאם (*CIS* 1, no. 11); כרר (*CIS* 1, no. 92); מפ (*CIS* 1, no. 4); . . . פע, perhaps = פעלת (*ib.*, no. 88); and זבחשמש (*CIS* 1, no. 13).[1]

It is not probable that the Canaanites understood by *yĕraḥ* a solar month, and had thus accepted the Egyptian year. In any case the old names Ābīb, Zīw, etc., do not point to an Egyptian vague year, the employment of which would have involved such a displacement that at the end of every 120 years the names of the months would have been a whole month too early. A further evidence that the Canaanite months were originally lunar is undoubtedly suggested by the fact that in Phœnician inscriptions, כחדש ירח, 'on the new moon of the month,' denotes the first day of the month in question (cp *CIS* 1 1, p. 92 *ff.*; the monument is referred to the first half of the 4th cent. B.C.).[2] Further, that the

NAMES OF MONTHS

CANAANITE.	No.	BAB.-ASS.	HEBREW.	LXX, ETC.	MACEDONIAN.	SOLAR.
אָבִיב	1	Ni-sa-an-nu	נִיסָן, *nīsān* (Neh. 21)	N(ε)ισάν (in Esth.)	Ξανθικός	April
זִו	2	Ai-ru	אִיָּר, *iyyār* (Targ. 2 Ch. 30 2)	Ἰάρ (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 3 1)	Ἀρτεμίσιος	May
	3	Si-va-nu, or Si-man-nu	סִיוָן, *sīwān* (Esth. 89)	Σ(ε)ιουάν (Bar. 18 and Esth. 89 [ℵ^c.a mg.])	Δαίσιος	June
	4	Du-u-zu	תַּמּוּז, *tammūz*		Πάνεμος	July
	5	A-bu	אָב, *āb*		Λῷος	August
	6	U-lu-lu	אֱלוּל, *ĕlūl* (Neh. 615)	Ἐλούλ (1 Macc. 1427, not ℵ)	Γορπιαῖος	September
אֵתָנִים	7	Taš(tiš)-ri-tum	תִּשְׁרִי, *tišrī*		Ὑπερβερεταῖος	October
בּוּל	8	A-ra-aḫ sam-na	מַרְחֶשְׁוָן,[3] *marḥešwān*	Μαρσουάνης (Jos. *Ant.* i. 3 3)	Δῖος	November
	9	Ki-[i]s[i]-li-mu	כִּסְלֵו, *kislew* (Zech. 71 Neh. 11)	Χασελεῦ or -αλ. (1 Macc. 154)	Ἀπελλαῖος	December
	10	Ṭe-bi-[e]-tu[m]	טֵבֵת, *ṭēbēt* (Esth. 216)	Τεβέθος (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5 4).	Αὐδυναῖος	January
	11	Ša-ba-ṭu	שְׁבָט, *šĕbāṭ* (Zech. 17)	Σαβάτ (1 Macc. 1614)	Περίτιος	February
	12	Ad-da-ru	אֲדָר, *ădār* (Esth. 37)	Ἀδάρ (1 Macc. 743)	Δύστρος	March
	Inter-calary.	Ar-ḫu ma-aḫ-ru ša Addaru	אֲדָר בַּתְרָאָה, after-Adar, or אֲדָר שֵׁנִי, second Adar.			

[1] To these add (Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epig.* 412) מפע, מרזח, חיר.

[2] Even though Di. doubts this translation and maintains that the expression means simply 'on the new moon that happens in the month in question,' the words cannot be employed as an argument for the solar month theory. The expression could be used only as long as one new moon alone in a month was possible, or 'new moon' must have lost its original meaning, and in that case must be interpreted as meaning simply the first day of the month, just as the Gk. νουμηνία does in later usage. But even this later usage also shows that originally the new moon marked the beginning of the month and that the months were lunar. Moritz Schmidt's not quite certain restoration of the Cyprian-Greek text in the inscription known as Idaliensis I. (*CIS* 1 1, p. 104 *ff.*), a bilingual in Phœnician and Cyprian Greek dating from the fourth century B.C., according to which the inscription would contain reference to five supplementary days, could not in any case be accepted as convincing evidence regarding Canaanite usage.

[3] מַרְחֶשְׁוָן according to Dalman.

mourning period of thirty days, spoken of in Dt. 21 13 (cp Nu. 20 29 Dt. 34 8), should be called 'a month of days' (יֶרַח יָמִים) is not impossible where reckoning is made by lunar months, and does not necessarily imply acquaintance with the solar month of the Egyptians.

3. (Ass.-Bab.) terms. With the exile, and the shifting of the beginning of the year (borrowed from the Babylonians) to the spring season, the old names of the months began to be abandoned and their place was taken by the ordinal numerals. Abib now became the *first* month (cp Ex. 13 4 with 12 2), Zīw the *second* (1 K. 6 1), Ēthānīm the *seventh* (1 K. 8 2), and Būl the *eighth* (1 K. 6 38); the numeration started from the new beginning of the year—viz., spring. In course of time the Assyrian-Babylonian names for the months began to gain currency; but without addition of their numbers they are met with only in Ezra 6 15 (Aramaic) and in Nehemiah (1 1 2 1 6 15).[1] The latest date at which they can have first come into use among the Jews could be fixed with certainty if in Zech. 1 7 and 7 1 the names really dated from the time of the prophet Zechariah. That, however, is not probable; we must, therefore, content ourselves with the general statement that they can hardly have come into use with the Jews before the fifth century and even then were far from being exclusively employed. They are not all of them met with in the OT; but their Hebrew form can be recovered from post-biblical literature, for example, from the *Roll of Fasts*, an Aramaic document dating from 66-70 A.D.[2] The name of the eighth month (see the table given above) shows very clearly on the one hand that these names are not of Persian but of Babylonian-Assyrian origin, and on the other that they assume the year to begin in spring; for A-ra-aḫ-sam-na means the eighth month (*araḫ* = ירח and *samna* = שמונה). Moreover the name of the intercalary month betrays its character by its dependence on he name of the preceding (twelfth) month; it is no more than a second closing month that is occasionally tagged on.

These Babylonian-Assyrian names have held their own in the Jewish calendar down to the present day.

4. Macedonian names. It was only for a short time that they found rivals in the Macedonian names. One certain trace of this use of the Macedonian calendar we have in 2 Macc. 11 30 where the month corresponding to Nisan is called Ξανθικός. It is not quite certain whether in 2 Macc. 11 21 the name of the month Διοσκορίνθιος, as it is now read, is merely a corruption of text for Δύστρος (a name which occurs in Tob. 2 12 [א]), or whether it is due to an oversight of the author, or whether it is the name, otherwise unknown, of an intercalary month to be inserted between Dystrus and Xanthicus. Josephus still employs at pleasure the Macedonian names for the Hebrew. Finally, in 3 Macc. (6 38) we meet with two Egyptian months: Pachon (Παχών; not in V), the ninth Egyptian solar month (of thirty days), and Epiphi (Ἐπιφ[ε]ί), the eleventh.

In the foregoing table the post-exilic usage is followed and the year reckoned as beginning in spring.

5. Comparative calendar. According to the autumn reckoning which was afterwards returned to and still rules in the Jewish calendar, the seventh month was the first in the year and the insertion of the intercalary month was made accordingly in the middle of the year. For the mode of insertion see YEAR. It will of course be understood that the months named in the last column, being solar months, correspond only roughly and in a general way to those in the preceding columns, which are lunar.

The month was divided into decades (*'āśōr*, עָשׂוֹר) or nto weeks (*šābūa'*, שָׁבוּעַ). It would be too bold an undertaking to seek to prove from the division into decades

6. Divisions of month. that the Israelites were acquainted also with the Egyptian month of thirty days, and thus had at one time even reckoned by solar months. The division of the month into three thirds of ten days each could have commended itself to the Israelites just as easily as one into four fourths of seven days each, inasmuch as they too had months of 30 days as well as months of 29 days. It is only in one passage (Gen. 24 55), however, that *'āśōr* means a space of ten days; everywhere else, where the word is applied in relation to time, it means 'the tenth day' (Ex. 12 3 Lev. 16 29 Josh. 4 19 2 K. 25 1 Ezek. 20 1 24 1 40 1). On the division of the month into weeks, see WEEK. These divisions were never made use of for dating the day of the month; thus it never was said 'on such and such a day of such and such a decade' or 'on such and such a day of such and such a week.' Dates were given simply by the number of the day of the month.

7. Literature. See especially Di., 'Ueber das Kalenderwesen vor dem Babylonischen Exil' in *MBBA*, 1882, pp. 914-939; Schürer, *GJV* 1 (2) 623 *f.*; cp also We. *Heid.* 89 *ff.*; Schr. *KAT* (2), 379 *f.*, and W. Muss-Arnolt, 'The Names of the Assyro-Babylonian Months and their Regents,' *JBL* 11 [1892], pp. 72-94 and 160-176. K. M.

MONUMENT. On 2 K. 23 17 RV (צִיּוּן) and Is. 65 4 AV (נְצוּרִים) see TOMB; on 1 S. 15 12 RV (יָד) see SAUL.

MOOLI (μοολει [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 47 RV. See MAHLI.

MOON. The words are: (1) יָרֵחַ, *yārēaḥ*, from a root ירח (see BDB), probably connected with √ארח, to travel, wander (so MV, Buhl, Lag. *BN* 46, and cp the Eg. name for the moon Ḫunsu, 'the wanderer').

2. לְבָנָה, *lebānāh* (√ 'to be white' or 'pale') occurs three times, Cant. 6 10 Is. 24 23 30 26. New moon is חֹדֶשׁ, *ḥōdeš*, from the root חדש, to be new, whilst full moon is כֶּסֶא, *kése'*; cp Ass. *kusê'u* (= *agû*), a cap or tiara, the god at full moon being supposed to have his tiara on.

In Gen. 1 14 *ff.*, where the story is told of the creation of sun and moon and stars, the moon is not mentioned

1. References. by name; she is the lesser of the two great lights set in the firmament to give light upon the earth (*vv.* 16 *f.*), and rules the night (cp Ps. 136 9 Jer. 31 35), apparently in independence of her fellow. According to the priestly writer the oldest Hebrew month and year were lunar (see MONTH, YEAR), so that the words of *v.* 14 (cp Ps. 104 19), 'Let them be for signs and for seasons, for days and years,' would have a special force when applied to the moon. How far the Hebrews attributed to her a permanent influence on things terrestrial—that is to say, whether they planted and sowed, reaped and felled and sheared, according as she waxed or waned—we do not know; in one passage only (Dt. 33 14) is the growth of vegetation apparently ascribed to her influence;[1] but the correctness of the text is very doubtful. It is certain, however, that the day of new moon (חֹדֶשׁ), and in a lesser degree that of full moon (כֶּסֶא, cp Ps. 81 4 [3], if the usual reading and interpretation are correct) were marked with red in the Hebrew calendar. (For חֹדֶשׁ as a religious festival cp 1 S. 20 5, and ‖ שבת, 2 K. 4 23 Am. 8 5; ‖ מוֹעֵד, Is. 1 14; ‖ חג, Ps. 81 4 [3]: see NEW MOON.) In Ps. 121 6 (we can hardly quote Hos. 5 7, a very doubtful passage) we find a malignant influence attributed to her; the reference may be to the blindness that results from

1 In Esth. 9 15 17 19 21 the number is not given with the name, because in 9 1 it is given, once for all, for Adār.

2 See Dalman, *Aram. Dialektproben* (1896), pp. 1-3, 32.

1 AV has 'for the precious things put forth by the moon'; RV, '. . . of the growth of the moons.' AV therefore covers over the difference between the singular שֶׁמֶשׁ in *a*, and the plural יְרָחִים in *b*. In the ‖ passage Gen. 49, 25*a* and *b* together are represented by 'blessings of the breasts and of the womb' (שָׁדַיִם וָרָחַם), again an inconsistency of number, but one that is of no exegetical significance. גֶּרֶשׁ, *géreš*, rendered in RV 'growth,' is a ἅπ. λεγ., and is suspicious.

sleeping in the moonlight with uncovered face (so Carne, *Letters from the East*, 77; but see Macrob. *Saturn.* 7 16 26). The word *σεληνιαζόμενος* in Mt. 4 24 and *σεληνιάζεται* in 17 15 testify to the prevalence of the belief that the moon caused epilepsy.

References to the moon are frequent in Hebrew poetry. She is the emblem of beauty (Cant. 6 10), and of the order that does not change (Ps. 72 5 7 89 37). That she should stay her course (Josh. 10 12 *f.* Hab. 3 11) is a crowning evidence of God's might; that she should suffer eclipse (Is. 13 10 24 23 Joel 2 10 Mt. 24 29, etc.) or turn to blood (Joel 2 31 quoted Acts 2 20 Rev. 6 12) betokens that the day of God's wrath is at hand. The moon shall not 'withdraw herself' (Is. 60 20), but 'her light shall be as the light of the sun' (cp Enoch 72 37), when 'Yahwè binds up the breach of his people and heals the wound of its stroke' (Is. 30 26).

The moon's very splendour was a danger for religion (Dt. 4 19, cp Wisd. 13 2 *f.*). The Assyrians and Babylonians had for ages been addicted to the worship of the heavenly bodies, and such a name as BETH-SHEMESH [*q.v.*] suggests that sun-worship was practised among the Canaanites, possibly through early Babylonian influence; the names JERICHO and JERAHMEEL [*qq.v.*] we abstain from quoting. 'Among the Hebrews,' says Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*[2], 135, n. 2), 'there is little trace of [astral worships] before Assyrian influence became potent,' and he would be a bold man who would argue from the problematic astral elements in some of the OT narratives (cp Winckler, *GI* 2), or from doubtful proper names like LABAN, MILCAH, SARAH, or from the real or supposed origination of the Hebrews in two famous seats of moon-worship (UR [*q.v.*] in S. Babylonia and HARAN [*q.v.*]) that moon-worship—a religion of more venerable antiquity in Babylonia than sun-worship—must have been one of the chief temptations of the primitive Hebrews. Something, at least, we do know: from the time of Ahaz onwards a syncretistic tendency, though checked for a time by Josiah, gained more and more ground in the kingdom of Judah. Striking evidence of this is given in Jer. 8 2 19 13, and even though 2 K. 17 16 comes from a late writer (see Kittel in *HK*), the truth of its statement cannot be doubted (Am. 5 26 is not here quoted for a special reason; see PHŒNICIA, § 12). Certainly, moon-worship is but once explicitly mentioned in the OT; but the one proof-passage, though post-exilic, is of great importance. It is the famous passage in Job 31 26 relative to the hand-kiss to sun and moon. We must not say that the language is merely dramatic, as if the writer aimed dispassionately at reproducing primitive times with strict accuracy. In this section of Job, especially, the poet is thinking of his own time; his heart throbs as he writes. We may add that the imported cultus of Tammuz, which is attested by Ezek. 8 14, almost certainly presupposes moon-worship, Tammuz and the moon, as Winckler has pointed out, being closely related. Nor is it unfair to suggest that the crescents worn by the women of Jerusalem in later times (Is. 3 18, part of an inserted passage[1]) had a heathenish connection.

2. Moon-worship.

The QUEEN OF HEAVEN mentioned in the Book of Jeremiah (7 18 44 17) forms the subject of a special article. On the name Sinai, see SINAI.

See Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 101-108; *ZA*, 1896, pp. 298-301; Winckler, *GI* 2 (*e.g.*, 23 *ff.* 57 *ff.*); Hommel, *AHT*, and *Aufsätze*, bk. ii. (1900), also *Der Gestirndienst der alten Araber* (a lecture, 1900); G. Margoliouth, 'The earliest religion of the ancient Hebrews,' *Contemp. Rev.*, Oct. 1898; Goldziher, *Hebrew Mythology*, 71-76, 204-6, 351 *f.* The mention of these books by no means implies acceptance of the theories, sometimes not very strictly critical, expressed in them.

A. C. P.

MOOSIAS, RV **Moossias** (μοοσσ[ε]ιας [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 31 = Ezra 10 30 MAASEIAH, 13.

MORASTHITE, THE (הַמֹּרַשְׁתִּי; τον του μωρασθει [B], μωραθ[ε]ι [AQ*], μωραδθιν [Q^{mg.}], in Jer. 26 18 μωραθειτης [BℵAQ]), a phrase used of

[1] See Che. *Intr. Is.* 19 *f.*; Marti, *Jes.* in *KHC* 44.

Micah (Mic. 1 1 AV, RV **Morashtite**), and supposed to mean a native of a place called Moresheth, a dependency of Gath, in the maritime plain (so Driver, *Introd.*[6], 326; cp MORESHETH-GATH). This, however, is not very plausible; it would seem that 'Gath' (גת) in Mic. 1 14 must necessarily be corrupt. In Mic. 1 13 Lachish is called the prime occasion of sin to the people of Zion (בַּת צִיּוֹן). Then Micah continues, 'Therefore (*i.e.*, because of the sin which spread from Lachish) thou wilt have to bid farewell (lit. to send a parting present, as to a bride) to Moresheth, O people of Zion' (בת was corrupted into גת, and ציון fell out of the text).[1] Moresheth, or rather Morashah, appears to be another form of Mareshah, adopted to suggest the meaning 'betrothed' (מְאֹרָשָׂה). It corresponds to *mĕ'ārēś* (מְאָרֵשׂ) in *v.* 15, which should most probably run thus:—

עַד־מְאָרֵשׂ אֹבִילֵךְ יוֹשֶׁבֶת מָרֵאשָׁה
עַד־יְרַחְמְאֵל יָבוֹא כְּבוֹד יִשְׂרָאֵל

'Unto a (new) betrother will I conduct thee, O community of Mareshah;
To Jerahmeel shall the glory of Israel come.'[2]

That in much later times a place with a name like Morasthi (?), distinct from Mareshah, was pointed out to Jerome, does not prove that this is the place intended in Mic. 1 14, or the place of which Micah was a native.

Robinson's reasons (*BR* 2 423) for distinguishing Moresheth from Mareshah are, (1) the difference of the names, which come from different roots (but this is surely a mistake; Mareshah is properly מראשה, Josh. 15 44), and (2) that they are both given in the same context (but the writer had an interest in pronouncing the name the second time Mareshah—viz., to produce a fresh paronomasia). Robinson, however, may be right in thinking that the church which, according to Jerome, covered the site of the supposed sepulchre of Micah, was the church 20 minutes SSE. of Bēt Jibrīn, the ruins of which are now called Sanda Hanna or St. Anne (see ELEUTHEROPOLIS). 'Close by,' he says, 'are the ruined foundations of a village, which may or may not be ancient.' This village may in truth have been early Christian, and have been called Morasthi to please pilgrims. Cp Che. *JQR* 10 576-580 (1898).

T. K. C.

MORDECAI (מָרְדֳּכַי [Baer, Ginsb.], §§ 43, 83, μαρδοχαιος or -χεος [BℵAL]).

1. The cousin and foster-father of Esther, and one of the chief personages in the book of Esther [*q.v.*] (Est. 2 5, etc.). He is described as Jeminite (יְמִינִי), *i.e.*, virtually a Benjamite, and as descended from Jair, Shimei, and Kish, the last two of which are well-known Benjamite family names. His name, however, if correctly transmitted, is genuine Babylonian (cp Bab. *Mardukêa*), and means 'belonging to MARDUK' (see MERODACH).[3] The day of 'Mardocheus' (RV 'of Mordecai'[4] (2 Macc. 15 36, *τῆς μαρδοχαικῆς* [A, but *μαρδοχοικῆς* V] *ἡμέρας*) is a designation of the 14th of Adar, the first and greatest of the days of Purim; see ESTHER. The fact, however, that in Esth. 2 15 (cp 9 29) Mordecai's uncle is called Abihail[5] (אביחיל), which is most probably a popular corruption of Jerahmeel (see NABAL), that Shimei is an ethnic = Shimeoni, and that Kish probably = Cushi, makes it highly probable that Esther's foster-father derived his name not from Marduk but from Jerahmeel—*i.e.*, that he belonged to a family of old Jerahmeelite extraction. His true name may be Carmeli or some one of the parallel forms.

This result compels us to give serious consideration

[1] The alternative is, if we keep the text, to make גַּת a vocative: 'Therefore shalt thou, O Gath, bid farewell to Moresheth' (so We., Nowack), which seems to have no propriety in this context. G. A. Smith (1896) finds no satisfactory explanation of MT.

[2] A captivity in N. Arabia (here called Jerahmeel) is in the mind of the writer, who is probably not Micah, but a post-exilic writer. See MICAH ii., § 4.

[3] Tg., perhaps avoiding reference to a heathen deity, sees in the name מֵירָא דַכְיָא, 'pure myrrh,' a figurative description of Mordecai.

[4] MARDOCHEUS is the form of the name in the AV apocrypha.

[5] 𝔊's 'Aminadab,' if we prefer this reading to 'Abihail,' is also an ethnic name = נדבם, cp NADAB.

to a view which would otherwise be, not indeed absurd (there being analogies enough for it), but at least unnecessary—viz., that the original story of Esther (as perhaps also that of Judith) is to be included among the records of the oppression of the Jews, after the fall of the kingdom, by the N. Arabian populations. See OBADIAH (BOOK).

The difficulty caused by the statement in Esth. 2 6, which apparently makes Mordecai a fellow-captive of Jeconiah, is dealt with at length by Ryssel, who offers the suggestion that אֲשֶׁר may really refer to Mordecai's family. There is, however, a ready explanation if the Book of Esther is based on an earlier narrative (see OBADIAH). If the king of Geshur or Jerahmeel is the oppressor of the Jews in the intention of this narrative, it was possibly said that Carmeli (?) was one of those carried captive by the Jerahmeelites. See PURIM, § 6.

2. A Babylonian Jew (Ezra 2 2 Neh. 7 7, *μαραθχαιος*, *μαλδοχεος* [B], *βαγδοχαιος* [ℵ in Neh.]); in 1 Esd. 5 8 MARDOCHEUS.
T. K. C.

MOREH (μωρε), Mt. 5 22 RV^mg., EV FOOL (*q.v.* end).

MOREH, THE HILL OF (גִּבְעַת הַמּוֹרֶה, 'the soothsayer's hill'? γαβααθαμωρα [B], του βωμου του αβωρ [A], βουνου του αμωρε [L]), in a description of the position of the Midianitish army (Judg. 7 1). Usually identified with the hill above Shunem, now called *Nabī Dahī* (so Baed.^(2), 243; G. A. Sm., *HG* 397; Buhl, *Pal.* 103), though G. F. Moore supposes the hill intended to be near Shechem. The phrase, however, is simply an editor's ingenious attempt to make sense of a corrupt passage. Cp HAROD (THE WELL OF), 1. 'Moreh' or rather 'Hammoreh' should be 'Gilboa'; both forms are among the many corruptions of 'Jerahmeel.' On the true site of 'Gilboa' see SAUL, § 3 *f.*, and on the origin of 'Moreh' see following article.
T. K. C.

MOREH, THE PLAIN OF (אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה; την δρυν την υψηλην [ADEL]; cp MORIAH), Abraham's first resting-place in Canaan; it was at the spot where Shechem afterwards stood (Gen. 12 6; but see SHECHEM). AV's rendering 'plain,' however, is inadmissible; it is borrowed from Jerome, and ultimately from the Aramaic translators (Onk., Jon., Sam., Tg. מישרא), who may have wished to save Abraham from the suspicion of tree-worship. RV renders 'the oak (mg., terebinth) of Moreh.' So Tuch (1838), comparing 'the oaks of Mamre' (Gen. 13 18 14 13). Most recent writers prefer 'the oak (sacred tree) of one who gives oracles,' and compare 'the oak of augurs' (Judg. 9 37 RV^mg.); see MEONENIM. This is no doubt a possible meaning. Cp הוֹרָה, 'to give directions' in Dt. 33 10 Mic. 3 11 (of priests), Is. 9 14 (of prophets). The analogy of 'Moriah' (המריה, Gen. 22 2), however, which is certainly the corruption of a proper name (see MORIAH), suggests that Tuch and the earliest scholars may be right, and 𝔊's rendering seems to point to an early reading מראה, for which we may also perhaps quote the Syriac rendering, 'the oak of Mamre' (ממרא).

The easiest solution would be אֱמֹרִי, 'Amorite.' יְרַחְמְאֵלִי, 'Jerahmeelite,' however, is just as possible, and is favoured by the circumstance that the king of Shechem in Judg. 9 bears a name (Abimelech) which is most probably an early distortion of Jerahmeel, and by the prominent position of the Jerahmeelites in early legend (see ISAAC, JACOB, and cp SHECHEM).

The same tree is referred to again in Gen. 35 4 as הָאֵלָה, and in Dt. 11 30, where (with Sam., 𝔊) we should perhaps read אֵלוֹן in the singular. Cp GILGAL, § 5.
T. K. C.

MORESHETH-GATH (מוֹרֶשֶׁת גַּת, 'possession of Gath'; κληρονομια γεθ [BAQ]; *HEREDITAS GETH*), a place in the Shĕphēlah or Judæan lowland near the Philistine country (Mic. 1 14). Though the name has disappeared, the context forbids us to doubt where the place lay, and Micah's surname 'the Morasthite' implies that it was the home of that prophet. The paronomasias of the section make the interpretation difficult, and in 1 14 none of the ancient versions surviving recognises Moresheth Gath as a proper name. The word Morasthite (*Mōrashti*) was therefore obscure to them; but this only gives greater weight to the traditional pronunciation, with *ō* in the first syllable, which is as old as 𝔊, and goes against the view, taken by the Targum both on Micah and on Jeremiah, and followed by some moderns (including Roorda), that Micah came from Mareshah (cp *v.* 15).

When Eusebius (*OS* 282 74) places *μωρασθει* near Eleutheropolis it is not likely that he is thinking of Mareshah (Maresa), for he speaks of the former as a village, and of the latter as a ruin 2 m. from Eleutheropolis. Jerome, too, in the *Epitaph. Paulæ* (*Ep.* 108), speaking as an eye-witness, distinguishes Morasthim, with the church of Micah's sepulchre, from Maresa. This, indeed, was after the pretended miraculous discovery of the relics of Micah in 385 A.D.; but the name of the village which then existed (*Præf. in Mich.*) can hardly have been part of a pious fraud.
W. R. S.

MORIAH, or rather 'the Moriah' (הַמֹּרִיָּה), the name of the mountain on which the temple at Jerusalem was built, Gen. 22 2 (in its present form), 2 Ch. 3 1.

Gen. 22 2, Sam. ארץ המוראה; Sam. Vv. חזיתה, 'vision'; 𝔊, *τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλήν* (cp their rend. of מורה in 12 6 [see MOREH]); Aq. (τ. γ.) *τὴν καταφανῆ*; Symm. (τ. γ.) *τῆς ὀπτασίας*; Vg. *terram visionis*, connecting with ראה, 'to see'; Pesh. ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܡܘܪܝܐ; Onk. לארעא פולחנא, connecting with ירא, 'to fear'; Jon. לְטוּר מוֹרִיָּה. 2 Ch. 3 1, *αμορ(ε)ια* [BAL]; 'mountains of the Amorites' [Pesh.]; *Moria* [Vg.]. Whether the Pesh. rendering in Gen. is rightly claimed by Di. and Ball in favour of a reading האמרי, seems doubtful; the plural points may be due to a later misunderstanding (see Geiger, *Urschrift*, 278 *f.*). Deimel, however (*ZTK*, 1899, p. 3), still takes virtually the same position (אמריה=מריה, comparing Pesh., and even Ass. *Martu*). For Midrashic explanations of 'Moriah,' see *Ber. rabba*, § 55 (Wünsche, 263 *f.*). The explanation of the Chronicler (2 Ch. 3 1) is also of the Midrashic type; 'Moriah' is the mountain where Yahwè (see 𝔊 Chron.) appeared to Solomon's father, David.

Great obscurity hangs about this name, which only occurs in these two passages, and in extra-biblical passages (Jos. *Ant.* i. 13 1, *τὸ Μώριον ὄρος*) based upon them. Until quite lately, in fact, it has been generally assumed[1] that Moriah was the ancient name of the temple-mountain. This view, however, only goes back to the Chronicler, who may have derived the name from the narrative in Genesis (cp Baudissin, *Studien*, 2 252). That the editor of JE, who gave Gen. 22 1-19 its present form, meant to attach the interrupted sacrifice to the temple-mountain is highly probable; but he suggests rather than states this, and the fact that he does not make Abraham call the sacred spot 'the Moriah' but (if the text is right) 'Yahwè-yir'è' ought to have opened the eyes of the critics. The only satisfactory solution is that, in the copy of E used by the editor of JE, the word following אֶל־אֶרֶץ in *v.* 2 was indistinctly written. That word was surely not חֲמֹרִים (Wellh. *CH* 21), as if Shechem were meant, for the Samaritan tradition is ultimately based on a confusion between the spots mentioned in 12 6 and 22 2 respectively. Nor was it הָאֱמֹרִי (Di., Ball), which is not definite enough. The true reading must be one of the names which specially belong to the southern border of Canaan—viz., either מִצְרִים (=the N. Arabian Muṣri; see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*) or יְרַחְמְאֵל. The proposal to read Miṣrim has been approved by Winckler, both privately and in print (*GI* 2 44, n. 1); the צ in מצרים would easily fall out after ארץ. Our explanation of the story of the sacrifice of Isaac (see ISAAC, JEHOVAH-JIREH), however, favours 'Jerahmeel.' That the scene of the story is to be placed in the Negeb has been seen by Bacon, who rather too arbitrarily reads הַנֶּגֶב; cp 20 1 24 62 Nu. 13 29 (see his *Genesis*, 141, n. 3;

1 Philo, however (*De Abr.* 32=2 25, ap. Lag. *Orient.* 2 55), evidently did not share the common view. His words are, *σφαγιάσαι ἐπί τινος ὑψηλοτάτου κολωνοῦ, πορρωτάτω πόλεως ἀποστάντα τριῶν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν.*

MORTAR AND PESTLE

and art. in *Hebraica*, April 1891). Between the Jerahmeelite country and the land of Muṣri no sharp line of division can be drawn. See NEGEB.

The view that 'Moreh' (12 6) and 'Moriah' (22 2) are connected—advocated in 1838 by Tuch, but probably very much older—is therefore not so incorrect as has been supposed. The Samaritan tradition (*ZDPV* 6 198 7 133) identifying the mountain of sacrifice with Gerizim, is not solely the result of religious rivalry with the Jews. 'Moreh' (traditionally near Shechem) and 'Moriah' are probably enough connected. Gerizim, too, is really not altogether an unplausible selection. No one would speak of seeing Mt. Moriah at a distance, nor does the expression 'on the third day' suit Jerusalem as well as it suits Gerizim. It it needless, however, to revive the old controversy, which loses its basis when a keen criticism is applied to the text in the light of passages already found to contain the names Miṣrim and Jerahmeel. See, further, JEHOVAH-JIREH.

And what shall we say of the proceeding attributed to the ancient editor of JE? Did he, as Wellhausen (*CH* 21) supposes, invent the name הַמֹּרִיָּה, 'the Moriah,' in order to displace the true reading (*i.e.*, as We. thinks, חֲמֹרִים, 'the Hamorites') with the least amount of violence, while at the same time suggesting the thought of David's vision? Surely not. Corruptions of the text arose very early (cp GILEAD, JACOB). The editor had before him an indistinctly written text, and, helped by a special devotion to the temple at Jerusalem, imagined that he read מראיה (ארצה), which he explained as = מַרְאֵי יָהּ, 'the appearance of Yahwè.'[1] The name, however, which had never before been heard of, made no impression on the Jewish mind, till the Chronicler (in what form, may be left uncertain) gave it currency. To hold with Grill (*ZATW* 4 [1884] 144 *f.*) that Moriah, as a name for the temple-mount, is at least as old as the name Jerusalem, and to explain it as = מוֹרִית יָהּ, 'foundation of Yahwè,' is a view which, though supported by König (*Lehrgeb.* ii 1 480), is by no means natural or philologically plausible. T. K. C.

MORTAR AND PESTLE. The historically oldest mode of making the grains of cereals more palatable was to roast them (see FOOD, § 1 [*a*]). It was found still more profitable, however, to release the mealy kernel by rubbing the grains between two stones, a method still in vogue among many civilised races. The lower and larger stone might be slightly concave like the Scottish 'saddle-querns,' or might be flat and sloping towards the front as in Egypt, whilst the rubbing stone was flat on one side and round on the other, with rounded ends, like an egg cut lengthwise. Such querns are still, or were till recently, used for grinding *dura* (Niebuhr, *Déscript. de l'Arabie*, 45, with illustration, copied in Benzinger, *HA* 85; Nowack, *HA* 1 110). Along with mortars, they were the only means by which the ancient Egyptians obtained their flour[2] (see statuette of slave-girl at work, Erman, *Egypt*, 190). A number of rubbing stones were found by Bliss in the mound of Tel-el-Ḥesy, and are figured by him (from a photograph) in *A Mound of Many Cities*, 85.

A more efficient mode of obtaining the same results was by means of the mortar (מְדֹכָה, *mĕdōkāh*, Nu. 11 8, 𝔊, θυΐα; also מַכְתֵּשׁ, *maktēš*, Prov. 27 22; Aq., Theod., ὅλμος; in later Hebrew more frequently מַכְתֶּשֶׁת, *maktešeth*) and pestle (עֱלִי, *'ĕlī*, Pr., *l.c.*; 𝔊, Aq., etc., here and 𝔊 BℵA$^{c.a}$ 23 31, ὕπερος). Both mortar and pestle were in ordinary cases either of wood—probably,

[1] Local names are not generally compounded with יָהּ, though W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.*) mentions some in pre-Israelitish times which have the appearance of being so compounded.

[2] Wilkinson's paragraph on the mills of the early Egyptians (*Manners and Customs*, etc. [1878] 1 359) is shown, by his editor Birch in a footnote (*l.c.*), to be a mistake. Cp Erman, *op. cit.* 189.

as at the present day, a section of the trunk of a tree—or of stone; specimens in the latter material were also found at Tel-el-Ḥesy (illustr. *ap.* Bliss, *l.c.*). Copper mortars were likewise in use, and in the temple the mortars in which the family of Abtines pounded the spices for the sacred incense were of gold.

According to Jewish tradition they were among the spoils which Titus took with him to Rome (Edersheim, Hamburger), and according to some the cup-like vessels which appear on the table of shewbread on the Arch of Titus are two of these mortars.[1]

In NT times a mortar was an article of furniture in every house and, as we learn from the Mishna, was used for pounding, besides wheat and barley, a variety of substances such as vegetables, spices, salt, etc.

In the laws regulating the selling of houses, the *maktésheth kĕbū'ā* (fixed) or the mortar built, probably with a pedestal (see illustr. in Wilk. cited below), into the floor was a fixture, and went with the house as distinguished from the 'moveable mortar' which did not (*Bāb. Bath.* 4 3; see passage in full under MILL, § 3). The average height of the household mortar and pedestal (ὑφόλμιον) was about three feet, and the length of the pestle half as much again, hence Hesiod's line cited by Blümner (*Technologie d. gewerbe*, etc., 17), ὅλμον μὲν τριπόδην τάμνειν ὕπερον δὲ τρίπηχυν. The pestles of the Egyptians (see illustr. in Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 2 204) and of the Greeks (Blümner, *op. cit.* 22, from a vase) were more slender in the middle, where they were grasped by one hand or both, swelling slightly towards either end where they again contracted.

Mortars are mentioned in the OT as having been used for the preparation of the manna (Nu. 11 8), and once again Prov. 27 22: 'Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar [among bruised corn (RV; AV wheat) with a pestle] yet will his foolishness not depart from him.' Toy, however, omits the words within brackets as exceeding the poetical measure of the half-couplet.[2] In that case the expressive figure of the poet is taken from the use of mortar and pestle to remove the husk from the wheat before grinding.[3] The coarse meal obtained by this method was termed by the Hebrews גֶּרֶשׂ, *géreś* (Lev. 2 14 16, RV 'bruised corn,' from an unused root גרשׂ, Arab. *jaraša*, to crush, grind, which gives us the modern Syrian name for the hand-mill, *jarūšy*), also עֲרִיסָה, *'ărīsāh* (Nu. 15 20, EV 'dough,' RVmg., 'coarse meal'; see Ges.-Buhl(13), *s.v.*), and perhaps רִיפוֹת or רִפוֹת,[4] *rīphōth* (Prov. 27 22 2 S. 17 19, RV 'bruised corn'). In order to obtain a finer meal, the contents of the mortar might be taken out from time to time and passed through a sieve, the coarser grains being returned to the mortar, as we see from the detailed illustration of the process on an Egyptian monument (Wilkinson, *l.c.*).

The impoverishing effects of intemperance (Prov. 23 31) are paraphrased by the Greek translators in terms of a popular proverb; thou shalt walk more naked than a pestle (for instances from classical writers see Blümner, *op. cit.* 18).

The mortar (*maktēsh*) gave its name to two localities in Palestine, doubtless of a deep hollow formation, the one associated with the exploits of Samson (Judg. 15 19, EV 'the hollow place,' see LEHI), the other in or close to Jerusalem (Zeph. 1 11, see RVmg., and cp JERUSALEM, § 23, etc., and MAKTESH).

That the mortar and pestle preceded the mill among

[1] They are more likely to be gold censers.

[2] [Toy's view, however, leaves out of account בתוך הריפות, which can hardly mean 'in the midst of grit (or, bruised corn),' הרפות in 2 S. 17 19 being corrupt (see n. 4 below), and there being no other proof-passage. 𝔊's ἐν μέσῳ συνεδρίου suggests בְּתוֹךְ חֲבֵרִים; this is very plausible, but it is better to read בְּתוֹךְ רְחֹובוֹת. After some necessary corrections (see *Crit. Bib.*) the text becomes,

Though thou argue (thy matter) with a fool in the most public place,
His foolishness will not depart from him.]

[3] The MT with the words retained—as was noted under COOKING, § 3—has not infrequently been regarded as an indication of the manufacture of the favourite Syrian dish *kibbeh*, which consists of boiled wheat and mutton pounded together for some hours.

[4] [Strict textual criticism questions the existence of such a word. The initial ה in הריפות, הרפות is hardly the article. For Prov., *l.c.*, see n. 2 above, and in 2 S. *l.c.* read רפִּדוֹת, cushions in readiness for a meal). See *Crit. Bib.*]

the Hebrews, as we are expressly informed was the case among the Romans (see MILL), is shown by an interesting example of conservativism in religious practice, similar to the late retention of stone knives for the rite of circumcision (Josh. 5 3, cp Ex. 4 25). In the legislation of Leviticus, it is required that the offering of the first-fruits shall consist of early ears of wheat roasted at the fire, and then crushed in the mortar (2 14; cp Servius's statement quoted under MILL). A. R. S. K.

MORTER. 1. חֹמֶר, *ḥōmer;* πηλος; *lutum* (Gen. 11 3 [*cæmentum*], Ex. 1 14 Is. 41 25 Nah. 3 14). The builders of the tower of Babel are said to have used bitumen (EV 'slime') instead of mortar (see BITUMEN). In Palestine the usual material is clay (Ar. *ṭīn*). This is mixed with chopped straw which serves the same purpose as the ox-hair which our plasterers mix with their plaster. Besides this, there is a mortar made from sand, ashes, and lime, well pounded and mixed with oil. 'Nothing affords a stronger manifestation of persevering and patient labour than the long-continued and repeated beatings to which the Orientals subject the plaster (of lime, ashes, and straw), which is more especially intended to resist wet, and which does most effectually answer that purpose' (Kitto, *Pict. Bib.*, Ezek. 13 10); cp HOUSE, § 1. Mortar is usually trodden with the feet (Nah. 3 14); but wheels may also be used.

2. עָפָר, *'āphār;* χοῦς; *lutum* (Lev. 14 42-45). See above.

3. In Ezek. 13 10 *f.* 14 *f.* 22 28† טוּחַ תָּפֵל is used, for which EV has 'daub with untempered [mortar]' (cp Ar. *ṭafāl*, 'dry loam or clay'). This rendering goes back to Vg. 'linire luto absque paleis' (once), 'linire absque temperamento' (thrice); but the figure seems to be that the prophets whitewash, or give sanction and plausibility to, the popular scheme (likened to a mud wall). So 𝔊 (ἀλείφειν) and the moderns.

4. מֶלֶט, *méleṭ;* 𝔊BℵAQ om. (Jer. 43 9† RV, AV clay). Reading uncertain (see CLAY).

MOSERA, RV **Moserah** (מוֹסֵרָה; μειcαλαι [BA], μιcαλε [L]), Dt. 10 6†, or **Moseroth** (מֹסֵרוֹת, μαc-coυρωθ, -ρουθ [BF[1]], μαcουρουθ [A], -ωθ [L]), Nu. 33 30 *f.*†, a station in the Wilderness of Wanderings (see WANDERINGS). The termination -ah in Moserah, however, is locative. The name seems to be really traditional, and it is difficult not to place it in the neighbourhood of Kadesh. If so, Mōsēr may be a corruption of מִצּוּר, Miṣṣur—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian land of Muṣri. This is a conjecture; but we are bound to give at least a conjectural explanation of the statement 'there Aaron died, and there he was buried' (Dt. 10 6). Cp Nu. 20 22-28, and see HOR, MOUNT, 1. T. K. C.

MOSES

CONTENTS

'There hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom Yahwè knew face to face' (Dt. 34 10).

1. Earlier criticism. This is the enthusiastic eulogy of a late editor, reflecting on the beautiful picture of an ideal 'man of God' presented in the composite narrative. Every true Jew and every true Christian must read it with reverence and sympathy. Still, true devoutness does not exclude historical criticism, and as critical students we are bound to remember that every religion which is not simply autochthonous and primitive displays considerable eagerness in doing honour to its real or supposed founder. Now, the influence of great personalities—too great to be altogether tied down by tradition and convention—upon the religions of the most gifted races cannot indeed be overlooked; but it is only too easy for the adherents of a religion to assign too many achievements to its rightly or wrongly assumed chief prophet and legislator.

Feeling this tendency very strongly, Ewald endeavoured to reduce the prophetic and legislative work of Moses to 'those essential truths and social arrangements which constitute the motive power of the whole history.' 'We must not,' he says, 'be startled by the grandeur of the former or the wonderful nature of the latter, so as to reject anything because it appears incredible. For all the greatest and most enduring ideas that actuate and glorify the subsequent history, must have arisen in that sacred birthday of the community; and . . . at such extraordinary epochs, and among a people such as Israel then was, the most wonderful things became possible' (*Hist.* 2 107).

Few of us are still satisfied with the mixture of abstract religious philosophy and arbitrary criticism furnished by Ewald. His notion of what 'Israel then was' being purely imaginative, there can be no sound or durable basis to his reconstruction of Moses and his teaching. To the Israelites, as we now begin to know them from a truly historical criticism, the 'abstract ideas' which Ewald finds in 'the Mosaic economy' would have been 'a stone instead of bread.'[1] If such a person as Moses existed, he can, in working for such a people as the Israelites, only have occupied himself with the practical questions of the time; otherwise indeed the subsequent history of Israel is inconceivable. He had to unite the tribes on a permanent basis, and this basis could only be a religious one. He must therefore have been a worshipper and spokesman of Yahwè in some special sense, and have devoted himself successfully to the task of making this God more generally worshipped. In order to do this, however, he must first of all have brought the scattered clans of Israel together, and, if we assume that some of them were in the land of 'Goshen,' that Goshen was in Egypt, and that the Egyptian authorities hindered the removal of the clans, Moses must have had the greatest difficulties to cope with, and very justly, from a teleological point of view, may his success appear an extraordinary divine interposition. More than this we cannot venture, even from a moderately conservative point of view, to assume.[2] That there was a marked difference between the religion promoted, as is supposed, by Moses and that of (say) the Kenites, cannot be asserted. That morality counted for more with Moses than (say) with Jethro, is inconsistent with the facts recorded in the Book of Judges, from which facts we may infer with some degree of accuracy what the moral state of the Israelites before the entrance into Canaan must have been. Morality, indeed, cannot as yet have emerged from rule and tradition, nor can the decisions given by Moses beside the sacred tree and well safely be regarded even as its germs.[3]

The historical character of Moses, however, has been rather postulated than proved by recent critics. Without it, they find it difficult or impossible to explain the ethical impulse and tendency which, at any rate from the time of the prophet Amos (and Amos, be it remembered, presupposes that this impulse is no novelty), is conspicuous in the history of Israelitish religion. Moreover, the name 'Moses' not only represents a great though little-known personality; it is also a symbol of a colossal fact asserted by the later tradition —viz., the deliverance of the clans or tribes of Israel

[1] Cp Wellh. *Hist. of Israel and Judah*(3), 16 (1891); *IJG* 17 (1894).

[2] Cp Stade, *GVI* (1887), 130; *Akad. Reden* (1899), 107 *f.*; Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*(2) (1899), p. 17 *f.*; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1892, p. 14 *f.*

[3] See Budde, *Rel. of Isr.* 33 *f.* Note that 'law' in the English edition of this book corresponds to *Recht* in the German.

from Egyptian bondage, and the recognition of Yahwè by these united clans as the deity who had proved himself mightier and consequently more divine than the gods of Egypt (cp Ex. 18 10 *f.*, J), and required from them a gratitude and an obedience, out of which in the fulness of time a true ethical consciousness and an ethical monotheism might be expected to develop.[1]

The task at present before scholars is to examine these assumptions of recent criticism, and since criticism is bound to be progressive and to correct its own errors, we shall proceed to study various unobserved or neglected facts, which, it will be seen, are adverse even to the highly mitigated traditionalism to which critics twenty or even ten years ago were addicted. We shall not forget the need of circumspection; but our circumspection will have to apply itself in as yet unfamiliar ways.

2. Names. First of all, however, we must deal with the name 'Moses' and the other related names, and ask, What do they mean? and what have they to teach us? The name of Moses appears in the OT as מֹשֶׁה, Mōšè; the Arabic form of this is Mūsā. In Josephus and Philo, and in MSS of the LXX and NT generally, we meet with the Græcised form μωυσης (cp Vg. *Moyses*); there is a constant variant, however, μωσης. If the OT form were correct, and the name Hebrew, the obvious meaning would be 'deliverer' (√משה, 'to draw out'; cp 2 S. 22 17 = Ps. 18 17). There is no trace, however, of such an explanation anywhere in the OT. Pharaoh's daughter, who is supposed to speak Hebrew, calls the foundling Mōšè, 'because I drew him out of the water' (Ex. 2 10 [E]). That E had any thought of an Egyptian origin is improbable; the name Mōšè is strikingly unlike any of the names given as Egyptian in the story of Joseph, and the Hebrew connection suggested for the name by E has no parallel in the Joseph story except in the accounts of non-Egyptian names like Ephraim and Manasseh.

At a much later time it became important to tighten the connection between the Jews and the Egyptians; on the Ethiopian war of Moses, see § 21. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 96; *c. Ap.* 1 31) and Philo (*Vit. Moys.* 1 4) therefore were dissatisfied with the vague statement of Pharaoh's daughter, and explained the name Moses as = 'saved from the water,' a theory to which Jablonski (*Opuscc.* 1 152 *ff.*) gave a quasi-philological character. Hence for a time the Coptic etymology, *mo* 'water,' and *uše* 'rescued,' obtained general currency, though a genuine Egyptian name meaning 'saved from the water' would be quite differently formed (*ZDMG* 25 141).

At present, a more plausible etymology (suggested by Lepsius, *Chronologie*, 326; cp Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, 525 *f.*) is in vogue. There is an Egyptian word *mes* or *mesu*, meaning 'child,' which sometimes occurs as a name by itself, and sometimes as the second part of a theophorous name (*e.g.*, in the royal names Thotmes, Ahmes, Ramessu). Dillmann (*Ex.-Lev.* 16) would take 'Moses' = *mesu* to be the original name; Renan (*Hist.* 1 160) and Guthe (*GVI* [1899], 20) prefer to take it as an abbreviation of a theophorous Egyptian name.

The special objection to these widely held views[2] is fourfold. (1) The vowel in *mes*, *mesu* (or, according to W. M. Müller, *mose*) is short, whereas the corresponding vowel in Mōšè is long, and the sibilants in the two words are different.[3] (2) The Hebrews would surely not have accepted a name for their hero from their Egyptian oppressors;[1] the supposed Egyptian etymologies of PHINEHAS and HOR are not safe enough to be quoted on the other side as parallels. (3) A close examination of the traditions respecting Moses connects him much more certainly with N. Arabia than with Egypt. (4) The points of contact between Israelitish and Egyptian religious customs are few and unimportant, which would be strange, if Moses had received a name which naturalised him as an Egyptian.

It remains to interpret the name of Mōšè on the analogy of the names of Moses' nearest relations which express ethnic, more precisely, the present writer now thinks, N. Arabian affinities.

These names, with the explanations here suggested, are (1) Amram, probably a development of Jerahmeel; (2) JOCHEBED (*q.v.*), perhaps the original of the tribal name known to us as Ja'aḳob (Jacob); (3) Aharon (Aaron), probably a distorted fragment of Jerahmeel; (4) MIRIAM (*q.v.*), a distortion either of Merari [Miṣri] or of Amramith; (5) ZIPPORAH (*q.v.*), probably = Zarephath—*i.e.*, a personification of the Zarephathites, a branch of the Miṣrim of N. Arabia (see ZAREPHATH); (6) Gershom[2]—*i.e.*, belonging to the Giršu or Gišru or Gešurim of the Negeb of Palestine (see GIRZITES).

If the explanation of these names now suggested be accepted they record the early connection of the Israelites with populations of N. Arabia, where Horeb (the sacred mountain with which Moses is so closely associated) was situated (see SINAI). The presumption therefore is that מֹשֶׁה, Mōšè, also is N. Arabian. It might be connected with מִצְרִי, 'Miṣrite,' Miṣṣūr being the general name of the country referred to (see MIZRAIM). Mōšè is virtually identical with Mūšī, which, in Ex. 6 19 [P], is the name of a son of Merari b. Levi; indeed, in 1 Ch. 24 27 (cp *v.* 26), SHOHAM (*i.e.*, Mōšè, corrupted by transposition) occurs in lieu of Mūšī. The other son of Merari is called Mahli (elsewhere explained as = Jerahmeel), and we may assume that Mōšè, Mūšī, and Merari are all developments or distortions of some collateral form of Miṣri[3] (*i.e.*, 'one belonging to the land of Miṣṣur').

It may be objected to this view that in the earliest tradition (J), as it now stands, the father, the mother, and the sister of Moses are nameless, and that Aaron appears in this document 'only to disappear' (see AARON, § 4). The answer is (1) that the want of names in Ex. 2 1 4 may be due to R_P, who found the original names inconsistent with his material in chap. 6 (so Bacon), and (2) that, on the theory advocated above, the tradition of the migration led by 'Moses' is in fact necessarily without personal names, the names Moses, Amram, Jochebed, etc., being all ethnic, and not really borne by individuals. All that the earliest tradition knew was that a tribe closely connected with the Miṣrites and Jerahmeelites, and specially addicted to the worship of Yahwè, the god of Horeb, played a leading part in the migration of the Israelites into Canaan. This earliest tradition comes to us in part through P, whose lateness as a writer does not detract from the value of any information which he cannot have invented, and probably derived from early traditional sources.

3. The ark of bulrushes. The tradition respecting the child Moses in the box (basket?) of papyrus-reeds (EV 'ark of bulrushes'; see RUSHES, 1) is told only by E. According to this writer, Moses, the child of a man and a woman of the tribe of Levi (see JOCHEBED), was hidden among the reeds by the Nile, on account of a cruel edict that all male children of Hebrews should be put to death (cp Mt. 2 16).

[1] So Budde, *op. cit.*, 35-38.

[2] Giesebrecht, *Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes* (1900), p. 1, regards the 'Egyptian name' of Moses as a fact which confirms the statement that Moses came forward in Egypt; and Wellh. (*IJG*(1) 14, n. 1) appears to be untroubled by doubts. Holzinger, however (*Ex.* 6), says that the name מֹשֶׁה is 'unexplained.'

[3] From a private communication of Prof. W. Max Müller.

[1] According to Manetho (in Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 26 *f.*) the Egyptian name of the leader of the 'lepers' was Osarsiph; but when he went over to τοῦτο τὸ γένος, he received the name of Moses. Cp JOSEPH ii., §§ 1, 11. Chæremon (*ib.* 1 32) makes the Egyptian name of Moses Tisithen.

[2] Zipporah's second son Eliezer is only a doublet of Aaron's son ELEAZAR (*q.v.*, 1), the ethnic origin of whose name may be presumed, but is not definitely explained.

[3] We can hardly therefore look for an Assyrian etymology of Moses (*e.g.*, *mašā*, to be bright). Cp Sayce, *Rel. Ass. Bab.* 46 *ff.*

Moses' sister watched him, till the daughter of Pharaoh[1] saw the weeping child, and had compassion on him. Through his sister's cleverness he enjoyed maternal nursing, but was afterwards adopted as her son by Pharaoh's daughter.

This charmingly told story is of mythic origin.[2] The tale of the setting adrift of a divine or heroic infant on water is also a tradition of the Babylonians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, and even the Japanese.[3] It is significant that the Hebrew word for 'ark' occurs only twice—in Ex. 2 3 5 and in Gen. 6 14 *ff.* (Deluge)—and we may venture to suppose that the story of Moses has absorbed one of the details of a popular story either of Creation (cp the Japanese myth) or of the Deluge (which is a second Creation, cp DELUGE, § 19). The story gained immensely by this. The hero who was destined to lead his people through a 'sea,' and to be worsted by no obstacles, ought, in poetical fitness, to baffle his enemies even in infancy.

Of the parallel non-Jewish stories it is only necessary to quote one—that of Sargon of Agadé. This remarkable tale, which boldly claims the authority of Sargon, begins thus (cp BITUMEN, col. 589)[4]:—

'Sargina, the powerful king, the king of Agadé am I. My mother was poor, my father I knew not; the brother of my father lived in the mountains . . . My mother, who was poor, conceived me, and secretly gave birth to me; she placed me in a *basket of reeds*, she shut up the mouth of it with bitumen, she abandoned me to the river, which did not overwhelm me. The river bore me away and brought me to Akki the irrigator. Akki the irrigator received me in the goodness of his heart. Akki the irrigator reared me to boyhood. Akki the irrigator made me a gardener. My service as a gardener was pleasing unto Ištar and I became king.'[5]

Such a story as this, apart from the detail about the gardener, was probably floating in popular Hebrew tradition, and when men began to ask what happened to Moses before he became Hobab's (or Jethro's) son-in-law, it occurred to a narrator to transfer it to the biography of Moses. When the tradition was thus enriched, it of course stated that Moses drew his first breath in the land of Egypt. The story of the 'ark' is adapted only to the region of the Nile or the Euphrates, and J, though in its present form his account of Moses begins (apparently) with the aid rendered by Moses to Hobab's daughters[6] (Ex. 2 16 *f.*), distinctly states that Moses had fled to Midian[7] (or rather Muṣri) from Egypt.

It is not, however, an easy matter to understand how Moses can have left his fellow-tribesmen in Egypt and settled with Hobab.[8] The narrator who made him the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter only increased the difficulty; for if Moses had been reared as an Egyptian, he would naturally have received an Egyptian office and an Egyptian wife. Moreover, let it now be noticed that we have in 1 K. 11 17 *ff.*, in its present form, the account

4. Born in Egypt or in Musri.

[1] Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9 5) calls her Thermutis; Artapanus (in Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 9 27) Merris. Cp col. 2090.

[2] Ewald (*Hist.* 2 42) long ago saw this; so also Ebers, *Durch Gosen* (1872), 72.

[3] The Japanese myth is that the first child born to the divine pair, Izanagi and Izanami, the parents of gods and men, was set adrift in an ark of reeds. The story (which is admitted as genuine by Tylor, *Remarks on Japanese Mythology*) is told in connection with an account of Creation. For a wider circle of kindred stories see A. Bauer, *Die Cyros-sage und Verwandtes*; K. Schubert, *Herodots Darstellung der Cyrussage*.

[4] Note that no name is mentioned (apart from Akki) but that of Sargina. So in the story of Moses in Ex. 2 no name is given but that of Moses. The cause of Sargina's exposure is not mentioned.

[5] R. W. Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Ass.*, I 362; cp *KB*, iii.*a* 100; Del. *Par.* 208 *f.* Note that *initu* is not 'princess' (as G. Smith) but 'poor.'

[6] In *Oxf. Hex.*, however, *vv.* 11-15*a* are assigned to J (cp Wellh., Corn.).

[7] מרין, like צידון, is sometimes an error for מִצּוּר—*i.e.*, Muṣri.

[8] The story in Ex. 2 12 is not in character with the Moses of the later period. 'He looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no one,' etc. One may defend the story of the flight of Moses by the Egyptian story of Sanehat or Sinuhit (*RP*(2), 2 18 *ff.*), but not the cause of the flight.

of an Edomite who fled into Egypt, and was there hospitably received by Pharaoh, who gave him the queen's sister to wife, and that underlying this is an earlier and more authentic story that the asylum found by the fugitive was in the N. Arabian Muṣri.[1] The suspicion naturally arises that the earliest tradition respecting Moses represented him as an Israelite, who, together with his clan, had been admitted to the *jus connubii* by a tribe of Midianites, or rather (see HOBAB) Miṣrites, which dwelt not far from Horeb, the sacred mountain of Yahwè. The story of his chivalrous conduct towards Hobab's daughters seems to have been suggested by that of Jacob's friendliness to Rachel at the well (Gen. 29 2-10 J). Jacob marries Rachel; so Moses marries Zipporah, who is one of the seven daughters of the priest of Midian (Muṣri ?). Who *are* these seven daughters, we ask? Surely they represent the seven districts of the Miṣrite territory, one of which —that nearest Canaan—had, we hold, for its centre Zarephath. ZIPPORAH (*q.v.*) is, in our view, a miswritten Zarephath, just as Rachel is a distortion of Jerahmeel. Further, let us not forget that Elijah, who is in some important respects the double of Moses, is closely connected by tradition with 'Zarephath which belongs to Miṣṣur' (1 K. 17 10, revised text; see ZAREPHATH). The only doubt is whether Moses (*i.e.*, the clan) acquired Zarephath by the cession of a Miṣrite chieftain, or by conquest (see § 17).

The story in Ex. 4 24 *ff.*, being deeply corrupt, is of no value for the story of Zipporah, and the description of her in Nu. 12 1 as a 'Cushite woman' adds nothing to our knowledge. Some indeed (*e.g.*, Ewald, *Hist.* 2 177 *f.*, n. 3) have supposed that it is not Zipporah who is meant, but an Ethiopian concubine whom Moses took after the death of Zipporah. It is not, however, the Ethiopian but the N. Arabian Cush (see CUSH, 2) that is referred to, and Hobab, father of Zipporah (Zarephath), dwelt in Muṣri[2] which adjoined Cush.

By this connection the clan of Mōšè (Miṣri ?), as it was now called, and apparently the whole tribe of Levi[3] became a priestly and in a wide sense prophetic tribe, devoted to the worship of Yahwè.[4] This is thoughtfully described by E in Ex. 3 1 4*b* 6 9-14 as a new and solemn revelation of God to Moses by the name Yahwè at 'Horeb the mountain of God.' J also describes a solemn call to Moses, but presupposes that Yahwè is already known to the elders of Israel in Egypt (3 16). J also speaks of the mountain as הַר סִינַי, 'mount Sinai'[5] (הַסְּנֶה, EV 'the bush,' is less probable); it burned, and was not consumed. The mountain (called Horeb [mutilated from 'Jerahmeel'?] by E and Sinai by J) is described, according to a very plausible emendation of 3 1, as in 'the wilderness of Jerahmeel' (read מִדְבַּר יְרַחְמְאֵל for אַחַר הַמִּדְבָּר); it may be Jebel Muweileḥ which lies NE. of 'Ain Gadīs, E. of the Wādy eš-Šerāif, but is more probably some mountain-group nearer to Kadesh.[6] Horeb or Sinai was virtually guarded by a tribe of Yahwè-worshippers which is variously called Kenites, Jerahmeelites (?),[7] and Miṣrites (scarcely Midianites).

5. A Yahwè clan.

We are further told that Yahwè commissioned Moses to bring out the b'ne Israel who were in Egypt, so that they might worship Yahwè on 'this mountain' (so E), and that he promised

6. Misrim.

[1] See HADAD, and cp *JQR* 11 [1899], 551-556; Beke, *Origines Biblicæ*, 1 [1834], 307, n. 4.

[2] Read מִצּוּר for מרין (see preceding col. n. 7).

[3] 'Levi' is doubtless an older name than Mōšè. On its origin see LEVI.

[4] So Bateson Wright (*Was Israel ever in Egypt?* 164) finds 'traces of a tradition that this tribe (Levi) is of Kenite origin.'

[5] So in Dt. 33 16 read, with Renan, שֹׁכְנִי סִינַי. See BUSH, and note the differences of scholars as to the exact sense of סנה, a word which we certainly do not expect just here, and find only once again in a dependent passage, Dt. 33 16. Bacon's theory, adopted by Bennett (Hastings, *DB* 3 349 *a*), is therefore excluded.

[6] Therefore not SE. of Elath (as Wellhausen). See SINAI, and cp BEER-LAHAI-ROI, JEHOVAH-JIREH.

[7] 'Ben Reuel,' Nu. 10 29, = 'ben Jerahmeel.'

to give them a home in a land flowing with milk and honey (so J). The present writer regards it as probable that this land was described in the text which underlies Ex. 3 8 as 'the land of the Kenite, the Rehobothite, the Jerahmeelite, and the Zarephathite';[1] that the 'land flowing with milk and honey' was in the Negeb[2] (Nu. 13 21 *f.*, revised text; cp ESHCOL, PARADISE, REHOB, ZIN); and even our present narrative is not without some indications that the Exodus known to the original tradition was a peaceful one, and that the land which was migrated from was not Goshen but Cushan (the N. Arabian Cush)—not Miṣraim (Egypt) but Miṣrim (Muṣri). Of course it is not inconceivable (cp EXODUS i., § 3) that some clans of Israel may have been in Egypt, and may have removed from that country to join kindred clans in N. Arabia, one of which—the tribe of Levi or Mōšè—may even have gone to the land of Goshen to escort their brethren to Kadesh. But is there not something artificial in this construction of history?

It is true that the story of Joseph represents Simeon as having been kept in bondage in Egypt (Gen. 42 24), and that we naturally suppose Simeon and Levi to have shared the same fate (cp Gen. 49 5 *a*). The ethnic connections of Simeon and Levi, however, to judge from the valuable material in the genealogies of 1 Ch. 4 6, appear to have been N. Arabian; the name Phinehas is not to be quoted as suggesting an Egyptian element in Levi, for it is more probably of Jerahmeelite than of Egyptian origin (see PHINEHAS). As Moses is a member of the tribe of Levi (so closely connected by tradition with N. Arabia) we cannot expect to find him in Egypt, though he (*i.e.*, his clan) may, as we have admitted, possibly (not probably) have made an expedition to the Egyptian frontier.

7. Ex. 4 24-26.

That the Moses-clan was at any rate composed of fearless warriors (cp Ex. 32 26 *f.* and contrast the timid Moses of Ex. 2 12) is shown by the story which underlies the certainly corrupt narrative in Ex. 4 24-26. As it now stands, the narrative relates in most obscure terms how Zipporah protected her husband against the angry Yahwè (!) by circumcising her son (see CIRCUMCISION, § 2). Really, however, in our view, the passage describes a feat of martial prowess comparable to that ascribed to Shamgar in Judg. 3 31 (see *Crit. Bib.*).

We read thus, 'And it came to pass in the wilderness of Jerahmeel that Jerahmeelites (*i.e.*, Amalekites, raiders who had no fixed settlements) fell upon him and sought to slay him. And he took an ox-goad, and smote the Jerahmeelites, and thought, I have wiped out the Jerahmeelites' (cp Ex. 17 14 *f.*, 'I will wipe out the name of Amalek,' etc.). To explain this it may be noted that the word 'Jerahmeelites' has, we believe, a twofold meaning: (1) those of Jerahmeelite origin, (2) Bedouins.

8. Elaboration of story.

The tradition of the Exodus, as we now have it, is indeed extremely inconsistent. At one time it delineates a Moses who must be an individual (*e.g.*, Ex. 3-4 23); at another, it enables us to see plainly that Moses is no individual, but a clan. We need not wonder at these variations. The original tradition, which had to do chiefly with tribes, was too strong to be altogether transformed; but the tendency of storytellers to individualise altered the primitive tradition in many points. Here is an instance. We have seen how the infancy of Moses was glorified; tradition was equally careful to give the hero a suitable equipment as a prophet of Yahwè. A prophet, according to the primitive notion, must be a thaumaturgist; Moses therefore needed a wonder-working staff.[3]

[1] In Ex. 3 8, as it now stands, these names have become 'Canaanite, Hittite, Amorite, Perizzite'; 'Hivite' and 'Jebusite' have been added.

[2] So in 1 S. 18 25-27 the 'hundred foreskins' (מאה ערלות) may have come by corruption from 'Jerahmeelites' (ירחמאלים). The whole story becomes quite plain and natural. Cp SHECHEM, and see *Crit. Bib.*

[3] In Ex. 4 20 𝔊 paraphrases τὴν ῥάβδον τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.

According to J, Yahwè vouchsafed to give a supernatural power to the shepherd's staff in the hand of Moses (4 2 *ff.*); but J gets rid of the thaumaturgic element as soon as he can. E, on the other hand, states that God entrusted Moses with a staff which he had not previously possessed, to perform his wonderful works (4 17; cp 20 *b*), and that of the five plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians by Moses four (*i.e.*, all except the death of the firstborn) were brought by his lifting up or stretching out his staff, and the striking story of Rephidim turns entirely on the uplifting of the hand with the staff. P, too, attaches much importance to the staff, though it is of Aaron's staff that this writer speaks. Four out of the six plagues were inflicted by its means, whilst in the case of the fifth, the boils were brought about by Moses throwing soot into the air before Pharaoh. So too at the passage of the *yam sūph* (see below, § 10), E tells us (14 16) of a command of God that Moses should lift up his staff (over the sea), whilst P (*ib.*, cp 21) is content with the stretching out of the hands; in either case the phraseology has an implication of magic art. Cp PLAGUES [TEN].

9. Interviews with Pharaoh.

The demand addressed to Pharaoh by Moses next requires attention. J puts it thus, 'And they said, The God of the Hebrews has met with us; let us go three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to Yahwè, lest he fall on us with pestilence or with the sword' (5 3 [2]; cp 3 18 8 27); and again, 'And Moses said, We will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds will we go; for we must hold a feast to Yahwè' (10 9); and yet again, 'And Moses said, Thou must also give into our hand sacrifices and burnt offerings. . . Our cattle also shall go with us; there shall not a hoof be left behind; for thereof must we take to serve Yahwè our God; and we know not with what we must serve Yahwè till we come thither' (10 25 *f.*).

Elsewhere (see PLAGUES, TEN) we have commented on the imperfect truthfulness of these demands; here, therefore, it is enough to refer to the phrase *ḥag Yahwè*, 'feast of Yahwè' (10 9). This phrase confirms our previous suspicion that the Egyptian training of Moses is not a feature of the original tradition, the notion which underlies the word *ḥag* (*i.e.*, probably, a solemn circuit round a sacred object) being specially Arabian (cp DANCE, § 3). The phrase 'three days' journey' also deserves notice. It might indeed be a mere stylistic idiom (cp Gen. 30 36 Nu. 10 33); but it is expressly put into Moses' mouth by Yahwè (3 18); accordingly it is used by Moses twice. Moreover, when Moses 'led Israel onward from the *yam sūph*, and they went out into the wilderness of Shur (Miṣṣur?),' we are told that 'they went three days in the desert, and found no water' (Ex. 15 22); shortly afterwards they came to Sinai. It is possible, then, that Horeb or Sinai was represented in the primitive story as three days' journey in the desert of Muṣri. Yet it was certainly much more than three days' journey from the Red Sea. This may

10. The yam sūph.

perhaps favour the view, to which the manifold difficulties of the story of the passage of the sea give some plausibility, that the *yam sūph*, like the waters of MARAH [*q.v.*], had originally no existence outside the ideal wonderland to which we are introduced in Gen. 2. If this view be accepted, the traditional story of the passage of the sea (religiously so impressive) has come out of a myth which like that of the 'ark of bulrushes,' originally floated in tradition apart from any historical setting[1]—a myth of the destruction of certain enemies of Yahwè in a 'sea of reeds' by a great wonder-working prophet. Perhaps, if the reading *yam sūph* is the original one (see § 10), no better explanation is available. We are at any rate liberated by it from a view of the early history of the Israelites which is encompassed with difficulty.

It has indeed been ably attempted elsewhere (see

[1] In the Syriac version of the Legend of Alexander (3 7; Budge's edition, 1 96) we read, 'We saw in that river a reed the height of which was thirty cubits, and its thickness as that of a garland which a man puts on his head. The whole city was overshadowed by these reeds.' Cp the suggestive remark in Wi. *GI* 2 92.

EXODUS i., §§ 10-16) to make the story of the *yam sūph* (interpreted as the Red Sea) geographically, and therefore to some extent also historically, intelligible. The attempt could only be made provisionally. From Egyptian sources we have no confirmation of the story, nor is there the least chance of our getting any, and to rely on the unconfirmed accounts of such comparatively late writers as J and E, and on a supposed fragment of a commemorative song from the 'Mosaic age'[1] (Ex. 15 1-3), would not be a critical procedure. Investigation had to proceed tentatively, and since the first efforts have met with doubtful success, we must now try again, and enter on paths partly marked out long ago by an English scholar, confident that religion can only gain by the fullest investigation of its history. See, further, RED SEA.

The story of the 'Plagues of Egypt' will receive separate consideration (see PLAGUES [TEN], especially § 5). Suffice it to say here that the original tradition was probably ignorant of the existence of ill-feeling between Miṣrites and Israelites. It is as friends that the Miṣrite and the Israelite women part. They have long been neighbours or even housemates, and the Miṣrites who stay behind do not grudge their precious jewels to their departing friends (Ex. 3 22). Indeed, some of the N. Arabians (ערב רב, in MT of Ex. 12 38; AV 'mixed multitude') or Zarephathites (אספסף, MT of Nu. 11 4; AV 'mixed multitude'), especially Hobab (Nu. 10 29, Judg. 1 16 4 11), accompany the Israelites. See MINGLED PEOPLE. Nor need we trouble ourselves too much about the names Goshen, Pithom, Rameses (Raamses), Pihahiroth, Baal-zephon, Succoth, Etham; for, in spite of a prevalent opinion which is deserving of all respect, it is probably best to explain them as names of the Negeb of S. Palestine or N. Arabia.[2]

11. N. Arabian sojourn.

(*a*) It is, at any rate of the highest importance that a number of OT passages become satisfactorily clear only when we assume them to refer to a sojourn of the Israelites in Arabia. The witness of Jeroboam, son of Nebat, depends, it is true, on emendations of the text of 1 K. 12 25-33 (see SHECHEM); but the emendations are such as cannot safely be disregarded, and they appear to prove that Jeroboam uttered these words, speaking of the golden *calf*,[3] 'Behold, thy god, O Israel, who brought thee up out of the land of Miṣrim.'

(*b*) In Am. 9 7 emendation is again employed; but the obscurity of the passage fully justifies it. 'Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Miṣrim, from Rehoboth of Jerahmeel,' follows naturally on *v.* 9, 'Are ye not as the bnē Cushim (the Cushites of N. Arabia) to me, O ye bnē Israel? saith Yahwè.' See REHOBOTH.

(*c*) The passage Am. 5 25-27 is hardly intelligible as it stands. When emended, it becomes full of suggestion. Read, 'Do ye bring me sacrifices and offerings in he wilderness of the Arabians, O house of Israel? Then the Cushites, the Jerahmeelites, and the Kenites, and the Salmæans (see SALMA) shall take you away, and I will carry you into exile beyond Cusham, saith Yahwè.'[1] There are parallels for this in the book of Amos itself (see the next passage, and PARADISE).

(*d*) Now, too, it becomes plain how Am. 2 10 was originally read. 'But it was I that brought you up out of the land of Miṣrim, and led you through the wilderness of the Arabians.'[2]

(*e*) A similar statement is made in Mic. 6 4, where according to an emendation that seems to be called for, the right names are probably Miṣrim, Arbhim, Miṣrim, Jeraḥme'elim (see MICAH [BOOK], § 3 [*f*.], 1).

Thus the prophets, if we have recovered their text, are on the side of the new theory. It is only in post-exilic passages like Is. 10 26 11 15 *f.* 43 16 *f.* 51 10 63 11 Ps. 66 6 77 17 *f.* 20 78 13 53 106 7 9 114 3 5 136 13 Neh. 9 9 11 that we find unmistakable allusions to the Exodus from Egypt. It is also a prophet (see above, *c*) who enables us to trace the genesis of the story of the forty years' wandering in the wilderness. It arose in an ancient scribe's chamber, and was the result of reading אַרְבָּעִים, 'forty,' instead of עֲרָבִים, 'Arabians' (cp Kirjath-arba, 'city of four,' for Kirjath-arāb, 'city of Arabia'?). If the reader will now turn to Ex. 13 3 14 20 2, Dt. 5 6 6 12 8 14 13 5 10, Josh. 24 17, Judg. 6 8, he will be struck by the great improvement effected by simply reading ערבים, 'Arabians,' for עבדים, 'servants'; the 'house (= territory) of the Arabians' is clearly a much better parallel to 'the land of מצרים' than the phrase which now stands in the text—viz., 'the house of bondage' (rather, of servants). Unfortunately, we cannot also remove the 'forty years' from most of the Hexateuch passages in which the phrase occurs, because the legend had already fixed itself in the literary circles to which the writers of those passages belonged. In Nu. 14 33 (J), however, on which 32 13 is dependent, it is quite possible. The legend is therefore subsequent to J, and anterior to the parænetic part of Dt. and to P.

So far as the residence in a Miṣrim (מִצְרִים) which was not Egypt is concerned, we have the support of Beke, who attempts, it is true, to rescue far too much of the traditional narratives, but is on safe ground when he argues that 'the land of Goshen or of Rameses was an integral and, as I should contend, a principal part of the kingdom of Mitzraim' (*Origines Biblicæ*, 1 277). His geographical definition of מצרים is too wide; but without the help of Assyriology it could not have been otherwise.

The traditional details of the journey from the, *yam sūph* to the sacred mountain now lose, not indeed their religious,[3] but at any rate their historical interest. It is probable that no such journey was known to the original tradition.

12. Clans at Kadesh.

It is possible that *yam sūph* (יַם סוּף) is an early corruption of יַם־צָרְפַת, 'sea of Zarephath,'[4] a synonym for יַם־ירחמאל = ים המלח, 'sea of Jerahmeel,'—*i.e.*, the Dead Sea (see SALT SEA), and that the names MARAH (*q.v.*) and ELIM (*q.v.*) are but fragments of the ethnic plural 'Jeraḥme'elim,' such as we often find side by side in the genealogical lists of a later age. MASSAH AND MERIBAH (*q.v.*), and REPHIDIM,[5] to which traditions of more value were attached, were certainly in the territory sometimes described as Jerahmeelite; Massah was apparently by the rock of Kadesh (see SELA), and Meribah was more fully designated Meribah of Kadesh (a variation of Kadesh of Jerahmeel [?]).[6]

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1 See the commentaries of Baentsch and Holzinger, and cp *OPs.* 31, n. *g.* It seems hazardous to make the 'Song of Moses' earlier than the earliest of the psalms in the Psalter.

2 Cushan, [Ṣare]phathim, Jerahmeel, Rehoboth, Zaphan (inferred from Zephani[ah]), Maacath, Ethan are the possible originals. Of course, it is also possible that the names were inserted to make the Exodus from Egypt plausible. When, however, we remember the result mentioned above, of the N. Arabian affinities of the personal names connected with the Exodus (Moses, Aaron, Miriam, Hur, Phinehas, etc.), we naturally incline to interpret the local names in a similar way.

3 Possibly the idea that there were *two* calves arose when 'Bethel' and 'Dan' were supposed to be different places; really 'Bethel' may have lain close to 'Dan' (see SHECHEM). The story in Ex. 32 4 8 favours the view that there was but one calf, and so does Is. 57 8, if the text has been rightly emended (see MEMORIAL, 2).

1 The reference is to the cultus of Bethel, Gilgal (=Cushamjerahmeel=Dan?), and Beersheba. Do ye fall back to the religion of the Cushites? 'Then these very people shall take you away.' Read—

וְנָשְׂאוּ אֶתְכֶם כֻּשִׁים וִירַחְמְאֵלִים וְקֵינִים וְסַלְמָאִים
וְהִגְלֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם מֵהָלְאָה לְכוּשָׁם׃

2 שָׁנָה is an erroneous gloss. It now becomes unnecessary to reject the whole of 2 10 as a later insertion (Nowack's theory).

3 Cp PILLAR OF CLOUD.

4 Cp Dt. 1 1, where the text of the document used by the later writer whom we call D_2 probably read '. . . in Arabia of Jerahmeel, opposite Zarephath,' etc. See SUPH. Perhaps the writer who fused the Miṣrite and the Egyptian forms of the tradition found ים־צרפת indistinctly written, and confounded the 'sea with a mythical 'sea of reeds' (see § 10).

5 The Rephidim story is apparently the justification of the long feud between Israel and Amalek in later times. Cp JEHOVAH-NISSI.

6 Mr. S. A. Cook acutely compares Meribah with Meri(b)baal

While the Moses-clan and those associated with it were at the sacred mountain, they were of course profoundly influenced by the Kenites. This is suggested symbolically by E's statement (J may have said the same thing [1]), that Moses received a visit from his father-in-law, who gave him important advice relative to his administration of justice.[2]

This account, however, is placed out of the proper order; the visit was originally supposed to have occurred near the close of the sojourn at Horeb (see Ex. 18, end). (On Massah and Meribah, and on the gift of manna and of quails, see special articles.)

13. Accounts of Theophany.

We have now arrived at the great Theophany and the 'bĕrith' (see COVENANT). It is important to use the results of critical analysis, and to keep the three accounts separate. According to J, after the preliminaries described in chap. 19, Moses, who alone approached Yahwè, received from Yahwè the Ten [3] Words, 'the words of the covenant' (concerning ritual), which, at the divine command, he wrote down upon two tables of stone. 'He was there with Yahwè forty days and forty nights; he neither ate bread nor drank water' (34 28). When the time for departure comes, the people are troubled, and put aside their ornaments,[4] and Moses asks Yahwè whom he will send with him to lead Israel to its resting-place. The answer is given, 'My *pānīm* (manifestation [5]) shall go with you' (33 14). Early the next morning Moses ascends the mountain, and another favour is granted; 'Yahwè passed by.' The noble declaration of Yahwè's ethical nature in 34 6 *f.* belongs to a redactor; as Battersby has noticed, it is the expression of a school of religious thought later and wiser than the Yahwist's (*Oxf. Hex.* 2 134).

According to E, after the due preliminaries, there was a great thunderstorm, and Moses brought the people to the foot of the mountain to meet God. Affrighted at the storm and the 'trumpet,' the people fled from the mountain, and Moses alone drew near to the darkness in which God was. The words spoken were, as the text now stands, the famous Decalogue adopted by the Church (see DECALOGUE). The probability, however, is that E's original Decalogue (if the number ten may be assumed [6]) is to be found in the cultus laws (20 22-26 22 29-31 23 10-19 [20-33]).

After reporting the words of God to the elders, Moses, attended by Joshua, again ascends the mountain, and remains there forty days and forty nights, during which time, it is probable, he has received instruction in the 'judgments' or decisions (*mishpāṭīm*) in 21 1 22 16. Finally he receives the two tables of stone, on which the fundamental words of God have been written by the divine hand.[7] (The story of the GOLDEN CALF [*q.v.*] may be passed over.[8]) An altar is erected, and burnt offerings and peace offerings are offered. The people are besprinkled with the 'blood of the covenant' (24 8; see COVENANT, § 5, end), so that, on the basis of their promise of obedience, their communion with the deity is assured.

According to D, the sole foundation and contents of the covenant at Horeb was the (expanded) Decalogue.

(MASSAH, § 3, end); now Meri(b)baal is one of the many distortions of Jerahmeel (see MEPHIBOSHETH).

1 Probably Ex. 18 contains some elements from J's parallel account which R_{JE} has worked into E's narrative. So Di., Bacon (*Trip. Trad.*, 1894), Carpenter-Battersby (2 108).

2 Moses then is the sheikh of his clan. Presumably the place of judgment is the sanctuary of Yahwè, near Horeb. According to Judg. 4 11 (cp Nu. 10 29-32, J), the father-in-law of Moses accompanied Israel to the Promised Land. Cp the statement about ערב רב.

3 The number ten is only probable.

4 So J's part of 33 4. The trouble was caused by the prospect of going to a distance from the god of Sinai, and as a consolation the ornaments are probably to be devoted to the decoration of the sacred tent and of the Ark. See Dillmann and Baentsch *ad loc.*

5 Cp the pillar of cloud and fire (Ex. 13 21).

6 For Wellhausen's reconstruction see DECALOGUE, § 5.

7 See Baentsch on Ex. 24 12, but cp *Oxf. Hex.*, *ad loc.* (2 119).

8 The allusion to the golden calves (or calf?—see SHECHEM) of Jeroboam is unmistakable.

According to P, the glory of Yahwè was for six days hidden in a cloud on the top of Sinai. On the seventh day Moses was called into the cloud (Ex. 24 15*b*-18*a*), where he received instructions as to the tabernacle and its furniture, the priests and their vestments, the altar of incense, etc. (25 1-31 17*b*). There Moses received the two 'tables of the testimony' (see ARK, § 3); his face shone so that he veiled it (cp HORN). The tabernacle was eagerly constructed, furnished, and sanctified. Aaron and his sons were consecrated as priests (Nadab and Abihu can be passed over). From time to time the various laws of the Book of Leviticus were communicated.

14. Historical element.

What is the element of historical truth, whether large or small, which forms the kernel of these various narratives? Here as elsewhere in the primitive story the object of the narrators is, 'not to relate what actually occurred, but to shape traditions of the past for the good of the present.' [1] If it was really a primitive tradition that, under the conduct of the clan or tribe of Mōšĕ, certain Israelitish tribes left the Egyptian territory and went to the land of the Kenites, where their conductors had long been settled, it stands to reason that the new-comers would have to adopt the religion of the Kenites. In any case the Mōšĕ-clan and the clans which gathered round it from whatever quarter must have taken this step.[2] The 'pomp and circumstance' of the so-called 'covenant' was unnecessary. What may have occurred is described in a passage which is one of the most antique portions of the narrative of JE (Ex. 18 12, E):—

'And Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God; and Aaron and all the elders of Israel came to hold the sacred meal before God' (=at the sanctuary).

Jethro (or perhaps Jethru), the priest of 'Midian' (Muṣri) is about to bring his visit to Moses to an end (18 27). Before he does so, he offers sacrifices to Yahwè his God, and invites the representatives of Israel to assist at the ceremony and the feast. Before they could do this, the Israelite clans must have been solemnly incorporated with Yahwè's people. This incorporation is now solemnly recognised by Jethro. It is a sacrifice of initiation.[3]

May we venture to say that there was already an essential difference between the religion of the Kenites and that of the new worshippers of Yahwè? There was—if we may assume that in some wonderful way, explicable only as an intervention of Yahwè, certain newly arrived Israelites had been delivered from the very jaws of death.[4] If, however, we cannot venture to assume this, the origin of the difference which subsequently existed between the Yahwism of the Israelites and that of any other people which recognised a god named Yahwè must be referred to some later period. It may be noticed, however, that even critics who as regards the story of the *yam sūph* may be called relatively conservative, distinctly hold that the original Yahwism of the Israelites had no ethical character. All that they can say is that the claim upon Israel's fidelity constituted by Yahwè's great mercy at the Red Sea had an ethical character, and that the desire to satisfy this claim was a potent impulse to the gradual moralisation of Israel's religion.

It has been pointed out already that the sacred mountain must have been at no great distance from Kadesh—*i.e.*, the southern Kadesh called Kadesh-barnea or rather (see NEGEB, § 2) Kadesh-jerahmeel.

1 Guthe, *GVI* 23.

2 'A tribe that changes its seats changes its gods' (W. R. Smith).

3 Perhaps, as Budde (*Religion of Israel to the Exile*, 23) remarks, this is the reason why Moses is not mentioned as taking part in the sacrifice.

4 'The Kenites served their god because they knew no better; because he was of their blood-kindred, and had grown up in inseparable union with them. . . . But Israel served Yahwè because He had kept his word; because He had won Israel as his possession by an inestimable benefit' (*ibid.* 35 *f.*). But can we be sure that the Kenites had experienced no divine mercies which awakened the same ethical impulse as the deliverance at the Red Sea (*ex hyp.*) awakened in the Israelites? If the tribal name 'Jerahmeel' was interpreted by the Jerahmeelites to mean 'God has mercy,' they had. But it would be very unsafe to lay stress upon this.

It was in the neighbourhood of this mountain that the new Yahwè-worshippers settled. We therefore set aside the notion of a long journey from Sinai or Horeb to Kadesh, and at the same time that of the early construction of a surrogate for the mountain shrine of Yahwè (the Ark). As long as the clans or tribes remained within easy distance of God's mountain, the need of a portable sanctuary could not have been felt. It was when they began to push forward into new territories (perhaps even 'three days' journey,' Nu. 10 33, would disquiet them) that this want would begin to be noticed. Whether the construction of the Ark was an Israelitish idea, or due to imitation of the Kenites or Miṣrites, we cannot say; the Hebrew narrator had not a historical object in ascribing it to a divine revelation to Moses. At any rate, the idea of Renan and Guthe that the Ark of the Israelites was suggested by Egyptian prototypes is not plausible, the connections of Moses being not Egyptian, but Arabian.

15. Meribah, Dathan; Aaron and Miriam.

If we add that we also dismiss certain traditional stories relative to the journey from Sinai to Kadesh (see KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH, MANNA, QUAILS, MERIBAH), it is only from the point of view of students of the early history. There is something to learn from each of these traditions, and the picture of the great leader as it was painted by the later narrators possesses a special interest of its own. Whether 'very meek' is what E meant to say in Nu. 12 3 may be doubted (cp POOR, § 1); but certainly ἐτροποφόρησεν (Dt. 1 31 𝔊; Acts 13 18) may fitly describe the Leader's uniform gentleness and love towards his people (see especially the sublime as well as beautiful passage, Ex. 32 32). P, it is true, reports an exception to this at Meribah, where, in his impatience, Moses exclaims to the assembly of Israel, 'Hear now, ye rebels' (Nu. 20 10); but it may reasonably be doubted whether P has accurately reproduced the tradition which had reached him.

The reason for doubting is as follows:—In Gen. 33 19 34 *ff.* ירחמאל is, we believe, miswritten חמור (one of the many distortions of this ethnic). This suggests the possibility that המרים in שִׁמְעוּ־נָא הַמֹּרִים (Nu. 20 10) may have been corrupted out of an indistinctly written ירחמאלים. It is probable that Jerahmeelites (Kenites) accompanied the Israelites from Kadesh. Now the rock of Meribah (=Kadesh-jerahmeel?) was their own rock. The original story may have traced the sacred fountain of Kadesh to a stroke on the rock given by the staff of Moses. In this story Moses probably addressed the Jerahmeelites (שמעו־נא ירחמאלים). The mistaken reading 'ye rebels' (המרים) probably led to a recast of the tradition. Cp, however, MASSAH AND MERIBAH.

Certainly one whom 'Yahwè knew face to face' (Dt. 34 10) could not have the ordinary human weaknesses. Nor do we find that Moses was wanting in mercifulness even under great provocation (see Nu. 12 13 [E], 16 22 [P]). The narratives as we have them represent Moses and his opponents as individuals. It is very possible, however, that relations of clans are symbolised by these personal narratives.[1] The Reubenites (=Dathan and Abiram) may have resented the superiority of the Mōšè clan on the ground that Reuben and Levi were equally descended from Leah, and the clans of 'Miriam' and of 'Aaron' may have become jealous of the prosperity of the kindred clan of Mōšè. To go farther than this and conjecture (with Guthe, *GVI* 21 25) that Moses, as well as Joshua, belonged to the tribe of Joseph, which traditionally derived its origin from Rachel, seems unwise. Indeed, the supposed connection of Joshua with Ephraim is probably due to a later misapprehension. See JOSHUA.

16. Death of Moses.

With the settlement of the confederated clans of Israel in Kadesh and its neighbourhood the story of Moses ought, one would have thought, to have ended. It is not at all certain that it did not once do so, and that the mountain from which, according to tradition, he surveyed the land which was about to be occupied, was not in Muṣri rather than in Moab (another case of the confusion of מצור and מואב). The reason of this statement is as follows:—When the Israelites, unaware that Yahwè's power extended beyond Kadesh, murmured at the report of the spies, and talked of returning into Egypt, Yahwè in his wrath threatened to destroy them, and to make Moses (*i.e.*, the Moses-clan) into 'a nation greater and mightier than they' (Nu. 14 12). Ultimately, we are told, Yahwè decided that only Caleb, who was of 'another spirit,'[1] should, with his posterity, possess the land. This certainly points forward to the occupation of Hebron, or perhaps rather Rehoboth,[2] by the Calebites (see CALEB). Theoretically, then, Moses should henceforth have disappeared, and it is very possible that the primitive tradition made him at this point surrender his authority to Joshua (=Abi-sheba or Eli-sheba [?]), and patiently wait for his approaching end.

17. Balak; Moses-clan at Zarephath.

It is true, the tradition in its present form gives Moses still some opportunities of guiding and directing Israel. The episode of Balaam the soothsayer and Balak the Moabite king comes into the existing biography of Moses. It is very probable, however, that the original story of Balaam and Balak was rather different from that which our text presents. Balak is called a 'son of ZIPPOR' (*q.v.*); in our view, the original phrase was most probably 'son of Zarephath.' Balaam on the other hand dwelt, not at a doubtful Pethor on the Euphrates, but at Rehoboth by the River of Miṣrim. See REHOBOTH. It is possible that, according to one tradition, the Miṣrites grew tired of the Israelites, and that Balak their king sought the aid of a great prophet or diviner—a worshipper of Yahwè—against his unwelcome visitors. It may have been at this period, according to the early tradition, that Moses (*i.e.*, the Moses-clan) gained possession of Zarephath. Two inconsistent stories respecting the occupation of this place were probably current, corresponding to the inconsistent narratives of the capture of REHOBOTH [*q.v.*]. One represented Zephath or Zarephath as won by force (Judg. 1 17), the other as acquired by an amicable compact (Gen. 33 18, revised text; Ex. 2 21). At any rate we may (or must) suppose that the wandering Levites, who at a later time sought employment from Israelitish families as priests of Yahwè (this is vividly brought before us in Judg. 17 7-13), had Zarephath for their centre. One part of the Moses-clan therefore (to which clan, be it noted, the Levite of Judg. 17 *f.* belonged) remained in Zarephath, while another part accompanied other clans in expeditions of conquest, precisely as we learn from Judg. 1 16 that Judah was accompanied in one of its campaigns by a branch of the Kenites. Representatives of the Moses-clan would naturally guard the portable sanctuary (the ark), which was an inseparable accompaniment of the leading Israelite clans so soon as they journeyed far from Kadesh. It was from these that the reputation of the Levites as a warlike tribe (Gen. 34 Ex. 32 26-28) must have been derived.

18. Conquest of Cushan.

The statement (Dt. 2 24-3 17) that Israel under Moses conquered the territory of Sihon and Og, the two Amorite kings E. of the Jordan, and that it was allotted to certain Israelitish tribes, seems to be due to a misunderstanding of the early tradition (see OG, SIHON). All that any form of the primitive legend knew of was the conquest of the Jerahmeelite or Arabian land of Cush, and the Jericho spoken of in Josh. 2-6 was really some important Jerahmeelite city, such as Zarephath or

[1] 'It is the most probable thing in the world that actual history underlies this representation' (Budde, *Rel. of Isr.* 82).

[1] See ESCHATOLOGY, col. 1342, midway.

[2] There are traces of an early tradition that the land 'flowing with milk and honey,' explored by the spies, was to the S. of the Negeb of Judah (see NEGEB, § 7). Cp PARADISE.

Ḥalūṣah.[1] The story in Josh. 2-6 makes Joshua the leader of Israel when 'Jericho' (Jerahmeel) was taken. This is surely the correct traditional view. 'Moses' took no part in any migration from Arabia. To tread the land of promise was denied him; this is distinctly stated in the traditions. The editors could not alter—they could but attempt to explain this fact. It was 'on your (Israel's) account,' said some (Dt. 1 37 3 26); it was because of something wrong in the conduct of Moses, said others (Nu. 20 6 12 Dt. 32 51 Ps. 106 33). Cp MASSAH AND MERIBAH. The true reason, however, was forgotten. It was because the Moses-clan was the clan of Yahwè, and Yahwè, as late as the time of Elijah, was the God of Horeb. At least a part of the Moses-clan, as we saw just now, probably remained at Zarephath.

19. Moses and Elijah.

It thus becomes probable that, in the primitive tradition, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam 'the prophetess' (Ex. 15 20, E) passed away as individuals in the same region: Miriam at Kadesh (Nu. 20 1), Aaron either at Moserah (Dt. 10 6), or at Mount Hor (Nu. 20 28 33 38), and Moses on the top of 'the Pisgah.'[2]

The Pisgah-view enjoyed by Moses has been considered elsewhere (see PISGAH). We have only to add that, according to Dt. 34 6, 'no one knows of his sepulchre unto this day.' The Jewish comment on this is that this was designed in order that the Israelites might not raise a sanctuary at the grave of Moses, or because no sepulchre could be worthy of him. But the question is whether some primitive story which would account better for the circumstance has not been omitted. Moses and Elijah are two parallel heroes (cp Mal. 4 4 *f.*, with Lk. 9 30), and are both connected with Zarephath and with Horeb.[3] In the story of Elijah's decease it is said that fifty men were sent to find Elijah, but in vain, because he had gone up in a whirlwind, accompanied by chariots and horses of fire, into heaven. It appears likely that a similar tale was originally told of Moses.[4] It would be a fitting close to the career of the prophet of Yahwè, who was originally known as the storm-god. We may add that this view is at least analogous to the early Christian belief in a spiritual assumption of the great legislator.[5]

It has been said of Elijah that his end corresponds with singular exactness to his beginning, that he appears in the history of Israel like a meteor, and disappears as mysteriously. The same thing may perhaps be said of Moses, for no one will say that the story of the 'ark of bulrushes' is more historical than that of the great prophet's burial. Primitive tradition knew nothing either as to his birth or as to his death, and altogether was too scanty to please posterity. Hence speculation busied itself in filling up the gap. See especially Josephus (*Ant.* 2 9 and 10; *c. Ap.* 1 26 *f.*) and Philo (*Vit. Moysis*). On the Midrash called the Petirath Mōšè[6] see Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*(2), 154; for the *Assumption of Moses*, see Charles's edition (1897), especially the appendix on the original Assumption (cp APOCALYPTIC, § 59); on later legends in general, see Beer, *Leben Moses nach Auffassung der jüd. Sage* (1863), and on the legendary graves of Moses and Aaron, Goldziher, *Hebrew Mythology*, 281 *f.*

20. Other references to Moses.

Of references to Moses in the OT outside of the Hexateuch specially deserving attention we may notice Ps. 99 6, 'Moses and Aaron among his priests'; Is. 63 12, 'that caused his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses'; Jer. 15 1, 'though Moses and Samuel stood before me'; Mic. 6 4, 'I sent before thee Moses and Aaron and Miriam'; Mal. 4 4, 'remember the law of Moses my servant'; to which we may add the title of Ps. 90, 'A prayer of Moses the man of God.' In some of these passages the text is doubtful. It is not likely, for instance, that Moses would have been called a priest; for בְּכֹהֲנָיו we should probably read בְּחִירָיו, 'his chosen ones' (cp 106 23, said of Moses). Nor is it probable that Aaron and Miriam were given a share of the leadership specially belonging to Moses (see MICAH, § 3 [*f.*], 1). The title of Ps. 90 will be referred to elsewhere (PSALMS [BOOK], § 26 [17]).

The references in the NT are comparatively less important, because, where not simple abstracts of OT statements, they merely reproduce late Jewish traditions. The extraordinary beauty of Moses (Acts 7 20; cp Heb. 11 23) reminds us of Jos. *Ant.* ii. 9 7 (μορφῇ θεῖον). In Acts 7 22 we have allusions to the tradition of Moses acquaintance with Egyptian magic arts, and of his warlike prowess (see below, § 21).

In *v.* 23 τεσσερακονταέτης χρόνος may be illustrated by *Ber. rabba*, par. 100 (on Gen. 1 14), 'Moses stayed in the palace of Pharaoh forty years, and in Midian forty years, and for forty years he ministered to the Israelites.' In *v.* 22 and in *vv.* 38, 53 we find a reference to the tradition that the law was proclaimed through the ministry of angels (cp 𝔊, Dt. 33 2 Gal. 3 19 Heb. 2 2, with Del.'s note). On 2 Tim. 3 8 *f.* see JANNES AND JAMBRES, and on Jude 9 see APOCALYPTIC, § 59.

21. Hellenistic and Mohammedan legends.

We referred just now to a statement in the speech of Stephen (Acts 7 22) relative to Moses as a warrior. This may refer to such stories as that of the Ethiopian war (Jos. *Ant.* ii. 10; Artapanus in Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 9 27; see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 19, iii., col. 2090); which some considered to be based on the reference in Nu. 12 1 to Moses' Cushite wife, whilst Wiedemann (*OLZ*, May, 1900, pp. 173 *f.*) conjectures that some tradition of Mesui, who held the office of prince of Cush, under Rameses II. and his successor Me(r)neptaḥ (cp Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, 526) may have reached later writers through one of the many Egyptian legendary tales, and have had some share in the formation of the story. This latter theory, however, presupposes the Egyptian origin of the name Moses.

The references to Moses in the Koran are many; they illustrate the unoriginality of Mohammed, who gives us mere recasts of the biblical narratives, expanded by the help of the traditions current among the Arabian Jews. The most remarkable is in Sur. 18, where Moses is brought into connection with the mysterious personages el-Ḫidr (on whom see DELUGE, § 15, ELIJAH, § 4) and 'the two-horned' (Alexander the Great?—see HORN).

22. Important positive truth remaining.

From all these legends we turn back with renewed interest to the old biblical narratives, and our sympathy is great with those who (like Giesebrecht[1]) feel compelled to treat Moses as to some extent a historical personage as a protest against a meagre evolutionary view of Jewish religion. If it was not an Exodus from an Egyptian 'house of servants' that awakened the sense of an almighty and all-righteous protector of Israel, and if it was not through Moses that the meaning of the event was brought home to the people, what other deliverance and what other deliverer are we to set in their place? There are no great heroes of popular tradition to whom we can point but Samuel and Elijah. The former is brought into connection with the war with the Philistines, which certainly appears to have stirred up religious fervour in no slight degree;[2] the other, with the persecution of Yahwè-worshippers by Ahab.[3] Our knowledge, however, respecting these personages is very slight. Samuel and Elijah have apparently both been much idealised, and sober history cannot venture to admit that Ahab really destroyed the altars of Yahwè and slew his prophets. The fact,

[1] Hardly Kadesh, as suggested in JERICHO, § 2. Ḥalūṣah (Ziklag) was possibly the city conquered by the Danites, according to Judg. 18 27-29. See ZIKLAG.

[2] MOSERAH [*q.v.*] = Miṣṣur (Muṣri); Hor and 'the Pisgah' both come, the present writer thinks, from Jerahmeel. The current views are scarcely tenable. See NEBO, MOUNT.

[3] According to Renan, 'Le géant du Sinai parait une création de l'école d'Élie. Les deux legendes se compenètrent. Élie a dans le Horeb des visions qui ont avec celles de Moïse au même lieu les plus grandes ressemblances' (*Histoire*, 2 288).

[4] Winckler's theory that Moses is 'the returning Tammuz, the sun of spring and summer' (*GI* 2 89 284) implies too great a confidence in the mythological key to ancient legends.

[5] See Clem.Alex. *Strom.* 6 15, quoted by Charles, *Assumption of Moses*, 107.

[6] A parallel Midrash relative to the decease of Aaron is probably later (Zunz).

[1] *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinai-bundes* (1900).

[2] Cp Budde, *Religion of Israel*, 101.

[3] Cp Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, 1 361.

however, need not be doubted that through the chequered experiences of the national history the representatives of prophetism arrived at the apprehension of a truth which had hitherto been practically unknown, viz., that to ensure prosperity it was not enough to worship Yahwè alone; his one immutable requirement was righteousness. Is it not reward enough to the critical student to have made this historically plain, and so to have rescued all that was indispensable in the imaginative popular biography of the ideal 'man of God'?

T. K. C.

MOSOLLAM (μοσολλαμος [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 14 = Ezra 10 15, MESHULLAM, 11.

MOSOLLAMON (μοσολλαμον [A]), 1 Esd. 8 44 AV, RV **Mosollamus** = Ezra 8 16, MESHULLAM, 10.

MOTH (עָשׁ; σης,[1] but in Is. 51 8 χρονος, cp WORM; *tinea;* Job 4 19 13 28 27 18 Ps. 39 12 [11] Is. 50 9 51 8 Hos. 5 12 [on 𝔊 see SPIDER *ad fin.*], Ecclus. 19 3 [cp 𝔊] 42 13 Bar. 6 12 [𝔊 βρωμάτων] Mt. 6 19 *f.* Lk. 12 33).

The moth naturally occurred to Hebrew writers in search of a symbol for the perishableness of man and his possessions. It need hardly be remarked that there are various species of the genus *Tinea*, which are destructive of woollen fabrics and of furs. We cannot select any one of these as more likely than the rest to represent the biblical moth.

Nor need we make any special reference to biblical passages, except to those in which the moth appears only through a corruption of the text, עָשׁ, 'moth,' being really a relic, in one place (Job 13 28) of חָסִיל, 'caterpillar' (see LOCUST), in others of עַכָּבִישׁ, 'spider' (see SPIDER).

1. Job 27 18*a*, where EV, following MT, brings the house of the rich man into some not very clear connection with the moth. Accepting this, prosaic persons have imagined an allusion either to the cases made of leaves, etc., in which caterpillars of certain species shelter themselves, or to the cocoons which they spin before pupating. The corruption of עכביש into עש is, however, so easy that we need not defend the traditional reading at the cost of such an unnatural conjecture (see Merx, Budde, Duhm). On the other hand, we may safely restore the moth in Job 27 18*b*.[2] The whole verse should probably run thus, 'He builds his house as the spider; he has laid up his store for the moth' (חָשַׂךְ לָעָשׁ אֹצָרוֹ).

2. On Ps. 39 11 [12] we may refer to what is said elsewhere (OWL). The ordinary view that the psalmist compares the divine chastisements to the operations of a moth (cp Hos. 5 12) has serious exegetical difficulties. In two passages, however, the moth may on grounds of textual criticism be restored (Is. 51 6 Ps. 37 20; Che. *SBOT*, *ad loc.*, and *Ps.*(2)).

T. K. C.

MOTHER (אֵם). A very few points of Hebrew usage need be here indicated; for further information see the related articles DAUGHTER, SON, and especially FAMILY, KINSHIP, and MARRIAGE (with reference to the so-called Matriarchate or Mutterrecht). When precision was necessary, the fact of uterine brotherhood was expressed by such a phrase as 'his mother's son' (Gen. 43 29: cp Judg. 8 19) and a stepmother was distinguished from the womb-mother by the name of 'father's wife' (Lev. 18 8). The word 'mother' could also of course be used widely for 'ancestress' (Gen. 3 20; on 1 K. 15 10 see MAACHAH), also for the people personified (Is. 50 1 Jer. 50 12), and consequently, in the symbolic language of ethnic genealogies, for one of the tribes or races of which a composite population was composed (cp also GENEALOGIES i., § 1). Hence in Ezek. 16 3 the mother of Jerusalem is called 'a Hittite' (see, however, REHOBOTH), thus suggesting one of the elements in the early population of Jerusalem. In Judg. 5 7 Deborah is called 'a mother in Israel,' which may either mean 'a benefactress' (cp 'father,' Job 29 16) or be regarded as an indication that 'Deborah' (but cp OPHRAH) was the name of a town or a clan. In 2 S. 20 19, at any rate, the phrase 'a city and a mother in Israel' means 'a prominent, influential city' (𝔊, πόλιν καὶ μητρόπολιν). In the language of strong emotion Shĕōl can be called a 'mother' (Job 1 21*b*, cp 17 14). The 'parting of the way' (Ezek. 21 21 [26]) is in the Hebrew 'the mother of the way'—a transparent symbolic phrase.

MOUNT, MOUNTAIN (הַר). Where AV has 'mount' RV has a marked preference for 'mountain' or 'hill-country'—*e.g.*, 'hill-country of Ephraim' (Josh. 19 50 20 7), 'mountain of Gilead' (Gen. 31 21), 'hill-country of Naphtali' (Josh. 20 7), 'hill-country of Judah' (*ib.*), though 'mount Seir' is retained. See EPHRAIM, etc.

The uncertainty whether 'mountain' means a single eminence or a mountain range or district must be always borne in mind, both in the OT and in the NT. This affects the possibility of the identification of the 'Mount of the Beatitudes' (Mt. 5 1) and the Mountain of the Transfiguration (Mt. and Mk. give εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλόν, but Lk. 9 28 εἰς τὸ ὄρος). Cp Weiss on Mt. 5 1. For phrases into which 'mount' or 'mountain' enters, see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF; CHERUB, § 2, and SINAI (Horeb, 'mountain of God'); COPPER, § 5 ('mountains of brass'); DESTRUCTION [MOUNT OF].

Mountains are referred to as monuments of the might of the Creator (Ps. 65 6 [7]; cp Is. 40 12); hence, according to most, they are called 'the mountains of God' (Ps. 36 6 [7]; cp 'the trees of Yahwè,' Ps. 104 16). They were, as Job 15 7 and Prov. 8 25 appear to state, the earliest created objects; so ancient is their date that to express God's everlastingness in the past a psalmist declares that God existed even 'before the hills were brought forth' (Ps. 90 2). When God touches them, they smoke (Ps. 104 32 144 5); when he appears, they melt like wax (Judg. 5 5 Ps. 97 5 Is. 64 1 [63 19*b*] Mi. 1 4), or skip like lambs (Ps. 114 4 6). They shudder at his judgments (Ps. 18 7 [8] Mi. 6 1 *f.*); but they rejoice when Israel's redemption draws nigh (Ps. 98 8 Is. 44 23 49 13 55 12).

Mountains are also symbols of kingdoms—*e.g.*, of Israel (Ezek. 17 23 20 40), and especially of the Divine kingdom (Dan. 2 35 44); the latter representation seems to have mythological affinities (cp CONGREGATION [MOUNT OF]). In Jer. 51 25 Babylon is called a 'destroying mountain' (see DESTRUCTION [MOUNT OF]); but in Is. 41 15 the mountains which Israel is to 'thresh,' and in Zech. 4 7 the 'mountain' which is to become a 'plain' before Zerubbabel, are probably symbolic terms for obstacles to the activity of the people of God. With the former passage cp Is. 40 4; with the latter, Mt. 17 20 21 21 1 Cor. 13 2.

For 'mount,' (1) מֻצָּב, *muṣṣāb*, Is. 29 3 RV 'fort,' see FORT; and for (2) סֹלְלָה, *sōlᵉlāh*, 2 S. 20 15 etc. (AV sometimes 'bank'), see SIEGE. For **Mountain of God** (Ezek. 28 14), see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF.

MOURNING CUSTOMS. Both before and after the burial, sorrowing for the departed found expression in remarkable customs which, in part at least, Israel had in common with other nations.

1. Biblical references.

One of the most usual was that of rending the garments (2 S. 1 11 3 31 etc.), a practice afterwards weakened to a conventional tearing of the dress at the breast for a hand's breadth. Instead of the usual materials sackcloth (שַׂק) was worn (2 S. 21 10 Is. 15 3). This was a rough garment of goat-hair or camel-hair, in form somewhat resembling a modern shirt, but without long sleeves; originally, perhaps, it was merely a body-cloth like the *'iḥrām* of the Arabs (to which we shall refer again, § 2). The mourners went bareheaded and barefoot (Ezek. 24 17 2 S. 15 30), or covered the head, or at least the beard (Ezek. 24 17 Jer. 14 3 2 S. 15 30), or laid the hand upon the head (2 S. 13 19); they sat in dust and ashes, and sprinkled themselves (Is. 3 26 47 1 Job 2 8), and especially their heads, with these (Josh. 7 6 2 S. 1 2 etc.). Various mutilations also were practised (Jer. 16 6 41 5

[1] σής also represents סָס in Is. 51 8 and רָקָב in Prov. 14 30; cp WORM.

[2] This has been overlooked by the critics. 𝔊 gives ἀράχνη beside σῆτες; Pesh., too, implies עכביש (instead of עָשׁ). 𝔊 is nearer the true text than either MT or Pesh.

47 5 etc.; see CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 1). It was also the custom to fast for the dead (1 S. 31 13 2 S. 3 35); after sundown the fasting was closed (or, if the fasting lasted several days, broken) by a funeral feast (Hos. 9 4 2 S. 3 35 Jer. 16 7 Ezek. 24 17 22); cp FASTING. Food was placed upon the grave (Dt. 26 14). Tobit indeed (Tob. 4 17) was commanded to place food only upon the grave of the righteous; the ungodly were not to be so kindly treated; the son of Sirach, however, ridiculed this custom altogether; 'of what use,' he asks, 'is such an offering to a spirit?' 'Like dainties to a closed mouth are offerings laid on the grave' (Ecclus. 30 18). The burning of spices as practised by the nobles in later times (Jer. 34 5 2 Ch. 16 14 21 19) is also to be regarded as a form of offering to the dead. The customary lament for the dead was certainly more than a natural expression of sorrow. Besides the women of the house, who sat weeping upon the ground, professional women mourners were called in. Probably to some fixed melody, the peculiarly rhythmical dirge (קִינָה) was sung (cp LAMENTATION, POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4 [1]). Zech. 12 10-14 makes for the view that the lament for the dead was a religious ceremony conducted under rules handed down by tradition. The dirge might be accompanied by flutes (Jer. 48 36; Jos. *BJ* iii. 9 5). Cp MUSIC, § 4*a*.

Several of these customs (especially that of wearing mourning) may be accounted for simply as being expressive of grief, and the explanation of their prohibition on the other hand (Lev. 19 28 21 5 *f.*; Dt. 14 1 *f.*) has been sought in the supposition that as wild excesses they were not pleasing to Yahwè. In the majority of cases, however, this interpretation of the practices in question can hardly be allowed. How could mutilation of the person, shaving of the head, cutting off the beard, come to be expressive of sorrow? That this was not the light in which they were viewed by the Law is shown by the reason given for their prohibition—viz., that they were sacrilegious, unbefitting Israel, the people of Yahwè, and in every respect defiling (Lev. 21 5). In point of fact they were forbidden as being ceremonies originally occurring in the worship of heathen gods. This conclusion is abundantly proved by the offerings to the dead. Such are even now brought by the Bedouins. Very similar is the custom still in vogue among civilised races of placing food and drink on the grave, as to the origin of which there can be no doubt. Just as in the last case the offering to the dead has been changed into a burial feast, so the burial repast grew out of a sacrifice. The text of Jer. 16 7 is in all probability corrupt; but the statement of the offerer of the tithe (Dt. 26 14), that none of it has been given to the dead, can only refer to an offering to the dead or a funeral feast, whilst the latter, again, is shown to be of the nature of a sacrifice to the dead by the fact that the funeral bread is impure and contaminating (Hos. 9 4). In agreement with this we find that with many nations, particularly the ancient Greeks, sacrifices to the dead occurred in connection with funeral feasts. Cutting the body with knives is mentioned in 1 K. 18 28 as a religious ceremony. Cutting off the hair of the head and the beard corresponds to a similar custom among the Greeks, who laid their hair with the dead in the grave (*Iliad*, 23 135). The shaving of the head as a religious ceremony was also in use among the ancient Arabs, perhaps as a sign of devotion to the service of God.[1] It is a suggestive conjecture of W. R. Smith[2] that the dust which was strewn upon the head was taken from the grave, and the ashes from the funeral fires (2 Ch. 16 14 21 19). It is chiefly among races having a form of worship of the dead that we find a dirge sung according to fixed forms. The shades of the departed, to whom the future was known (יִדְּעֹנִי, אֹב), were either consulted at the grave (Is. 65 4) or summoned through exorcists (Is. 8 19 29 4 1 S. 28). Covering probably takes the place of cutting the beard as a form of diminished severity. That mourning clothes have their origin in some religious ceremony seems likely; cp the religious habit *'iḥrām* worn by the Muslim pilgrims in the sacred precinct of Mecca. However, the effort to trace back all these customs to a religious origin seems unlikely to succeed.

2. Origin of these customs.

J. G. Frazer (*Journ. of the Anthrop. Inst.* 15, 164 *ff.*, 1885) explains a large proportion of the mourning customs of various peoples as typifying a complete renunciation of the spirit of the departed. Mutilation of the body and the wearing of special mourning apparel were, he thinks, originally meant to render the survivors unrecognisable by the spirit of the departed if he should at any time return. For Semitic peoples, however, such an explanation of mourning customs is impossible. On the contrary, the aim of the mourner was to maintain his connection with the dead. So in the old Arabian custom of erecting a tent on the grave of a venerated person and staying there, or the oft-recurring apostrophe to the dead in Arabic elegies: 'depart not.' The Hebrews located the graves of their family as near as possible to their homes (1 S. 25 1 Ezek. 43 7; and see TOMB). See further CUTTINGS, ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 7-9, LAMENTATION.

Even though the mourning customs owe their origin to some form of worship of the dead, it does not by any means follow that the knowledge of this was retained in later times. It is more probable that, on the introduction of the religion of Yahwè, the original meaning was gradually forgotten and a new signification (as an expression of sorrow) more and more took its place. Only by some such transformation could the old customs succeed in maintaining themselves in the religion of Yahwè; and those of them (mutilations) which from their nature were most in danger of leading back to the old conceptions were, accordingly, forbidden by Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, as heathen abominations.

3. Literature.

J. Lippert, *Der Seelenkult in seinen Beziehungen zur althebräischen Religion*, Berlin, 1881; Oort, 'De doodenvereering bij den Israeliten' in *Th.T* 15 355 *ff.*; Sta. *GI* 1 387 *ff.*; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel u. des Judenthums*, 1892; Perles, 'Die Leichenfeierlichkeiten des nachbiblischen Judenthums' in Fränkel's *MGWJ* 10, 1861, pp. 345-355 376-394; Bu. 'Das Heb. Klagelied' in *ZATW*, 1882, pp. 1 *ff.*, 1883, pp. 299 *ff.*, and in *ZDPV*, 1883, pp. 180 *ff.*; Benz. *Heb. Arch.*, § 23; Now. *Heb. Arch.*, §§ 32, 33; Bender, 'Beliefs, etc., connected with Death, Burial, and Mourning,' *JQR*, 1894-1895; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* 1 229 *ff.*, 'On Worship of Dead in Pagan and Mohammedan Arabia'; Frazer, *Journ. Anthrop. Inst. of Gt. Brit. and Ireland*, 15 n. 1, 1885, pp. 64-100, 'On Certain Burial Customs as illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul'; Jastrow, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* 20 133 *ff.* On the mourning women in primitive Babylonia, see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 684.

I. B.

[1] Wellh. *Ar. Heid.*(1) 118.

[2] *Rel. Sem.* 413; so Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 15.

MOUSE (עַכְבָּר; ΜΥC; *mus*). Seven species of the genus Mus found in Palestine are described by Tristram, and to these may be added many other small rodents, field-mice, dormice, etc. All these were no doubt included under the Hebrew term *'akbār*, and were regarded by the Jews as unclean. We hear indeed of certain persons who ate the mouse; but this was a sign of apostasy from Yahwè (Is. 66 17). Evidently these persons regarded the mouse as a sacred animal, the eating of whose flesh consecrated the eater (see SACRIFICE). The Arabs, too, frequently ate mice. Arabic writers, when satirising the Bedouins, are wont to call them 'mouse-eating'; once we even find the epithet 'field-rat-eater' justified by a positive statement that 'the Arabs of the desert eat field-mice.'[1] The jerboa is still eaten by the Arabs of the desert, and the hamster in Northern Syria. Many of the smaller rodents live on the succulent underground tubers and bulbs of the desert flora. Three species of the hamster (*Cricetus*) are known; they lay up such large stores of grain as to cause serious loss to farmers. The jerboa (*Dipus*) is remarkable for its 'gambols and kangaroo-like bounds.'

Of the devastation caused by field-mice there is abundant evidence (see, *e.g.*, Ælian, 17 41). Small votive offerings in the shape of mice have even been

[1] Goldziher, *Mythology among the Hebrews*, 83, n. 2 (chap. 4).

found (see Frazer, *Paus.* 5 290), and it is possible that the worship of mice (especially white mice) may have originated not so much from the survival of a mouse-totem as to propitiate mice in general and to induce them not to ravage the cornfields (cp Frazer, *Paus.* 5 289 *f.*). On the story in 1 S. 6 and the significance of the golden mice see EMERODS, PESTILENCE, HEZEKIAH, § 2, n., and ARK, § 5.

In Heb. עַכְבּוֹר, ACHBOR (*q.v.*), occurs as a name (cp Phœn. עכבר, ־רא, ־רם), and in Ar. the equivalent, *'akbar*, is applied to the male jerboa,[1] which is borne as a name by an Arabic tribe, the 'Amr. b. Yarbū'. Robertson Smith mentions that the 'mother' of this tribe was a lightning-goddess, and so akin to the divine archer Cozah, who has so many points of resemblance with Apollo (*Kin.* 302 *f.*).

For an original theory as to the meaning of עכבר ('mouse') in 1 S. 6 see *Nature*, 57 (1898) p. 618, where it is suggested that the sufferings of the Philistines were caused by the bites of the Arachnid *Solpuga*. These spider-like animals can readily be mistaken for mice. Critically, however, the theory is very weak.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

MOWINGS occurs in the expression 'king's mowings' (גִּזֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ; ΓΩΓ Ο ΒΑϹΙΛΕΥϹ [BAQ]; *tonsionem regis*), Am. 7 1. The only certain meaning of *gēz* (גֵּז), however, is 'fleece' (= גִּזָּה), and both in Am. and in Ps. 72 6 (where EV gives 'mown grass') the text is disputed (see LOCUSTS, § 3, and Che. *Ps.*(2)). Hoffmann defends the sense of wool-shearing for *gēz* even here (*ZATW* 3 117), but without plausibility (see Nowack on Am., *l.c.*). Most scholars find a reference to the king's right of cutting the grass in spring before others, on which see GOVERNMENT, § 19.

MOZA (מוֹצָא, 'sunrise,' § 72).

1. 'Son' of Caleb b. Hezron by his concubine Ephah (1 Ch. 2 46, ιωσα [A], -ν [B], μουσα [L]). Some locality in Judah is probably intended; cp the place-name MOZAH.

2. b. Zimri a descendant of Saul mentioned in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 36 *f.* (μαισα [BA; sup M vestigia appar rus et litur in B], μωσα [L]) = 1 Ch. 9 42 *f.* (μασσα [B], μασα [ℵA] μωσα [L]).

MOZAH (הַמֹּצָה), a Benjamite locality, grouped with Mizpah and Chephirah (Josh. 18 26 [P], ΑΜΩΚΗ [B], ΑΜΩϹΑ [A], ΜΑϹϹΑ [L]). A Mozah, situated below Jerusalem, is mentioned in *Sukka*, 4 5; it was the place from which willow-branches were fetched for the Feast of Tabernacles. The Gemāra adds that it was a 'colonia' (קולניא). Now, on the way to Ḳaryat el-'Enab, NE. of Jerusalem, we find the two neighbouring places named respectively Ḳulōnieh and Bēt Mizza (cp Bäd. 17). Buhl (*Pal.* 167) would identify the latter with the Mozah of Josh. and of the Mishna. Certainly Ḳulōnieh is not the Kulon of 𝔊's addition to Josh. 15 59 (see EMMAUS, KULON). When, however, we consider similar cases of double representation of the same place in P's lists, and notice corruption close by, it seems best to regard המצה as a corrupt dittogram of המצפה, 'the Mizpeh' which precedes. See MIZPAH. T. K. C.

MUFFLERS (רְעָלוֹת), Is. 3 19† EV, AV^mg. 'spangled ornaments.' See VEIL.

MULBERRY (ΜΟΡΟΝ) 1 Macc. 6 34†, and **Mulberry trees** (בְּכָאִים), 2 S. 5 23 *f.* 1 Ch. 14 14 *f.*, and AV^mg., Ps. 84 6 [7], where AV^mg. virtually reads *bᵉkā'īm* (בכאים). At BETHZACHARIAS (*q.v.*) the elephants in the Syrian army were shown 'the blood of grapes and of mulberries' (see ELEPHANT). No doubt the fruit of the black mulberry-tree (*Morus nigra; MH* תות) is meant, the juice of which suggests an apologue illustrative of Gen. 4 9 in *Ber. rabbā*, 22. The juiciness of the mulberry also suggested AV's rendering of *bĕkāīm* (from בכה, 'to weep') in 2 S. 5 23 *f.*, which is adopted from the Rabbins, but is a worthless conjecture.

Targum gives the general term 'trees' (אִילָנַיָּא); 𝔊^BA (in Ch.), Aquila in 2 S. 5 23,[2] and Vulgate (in S. and Ch.) give, for no

[1] So Bochart, Gesenius, and Knobel all understand the עכבר to be the jerboa. It may be noticed that *'adal*, the field-mouse, occurs also as an Arabic clan-name.

[2] 'Lectio suspicione non vacat' (Field, 1 554).

good reason, ἄπιοι, *pyri* (*i.e.*, pear-trees), which, however, grow only in N. Palestine.

Celsius (1 138 *ff.*) identified the *Baka* tree, as we may provisionally call it, with a tree or bush of the same name (*baka'*) known to Arabian writers. Mr. M'Lean writes, 'It is, according to Abulfaḍl, similar to the *bas'am* (*Balsamodendron opobalsamum*), and grows in the district round Mecca. It differed from the balsam tree in having longer leaves and a larger, rounder fruit. From it a juice or resin (his language is not clear, but he connects the distillation with the severance of the *leaf*) was obtained which was a remedy for toothache.'

To this identification (accepted by many, including Del. *Ps.*) it is a conclusive objection that no such tree is known in Palestine. Nor is it easy to see how a tree which grows in the hot dry valley where Mecca lies, can have grown in the highland plain of 'Rephaim,' whether we place this near Jerusalem or in the Jerahmeelite Negeb (see REPHAIM, VALLEY OF). It is possible of course that the same name (the 'weeping' tree) may have been borne by some gum-exuding variety of the acacia. Apparently the trees referred to in 2 S. *l.c.* were sacred trees, and in the Sinaitic peninsula at any rate we know that the *seyāl*-acacia is often a sacred tree (H. J. Palmer, *Sinai*, 39; cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 273). Several species of acacia are found in Palestine (see SHITTAH TREE). We might further suppose that BOCHIM [*q.v.*] is a popular corruption of *bĕkā'im* ('weeping trees'). See also POPLAR.

However, the corruptions suspected elsewhere in this narrative (see REPHAIM, VALLEY OF) suggest caution. The text may be corrupt. The two narratives in 2 S. 5 17-25 are clearly parallel. Very possibly for בכאים we should read [פֶּרֶץ] יְרַחְמְאֵלִים, 'Perez (=Zarephath) of the Jerahmeelites,' and בְּרָאשֵׁי הַבְּכָאִים should be בְּפֶרֶץ יְרַח׳, 'in Perez of the Jerahmeelites.' This gives another play on the name Perez or Perazim, for the next words are, אָז תִּפְרֹץ (as read with Grä.), 'then shalt thou break forth.' See PERAZIM. The key to the narrative is the theory that the fighting referred to was for the possession of the Jerahmeelite cities (see 1 S. 30 29); the combatants were David's men on the one hand, and the Zarephathites on the other.

The case of Ps. 84 6 [7] requires separate consideration. The rendering of Baer, Kautzsch, 'going through the vale of tears,' is supported by all the ancients, but will hardly stand (for another view see König, 2 *a* 174). 𝔊's τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος points to הַבֹּכִים, *hab-bōkim*; *hab-bōkīm* might come from *hab-bĕkā'im*, so that the Valley (Plain) of 'Rephaim' might be meant, if that valley is rightly placed near Jerusalem. More probably, however, there is a corruption in the text, and for בְּעֵמֶק הַבָּכָא we should read בְּתוֹךְ הַבְּקָעֹת; the passage will then run, 'Who going through a region of vales drink from a fountain' (see Che. *Ps.*(2)); cp Is. 41 18, 'I will open . . . fountains in the midst of the valleys' (בְּקָעוֹת). T. K. C.

MULE (פֶּרֶד, *péred*, ΗΜΙΟΝΟϹ). The Hebrews do not seem to have been familiar with the mule before the establishment of the monarchy. Long before this, however, mules had been in use in Egypt and Assyria; their sure-footedness, hardiness, and endurance making them handier, and often more valuable than the horse, which was reserved for military expeditions and wars (see HORSE).

1. History.

Mules are first met with in Asia Minor, and the highlands to the N. of Mesopotamia. In Homer they are associated with the Paphlagonian Enetæ (*Il.* 2 872), and the Mysians (*Il.* 24 277). The Phœnicians (and through them doubtless the Hebrews) carried on a trade in mules with TOGARMAH (Ezek. 27 14, om. 𝔊^B); and the same region on more than one occasion furnished the Assyrians with supplies of these animals.

In the OT the mule is first mentioned in the time of David.[1] It is the animal ridden by the king's sons (2 S. 13 29 18 9; the *pack*-animal is the ass, cp 16 1), while for

[1] For 1 S. 21 7 [8] where Doeg, according to 𝔊^BAL, was Saul's mule-keeper, see DOEG. 𝔊 again finds an allusion to mules in Neh. 2 8 where ℵ^c.a L (not BA) display the reading שֹׁמֵר הַפְּרָדִים by the side of the MT שׁ׳ הַפַּרְדֵּס 'the keeper of the king's park.' The latter is, of course, correct.

the king's use.upon state occasions the female animal seems to be preferred (1 K. 1 33 *ff.*). Mules were among Solomon's yearly presents (1 K. 10 25 2 Ch. 9 24), and henceforth became widely used. Mules together with asses, camels, and horses, in large numbers, were carried off by Sennacherib after his invasion of Judah (*Prism-Inscr.* 3 18 *ff.*). Further references are made to the use of the mule as a beast of burden (2 K. 5 17[1] cp Judith 15 11), as a baggage animal in war (Judith 2 17), and as harnessed to a LITTER (*q.v.*). The breeding of mules would be prohibited in post-exilic times by the law in Lev. 19 19.

2. Names. The usual name for the mule in Heb. is פֶּרֶד, *péred*, a word of uncertain origin, cp Syr. *bardūna* 'mule, beast of burden.' This word lies at the bottom of the mid. Lat. burdo, O. Eng. 'burdown' (the offspring of the stallion and ass; Engl. hinny), and is transferred from the pilgrim's mule to his staff in the O. Eng. 'bourdon' (cp the diverse meanings of the Span. muleta). For this and other vicissitudes of the word, see the New English Dictionary, *s.* 'bourdon,' 'burden.' It is interesting to find that Wyclif in his translation has actually used burdown, burdones, to render the Heb. פרדים of 2 K. 5 17. Other Hebrew words rendered 'mule' are הַיֵּמִם, *hayyēmīm*, Gen. 36 24 (see ANAH), רֶכֶשׁ, *rékeš*, Est. 8 10 14 and אחשתרנים Est. 8 10; see HORSE, § 1.

Among other Semitic terms for 'mule' may be noticed the Ass. *kudinnu* (see Muss-Arn. with refs.), cp Syr. *kūdanyā*; and *parū* (but according to Jen. *Kos.* 109 *f.* 'horse'). The Syr. *baglā* 'mule,' as also the Ar. *bağl*, are conceivably derived from μύχλος (of Phocian origin, so Hesych.); from which, in their turn, come the Lat. mulus (properly the offspring of the ass and mare), and our own 'mule.' A. E. S.—S. A. C.

MUNITION (מְצוּדָה, Is. 33 16 EV; מְצֹרָה, Is. 29 7 AV; מְצוּרָה, Nah. 2 1 [2] EV); see FORTRESS, col. 1552, and, for Dan. 11 38 AV^mg., MAUZZIM.

MUPPIM (מֻפִּים; ΜΑΜΦΕΙΝ [AD]; -ΕΙΜ [L]), one of the sons of Benjamin (Gen. 46 21). The name seems to be a corruption from the SHEPHUPHAM of Nu. 26 39 (SHUPPIM in 1 Ch. 7 12); see AHIRAM.

MURDERER, MANSLAYER. See GOEL; also ASYLUM, and LAW AND JUSTICE, § 13.

MURRAIN (דֶּבֶר), Ex. 9 3. See DISEASES, col. 1105, and cp PLAGUES, THE TEN.

MUSHI (מוּשִׁי, מֻשִׁי 'Mosaite' [§ 9] or 'Moses-clan' [MOSES, § 2]; in Nu. 3 33, 26 58, הַמּוּשִׁי, the Mushites), a Levitical (Merarite) family; Ex. 6 19; Nu. 3 20 33; 26 58; 1 Ch. 6 19 47 [4 32]; 23 21 23; 24 26 30 (usually ομουσ[ε]ι, or, especially in L, μουσ[ε]ι, occasionally μοουσ[ε]ι]; in 1 Ch. 6 47 [32], B has μοσει). Cp MERARI, GENEALOGIES, i. § 7.

MUSIC

1. Rhythm, melody. Music is the art of the expression of the feelings by means of rhythmical and melodious sound. Its origin is lost in the night of antiquity; but it is safe to assume from a study of the development of the art among savage peoples that the first music was a system of rhythmical intonation. There can be little doubt that melody or tone-variation in singing was a comparatively late development from this original rhythm, a sense of which is inborn in all races. As soon as man reached a stage of cultivation where he was able to repeat his experience to his fellows, to give an account of his own passions or to tell of the heroic deeds of others, the need must have been felt of a declamatory style, a method of reciting which would not only impress the words of a tale on the hearers, but would also enable the reciter himself to remember his theme more easily. This mnemonic style, which must have been a method of intonation and emphatic accentuation of the most important words or phrases of a story, was the beginning of what we now call rhythm. It may be supposed that the reciter intoned his song in a monotone, marking it, both by means of his own voice and artificially, with a strong rhythmic beat, but that in the course of time it was discovered, possibly at first accidentally, that an occasional inflection or tone-variation would hold the attention of the hearers more satisfactorily. Finally, a distinct melody proceeding from two to five notes was probably evolved, which became the foundation for further modulations.

2. Instrumentation. The development of instrumentation, although undoubtedly very ancient, must have begun some time after the rise of rhythmic intonation. It was probably customary among the very earliest declaimers, as it is to-day among barbarous peoples, to emphasise the rhythmic beat of a song by stamping, by clapping the hands, or by striking the breast at proper intervals. Such an action would have suggested the first artificial instrument of music—the hand-drum or tambourine. The discovery by primitive man of his power to produce a whistling noise with his own mouth, which he was perhaps impelled to do in imitation of the wind, was in all likelihood the first step towards the invention of wind instruments. The most ancient instrument of this sort must have been a simple reed with a slit cut in it. Stringed instruments, which were probably developed last of all, may have been suggested by the accidental tone produced by the twang of a gut bow-string,[1] which impelled some inventive genius to create musical tones by means of similar cords strung tightly across a resonant piece of wood or bladder.

Percussion, wind, and stringed instruments are all mentioned in the OT; but as we have no ancient pictorial representations of any of them, it is impossible to do more than conjecture concerning their form and musical compass in early times. It may be assumed, however, that during the period covered by the OT history (from about 1300 B.C.) there was a distinct musical development, especially of the wind and stringed instruments. The only authentic pictures of Jewish instruments known at present are those of the citterns on certain late coins, probably not older than the time of the Jewish rebellion against the Romans in 68-70 A.D., and those of the later form of trumpet on the arch of Titus (79-81 A.D.). There is every reason to believe that the art of music among the early Hebrews was essentially the same as that of the Egyptians and the Assyrians, of whose musical performances there are many representations. These may be used quite legitimately, therefore, to illustrate the character of the ancient Hebrew instruments.

3. Instruments of percussion. We begin with instruments of percussion. (1) The most primitive Hebrew instrument was perhaps the hand-drum or *tōph*[2] (EV 'tabret' or 'timbrel'). This was simply a ring of wood or metal, covered with a tightly drawn skin, occasionally provided with small pieces of metal hung around the rim, exactly like those on the modern tambourine, of which the *tōph* was the prototype. The instrument was held up in one hand and struck with the other, as may be seen from the accompanying illustration (fig. 1) of an Egyptian woman playing it. Both Egyptians and Assyrians seem to have had, as well as the *tōph*, a drum which was supported against the performer by a belt and beaten

[1] מַשָּׂא צֶמֶד־פְּרָדִים 'two mule-loads.' Ass-load (מעון חמר γόμος ὀνικός), and camel-load (ט' גמלא), are used as units of weight in the great Palmyrene tariff; see Lidzbarski, *Nord-sem. Epig.* 465 *ff.*

[1] Cp Heb. *minnīm* (Ar. *watar*), Ps. 45 9 150 4, 'strings of a musical instrument,' properly 'bow-strings.' [The correctness of MT, however, is not beyond doubt. See PIPE.]

[2] תֹּף, from תפף, 'to strike'; Ar. *duff*; Gk. τύμπανον. תֹּף in Ezek. 28 13 probably means the setting of a jewel (cp Cornill); on ותפת Job 17 6 where AV finds a 'tabret,' see Budde, *Hiob*, 89.

with both hands (fig. 2). Among the Hebrews the hand-drum was played chiefly by women, but sometimes by men (1 S. 10 5). It was used at festivities of all sorts —*e.g.*, at weddings (1 Macc. 9 39), in public processions (2 S. 6 5)—as well as in ordinary song (Gen. 31 27). It was also employed in religious music of a joyous and



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

popular character (Ex. 15 20 Ps. 81 2), but probably not in the Jerusalem temple worship, as it is not mentioned in 2 Ch. 5 12 *f.*, where we should expect to find it along with the cymbals.

2. The cymbals (*mĕṣiltáyim*, מצלתים[1]; AV and RV 'cymbals'; Gk. κύμβαλα) which were used in the temple to mark time (Ezra 3 10) were bronze discs struck together by the performer (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 12 3). They must have had outside handles. Whether they were sometimes bell-shaped like those on the Assyrian reliefs (fig. 3) it is of course impossible to know. The late Hebrew tradition asserts, perhaps correctly, that cymbals were used in religious worship in David's time (1 Ch. 25 16). The *ṣelṣĕlīm*, צלצלים (2 S. 6 5; *ṣelṣĕlē-shĕma'*, Ps. 150 5, AV 'loud cymbals'; RV 'high sounding cymbals'), were probably the same instrument, although some scholars translate this word in Ps. 150 5 'castanets.'[2] Finger-castanets like those now in use among the Arabs (fig. 4) may have been employed by the Hebrews to accompany their popular dances; but there seems to be no word in the OT to denote the instrument.



FIG. 3.—Eastern Cymbals.

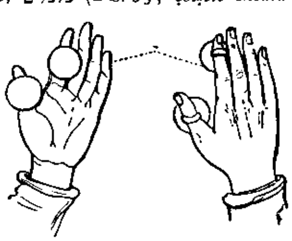


FIG. 4.—Arab Castanets.

3. *Mĕna'anĕ'īm*,[3] מְנַעַנְעִים; (κύμβαλα, 2 S. 6 5†; RV 'castanets'; AV 'cornets'), were probably an instrument for shaking, like the *sistrum*[4] (Gk. σεῖστρον), which among the Egyptians consisted of an oval frame with iron rods lying loosely in holes in the sides. Rings were suspended from the ends of these rods and a handle supported the whole (fig. 5). These *sistra* were used in Egypt in religious services, and especially at the Isis dances (Juvenal, 13 93 *ff.*). The Hebrew *mĕna'anĕ'īm* were very probably simuar to the Egyptian *sistra*, if not exactly like them.

4. The correct translation of the name of the fourth and last Hebrew instrument of percussion, *šālīšīm* (שָׁלִשִׁים, κύμβαλα, 1 S. 18 6†; EV 'instruments of music'), is more difficult to determine. The etymology shows plainly that they were in some way connected with the numeral three. It has been conjectured, and it seems

1 From צלל, 'to jingle, clash.'
2 Jahn, *Häusl. Alt.* 1, 105; Pfeiffer, *Musik d. Hebräer*, 55.
3 Pilpel, participle of נוע, 'to shake.'
4 So RVmg., 2 S. 6 5, and Vulg.

likely, that they belong to the same class as the *sistra* and resembled the modern triangle,[1] being made of metal, but hung with rings and shaken instead of being struck with a metal bar. The only objection to this view is that there is no proof of the existence in the ancient East of triangular instruments of percussion. According to Athenæus (*Deipn.* 4 175), instruments for

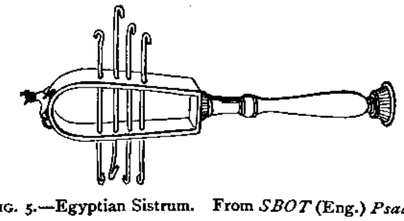


FIG. 5.—Egyptian Sistrum. From *SBOT* (Eng.) *Psalms.*

shaking like the *sistra* came to Greece from Syria, and were used, as in some modern European regiments, for military field music. Nowack supposes, with little foundation, that the *šālīšīm* were cymbals with three parallel bars (*HA*, 273).[2] That they were triangular harps like the Gk. τρίγωνος[3] is also unlikely, because the context leads us to suppose that they were instruments of percussion. Luther's rendering *Geige*, 'viol,' is impossible, as there were no bowed instruments in early times.

Of wind instruments we may take first those of the flute class. (*a*) Of these the most ancient was probably

4. Wind instruments: flute class.

the flute called *ḥālīl*, חָלִיל, *lit.* 'bored instrument' (EV 'pipe'), also *nĕḥīlāh*, נְחִילָה, Ps. 5 1.[4] The Hebrew flute was originally made of reed, but afterwards of wood bored through—*e.g.*, of box, lotus, laurel—and later even of ivory and metal. There were many varieties of this instrument in use among the Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks. Some flutes were played either like the modern Arab flute (fig. 6), or as a flageolet with a mouthpiece of wood or metal like that of a whistle. This was the case, for example, with the Egyptian and the Assyrian double flute (fig. 7) still used by Palestinian shepherds; but other varieties like the Egyptian long flute (fig. 8) were played obliquely through a lateral blow-hole. Flutes varied greatly in length, tone, and number of finger-holes. The most primitive instruments had probably only two or three holes; but the later flutes seem to have had seven, covering the entire octave. It is uncertain whether the



FIG. 6.—Arab Flute. From *SBOT* (Eng.) *Psalms.*



FIG. 7.

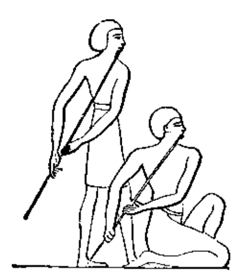


FIG. 8.

ḥālīl was a single straight pipe, a double flute, or a genuine horizontal or oblique flute. In fact, the word may have been applied as a generic name to these three kinds of instrument.

1 See RVmg., 'triangles,' 'three-stringed instruments'; Vulg. *in sistris.*
2 𝔊 and Pesh. make them a sort of cymbals.
3 Haupt, 'Psalms,' *SBOT* (Eng.), 233.
4 But see Baethgen, *Psalmen*, 11.

The *ḥālīl* was essentially peaceful. It was used at feasts (Is. 5 12), festal processions (1 K. 1 40), pilgrimages (Is. 30 29), and to accompany dancing (Mt. 11 17). Besides this, it was the characteristic instrument of mourning (Mt. 9 23).[1] Even the poorest Hebrew had to have two flute-players and one hired female mourner at his wife's funeral.[2] There were probably no flute-players in the original temple orchestra, although the Talmud, referring to the Maccabæan and later temple, states that from two to twelve flutes were used at the regular sacrifice.[3] These were employed during the Passover and the following season, and also during the night services of the Feast of Tabernacles,[4] when a flute was blown at the altar to repeat the final tones of the *Hallēl*. The associations with the flute, however, were evidently quite secular, as Clement of Alexandria objected strongly to its use at Christian love-feasts on the ground that it was a worldly instrument.

The word *néḳeb*, נקב (Ezek. 28 13; EV 'pipes'), is probably not the name of a variety of flute,[5] but a technical expression for a jewel setting or box.

(*b*) The *'ūgāb*[6] (AV 'organ,'[7] *i.e.*, 'pan's-pipe'; RV 'pipe'), and the *mašrōḳītha*[8] (only Dan. 3 5 7 10 15; EV 'flute'), were in all probability one and the same instrument—some development from the double flute, such as a mouth-organ or pan's-pipe,[9] the favourite pastoral instrument, which consisted of from seven to nine reed pipes of varying lengths and thicknesses tuned in a simple scale. This is the traditional interpretation of *'ūgāb*. The word seems to be used in Gen. 4 21, however, as a generic term for all wind instruments. If this is so, it may have been applied later especially to the pan's-pipe, which, strangely enough, was the parent of the most elaborate modern instrument, the pipe-organ, a nearer approach to which may have been reached in the *magrēphah* of the Herodian temple.

The *magrēphah* seems to have been a pipe-work with bellows of elephant's or bull's hide and a wind-box with ten openings, into each of which was fitted a pipe with ten holes, so that it was possible to obtain from it one hundred distinct tones.[10] Unfortunately, the accounts regarding this instrument are so contradictory that but little can be known about it definitely. Thus, according to some, it was small enough to be moved about by a single Levite, whilst others state that its thundering tones were audible on the Mount of Olives. This has caused some scholars to doubt its existence altogether. It is very likely, however, that wind-organs were known before the discovery by Ctesibias about 250 B.C. of the hydraulic organ. There is nothing improbable in the idea that such a wind instrument might have been used in the later temple. The Hebrew name *magrēphah*, which means 'a fork' or 'tined shovel,' would seem to be due to the form of the instrument, the pipes of which were thought to resemble tines. How it was played cannot be determined; but of course it had no keyboard,[1] which was a very late development. The accompanying illustration of a primitive pipe-organ (fig. 9) is copied from the Constantinople obelisk erected by Theodosius, who died in 395 A.D.

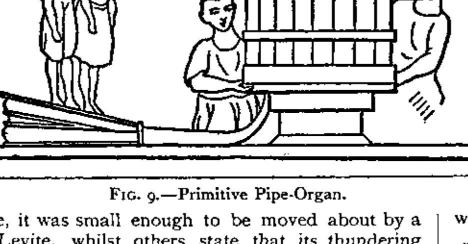


FIG. 9.—Primitive Pipe-Organ.

The *'ūgāb* was essentially an instrument of joy (Job 21 12 30 31), and was used in praise services (Ps. 150 4). It was probably not a bagpipe as one tradition makes it. This would have been too secular for use in the worship of Yahwè. The modern Jews call pianos *mashrokīten*.

(*c*) The last example of flute-like instruments is the *sumpōnyā* of Dan. 3 5 15, incorrectly translated 'dulcimer'[2] by EV (see BAGPIPE). *Sumpōnyā* is an Aramaic loanword from the Gk. *συμφωνία*, which in later Greek may have been used to denote the ancient bagpipe,[3] an instrument whose form possibly resembled the modern Spanish *zampoña* (Ital. *sampogna*), the name of which is clearly a derivative from *συμφωνία*. It was probably a goatskin bag with two reed pipes, the one used as a mouth-piece to fill the bag, which in Roman times had a *porte-vent* to relieve the strain on the player's throat, and the other, employed as a chanter-flute with finger-holes. The Arab bagpipe *ghaita*, also used in Spain, has seven finger-holes. The combined chanter mouthpiece and the three drones of the modern Scotch war-pipe are of course a peculiarly national development. It has been suggested that *sip(p)ōnyā* Dan. 3 10, undoubtedly used of the same instrument *sumpōnyā*, may be derived from the Gk. *σίφων*, 'tube, pipe,' and may thus be the correct form of the word.[4] It is much more likely that *sifonya* merely represents an Aramaic mispronunciation of *συμφωνία*. The whole question is doubtful, because *συμφωνία* in classical Greek meant a concord or unison of sounds (cp Lk. 15 25),[5] and appears only in the later language in the sense of a special musical instrument.[6] It is not likely that the *συμφωνία* was a sistrum.[7]

The bagpipe was popular in Rome (under the Emperors), where it was called *chorus* or *tibia utricularia*.

5. Wind instruments: trumpet class.

Of instruments of the trumpet class two are mentioned in the OT, (*a*) the *shōphār*, שופר, 'horn' (EV 'trumpet, cornet'), and (*b*) the *ḥăṣōṣĕrah*, חצוצרה (EV 'trumpet').

(*a*) *Shōphār*.—Synonymous with the *shōphār* was the *ḳéren*, קרן, 'horn' (Josh. 6 5 1 Ch. 25 5). The *ḳéren* was primarily a simple ram's-horn (Josh. 6 4 *ff.*), and according to the Talmud was crooked in shape. In later times, however, *shōphārōth* seem to have been made of metal[8] and straightened. This caused them to be confused with the *ḥăṣōṣĕrāh*, which was essentially the priestly instrument. The primitive *shōphār* is still to be seen in the Synagogue ritual horn (fig. 10), which is the oldest form of wind instrument in use to-day.[9] The early *shōphārōth*, however, were used chiefly for secular purposes

[1] Jos. *BJ* iii. 9 5.
[2] Lightfoot *ad* Matth. 9 23.
[3] 'Ărākh. 2 3; Sukk. 5 1.
[4] Also Tac. *Hist.* 5 5. See on this subject Del. *Psalmen*(4), 27, rem. 7.
[5] Ambros, *Gesch. d. Musik*, 209.
[6] Gen. 4 21 Job 21 12 30 31 Ps. 150 4. עוגב from עגב, *flare, anhelare* (?) So Delitzsch.
[7] 𝔊, in Ps. 150, ὄργανον, Jer. *organum*.
[8] משרוקיתא from שרק, 'to hiss, blow.' שריקות, Judg. 5 16, probably refers to the piping of a flute, syrinx, or bagpipe (𝔊, συρισμός) not 'bleatings.' שרקה, Jer. 18 16, however, means 'object of hissing.'
[9] Σύριγξ, *fistula Panis*.
[10] מגרפה, *'Ărākh.* 10 *b* 11 *a*.

[1] As Saalschütz thought, *Arch.* 1 282.
[2] Identical with the mediæval psaltery described below (fig. 20).
[3] So RV margin.
[4] Behrmann, Dan. 9. According to Meier, *Wurzelw.* 719 *ff.*, סיפניה is of Semitic origin, either from סוף or צפן=ספן. He thought סומפניה was a Semitic word with מ for resolution of the doubling in a form ספּן. This is very doubtful.
[5] AV margin, 'singing, symphony.'
[6] Polybius, xxvi. 10 5, Ed. Hultsch, along with κεράτιον.
[7] Ducang, *s.v.* 'Symphonia.'
[8] *Ōrach. Chay.* n. 586.
[9] Cp Cyrus Adler, 'The Shophar,' *Report of U.S. Nat. Museum*, 1892, pp. 437-450. Wash. 1894.

—*e.g.*, by watchmen (Am. 36), for battle alarms (Judg. 3 27), in assemblies (1 S. 13 3 *ff.*), and at coronations (2 S. 15 10)—although in very ancient times they were employed also in ritual; thus, to announce the Jubilee (Lev. 25 9), which takes its name from the instrument,[1] and at the approach of the Ark (2 S. 6 15).

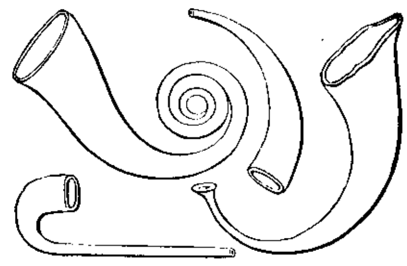


FIG. 10.—Horns and curved Trumpets

(*b*) The *ḥăṣōṣĕrah* was a straight metal trumpet (*tuba*), according to Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 12 6), nearly a yard long, and but little wider than a flute, with an embouchure and a slightly flaring bell-like end. On the relief of the Arch of Titus two trumpets of this sort are shown leaning against the golden table of shewbread (fig. 11). The use of the *ḥăṣōṣĕrah*, in distinction from that of the *shōphār*, was almost entirely religious. In fact, during the time when the post-exilic temple flourished, *ḥăṣōṣĕrōth* might be blown only by priests. Thus, there were in the temple two silver trumpets, which were

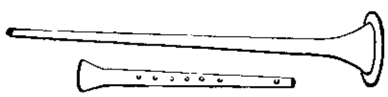


FIG. 11.—Straight Trumpet and Pipe.

sounded especially to announce festivals (Nu. 10 2 31 6), and according to the Talmud two priests stood in the temple hall blowing trumpets when the drink-offering was presented (cp Ecclus. 50 16 *ff.*). One hundred and twenty priests are said to have blown *ḥăṣōṣĕrōth* in Solomon's temple (2 Ch. 5 12). A secular use of the instrument, however, is mentioned in Hos. 5 8, where it is to be blown as a war-signal, and in 2 K. 11 14 and 2 Ch. 23 13, according to which it would seem that *ḥăṣōṣĕrōth* were blown also by laymen. It is possible that the instrument referred to in these passages was not the priestly *ḥăṣōṣĕrāh*, but the straight later form of the *shōphār*, which, owing to its similarity of shape, might have been confused with the religious instrument.

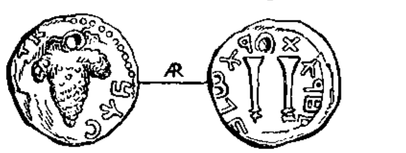


FIG. 12.—Trumpet on Jewish Coin. From *SBOT* (Eng.) *Psalms*.

A coin, dating from the reign of Hadrian (131-135 A.D.), shows an example (fig. 12) of this trumpet, which was probably used in war. It will be noticed that these trumpets differ considerably in form from the sacred *ḥăṣōṣĕrōth* of the Arch of Titus. It would appear, however, from 1 Macc. 4 40 5 33, that the later Jews also used trumpets in worship, either the straight war instrument or the real *ḥăṣōṣĕrāh*.

Neither form of trumpet was, properly, a musical instrument, as both were used merely in signalling or in connection with other instruments to augment a joyous uproar of the people, not to accompany any melody (Ps. 98 6 150 3). They were essentially instruments of *tĕrūʿāh*, noise. Three distinct methods of blowing them are recorded: *tāḳaʿ*, 'in blasts'; *māšak*, 'sostenuto'; and *hērīaʿ*, 'with vibrating tones.'[1]

[1] See Josh. 6 5 Lev. 25 13; cp JUBILEE.

6. Stringed instruments. Stringed instruments may be divided into two classes: harps, on which the strings are strung perpendicularly or obliquely from a sound-frame either above or below them, and lyres and lutes, on which the strings run horizontally, generally lengthwise across a sound-body. Only three stringed instruments are mentioned in the OT, the *kinnōr* and the *nēbel* (§§ 7-9), and the *šabbĕkhā* (§ 10), of which the first two were native and the last foreign. On 'Neginoth' (EV 'stringed instruments') see special article.

There can be no doubt that the very earliest Semitic and Egyptian stringed instruments were always either swept or plucked with the fingers. Later, however, as may be seen from the monuments, use was made of a plectrum. This was probably made at first either of wood or of bone, but subsequently of metal. Although there is no direct proof of the use of such a contrivance by the Hebrews, there is no reason to doubt that it was known to them. It is scarcely necessary to remark that bowed instruments were a very late development, and are not mentioned in the OT at all.[2]

The Hebrew musical strings were probably generally of gut, and hardly ever of metal as in the modern Arab lutes. The statement in 2 S. 6 5 that the wood of which the Jewish instruments were made was cypress seems to depend on a textual error;[3] but in 1 K. 10 12 2 Ch. 9 11 it is recorded that Solomon had harps and psalteries made of sandal-wood (EV ALMUG, ALGUM TREES, *q.v.*). This was very likely imported from India and Ethiopia.

7. Psaltery and harp. There is some confusion as to the exact nature of the *kinnōr*[4] and the *nēbel*,[5] and as to the distinction between them, one instrument being apparently sometimes called by the name of the other. The *kinnōr* (and its synonym *ḳithārīs*,[6] Dan. 3 5 *ff.*) is translated 'harp' by EV, whilst the *nēbel* (and its equivalent, *pĕsanṭērīn*,[7] in Dan. 3 5 *ff.*) is called by EV 'psaltery,' except in Is. 14 11 Am. 5 23 6 5, where *nēbel* is rendered by 'viol' (in Is. 5 12 AV 'viol,' RV 'lute.')

The two instruments represented on the late Jewish coins (fig. 13) mentioned above strongly resemble the Greek lyre and cittern, which were closely allied to each other.[8] In the former the frame is square, the body oval, and there is a kettle-shaped sound-body below. In the latter the sides of the frame are curved and connected across the top by a bar, which supports the upper ends of the strings. The sound-body, as in the lyre, is below, but is vase-shaped. This resemblance to the Greek lyre and cittern is, of course, striking, but is in itself no proof that the instruments figured were essentially Greek not Jewish. So conservative a people as the later Jews would never have depicted instruments which did not resemble very strongly those in use in their own worship at the time, and they would certainly not have used foreign instruments in their services. The number of strings on both instruments

[1] Cp on the ancient trumpet, Ambros, 492.
[2] In spite of AV in Is. 5 12.
[3] See RVmg.; בכל עצי ברושים should be בכל עז ובשירים, so, after 1 Ch. 13 8, We., Dr. *TBS* 204, HPSm., etc.
[4] כנור, 𝔊 κιθάρα, but in 1 S. 16 23 κινύρα. Also Josephus. כנור = ψαλτήριον in Ps. 81 3.
[5] נבל, 𝔊 ψαλτήριον; but once, κιθάρα (Ps. 81 3), and in Am. 5 23 6 5 ὄργανον.
[6] קיתרס, a loan-word from κίθαρις. Not קיתרֹם as in MT. The *Ḳ'rē* changes it to the usual קַתְרֹס of the Targums.
[7] The form פסנטרין with ט in Dan. 3 7 is really more correct than פסנתרין with ת in 3 5, as in Aramaic and late Hebrew ת generally represents θ and ט = τ; cp תאטרון = θέατρον; but we do find תרגימא = τράγημα (see Strack, *Neuheb. Gr.* 13, § 6). Cp DANIEL [BOOK], § 11.
[8] Λύρα and κιθάρα. The latter must not be confused with the German *zither*. The name guitar is a derivative from κιθάρα. The guitar itself is a development of the lute.

seems to vary between three and six. It is impossible to determine definitely which of the instruments figured is the *kinnōr* and which is the *nēbel*, or whether they are

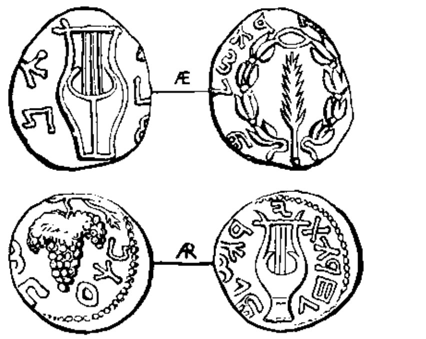


Fig. 13.—Citterns on Jewish Coins. From *SBOT* (Eng.) *Psalms*.

both varieties of the one or the other; but the probability is, as will appear presently (§ 9), that they represent two sorts of *kinnōr*.

8. Their relation to foreign instruments.

Any comparison of either *kinnōr* or *nēbel* with the many varieties of Assyrian and Egyptian stringed instruments, however suggestive, must, of course, be purely conjectural, as we have practically only statements of the Fathers to guide us.

Augustine, Eusebius, and Hilary distinguish between an instrument with a drum-shaped sound-body below, with the belly turned downwards (*kinnōr*), and an instrument with a sound-frame above, which covered the ends of the strings (*nēbel*).

Jerome compared the shape of the *nēbel* to a Δ, and in his explanation of Ps. 33 2 also mentions the difference in the position of the sound-body. Of course the Church Fathers could have known only the late form of the Jewish instruments which had come under Greek and Roman influence; but it is highly improbable that the fundamental character of the instruments had changed materially, except, possibly, as to size and the number of the strings.[1]

These descriptions certainly seem to show that, in the form in which the Fathers knew the instruments, the *kinnōr* was a lyre and the *nēbel* a pure harp.

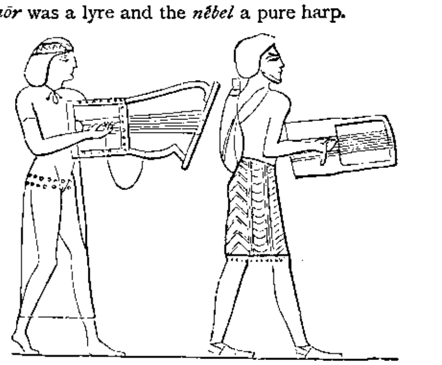


Fig. 14.—Egyptian Lyre.

Whatever the character of the *kinnōr* may have been, the class of instruments which it represented was certainly very ancient, as its invention is attributed to Jubal in Gen. 4 21 (see Cainites, § 11). The constant translation of *kinnōr* by *kithara* (lyre), as well as the descriptions of the Fathers, makes it highly likely that

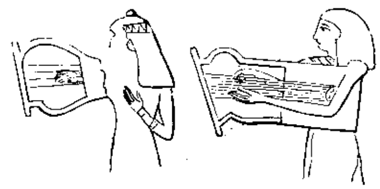


Fig. 15.—Later Egyptian Lyre.

the instrument belonged to the lyre class. It was certainly not a lute,[1] although the lute is a development from the primitive lyre.

The oldest form of the lyre appears on an ancient Egyptian relief (fig. 14), showing the peaceful immigration into Egypt of a family of Semitic Bedouins during the twelfth dyn. (see Joseph ii., § 8, col. 2591, and col. 19, n. 2). One of the immigrants is carrying a rudely-formed stringed instrument, consisting of a long four-cornered board, the upper part of which is cut into a four-cornered frame, on which are strung seven or eight strings, all of equal length, running parallel to the long sides of the board. The player carries the instrument braced against his body horizontally and plays it with a black plectrum. His left hand is pressed against the strings, probably in order to secure the correct tone by damping them. This ancient representation of the lyre shows that it must have been originally a Semitic instrument, although the Egyptians developed it still further, as may be seen from the accompanying illustration of one of their later lyres (fig. 15).



Fig. 16.—Semitic captives playing Lyres. From a slab in the British Museum.

An interesting illustration of a Hittite lyre appears on a relief slab now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (see Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien u. Nordsyrien*, Pl. xlvii. fig. 2).

The Assyrian horizontal harp, which was played in exactly the same manner, but was essentially different in form, must not be confused with the lyre.

The *kinnōr* was probably the Hebrew form of the lyre, and this view is strengthened by an examination of the interesting relief (fig. 16) showing an Assyrian warrior guarding three Semitic captives, playing on

[1] The theories of the later Jews are not trustworthy.

[1] The translators of the Arabic version of the London Polyglot render כנור by *ṭunbūr* (*ṭinbār*), which is a stringed instrument of the lute species. They use also *el-'ūd* (Port. *alaude*, Sp. *laud*, Eng. *lute*).

lyres held obliquely. The dress seems to indicate that they were Israelitish prisoners, possibly in the same unhappy condition as that of their Judæan kinsmen (in later days), who are made to complain in Ps. 137 2 *ff.* that they had hung up their *kinnōrōth* in sad despair, because their captors required of them songs (cp, however, PSALMS, § 28, ix.). The instruments on this relief, like the lyres of the Jewish coins, seem to have four or five strings. Josephus states, however (*Ant.* vii. 12 3), that the *kinyra* (*kinnōr*) had ten strings and was played with the plectrum, whilst in 1 S. 16 23 we read that David played the *kinnōr* 'with his (own) hand,' which may mean simply that David himself and no other played the instrument. This does not imply that he did not use a plectrum. Jerome, commenting on Ps. 33 2, asserts that the *kinnōr* had six strings. The probability is that the earlier Hebrew stringed instruments were much simpler in construction, and had fewer strings, than the later forms. That there was a distinct development of the Greek lyre and cittern may be seen from the fact that the lyre had originally only four strings (Diod. 3 16), but later seven (Eur. *Iph. in Taur.* 1129), whereas the cittern, since Terpander's time (700-650 B.C.), had seven strings (Eur. *Ion*, 881), which were afterwards increased to eleven (Suidas, *s.v.* 'Timotheos').

The cittern (*kithara*) mentioned in 1 Macc. 4 54 may have been the *kinnōr*.

The idea that the *nēbel* was a sort of lute[1] with convex belly, in distinction from the *kinnōr*, which was supposed to be a harp, arose from the meaning of the Hebrew word *nēbel*, 'water-skin, jug,'[2] which would seem to imply that its sound-body was shaped like a vessel of this sort, as is the case with the citterns on the Jewish coins. This meaning of *nēbel* might also indicate that the chief part of its sound-body was an animal membrane (?). It is much more likely, in view of the testimony of the Fathers, that the *nēbel* was a harp-like instrument, a fair idea of which can be got from the representations of the Assyrian portable harp (fig. 17), although the sound-frame of the *nēbel* may have been shaped differently from that of the Assyrian instrument. Furthermore, the Δ shape of the *nēbel* mentioned by Jerome agrees with the appearance of the Assyrian harp. Jerome's statement may have been due, however, to a confusion of the *nēbel* with the Gk. τρίγωνος.



FIG. 17.—Assyrian Harp. From a slab in the British Museum.

Varro's name for the nebel-psaltery, *ortho-psallium*, 'erect stringed instrument,' shows plainly that it could not have been a lyre, which was played in an oblique or horizontal position. As both *nēbel* and *kinnōr* were portable instruments (1 S. 10 5 2 Ch. 20 28) the *nēbel* could scarcely have been the same as the great bow-shaped Egyptian standing harp (fig. 18). Harps of all sizes[3] were in use among the Assyrians and the Egyptians, and there is no reason to doubt that many varieties were used also by the Hebrews.

1 The Jewish tradition that the lute was David's favourite instrument is based on a misinterpretation of Am. 6 5 (see DAVID, § 13, n. 3).

2 The etymology is uncertain. Gk. νάβλα, νάβλας, νάβλιον, are simply Semitic loan-words. There is no reason to suppose that *nēbel* is a loan-word from Eg. *nfr*, 'lute' (We. 'Psalms, *SBOT* [Eng.] 222, n. 8).

3 Cp the illustrations in Wellhausen, *SBOT* (Eng.) *Psalms*, 224-232.

The translation of *nēbel* by 'psaltery,' however, adds another element of difficulty to the identification. On the Assyrian monuments we find an instrument like a dulcimer (fig. 19), which must not be confounded with the pure horizontal harp. The strings on this dulcimer must have lain parallel to each other, strung horizontally over a flat, dish-shaped sound-body. The Assyrian artist could not represent this properly, owing to his ignorance of the laws of perspective. This instrument was probably the predecessor of the Arab *sanṭīr*, which some expositors have sought to identify as a form of the *nēbel*. The *sanṭīr* has now practically given place to the kindred *kānūn*. The twenty-stringed Greek *magadis*[1] and the forty-stringed *epigoneion*[2] were developments from some earlier instrument of the dulcimer-*kānūn* class. The psaltery of the later Greeks,[3] which was an instrument of the same sort, survived in a somewhat modified form into the Middle Ages under the same name, and is found to-day in the Hungarian czimbal.[4] This mediæval psaltery or dulcimer (fig. 20) was the instrument known to the translators of the AV.[5] One form of it, the *testa di porco*, was triangular, a fact which, probably owing to Jerome's giving this form to the *nēbel*, seems to have caused some confusion. Of course, it is not quite impossible that the *nēbel* may have been something like the Assyrian dulcimer; but such an idea is in direct contradiction to the descriptions of the Fathers, and could be only feebly supported by the meaning of the name when not applied to a musical

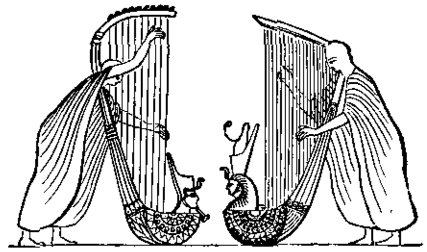


FIG. 18.—Egyptian standing Harp.



FIG. 19.—Assyrian Dulcimer.

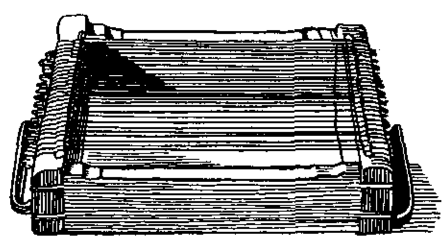


FIG. 20.—Mediæval Psaltery or Dulcimer From *SBOT* (Eng.) *Psalms*.

1 Not to be confused with the Lydian flute of the same name.

2 See Ambros, *l.c.* 474.

3 The instrument, whose tone-changes are alluded to in Wisd. 19 18, was probably the Greek psaltery.

4 See Wetzstein; Del. *Isaiah*(2), 703.

5 The *cembalo* of Boccaccio and the *sautrie* of Chaucer (cp Wasiliewski, *Gesch. d. Instrumental-musik im 16ten Jahrhundert* [1878], 78 *ff.*).

nstrument. At first, the *nĕbel* may have had only a small number of strings, like (fig. 21) the Babylonian harp (five); but, as its musical possibilities became apparent, the number was increased. Josephus asserts (*Ant.* vii. 12 3) that the *nĕbel* of his time had twelve notes and was played *with the fingers.* This latter statement certainly seems to confirm the theory that the *nĕbel* was a harp, as it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to get a satisfactory effect from an instrument of the dulcimer species without a plectrum. In Ps. 33 2 we find mention of a *nĕbel* with ten strings. The perfected Assyrian harp had sixteen strings (two octaves), which would cover the range of the ordinary human voice.

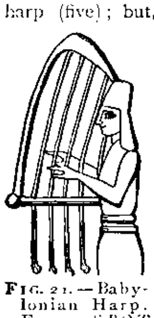


FIG. 21.—Babylonian Harp. From *SBOT* (Eng.) *Psalms.*

Athenæus (4 175), quoting from Sopatros, gives an obscure verse from which some have sought to show that the *nĕbel* was a pipe or flageolet. The allusion, which is to a pipe-shaped part of the instrument, probably refers merely to the hollow curved sound-body.[1]

It is quite possible that *kinnōr* and *nĕbel* may have been generic names, the former for all instruments of the lyre class, and the latter for all instruments of the harp class.

Although the lute does not appear in the OT as a native instrument, there is every reason to believe that the Hebrews knew and used it, as it was well-known both to the Assyrians and to the Egyptians in practically the mediæval form (fig. 22). The modern Arab lute came from Persia, although the Arabs attribute its invention to Pythagoras. It is highly probable that the lute was brought to Persia from Assyria or Egypt.[2] Its convex gourd-shaped belly is an indication that its sound-body may have been originally a membrane drawn across a gourd like a drum-head.

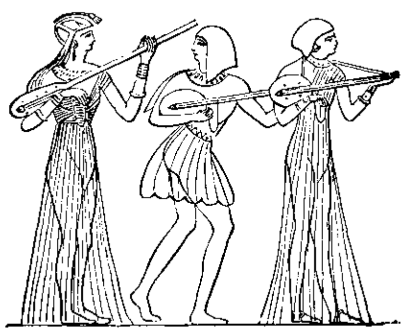


FIG. 22.—Egyptian Stringed Instruments.

9. Their use.

Neither *kinnōr* nor *nĕbel* was used for mourning;[3] their use was always on joyous occasions (Gen. 31 27 Is. 24 8), as at feasts (Is. 5 12) and at all kinds of religious services (Ps. 33 2 43 4). The instruments are named together in nearly every passage referring to the national worship (2 Ch. 29 25 Ps. 92 3 108 2 150 3). The *kinnōr* was undoubtedly more generally used, as it is mentioned in the OT 44 times and the *nĕbel* only 27. The use of these two instruments may be compared to that of the *shōphār* and the *ḥăṣōṣĕrah*. The *kinnōr* had certainly the more secular character of the two, as Is. 23 16 implies that it was a favourite instrument of harlots. Of course it was also very extensively used in religious services, as the above passages show. The *nĕbel* on the other hand, like the *ḥăṣōṣĕrah*, seems to be the more solemn instrument, devoted exclusively to religious use (Am. 5 23 Ps. 144 9); in fact, it was a desecration to sing popular melodies to its accompaniment (Am. 6 5 Is. 14 11). Another difference appears to be indicated in 1 Ch. 15 20 *ff.* which points out that the *nĕbel* was used to accompany song in the higher notes (*'ălāmōth*) and the *kinnōr* in the lower tones (*shĕmīnīth*). *'Ălāmōth* means 'girls,' and the statement here may imply that the strings of the *nĕbel* were tuned as high as the tones of the female voice. In Ps. 46 1, Grätz's rendering of עַל עֲלָמוֹת, 'with a *nabla* in the Elamitic form'[1] has little to support it. That high-pitched instruments should be spoken of as similar to female voices (see ALAMOTH) has an exact parallel in the Greek description of the shriller flutes γυναικήιοι παρθενικοὶ αὐλοί. It is of course unnecessary to assume that the *nĕbel* was used only to accompany women. The word *'ălāmōth* might have been used as a general term for high tones like those of women and could thus have been applied equally well to male falsettos or tenors. *'Al shĕmīnīth* may mean in this connection 'according to the eighth' and indicate that *kinnōrōth* were tuned an octave lower. Other renderings of *shĕmīnīth* are 'eight-stringed instruments,'[2] or 'in the eighth mode.'[3] This last translation is very doubtful, as we know nothing of the ancient Semitic musical modes. [To these difficult terms we return in special articles, from a text-critical point of view; see also conspectus of new explanations in PSALMS (BOOK), § 25 *f.*]

10. Sackbut.

The *śabbĕkhā* (שַׂבְּכָא [Gi. Bä.[4]], Dan. 3 5 7 10†) was not a Hebrew instrument (EV 'sackbut'); it was probably of Syrian or late Egyptian origin. It seems to be the same as the Greek σαμβύκη (Latin *sambuca*), which was a sharp-toned triangular musical instrument with four strings, according to Strabo (471) of 'barbarous' origin. It was said to resemble a military siege-instrument of the same name.[5] It is possible that the σαμβύκη was originally Egyptian and came into Syria under the Seleucidæ, which would account for its appearance in Daniel. Riehm suggests[6] that it may have been the same as the lute-shaped Egyptian hand-harp, which was a hybrid creation with a lute belly (fig. 23), but strung as a harp. Its shape agrees with the statements regarding the σαμβύκη.

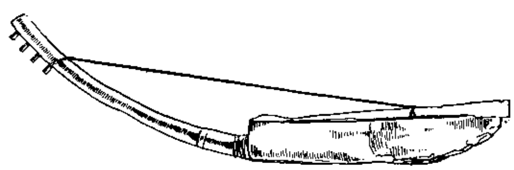


FIG. 23.—Egyptian lute-shaped hand-harp. From the British Museum.

11. Orchestration.

The expression *k'lē shīr*, 'instruments of song,'[7] which occurs in several passages of the OT as a general term for all kinds of musical instruments, shows plainly that the ancient Hebrews used instrumental music solely to accompany singing. Indeed, the idea of independent orchestration is a comparatively modern development. In very early times, songs were accompanied only by tambourines beaten by women (Ex. 15 20 *ff.*); but in later days we find various combinations of the Hebrew musical instruments. Thus, in 2 S. 6 5, strings,

1 An exhaustive treatise on *kinnōr* and *nĕbel* will be found in Riehm, *HWB*(1), 1028 *ff.* (2) 1042 *ff.*

2 Cp Ambros, 112 *ff.*, who ascribes to Cambyses its introduction from Egypt into Persia.

3 Cp Ps. 137 2 Job 30 31. It is interesting to note that Jer. 48 36, repeating Is. 16 11, changes כנור to חליל.

1 *Psalmen*, 85. He thinks (71) that '*ălāmōth* cannot mean *vox virginea*, because it refers not to voices, but to instruments (?).' Instruments were used, however, only to accompany voices.

2 Grätz, *op. cit.*, 85.

3 Wellhausen, *l.c.* on 6.

4 See Bä. on Dan. 3 5.

5 Athen. 14 634.

6 *HWB*(1) 1037, (2) 1051.

7 כְּלֵי שִׁיר, Neh. 12 36 1 Ch. 16 42 2 Ch. 5 13 7 6 34 12. In Am. 6 5 Nowack and especially Cheyne (col. 1034, *Exp. T.* 9 334) suspect corruption of the text.

drums, and cymbals, augmented by instruments for shaking. The accompanying illustration (fig. 24) of an Assyrian quartet of two lyres, a drum, and cymbals should be compared here. On a relief of an



FIG. 24.—Assyrian Quartet. From *SBOT* (Eng.) *Psalms*.

Assyrian orchestra (fig. 25), dating from the time of Ašur-bāni-pal (668-626 B.C.), there are seven portable harps, one dulcimer, two double flutes, and a drum, all played by men, but accompanied by women and children clapping hands to mark time. One woman is evidently singing in a very shrill tone, as she is compressing her throat with her hand just as Oriental women

band of prophets) and Is. 5_{12} (at table). Although the combination of flutes and strings is mentioned only rarely in the OT, there is no reason to think that it was unusual. We must suppose that nearly all the performers in these Assyrian and Egyptian representations are singing and accompanying themselves (except of course the flute-players), a fact which the artist did not represent except in the case of one member of the Assyrian full band. The use of trumpets with other instruments does not appear until quite late (2 Ch. 5_{12}*ff.* 20_{28} 29_{26}*ff.*), and then they were employed only in the pauses of the song.

It is of course impossible to state anything definite regarding the origin of the music of the Hebrews.

12. Development of Hebrew music. According to their own tradition, instrumental music was invented by Jubal (see CAINITES, § 11), who was the father of all such as handle the lyre and the double flute (or pan's-pipe) : all who played on stringed and wind instruments (Gen. 4_{21}). In early times such instrumental music as there was—songs accompanied by the hand-drum, flute, or simple form of lyre—was probably purely secular, used as it is to-day among the Bedouins at pastoral merry-makings (Gen. 31_{27} Job 21_{12}). The Hebrew, like all other primitive music, stood in the closest relation to poetry, as may be inferred from the mention of musical accompaniment to song (Ex. 15_{20} 1 S. 18_6). It was used extensively at festivities, but does not escape the severe condemnation of the prophets (Am. 6_5 Is. 5_{12}). In the Greek period the popularity of secular music appears to have greatly increased (Ecclus. 32_{4-6}), nor can this be unconnected with the Hellenising movement among



FIG. 25.—Assyrian Orchestra. From a slab in the British Museum.

do to-day, in order to produce a high *tremolo*. In a similar representation of an Egyptian band, we note a large standing harp, a lyre, a lute, an oblique shoulder harp, and a double flute, all played by women, and only one woman clapping her hands (fig. 26). The Assyrian band is marching to greet the victorious monarch ; but the Egyptian orchestra is stationary. These illus-

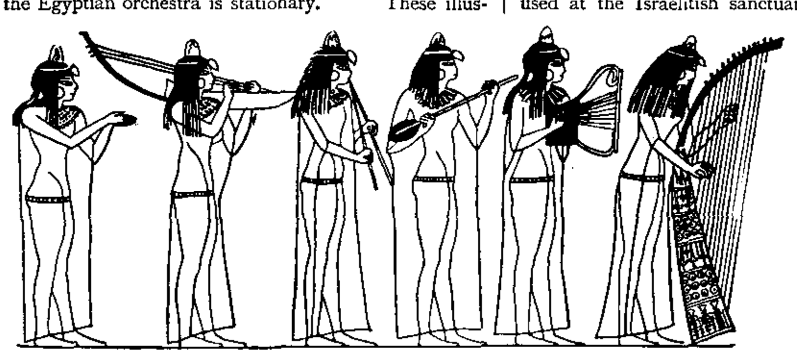


FIG. 26.—An Egyptian Band. From *SBOT* (Eng.) *Psalms*.

trations show combinations of various stringed instruments with wind and percussion ; but in both instances the only wind instrument is the double flute. Analogous to these combinations are the harp, timbrel, flute, and lyre (*nēbel, tōph, ḥālīl,* and *kinnōr*) of 1 Sam. 10_5 (a

the Jews. According to Josephus, however (*Ant.* xv. 8_1), it was Herod the Great who first introduced Greek songs accompanied by instruments.

Of the music in use at Canaanitish shrines we know absolutely nothing. Without some notion of that, however, we cannot continue to speak positively as to that used at the Israelitish sanctuaries. All that the OT gives us is a few hints respecting the use of music for religious purposes in the prophetic schools (1 S. 10_5 19_{20}). This suggests a native Israelitish musical movement which may have combined with outside influences to produce a ritualistic musical service of unnecessary elaborateness. The development of the temple music cannot be here described. There was no doubt a period in which Babylonian influence counted for something, and another in which Greek influence profoundly modified the earlier system (see PSALMS [BOOK], § 9, ii.). All that we are concerned to maintain here is that the development was continuous. We may conjecture that

MUSIC

the only music originally enjoined by the Hebrew ritual was the blowing of trumpets by priests at the new moons (Lev. 23 24 25 9) and at feasts; but we may be sure that in the royal sanctuary at Jerusalem an orchestra of instruments would not be wanting. Whatever the pre-exilic musical system was, we know that it did not die out during the exile, for we find that a number of singers and musicians returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2 41 Neh. 7 44). We can also easily credit the statement that music enlivened the ceremony of the laying of the corner-stone of the second temple, and of the consecration of the city walls (Ezra 3 10 *ff.* Neh. 11 22 12 27 *ff.*), and it is doubtless a historical fact that the rededication of the temple under Judas the Maccabee was celebrated with vocal and instrumental music (1 Macc. 4 54).

13. Its character.

In studying the character of the ancient Hebrew music we are limited to conjectures based on our somewhat uncertain data regarding the nature and the use of the instruments and of the temple ritual. That music was regarded as a noble art may be seen from Ecclus. 44 5, where the composition of melodies is spoken of as a high accomplishment. Although the music was no doubt extremely crude from a modern occidental point of view, it certainly had considerable effect on the hearers (1 S. 16 16 *ff.* 2 K. 3 15). Most modern writers on this subject are liable to err in one of two directions. They either, like many Jewish Rabbins, exalt the character of early musical art in Israel, or they are too apt to dismiss it as a mere barbarous system. In much the same way the average occidental traveller of the present day is almost sure to undervalue from an artistic point of view the shrill unison singing of the Arabs. The probability is that the Hebrew music like that of the modern Arabs was rhythmical rather than melodious. The Arab tunes consist generally of well marked rhythmical cadences following a somewhat monotonous melody always sung and accompanied in unison. That unison singing and accompaniment was characteristic also of the ancient Israelites is seen from 2 Ch. 5 13: 'and both the trumpeters and the singers were *as one making one sound* to praise and exalt Yahwè.' This simply means that the trumpets all played together on the same note at the proper pauses of the song and that the voices sang the air in unison. There can be no doubt that a modern well-balanced oriental chorus singing in unison, accompanied by strings, wood-wind, and percussion, has a powerful artistic effect even on a European listener, provided that he is sufficiently unprejudiced to lay aside for the moment his harmonic training and allow himself to be swayed by the quavering movement of the shrill but rarely untrue voices and instruments, accentuated by the ceaseless thrum of the tambourines. The character of the melody itself becomes quite secondary in such a case and only the general effect is felt. The Hebrew songs and psalms must have influenced the listener in much the same way as the modern Arab is affected by his music.

14. Harmony.

Harmony was as unknown to the ancient Israelites and Greeks as it is to-day to the Arabs, Turks, and Persians. Its beginnings are traceable, however, in melodies where the lower voices and strings dwell on the dominant or fifth, producing an effect like the drone of a bagpipe, while the higher parts render the air with striking distinctness and accuracy. European harmony began about the tenth century A.D.

We may suppose that the Israelitish choirs sang and played in octaves,[1] as the terms *'ălāmōth* and *shĕmīnīth*, mentioned already (§ 9), as referring respectively to the high and the low pitched instruments, would seem to indicate. It is probable that in the temple worship the higher vocal parts were taken by male falsettos and tenors, rather than by women, who do not appear at all in the temple service. The three daughters of Heman mentioned (1 Ch. 25 5), are not meant to be included in the list of temple ministrants any more than are the singing women referred to in Ezra 2 65 (cp Neh. 7 67 1 Esd. 5 42). The girls playing on tabors (Ps. 68 25) figured simply in a procession. The boy choir mentioned in the Talmud as standing below the main chorus is not referred to in the OT.

[1] The strings of the twenty-stringed *magadis* were tuned in octaves. Μαγαδίζειν means 'sing in octaves.'

In spite of lack of harmony, the ancient Hebrew singing was not a mere monotonous cantillation. Excellent effects could, no doubt, be produced by means of antiphonal choruses which must have been used extensively both in the secular and in the religious music—thus, in secular music in 1 S. 18 6 *ff.* Ex. 15 21, and devotionally in the various antiphonal psalms (Pss. 20 21 118 136). The parallelism so common in the sacred poetry seems to point to such antiphonal usage. In many cases the psalms were sung by two answering choirs; both of which must frequently have united, however, in rendering the effective finale (cp Ps. 121). Both the Assyrians and the Egyptians probably sang airs of all kinds in this way.

The Christian hymns mentioned in the NT (see HYMNS), which were no doubt of Hebrew origin, were in all likelihood sung in the same manner (Eph. 5 19 Col. 3 16). In fact, we know[1] that the early Christians had an antiphonal system which still survives in the Gregorian and oriental psalmody.[2]

15. Melodies.

Very little can be stated with certainty regarding the character of the melodies themselves, as we have absolutely no specimens of them. Unlike the later Greeks,[3] the Semitic races never invented a system of musical notation whereby their airs could be recorded, and the modern oriental systems of this kind are few of them older than the seventeenth century of the present era. Nothing is known of the Hebrews' scale or modes except that, as stated before, their musicians must have been familiar with the octave which was a very ancient development in music. It was the basis of Terpander's scale of seven notes, and appears doubled at the time of Aristoxenus, the pupil of Aristotle, when a scale of fifteen tones was in use.

The Hebrew religious scale was probably diatonic, as Clement of Alexandria and Augustine both warned the faithful to avoid the heathen chromatic style of singing and advised them to return to the simple psalmody of David. It is clear, therefore, that they thought this to have been diatonic—*i.e.*, proceeding according to the signature of the prevailing key. They reasoned, no doubt from the accepted contemporary Jewish usage, which was probably diatonic. Clement likens the style of the current Hebrew music to the Greek Doric mode which Aristotle said was the only musical style giving perfect calm to the soul. The Doric and the Phrygian were minor modes and the Lydian was exactly equivalent to the modern major.

The most ancient connected specimen of music which we have is the famous Greek pæan to Apollo in the Phrygian scale of the Doric mode, which was discovered at Delphi in 1893 by the members of the French school of Archæology at Athens.[4] The following few bars may prove of interest, as the hymn, which is in the regulation five-time peculiar to the pæan,[5] is undoubtedly very ancient, although it may be doubted whether the air is as old as 277 B.C., the date of the establishment of the Soteria festival at which it was sung.[6] The ode was accompanied by the flute and *kithara*.

[1] Plin. *Ep.* 10 97.
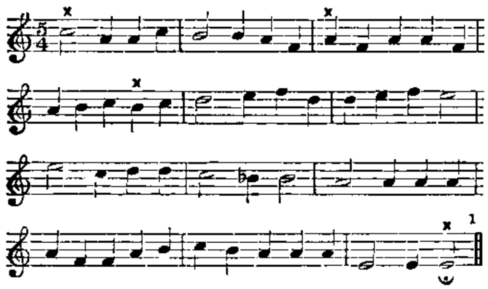
[2] Cp the eight styles of Armenian spiritual song (*ZDMG* 5 366 *ff.*).

[3] Cp *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1894, 7 xxxv *f.*; Pauly, *Realencycl. der class. Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1 814, *s.v.* 'Alypius.'

[4] *Révue des Études Grecques*, 7 35 *f.*
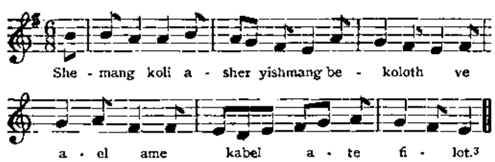
[5] *Bulletin de correspondence Hellénique*, 17 593-6, on Greek rhythm.

[6] *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 14 931.



On the various musical headings in the Psalms (cp 9 22 45 etc.), apparently indicating the name of melodies or styles according to which the respective poems were to be sung, see the commentaries [but cp PSALMS, § 26].

The modern synagogal tunes, although some of them may be ancient, can give us no clue as to the nature of the original temple music. They are regarded by all trustworthy authorities as a post-Christian development. Leyrer says of them that they are the echo of the spiritual death of the early music.[2] The following specimen may serve to give some idea of their general style :—



Finally, the cantillatory modulations represented by the accents are also of late origin. Of these there are three distinct styles ; one for reading the Torah, one for the Prophetic books, and one for the Psalms, Job, and Proverbs. The accent-signs do not have the value of musical notes, but are simply a mnemonic rhythmic system intended to aid the reader in remembering melodies which he has already learned orally. These chants have become much changed in the course of time and vary in different countries.[4]

16. Literature. The following works give lists of the older literature :—Forkel, *Allgemeine Gesch. d. Musik*, 1 173-184 ; Leyrer, *PRE*(2) 10 387-398 ; Ugolini, *Thes.* 33 G ; also Ambros, *Gesch. d. Musik* ; Benz. *HA* (1894) ; Brown, *Musical Instruments and their Homes* (N.Y. 1888) ; Del. *Physiologie u. Musik* (1868) ; *Psalmen*, 25 *ff.* ; Ew. *Die Dichter d. Alten Bundes*(1) 1 209 *ff.* ; Now. *HA* 1 270-79 ; Pfeiffer, *Die Musik d. Alten Hebräer* (1779) ; Riehm, *HWB*(1), 1028-45, (2) 1042-59 ; Saalschütz, *Arch. d. Hebr.* (1855) ; Schenkel, *BL* 4 256-264 (1872) ; We. 'Psalms' in *SBOT* (Eng.) ; Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, 2 120 *ff.* ; F. L. Cohen, 'Rise and Development of Synagogue Music,' *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition Papers* (1888), 80-135. J. D. P.

MUSICIAN, TO THE CHIEF (לַמְנַצֵּחַ ; 𝔊 *εἰς τὸ τέλος* ; Aq. *τῷ νικοποιῷ* ; Sym. *ἐπινίκιος* ; Theod. *εἰς τὸ νῖκος* ; Jer. *victori* or *pro victoria* ; Tg. לְשַׁבָּחָא, 'ad laudandam').

The expression occurs in the headings of fifty-five psalms, and in the subscription of the prayer or psalm of Habakkuk (Hab. 3 19). Tradition is divided. 𝔊 adopts the sense of 'eternity,' reading most probably *lānéṣaḥ*, לָנֶצַח—*i.e.*, 'with reference to the period of the end.'

Cp Dan. 11 13, where לְקֵץ הָעִתִּים, 'at the end of the times' (RV), is rendered in 𝔊 *κατὰ συντέλειαν καιροῦ* (see Eus. etc., *ap.* Del., and cp Mt. 13 39, etc.), and by Theod. *εἰς (τὸ) τέλος τῶν καιρῶν*.

Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion adopt the sense borne by נצח in Mishnic Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Syriac. The Targum comes the nearest to the prevalent modern interpretation, which is 'for the precentor, or director of music,' and is supported by מְנַצְּחִים, *mᵉnaṣṣᵉḥīm*, which clearly means 'superintendents' (cp 1 Ch. 23 4), 2 Ch. 2 1 [2] 17 [18] 34 13, and, according to most, by the use of the infinitive לְנַצֵּחַ, *lᵉnaṣṣēăḥ*, in 1 Ch. 15 21 in a specialised sense for leading in the liturgical service of song. Olshausen, however, long ago pointed out that 'for the precentor' is a very superfluous direction, and various attempts have consequently been made to provide a more satisfactory explanation, based on the view that נַצֵּחַ, *naṣṣēăḥ*, had the specialised sense referred to. Ewald takes *mᵉnaṣṣēăḥ* as an abstract form meaning 'performance with temple music' (so also Ges.-Bu.), whilst BDB, on the analogy of *lᵉdāvīd*, לְדָוִד, suggests, 'Belonging to the Director's Collection of Psalms.' These explanations are based on the MT of 1 Ch. 15 21. For a more probable though still not certain explanation see PSALMS [BOOK], § 26 (19), with note, where the subject is discussed afresh. Cp also MASCHIL.

T. K. C.

MUSTARD (ϲιναπι ; Mt. 13 31 17 20 Mk. 4 31 Lk. 13 19 17 6†). In all five passages the minuteness of the seed is referred to, whilst in three the seed is spoken of as growing into a herb large enough to be called a tree and to have applied to it an echo of the phrase in Dan. 4 12 [9] 'the birds of the heaven dwelt in the branches thereof' (cp Ezek. 17 23). The former detail presents no difficulty, for although there are in fact several seeds smaller than the mustard, it is certainly one of the smallest, and 'a grain of mustard seed' was a proverbial expression for a minute quantity, found both in the Talmud (*e.g.*, *Ber.* 5 1) and in the Korān (*e.g.*, 21 48). On the other hand, that it should be spoken of as growing into a tree gives rise to difficulty, and has led many (*e.g.*, Royle) to suppose that the reference is to *Salvadora persica*, a tree which the Arabs call by the same name as mustard (*ḫardal*), and which Irby and Mangles (*Travels in Egypt*, 108) found growing on the southern shores of the Dead Sea. This, however, is most unlikely, for *S. persica* is of rare occurrence in Palestine and probably never travelled farther N. than the Dead Sea.[1] The mustard plant, which is common throughout the country, has often been found growing to a height of 8 to 12 ft., and great numbers of small birds alight upon its stalks in order to pluck the seeds (cp Furrer, *BL* 5 281 ; Tristram, *NHB* 473). An unlikely hypothesis is that adopted by Holtzmann and B. Weiss that in Lk. the *tree* is meant, whilst in Mk. the writer is rather thinking of the *herb*.[2]

The mustard plant common in Palestine is the black species, *Brassica nigra*, Boiss. N. M.

MUTH-LABBEN, TO (עַל־מוּת לַבֵּן), a difficult phrase or note, occurring only in Ps. 9 title [1] (ϒπερ των κρϒφιων τοϒ ϒιοϒ [BℵA, R omits τοϒ ϒιοϒ] . . . νεανιοτητοc τ. ϒ. [Aq.] ; for these renderings cp ALAMOTH ; Hexapl. αλμωθ βεν, Sym. περι τοϒ θανατοϒ τοϒ ϒιοϒ, Theod., Quint. ϒπερ ακμηc τοϒ ϒι., Sext. νεανικοτηc τ. ϒι.). *'Al-mūth*, עַל־מוּת, is a corrupt form of *'al-'ălāmōth* עַל־עֲלָמוֹת (see ALAMOTH) ; but the meaning of *Labbēn* (𝔊ᴿ om.), if the reading is correct, is unknown. Following the MT (for the death of . . .) the Targum refers it to Goliath, the *'īš habbēnáyim*, אִישׁ הַבֵּנַיִם, of 1 S. 17 4 ; other Rabbinic writers not less improbably identified the name with the questionable BEN (*q.v.*) of 1 Ch. 15 18, or with Nabal (נבל by metathesis). Most moderns (*e.g.*, Hitzig, Hupfeld, Delitzsch, Beer) suppose *mūth labbēn* (מות לבן) to be the opening words of an air, to the melody of which

1 This section is taken from the middle of the hymn before the first pause. The musical text is illegible in several places. *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 7 40-42.

2 *PRE*(2) 10 389.

3 For further specimens, see De Sola, *The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (1857).

4 For specimens, cp Japhet, *Die Accente d. Heiligen Schrift* (1896), 170 *ff.*

1 [Cp Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden*, ii. 575.]

2 [An Oriental who was no botanist might well call the mustard plant a tree, remarks Jülicher, *op. cit.*, 575.]

the psalm was to be sung. The analogy of many other enigmatical insertions, however, suggests a more plausible theory. One of the guilds of singers bore the name Salmah; we should perhaps read, for עַלְמוּת לַבֵּן, לִבְנֵי שַׁלְמַת, 'of the sons of Salmath.' See PSALMS (BOOK), § 26 (1, 18). T. K. C.

MUTILATION. See CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH; also LAW AND JUSTICE, § 11.

MYNDUS (ΜΥΝΔΟϹ). A city on the Carian coast, at the extreme western end of the Halicarnassian peninsula, N. of the island of Cos; only mentioned in 1 Macc. 15 23, as a place in which Jews were settled (139 B.C.). From early times Myndus possessed a fleet (Herod. 5 33 = about 500 B.C.). The town suffered from the proximity of Halicarnassus, and never became important—this is indicated by the fact that its coinage does not begin until the second century B.C. The civilisation and importance of the Carian coast declined throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods. It is now *Gumushli* (or *Yemishlu*, Murray, *Handbook to AM* 113), a name derived from the silver mines worked in the neighbourhood, both in ancient and in mediæval times.

On the site, see Paton in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, p. 66; 1896, p. 204. W. J. W.

MYRA (Acts 27 5 ΜΥΡΑ [LP, Blass], ΜΥΡΡΑ [B Jer., Lachm., Tisch., Treg., WH], and, according to D in 21 1 ΕΙϹ ΠΑΤΑΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΡΑ). Myra (mod. *Dembre*, from corruption of ΤΗΝ ΜΥΡΑΝ)[1] in Lycia stood on a lofty hill at the angle of the gorges of the Myrus and the Andriace, 2½ m. from the sea (20 stades, Strabo, 666). Its port was Andriace at the mouth of the river of the same name (mod. *Andraki*. Cp Appian, *BC* 4 82, Λέντλος, ἐπιπεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκῃ, Μυρέων ἐπινείῳ, τήν τε ἅλυσιν ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἐς Μύρα ἀνῄει). Myra was of no special importance during the Greek period; but its importance continually increased under the Empire and through the Byzantine period, until at last it became the capital and metropolis of Lycia (Hier. 530): the monastery of S. Nicolas (born at Patara, bishop of Myra 3rd cent.) on the road to the port was probably the cathedral. This importance arose from the intimate connection of the town with the maritime traffic which developed under the Ptolemies between the eastern Ægean and Egypt (cp Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, p. xxxiii: 'there must have been daily communication between Cos and Alexandria'; see also Rams. *St. Paul the Traveller*, 298). When, under the Empire, the Egyptian trade, especially that in grain, was diverted to Rome, this connection still continued. For although Myra lies nearly due N. of Alexandria, the corn-ships, owing to the westerly winds prevailing in the Levant in the summer months (Purdy, *Sailing Directions*, 197, 1841; cp Acts 27 4), ran straight across to Lycia, and thence to the S. of Crete. Hence Paul, on his voyage to Rome, 'sailed over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia' and 'came[2] to Myra' where an Alexandrian corn ship (πλοῖον Ἀλεξανδρινόν, *v.* 6; cp *v.* 38) was found, on the point of sailing for Italy:[3] the centurion could certainly count upon finding a westward-bound ship in Myra, and there was no change of plan on his part as Lewin (*St. Paul*, 2 716) supposes.[1]

The port of Myra must have been at least sighted, and was probably visited, by the ship in which Paul sailed to Palestine from Macedonia (Acts 21 1; note the insertion in D, as above). The importance of Myra lasted into the Middle Ages, when it is described as the 'harbour of the Adriatic' (*portus Adriatici maris, i.e.*, the Levant). St. Nicolas usurped the place of the pagan deity as the patron of sailors in this part of the Mediterranean: the name of this patron deity in ancient times is not known (probably Apollo; but Tozer, in Finlay's *Hist. Greece*, 1 124, suggests Poseidon).

The many magnificent rock-tombs with sculptures and painting, the imposing theatre, and the remains of buildings near the port, among them those of a granary built by Trajan, 119 A.D., bear witness to the importance of the city.

See views in Spratt and Forbes, *Travels in Lycia*, vol. i. *front.*; Fellows, *Account of Discoveries in Lycia*, 198 *f.* Most recent are Benndorf's *Lykia*, and Tomaschek's 'Historische Topogr. von Kleinasien im Mittelalter' in *SWAW*, 1891. W. J. W.

[1] The form of the name invites discussion. In Acts it is neut. pl.; but many authorities have the fem. sing. Μύραν or Μύρραν. The passages of Strabo (666) and Ptolemy (v. 3 6), which have Μύρα, do not assist us; but we find the plural form in Ptol. viii. 17 23 and Pliny *HN* 32 2; and so also in *CIG* no. 4288, and *Notitiæ* (which have ὁ Μύρων; see table in Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 424). The Byzantine authors in general use the plural form—*e.g.*, Zon. 3 589 and Malalas 448 (but cp *id.* 365, τῇ Μύρᾳ). Hence we infer that the proper form was τὰ Μύρα, the feminine form ἡ Μύρα being vulgar but gradually asserting itself. The same difficulty is found in the case of Lystra (which see, and cp Rams. *St. Paul the Traveller*, 128 *f.*).

[2] In fifteen days from Cæsarea, marg. WH from West. text and Vss.—'which appears to have a reasonable probability of being the true reading'; cp the corn ship in Lucian, which took ten days from Sidon to the Chelidonian islands 20 m. E. of Myra.

[3] Cp the voyage of Vespasian to Rome (Jos. *BJ* vii. 2 1), and that of Titus (Suet. *Tit.* 5).

MYRRH (מֹר or מוֹר, *mōr*; ϹΜΥΡΝΑ Ex. 30 23 Ps. 45 8 [9] Cant. 3 6 4 6 14 5 1 5 13[2] and ϹΜΥΡΝΙΝΟϹ Esth. 2 12, ΚΡΟΚΟϹ or ΚΡΟΚΙΝΟϹ Prov. 7 17, ϹΤΑΚΤΗ Cant. 1 13†).

1. OT mōr. *Mōr* was one of the ingredients in the holy incense, and is often mentioned as a valuable and choice perfume. The word is generally identified with Arab. *murr* (Aram. *mōrā*, Gk. μύρρα,[3] √מרר, with the sense of bitterness), and the substance meant taken to be the myrrh of modern commerce (Ar. *murr*). The botanical origin, however, of the modern myrrh has, according to Schweinfurth, been misunderstood. According to this eminent authority, true Arabian myrrh is the product, not of *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum* (which yields balsam of Mecca; see BALSAM) but of *Balsamodendron Myrrha*. The old view of Nees and Ehrenberg is thus vindicated.

At the same time, it becomes thereby all the more probable, according to Schweinfurth, that Mecca balsam is the OT *mōr*.

2. Perhaps = Mecca balsam. 'מֹר' (*mōr*), he argues 'is always referred to in the sense of an aromatic liquid [cp BALSAM], whilst [modern] myrrh is a solid body, entirely or almost devoid of aroma, but rather, as used in medicine, of a disagreeable odour.' This revolutionary theory deserves serious attention; Kautzsch has been among the first to profess his adhesion to it. We should not, of course, require to suppose with Schweinfurth that Heb. *mōr* is a different *word* from Arab. *murr* (the modern myrrh). The two words agree exactly in form, and there are many instances in botanical history of a name being transferred from one plant or substance to another which is different though similar. Certainly the mentions of 'flowing *mōr*' (Ex. 30 23) and 'liquid *mōr*' (Cant. 5 5 13) favour the new view, whilst the reference to a 'bundle (or, 'bag') of *mōr*' in Cant. 1 13 (if the text is correct) may be held to tell against it. Whatever the *mōr* of OT may have been, the σμύρνα of NT is most probably the same.

For לֹט, *lōṭ* (Gen. 37 25 43 11), rendered 'myrrh' in EV but 'ladanum' in RVmg., see LADANUM. N. M.

MYRTLE (הֲדַס, *hădas*; ΜΥΡϹΙΝΗ, Is. 41 19 55 13; Zech. 1 8 10 *f.* Neh. 8 15†; in Zech. 𝔊 ΤΩΝ ΟΡΕΩΝ). Branches of myrtle are included among those of which the booths of the Feast of Tabernacles were made in

[1] See on this point, Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (4), 68 *f.*; Rams. *op. cit.* 319. The voyage of the Egyptian corn-ship described in Lucian's dialogue, *The Ship*, well illustrates this section of Paul's journey.

[2] σμύρνα also Ecclus. 24 15 Mt. 2 11 Jn. 19 39 and ἐσμυρνισμένος Mk. 15 23.

[3] It is noticeable that μύρρα occurs nowhere either in the LXX or in NT; μύρον (supposed to be derived from מֹר), on the other hand, is met with frequently, as also its derivative μυρεψός; μυρίζω and μυρισμός occur each once.

MYSIA

the time of Ezra. On the other hand, in Lev. 23 40 (a passage of the Holiness-law [H]), the list of trees prescribed does not include the myrtle (see TABERNACLES, § 5). Nor can we safely quote the original name of Esther as evidence for the existence of the myrtle in Palestine, for Esther (at least if the text has not suffered change) is represented as a Jewish maiden dwelling at Susa. The reference to the myrtle in Zech. (*l.c.*) must also probably be abandoned, *hădassīm* being surely a misreading for *hārīm* (see COPPER, § 5). In Is. 41 19 55 13, the myrtle is mentioned among the choicest trees by the writer or writers of Is. 40-55. It is true, Is. 40-55 is a late exilic work (expanded still later); but the relations of the Israelites with neighbouring peoples under the later kings were so close that we must not give too much weight to the silence of pre-exilic records. The name HABAKKUK (*q.v.*), some think, is corrupted from a Babylonian plant-name, and we could easily believe that later kings of Judah interested themselves in acclimatising foreign trees and shrubs. The myrtle was certainly not common in Palestine when the Holiness-law was written, otherwise its branches would surely have been prescribed for the festive wreath.

If Jensen is right [1] in connecting the Assyrian *ḫadašatum* (a syn. of *kallatu*, 'bride') with the Heb. *hădas*, 'myrtle,' it may seem to favour the hypothesis that the myrtle was introduced into Palestine from Babylonia (cp *Intr. Is.* 274). But though recent critics have found a connection between Hadassah and *hadašâ* (the mythic name of the bride of the Babylonian Sun-god; see ESTHER), it is disputed whether *hadašâ* is so called for an etymological reason (as if=*ḫadašatum*) or on mythological grounds (הדס, 'myrtle,' corresponding to Daphne in the myth of Apollo). The connection proposed by Jensen is hardly in itself very plausible. For the name הדס (not חדס) is identical with its S. Arabian appellation (*hadas*); the Aramaic (and N. Arabic) word was different, though possibly connected—viz., *āsā*, which, according to Fränkel (138), came into Arabic as a loan-word.

The myrtle was sacred to Astarte, and hence, also, according to Winckler (*op. cit.*), to Rammān or Tammuz, whose sanctuary near Antioch was called by the Greeks Daphne (הדס?). The fragrance of its leaves and blossoms naturally suggested consecration to Astarte. Not less naturally the Jewish authorities appointed or sanctioned the use of myrtle branches at the Feast of Booths (cp TABERNACLES, § 7). *Sukka* (3 4) says that three myrtle branches are required for the wreath, and the tradition is still faithfully preserved by the Jews.

The myrtle is a low evergreen shrub with dark and somewhat thick leaves, elegant white flowers, and dark brown berries. Its leaves are studded with numerous receptacles for oil, which produces its pleasant perfume. It grows wild in many of the glens about Jerusalem, and is cultivated in every garden. It flourishes, too, in the valleys about Hebron, on the sides of Carmel and Tabor, in the clefts of the Leontes, and in the dales of Gilead (Tristram).

T. K. C.

MYSIA (Η ΜΥϹΙΑ, Acts 16 7 *f.*). An ill-defined district in the NW. corner of Asia Minor. The difficulty of drawing a precise line of demarcation between it and Phrygia gave rise to a saying (χωρὶς τὰ Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν ὁρίσματα: Strabo, 564, 572). This was a result of the chequered history of this part of the peninsula, as Strabo says (565). The Phryges crossed from Thrace by the Hellespont, and at a later period fresh swarms of invaders from Europe, the Mysi, penetrated into Asia, pushing the Phryges inland and settling among them (cp Rams. *Hist. Geog. AM* 146). The general result of the data furnished by the geographers is that Mysia lay surrounded by Bithynia, Phrygia, and Lydia, extending both to the Propontis and the Ægean (cp Strabo, 564). Towards Bithynia, the Mysians seem to have occupied the country as far as the lake Ascania, whilst on the S. they extended to the river Caicus. On the W. lay the Troad, which was sometimes regarded as part of Mysia, and sometimes distinguished from it, the boundary in the latter case being the river Æsepus (Strabo, 560). On the E. lay that part of Phrygia which was called Phrygia Epiktetos, or 'Acquired Phrygia,' a district once largely Mysian, but taken from Bithynia by the Pergamene kings (cp Rams. *Hist. Geog. AM* 145). The whole region called Mysia was commonly regarded as falling into two divisions—Mysia Olympēnē (Ὀλυμπηνή) in the neighbourhood of Mt. Olympus, and Mysia Pergamēnē (Περγαμηνή) on the Caicus (Strabo, 566, 571). Other parts of Mysia also bore special names. It will be seen from this, that, of the places mentioned in the NT, Assos, Adramyttium and Troas were in Mysia. The name Mysia, having a purely ethnical significance, was not adopted in Roman official usage; but the district was part of the great province of Asia (cp Strabo, 629). See ASIA, LYDIA.

1. Situation.

The relation of Mysia to the NT narrative is parenthetical, but important. Paul, after a visitation of the churches founded on his first journey, was intending to follow the great road leading to Ephesus in order to 'preach the word in Asia,' but was forbidden to do so (Acts 16 6). Turning northwards, Paul and his companions 'when they were come over against Mysia' (*v.* 7, RV; but AV 'to Mysia') attempted to enter Bithynia (*i.e.*, the western part of the Province Bithynia-Pontus, second only in importance to Asia itself), but were 'forbidden' to cross the frontier. Accordingly, 'passing by Mysia' (*v.* 8 EV) they 'came down to Troas.'

2. Paul's visit.

Two questions arise:—(i.) The meaning of the expression κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν, (ii.) the meaning of the expression παρελθόντες τὴν Μυσίαν.

i. The use of the preposition κατά in NT Greek requires elucidation.[1] Here we must acquiesce in the explanation given by Ramsay (*Church in R. Emp.*[(5)] 75, n.)—'when they reached such a point that a line drawn across the country at right angles to the general line of their route would touch Mysia,' *i.e.*, when they were in the *latitude* of Mysia, which lay to the left (for this sense of κατά, cp Herod. 1 76, Thuc. 6 65 104, Acts 27 7, κατὰ τὴν Κνίδον). Paul must have diverged from the road to Ephesus either at Iconium or at Antioch, and travelled northwards along the direct road to Bithynia through Nakoleia and Dorylæum (*Seidi Ghazi* and *Eski-Shehr*).[2] Why Paul went northwards is not explained; nor can explanation be wrested from the text, as it is clear that the resolve to enter Bithynia was not formed *until the point indicated by the words* κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν *was reached* (see GALATIA, § 7 [also § 11]). This point was probably Dorylæum, which lay only about 20 m. S. of the frontier. Mysia, as ordinarily understood, lay then so far away to the left that it is hard to see why reference to it rather than to the name of the town itself should have been made. When, however, we remember that Dorylæum lay in the heart of the region called Epiktetos,[3] which was at one time, and by some writers, reckoned part of Mysia (cp *HGAM*, 146), it is not difficult to understand how Lk. may have been actually under a slight misapprehension as to the extent of Mysia.

ii. When, at Dorylæum, it was found that there could be no further progress northwards, Paul turned westwards. Whether he traversed the valley of the Rhyndacus (*Edrenos Chai*), or took some more direct route, he could not reach Troas without going through some part of Mysia. Hence παρελθόντες τὴν Μυσίαν cannot be translated 'passing without entering,' or 'passing along the edge of Mysia.' The sense here must be 'neglecting' (in obedience to the general prohibition to '*preach*' in Asia of *v.* 6). The western text has διελθόντες, which in its literal sense is good.[4] Still, it must be

[1] *WZKM* 6 211; but cp Wi. *AF* 2 417 *f.*

[1] Cp the difficulty of interpreting the expression κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον in Acts 27 12. See PHENICE.

[2] It is possible, as Ramsay (*op. cit.* 76 n.) says, that Paul took the longer western road by Cotyæum (*Kutaya*), which town, in that case, would be the point of second divergence.

[3] Phrygia Epiktetos contained the six cities, Midæum, Dorylæum, Cotyæum, Nakoleia, Aizani, and Cadi (Strabo, 576).

[4] Nevertheless, it would overthrow the canon which Ramsay

conceded that the sudden change to the *metaphorical* meaning in the case of παρελθόντες, immediately after the occurrence of διῆλθον . . . ἐλθόντες in the *literal* sense is a stylistic defect. And this criticism applies in a special degree to this entire passage.[1]

Ramsay mentions a tradition that, on this journey, Paul travelled by Artemæa, a town 'sacred to Artemis' near the hot springs on the river Æsepus, and founded a chapel in the neighbourhood (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 197; *Exp. T*, 1898, p. 495). This and other similar traditions may well preserve an echo of the truth, for the route down the Rhyndacus and along the southern shore of the Propontis was that most likely to be chosen, and this would take Paul through Artemæa. Although preaching in Asia was forbidden, there is no doubt that the prohibition applied only to public work on a large scale, not to the private intercourse of Paul with his hosts on his journey. Possibly it was under the influence of the tradition mentioned above that the western text made the change to διελθόντες in *v.* 8. The 'door' that 'was opened' to Paul at Troas (2 Cor. 2 12) would imply an extension of the new teaching eastwards through Mysia in the natural course of things (cp the case of Ephesus). W. J. W.

MYSTERY. In the religious life of the ancient world in its period of decline, perhaps the most characteristic feature was the ardour of its craving after the mysterious. Conscious weakness and failure of self-reliance were betrayed in the comfortless gloom that followed every attempt to peer beyond the lowly round of everyday life. The questions whence life comes and whither it goes had to be answered at any cost; but men despaired of being able to reach such answers, each for himself by his own unaided thought. Resort was, accordingly, had to the mysteries—those secret cults, some of them of hoary antiquity, others as recent as Christianity itself, in which, with a lavish employment of symbolism, the candidate for initiation received the desired instruction from the duly consecrated priest (hierophant), and was provided with sacramental guarantees extending both to this life and to the next. There was hardly a deity in connection with whose service some subsidiary cult of this sort did not arise; a cult in which the chosen ones—for admission was not a matter of course—strictly marked off from outsiders, and, keeping scrupulously secret the knowledge imparted at initiation, in spite of many follies and excesses, preserved a certain vitality for the pagan religion. These guilds were themselves called mysteries; so also were the secret doctrines imparted within them; finally, and above all, the methods of symbolism and allegory, by means of which philosophical or religious and ethical instruction was obtained from the old mythologies, to meet the wants of a new age, went by this name.

1. General.

The Wisdom of Solomon shows its author to have been acquainted with this Greek institution; in 14 15 23 (cp 12 5) the origin of the mysteries is euhemeristically explained, but the existence of the inner mystery is not at all denied; in 2 22 allusion is made to the mysteries of God, and in 8 4 wisdom is spoken of as 'one initiated (μύστις) into the knowledge of God.' In marked contrast, however, with the heathen mysteriosophists, wisdom declares to her hearers (6 22), who are by no means to be regarded as a community of mystæ, that she will not hide mysteries from them, but will set forth in clear light a full knowledge of the truth. In a number of passages in the LXX the word mystery is used in the colourless sense of a secret idea or plan (*e.g.*, in 2 Macc. 13 21); but not only do we find 3 Macc. 2 30 speaking of one who has been duly consecrated in accordance with the prescribed ritual, but also in Dan. 2 18 *f.* 27-30 46 (the last passage only in Theod.) the Greek translation is obviously influenced by the religious phraseology of the same heathen circles, when it speaks of Nebuchadrezzar's vision as a 'mystery' which is 'revealed' to Daniel by the God of heaven, to whom alone this prerogative belongs. The dream as such is not called a mystery; it is a mystery because it contains a series of symbols which yield up their deeper meaning to interpretation and the allegorical method. Among Jewish writers the great master in the art of allegorising, so as to extract unsuspected meanings from the letter of Scripture, is Philo.

2. Jewish writers.

When, for example, in *De Cherub.* 12 *ff.*, or in *De Sacrif. Abeli et Caini*, 15 *f.*, he sets forth his astonishing exegeses of Gen. 4 1 18 6, he is a genuine hierophant or teacher of mysteries; and he himself feels that he is such, using, as he does, of set purpose, the terminology of the mysteries. That he does not deal with Orphic myths, does not alter the fact. He even openly demands that what he is revealing be kept secret from all the profane (*De Cherub.* 14), though, when he has occasion to dwell on the contrast between Mosaism and heathen piety (*De Victim. offer.* i. *f.*), he can allow himself to repudiate entirely all secret initiations and mysteries, and to insist upon perfect straightforwardness and honest publicity.

Christianity, in like manner, did not simply repudiate the influence of this prevailing tendency of the age. When the synoptists (Mt. 13 11 Mk. 4 11 Lk. 8 10) speak of the mysteries, or the mystery, of the kingdom, a knowledge of which is given to some but withheld from others (see GNOSIS), and represent the parables as designed in some cases to reveal, and in other cases to conceal still further, what had hitherto been hidden, they can hardly be taken as exactly reflecting the mind of Jesus on the matter, but must be regarded rather as giving involuntary and unconscious expression to their own feeling on finding themselves chosen for the honour of initiation. Perhaps the writer of 1 Tim. 3 9 16 gives quite unconscious expression to the same feeling when he speaks of Christ as the mystery of godliness, or instead of the faith speaks of the mystery of the faith. As for the Apocalypse, it is almost entirely made up of mysteries, and it is surprising to find it only once (10 7) calling attention to a fulfilment of the mystery of God.

3. Christian.

The usage in 1 20 17 5 7, where the word mystery is employed to denote a figure, such as that of the seven stars, which requires interpretation, comes near Eph. 5 32, where Gen. 2 24 is called a great 'mystery,' because it has to be understood not literally of a man and his wife, but allegorically of Christ and the Church.

Most interesting of all is the attitude of Paul. In 2 Thess. 2 7, indeed, when he speaks of the mystery of iniquity or lawlessness as already at work, but still restrained by one that restrains (ὁ κατέχων: ANTICHRIST, § 7), 'mystery' is used merely as a synonym for something still hidden and invisible as against the manifestation shortly to occur. On the other hand, when in 1 Cor. 15 51 he introduces a piece of his characteristic gnosis concerning the last day with the words, 'behold, I tell you a mystery,' one feels that here he is a mystagogue speaking to a circle of mystæ; and in the many passages where he introduces the idea of 'a mystery' in connection with the gospel he proclaims, the derivation of his language from the mysteries so eagerly resorted to by the heathen who were seeking salvation can hardly be mistaken. He who in the spirit speaks with tongues (1 Cor. 14 2) utters mysteries; in 1 Cor. 13 2 'all mysteries and all knowledge' (gnosis) sum up the highest conceivable attainment of human learning—it is precisely what is hidden from others that is known to the true gnostic; and in 1 Cor. 4 1 Paul claims to be recognised by all, not only as a servant of Christ, but also as a steward of the mysteries of God. It does not signify that elsewhere he always speaks in the singular of *the* mystery of God or of Christ or of the gospel—in some cases even without the added genitive—as, for example, in Col. 2 2 4 3 1 26 Eph. 6 19 3 4 9 Rom. 16 25; in all cases he intends the saving purpose of God whereby in the fulness of the times redemption is offered to all men, Jews and Gentiles alike, in Jesus Christ—the single plan of salvation, which, however, is carried out in a multiplicity of saving deeds. This purpose of

4. Paul.

would establish—that the verb διελθεῖν with the accusative of the country signifies 'to make a missionary tour'; for here this sense would be impossible, in the face of the prohibition of *v.* 6.

[1] See, however, the judgment of Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 195 *f.*; *Church in R. Emp.* 484.

salvation not only remained a secret hidden throughout the ages before the life and death of Christ (Rom. 16 25), it remains so for unbelievers to this day; and many details connected with it, such as the problem of the hardening of Israel, are hidden even from believers for the most part (Rom. 11 25); he who by the spirit of God has become acquainted with them must exercise prudence in communicating the gnosis thus gained; he must impart it only to such as are 'perfect' (1 Cor. 2 6 *ff.*), to those who from being babes in Christ have grown up to be veritably spiritual men (3 1), and instead of milk can endure strong food (3 2; see GNOSIS).

Lightfoot [1] justly observes that the apostle has borrowed from the terminology of the ancient mysteries not only the word 'mystery' (*μυστήριον*), but also 'perfect' (*τέλειος*, Col. 1 28), 'instructed' (*μυεῖσθαι*, Phil. 4 12), 'sealed' (*σφραγίζεσθαι*, Eph. 1 13); the references could be multiplied, and at least one expression added to the list—'present you as a pure virgin' (*παραστῆσαι ὑμᾶς παρθένον ἁγνήν*) of 2 Cor. 11 2. It does not seem, however, to the present writer that in making use of these figures Paul is deliberately uttering a paradox, in so far as what elsewhere was called a mystery was kept closely confined to a narrow circle, whilst the Christian mysteries are freely imparted to all. True, Paul had the desire to bring the gospel to all, and that no one should be left outside in the darkness; but for the terrible chasm between his ideal and the reality he consoles himself like Philo with the lofty feeling of belonging to a community, small, indeed, but possessed of unutterable secrets; and just as he is still a gnostic, though confessing the imperfection and transitoriness of his gnosis as compared with that of the coming age, so he is not without a real intention—to be explained by the current tendencies of his time—of still maintaining 'the idea of secrecy or reserve' in connection with his exposition of the truths of the gospel.

The words, so free from paradox, of Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.*, § 120), on the true holy mysteries, are conceived entirely in the spirit of Paul. The mysteries are not themselves the last word, the thing which permanently remains; but it is only through the mysteries, and through knowledge of them, that entrance can be gained into the eternal light.

5. Later. At a later date the sacraments of the Church, especially Baptism and the Lord's Supper, came to be compared to the ancient mysteries, and, indeed, the word mystery ultimately came to be applied exclusively to these; but not a trace of this is to be found in the NT. The apostle who in 1 Cor. 1 14 *ff.* so eagerly and joyously affirmed that Christ had sent him not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel, certainly did nothing to promote any tendency that may have existed in his day to regard the sacramental acts of the Church as in any way resembling certain ceremonies of initiation observed in heathen mysteries; with him acts of worship are never mysteries.

See G. Wobbermin, *Religionsgesch. Studien . . . zur Frage der Beeinflussung des Urchristenthums durch das antike Mysterienwesen*, 1896; and for the mysteries in general, see Réville, *La Rel. à Rome sous les Sévères*, 1886, 57; Cheetham, *The Mysteries, Pagan and Christian*, 1897. A. J.

MYTILENE. In NT spelled MITYLENE (*q.v.*).

N

NAAM (נַעַם, 'pleasant'? ΝΟΟΜ [BL], ΝΑΑΜ [A]), a son of Caleb and brother of עירואלה—*i.e.*, ירחמאל, Jerahmeel (מ and ע confounded), 1 Ch. 4 15†. In 1 Ch. 4 19 we meet with Naḥam, and in Gen. 36 13 with Naḥath; the three clan-names may have the same origin. See NAAMAN i., end. T. K. C.

NAAMAH (נַעֲמָה, 'pleasant,' § 67). 1. Daughter of Lamech, Gen. 4 22 (*νοεμα* [AE], *-μμα* [L]; *νααμα* Jos.; *Noema*, cod. Am. *Noemma*). See CAINITES, § 9, n. 4, but observe that if 'Lamech' is really a mutilated form of 'Jerahmeel,' 'Naamah' is probably a clan-name (cp NAAMAH ii.).

2. An Ammonitess, mother of Rehoboam, 1 K. 14 21 31 (*μααχαμ* [B], *νααμα* [A], *νaανα* [L], *Naama*; in 5 31 𝔊[BL] omits clause), 2 Ch. 12 13 (*νοομμα* [BA], *νααμα* [L]; *Naama*). It is questioned whether 'Ammonitess' is not due to a scribe's error; Naamah may have been the true name of the 'Shunammite' (1 K. 1 3). See REHOBOAM, SHULAMMITE. T. K. C.

NAAMAH (נַעֲמָה), a town in the lowland of Judah, Josh. 15 41 (*νωμαν* [B], *νωμα* [A], *νομα* [L]). 𝔊[B] suggests Naaman, and this we might identify with N(u)māna or with Nāmāna in the name-list of Thotmes III. (nos. 83 *f.*; *RP*(2), 5 49), which Maspero and Tomkins connect with Dēr Na'amān and 'Arāḳ Na'amān respectively. The place was certainly in SW. Palestine, and near MAKKEDAH (*q.v.*). Warren (*PEF* 2 403) thinks of Nā'aneh, 5 m. NE. of el-Mughār; but the resemblance of the names is slight. T. K. C.

NAAMAN (נַעֲמָן, 'pleasant,' § 67, perhaps derived from a divine name, see ADONIS; Gen. 46 21 *νοεμαν* [A], *μοσμ.* [*D*], *νοεμμ.* [L]; Nu. 26 40 [44], *νοεμανει* [B], *νοεμα* [A], *-ν* [FL]; 1 Ch. 8 4, *νοομα* [B], *μααμαν* [A], *ναμει* [L]; *v.* 7, *νοομα* [BA], *νααμαν* [L]; the patronymic is **Naamite**, נַעֲמִי, but Sam. נעמני, Nu. 26 40, *νοεμαν[ε]ι* [Ba mg. inf. AFL]). 1. A Benjamite clan, 'son' of Benjamin in Gen. 46 21 [MT], but of Bela b. Benjamin in Nu. 26 40 [44] 1 Ch. 8 4, and in Gen. 46 21 𝔊 (see *JQR* 11 108). Possibly to be grouped with the name NAHAMANI (*q.v.*); cp NAAM.

2. (ΝΑΙΜΑΝ [BA], ΝΕΕΜ. [L]), general of the king of Syria, miraculously healed by Elisha of his leprosy, 2 K. 5 (see LEPROSY). We hear of his successes as leader of the Aramæan troops (*v.* 1); of his easily ruffled temper (*v.* 11 *f.*); of his deference to wise counsel even when offered by subordinates (*v.* 13 *f.*); of his gratitude to Elisha (*vv.* 15 23); and of his new-born conviction that there was no god worthy of the name in all the world but Yahwè (*v.* 15). Being compelled officially to visit the temple of RIMMON (*q.v.*), and there to prostrate himself, he asks indulgence of Yahwè's prophet. His private worship shall be reserved for Yahwè, and since Yahwè is specially the god of Canaan, he begs that he may take home two mules' burden of earth, that he may offer sacrifices to Yahwè on Canaanitish soil. Elisha, with his 'Go in peace,' implicitly grants his request, and, according to EV, 'he departed from him (Elisha) a little way' (*v.* 19). This, however, is a poor close of the section. The text is corrupt (cp Klo.), and the right reading seems to be 'with a possession of Israelitish earth.' That Naaman journeyed home with his mules' burdens, the narrator certainly meant to say.

The supposed word כברת is really non-existent (on Gen. 35 16 48 7, see RACHEL). 𝔊[B] reproduces it as *δεβραθα*; 𝔊[L] as *χαβραθα*; 𝔊[A] has, in *v.* 19, *καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς Ἰσραηλ*. The latter reading cannot be entirely right; but 'land of Israel' is a contribution to the probably true reading, which we take to be וַיֵּלֶךְ מאתו בַּאֲחֻזַּת אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל. Klo., less probably, וַיֵּלֶךְ מאתו ככֹר מֵארץ יש׳, 'and he carried away from him about a "cor" of (lit. out of) the earth of Israel.' It is not surprising that 𝔊[L] seeks to soften the shock to the reader of *v.* 18 by *προσκυνήσω ἅμα αὐτῷ ἐγὼ καὶ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου.* T. K. C.

NAAMATHITE (נַעֲמָתִי), Job 2 11 etc. See ZOPHAR.

NAAMITE (נַעֲמִי), Nu. 26 40. See NAAMAN, 1.

NAARAH (נַעֲרָה, cp MAARATH in S. Judah or NAARATH? ΝΟΟΡΑ [A], ΝΟΕΡ. [L], ΑΩΔΑ [B, with *d* for *r*]),[1] and Helah, wives of Tekoa (cp also COZ), apparently the names of two Judæan clan-divisions (1 Ch. 4 5 *f.*†). On the names of their 'children' (which in some

[1] *St. Paul's Epistles to the Col. and Philem.*(6), 1882, pp. 167 *ff.*

[1] On the whole it is less likely that *αωδα* represents HELAH (*q.v.*). 𝔊[B] seems to have placed Naarah *before* Helah in *v.* 5 (*αωδα κ. θοαδα*) to agree with their order in *v.* 6 *f.*; at the end of *v.* 6 B* seems to have read *ιωδας*.

cases have affinities with S. Judæan names), see ETHNAN, ZERETH, HAAHASHTARI, and cp TEKOA.

NAARAH (נַעֲרָה), Josh. 16 7 RV, AV NAARATH (*q.v.*).

NAARAI (נַעֲרַי, § 79; rather נַעֲרִי, 'my lad' [Nöld.]; *ναаραι* [Bℵ], *νοορα* [A], *ναραι* [L]), one of David's 'thirty' (1 Ch. 11 37), see PAARAI.

NAARAN (נַעֲרָן), 1 Ch. 7 28. See NAARATH, end.

NAARATH, RV NAARAH (נַעֲרָתָה, *i.e.*, 'to Naarah,' נַעֲרָה), a point on the boundary between EPHRAIM [*q.v.*, § 11] and Manasseh; Josh. 16 7 (αι κωμαι αυτων [B], *i.e.*, נַעֲרֹתֶיהָ, interpreted like בְּנֹתֶיהָ [cp, *e.g.*, 1 Ch. 7 28]; ναаραθα και αι κωμαι αυτων [A], αι κ. αυ. και εις αναραθα [L], *yagrath* and *pāgār* [Pesh.]). Identified by Jer. and Eus. with the *Naorath* or *Νοοραθ* of their day (=the Neara of Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 13 1; cp JERICHO, § 7), a village within 5 m. of Jericho (*OS* 283 11 142 21), perhaps the *Kh. el-'Aujeh*, 6 m. N. of Jericho in the plain. So Conder, *PEF*, Jan. 1877, p. 27. Guérin, however (*Sam.* 1 201 *ff.*), places it by the *'Ain Sāmieh* in the W. el-'Aujeh, about 7 m. NW. of Jericho, where there are ancient remains and considerable traces of water-works. In 1 Ch. 7 28 the name appears as **Naaran** (*ναарναν* [B], *νааραν* [A], *νοαραν* [L], Pesh. om.). Cp Neub. *Géogr.* 163.

NAASHON (נַחְשׁוֹן), Ex. 6 23 AV, RV NAHSHON.

NAASSON (ναασσων [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 4 Lk. 3 32 AV, RV NAHSHON (*q.v.*).

NAATHUS, one of the sons of ADDI (*q.v.*) in 1 Esd. 9 31 (λαθοс [B], νααθ. [A], εδνα or σιδια [? L]). The name is perhaps a transposed form of Adna (Ezra 10 31).

NABAL (נָבָל; ναβαλ), 'a man in Maon, whose business was in Carmel,' rich in sheep and goats, the first husband of Abigail (1 S. 25 3 *ff.*). 'As his name is, so is he,' says Abigail, playing upon his name, which might mean 'fool' (NAMES, § 67) or perhaps rather 'shamelessly immoral' (!! איש הבליעל, *v.* 25; cp BELIAL, FOOL). The *nᵉbālā* (נְבָלָה), or 'shameless impropriety,' ascribed to Nabal (*v.* 25), consisted in his exclusion of David and David's men, who had conferred benefits on Nabal, from the traditionally binding hospitalities of the sheep-shearing, as if they were outlaws, men deprived of the protection of their class, worse off even than 'sojourners.' David on his side had claimed (not improbably) to be Nabal's 'brother' (*v.* 6, reading לְאָחִי, with We., Dr., Bu.; cp Vg., Klo.); both, in fact, it is possible, were Calebites.[1]

1. Story in 1 S. 25.

The story of Nabal is graphically told; but it is not on that account to be accepted as literally true.

We receive gratefully the picture of the better side of a free-booter's life, and of the delicate, tactful character of a Hebrew woman of the higher class. The 'son of Belial,' however, who is so violent that his own people scarcely dare to speak to him, and who holds a feast 'like the feast of a king,' at which he drinks to excess, while mischief (as he must know) is brewing against him, and who becomes 'like a stone' when he hears of the danger which his wife has surmounted for him, till, ten days after, a divine stroke falls upon him, and he dies, is a masterpiece of Oriental romance, in which it is not impossible that there are some features ultimately derived from primitive mythology (see § 2).

This, however, may be historical—that David obtained the territory of a rich man of Maon (doubtless the chief of the tribe [*gens*] dwelling there) by marrying his wife, and so himself became a powerful chief. See ABIGAIL, ISRAEL, § 14.

Thus the political meaning of the legend of Nabal is sufficiently clear. To explain how David effected this master-stroke of policy, tradition (according to Wi. *GI* 2 187 *ff.*), in producing a legend, borrowed from the famous myth of the drunken giant of the sky, whom the Greeks called ORION and the Hebrews Kĕsil. The chief or sheikh is called Nabal ('fool'), which is a paraphrase of Kĕsil. The tribe over which he ruled was probably, thinks Winckler, called Habal=Abel, the brother of Kain (*i.e.*, the Kenites). The theory is brilliant. We may do well to admit that some current folk-story was probably attached to the person of the sheikh; but since *nābāl* (נבל) and *kᵉsil* (כסיל) are hardly quite synonymous, it is better to look for another explanation of 'Nabal.' It is in accordance with analogy to suppose that 'Nabal' has been (humorously) substituted for 'Nadab' which occurs as a Calebite name in 1 Ch. 2 28 30, close to 'Abihail.' It is probable that Abigail in the story of Nabal should rather be Abihail, and that the tribes (*gentes*) of Nadab and Abihail were united (hence 'Nabal'—*i.e.*, Nadab—is called the husband of Abigail—*i.e.*, Abihail). And plausible as it is to explain כלבי in 1 S. 25 3 (Kr.) as 'Calebite,' it is a little more probable that כלבי is miswritten for אביחיל, and that in the original story the passage ran thus, 'Now the name of the man was Nadab, and he was chief (שַׂר) of Abihail.' For the convenience of the legend Abihail (Abigail) was transferred, we must suppose, to the sheikh's wife. The humour of Nabal's name now becomes still more manifest. Not 'liberal' (Nadab) nor Abihail (popularly explained, 'strong father?'), but Nabal ('reckless, violent').

2. Origin of legend.

With regard to the so-called gloss in 1 S. 25 3, it may be well to correct a misapprehension. The interpretation, 'and he was a Calebite' (והוא כלבי), is sometimes supported by a reference to 2 S. 3 8, 'Am I a dog's head,' which is thought to allude to David's Calebite origin and to the violent, intractable character of the Calebites (such as Nabal). This is altogether a mistake, and so also is the view that והוא כלבי is a gloss to account for the violence of Nabal by his being of the dog tribe (cp 𝔊, *καὶ* [ὁ] *ἄνθρ. κυνικός*); see CALEB, DOG. Both passages are corrupt; 1 S. 25 3 is explained above, and in 2 S. 3 8 we should almost certainly read thus, הֲשַׂר חֵילְךָ אנכי אשר חסד אלהים אעשה, 'Am I the captain of thine army (2 S. 24 2), who show sacred loving-kindness (2 S. 9 3).'

T. K. C.

NABARIAS (ναβαρ[ε]ιας [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 44†. A corrupt name; see HASHBADANA (end).

NABATÆANS (ναβαταιοι or -τεοι [AℵV], αναβαται [ℵ in 5 25], -βατταιοι [V in 5 25], 1 Macc.; ναβαταιοι, ναβαθηνοι [Jos.]; **Nabathites** AV, **Nabathæans** RV), a well-known Arabian people, friendly to Judas and Jonathan the Maccabees (1 Macc. 5 25 9 35). In 1 Macc. 5 25 the Nabatæans are met with in the desert, three days' journey beyond Jordan; in 1 Macc. 9 35, not far from Medeba, in the N. of Moab. In the time of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 12 4; cp Jer. *Qu. in Gen.* 25) their settlements gave the name of Nabatene to the borderland between Syria and Arabia from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. The language of Josephus suggests, and Jerome, apparently following him, directly affirms, that the name is identical with that of the Ishmaelite tribe of Nebaioth (see ISHMAEL, § 4). This view has been widely adopted, but is phonetically difficult,[1] the name Nabatæan being properly spelt with ṭ not t (נבטו) in the inscriptions (Arabic *Nabat*, *Nabīt*, etc.).

The history of this remarkable people cannot with certainty be carried back beyond 312 B.C., at which date Athenæus the general of Antigonus, and after him Antigonus's son Demetrius, in vain attempted their subjugation (cp SELA). At that time they already occupied the old country of the Edomites. How long they had been there, we know not. We may be certain, however, that the beginning of their migration from their

[1] Cp DAVID, § 1, n. 2; KIRJATH-SEPHER. In the latter article David's home is placed conjecturally at Kirjath-sepher, otherwise called Beth-zur or Beth-el (?). In 1 Ch. 2 45 Maon (Nabal was of Maon) is called the 'father of Beth-zur.'

[1] [We can hardly say 'phonetically inadmissible,' the interchange of ט and ת being not unexampled (see Lag. *Übers.* 51 n., Buhl, *Edomiter*, 52, n. 6). The Nabaiti or Nabaiati of the Ass. inscriptions=נבית (Schr. *KGF* 104).]

earlier home in the wilderness synchronised with the first Edomitish incursions into southern Judah, occasioned by the humiliation of the Jews by Nebuchadrezzar. Its closing stage is referred to by the Jewish prophet Malachi (1 1-5), who regards it as the just punishment of Edomitish wickedness (the wickedness of occupying the soil of Judah).[1] As a consequence of this change of abodes the Nabatæans became masters of the shores of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba and the important harbour of Elath (cp Agatharchides, *Geog. Gr. Min.* 1 178).

The Nabatæans have already some tincture of foreign civilisation when they first appear in history. Though true Arabs (as the proper names on their inscriptions show), they came under the influence of Aramæan culture. Naturally, therefore, Syriac was the language of their coins and inscriptions,[2] when the tribe grew into a kingdom and profited by the decay of the Seleucids to extend itself over the country E. of the Jordan. They occupied Ḥaurān, and about 85 B.C. their king ARETAS (*q.v.*) became lord of Damascus and COELESYRIA (*q.v.*). Allies of the first Hasmonæans in their struggles against the Greeks, they became the rivals of the Judæan dynasty in the period of its splendour, and a chief element in the disorders which invited the Roman intervention in Palestine in 65-64 B.C. The Nabatæans had to give up Damascus; but as 'allies' of the Romans they continued to flourish throughout the first Christian century. Petra their capital became a great commercial centre, which was, however, reduced in the time of Trajan when he, most unwisely, broke up the Nabatæan nationality (about 105 A.D.). See ARABIA, § 3, DAMASCUS, § 13, ISHMAEL, § 4.

For the inscriptions and coins of the Nabatæans see De Luynes, *Rev. Numism.*, 1858; Levy, *ZDMG* 14 363 *f.*; De Vogüé, *Mél. d'Arch. Or.*, 1868; *Syrie Centrale*, 1866-77; and *Inscr. Sémitiques*, 1868-77; Euting, *Nab. Inschr. aus Arabien*, with excursus by Gutschmid on the Nabatæan kings; also Nöld. *ZDMG* 17 705 *f.* 25 122 *f.*, *Sem. Sprachen*, 31; Glaser, *Skizze*, 2 418. See also Nöld. 'Nabatäer' in Schenkel's *BL*, and F. H. Vincent, 'Les Nabatéens,' *Rev. biblique*, 7 [1898] 567-588.

W. R. S.—T. K. C.

NABOTH (נָבוֹת, 'height,' § 74, but cp NEBAT; ΝΑΒΟΥΘΑΙ [BAL], -ΘΑ [A* 1 K. 21 3]; *Nabutheus*), the owner of a 'field' near Jezreel, or of a 'vineyard' near Ahab's palace (? in Samaria), whose story and its sequel are told in 1 K. 21 1 *ff.* 2 K. 9 21 25 *f.*† Cp ELIJAH, § 3, and, on the criticism of the passages, KINGS, § 8, also AHAB, § 2, n. 3.

NABUCHODONOSOR (ΝΑΒΟΥΧΟΔΟΝΟΣΟΡ [BAL]), 1 Esd. 1 40 = 2 Ch. 36 6, NEBUCHADNEZZAR; see NEBUCHADREZZAR.

NACHON, RV **Nacon** (נָכוֹן). According to 2 S. 6 6 it was at the threshing-floor of Nachon that Uzzah was smitten for putting forth his hand to the ark.

The Gk. has *νωδαβ* [B], *ωδαβ* [B^b], *ναχων* [A], *ορνα τοῦ Ιεβουσαιου* [L], *χειδων* [Jos. *Ant.* vii. 4 2]. The translations of Aq. (*ἕως ἅλωνος ἑτοίμης*) and Pesh. yield no sense, and involve a questionable use of נכון (cp Dr. *ad loc.*).

It is evident that some proper name or closer designation of the 'threshing floor' (cp, *e.g.*, Gen. 50 10) lies at the bottom of the MT reading. The parallel passage 1 Ch. 13 9 has CHIDON (כִּידֹן; *χειλω̄* [A], om. Bℵ, *χεδων* [L]), which may be a corruption of נכון (כרן = כון = [נ]כון), cp We. *TBS* 168). 𝔊^L's identification is 'an evident correction intended to make the ark select its permanent abode thus early' (H. P. Smith); but it may conceivably rest upon an old tradition.

Nākōn, נָכוֹן, recurs as the corruption of some place-name in 1 S. 26 4[3] (cp RV^mg. 'to a set place'). The readings of BA (*ἕτοιμος ἐκ κεειλα*, a doublet; cp We.) and of 𝔊^L (*ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ εἰς σεκελαγ*; cp *v.* 3*b*) show how apparent the difficulty was to the translators. It is possible that *nākōn*, נכון, is a corruption from *mā'ōn*, מָעוֹן, based on 23 25*b*, and that the clause is an addition (cp 4*b* with 3*b*). H. P. Smith suggests אל נכחו, 'to the point just before him.'

S. A. C.

NACHOR (נָחוֹר, Josh. 24 2, ΝΑΧΩΡ Lk. 3 34), AV, RV NAHOR.

NADAB (נָדָב, according to most scholars, shortened from JEHONADAB or NEDABIAH; but the common origin of all these forms seems to be the ethnic Nadabu [see NODAB]; Jehonadab and Nedabiah represent נדבי 'a Nadabite,' and similarly Abinadab and Amminadab represent נדבם, Nadbam [Che.]; ΝΑΔΑΒ [BℵFAL]).

1. Son of Aaron (Ex. 6 23, *αδαβ* [B*], 24 1, *δαδαβ* [F], 28 1, etc.), see NADAB AND ABIHU, and note that Abihu, like Nadab, probably represents an ethnic (*αβιουδ* = Jerahmeel [Che.]).

2. Son of Jeroboam, king of Israel, slain by BAASHA (*q.v.*) whilst besieging Gibbethon (1 K. 14 20, om. BL, *ναβατ* [A]; 15 25 *ff.*, *ναβαθ* [B], *ναβατ* [B^a.b *vv.* 25 27 and B in *v.* 31], *ναβαδ* [A *v.* 27]). See CHRONOLOGY, § 32; ISRAEL, § 29.

3. A Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 28 30).

4. Son of Jeiel in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 30 (*αδαδ* [B], 9 36). See *JQR* 11 110-112, §§ 10 *ff.*, also KISH, NER.

NADAB AND ABIHU (נָדָב וַאֲבִיהוּא; on the names see above, and ABIHU), the two eldest sons of Aaron. The names occur in Ex. 24 1, and, although the origin of the passage to which this verse belongs has been much disputed, we may with a fair measure of confidence attribute it to the Yahwist, whose narrative, if we assume the results of criticism, is to this effect.[1]

Whereas the Elohist makes the Israelites tremble at the thought of approach to God, the Yahwist represents Yahwè as bidding Moses take precautions against their overweening confidence and rash curiosity. The people are to be kept back under penalty of death from touching the mountain; but on the other hand the priests are to sanctify themselves and ascend Sinai with Moses. Accordingly Aaron, with Nadab and Abihu and seventy elders of Israel, accompanies Moses, and, though left behind by Moses when he receives the revelation of the 'ten words' as given in Ex. 34, they see the God of Israel and partake of a covenant meal.

Here we have, as marks of the Yahwist's style, the use of the divine name, the mention of Sinai instead of Horeb, the mention of priests as in Ex. 19 22, and the strong anthropomorphism of the theophany. With this the use of Elōhīm in 24 9-11 is quite consistent. It is the approach of mortal man to the deity that the narrator desires to accentuate. The mention of the 'elders' in 24 1 may suggest an admixture of documents, for they have not been mentioned in 19 20-25, and they are generally regarded as indicating the hand of the Elohist (Di. on Exod. 23; Kue. § 8, 14; but see Ex. 3 16-18 in Bacon, 17, 283; Comp. Holzinger, 211).

After all, even if 19 20-25 24 1 2 9-11 be from the Yahwist, it is still possible to believe that the names Nadab and Abihu have been interpolated by an editor who was familiar with P (so Now. *Heb. Arch.* 2 99, following Jülicher and Kue.). In that case the names must have been substituted for a bare mention of the priests which is requisite after 19 22 24. It is not inconceivable, however, that P himself borrowed the names 'Nadab and Abihu' from the Yahwist.

For the rest, the names Nadab and Abihu occur only in P—viz. Ex. 6 23 28 1 Lev. 10 Nu. 3 2 4 26 60 *f.*—and in 1 Ch. 6 3 [5 29] 24 1 *f.*† They represent an extinct clan of the Aaronidæ, for we are told that they died before their father and left no issue. P (Lev. 10) characteristically explains their death as a penalty for transgressing the ritualistic regulations. On the day of their entrance on the priestly office they laid incense on their fire-pans and offered 'strange fire,' and were

[1] [See Grätz, *MGWJ*, 1875, pp. 60 *ff.*; Che. *Proph. Is.* 1 194; *Intr. Is.* 211; *ZATW*, 1894, p. 142; *JBL*, 1898, p. 207; We. *Die kl. Proph.*(3), 213 *f.*; *IJG*(1), 147; Buhl, *Edomiter*, 79; and especially Torrey, *JBL*, 1898, pp. 16 *ff.*]

[2] See ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 4.

[3] נָכוֹן in 1 S. 23 23 (RV^mg. 'to a set place'; 𝔊^AL *εἰς ἕτοιμον*) occurs in a clause which 𝔊^B omits, and is an obvious gloss; cp Wellhausen, Bu., *SBOT*. It may come from 26 4.

[1] Clearly *vv.* 1 *f.* and 9-11 are connected (Bu. *ZATW* 11 233), and had at first nothing to do with *vv.* 3-8, which have been interposed from another source. It seems scarcely less certain that 24 1 *f.* 9-11 are the sequel to 19 20-25 (Bacon, *Triple Trad. Exod.* 96), and the general consent of critics, with, however, the notable exception of Kuenen, sees in this latter passage the characteristic style of the Yahwist.

themselves consumed by fire from Yahwè. The expression 'strange fire' is enigmatical. Dillmann takes אֵשׁ as equivalent to אִשֶּׁה, and understands an offering by fire which Yahwè 'had not commanded,' and which was not made according to rule. Their brethren were warned against similar audacity in the rhythmical oracle:

In them that come near me will I show my holiness,
And before all the people will I manifest my glory.

Their bodies were removed by Mishael and Elzaphan, Aaron's cousins, and lamentation, in which, however, the priests were forbidden to share, was made by the people. W. E. A.

NADABATH, AV **Nadabatha** (ναδαβαθ [A], γαβαδαν [ℵ], ναβαδαθ [V], נבט [Syr.], *Madaba* [Vg.]; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 4, ναβαθα [so Niese, etc., γαβαθα, βαθανα]), a place E. of Jordan mentioned in connection with Medeba (1 Macc. 9 37), from which the b'ne Jamri were returning when they were surprised by Jonathan (see JAMBRI, THE CHILDREN OF). Clermont-Ganneau (*JA*, May-June, 1891, pp. 541-543) proposes to read the name as ῥαβαθά (cp αχαρ, 𝔊B, Josh. 7 1, for Achan), and to identify the town with Rabbath Ammon, which is sometimes written ῥαβαθ in 𝔊 (cp RABBAH). This is ingenious. A direct road connected Rabbath Ammon and Medeba, and we are told that the bride was 'the daughter of one of the great princes of Canaan.' A 'great prince' is more likely to have lived at Rabbath Ammon than at NEBO (*q.v.*), with which some have identified Nadabath. AV$^{mg.}$ gives 'or, Medeba' (after Jer.); but the bridal party was going, it seems, *to* Medeba. W. H. B.

NAGGE, RV **Naggai** (ναγγαι, according to Dalm. *Gramm.* 143, n. 5, for נגהיי=נגיי, cp נֹגַהּ, NOGAH), a name in the genealogy of Jesus (Lk. 3 25). See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

NAHALLAL, rather, as RV, **Nahalal,** as if 'a drinking place for flocks' (נַהֲלָל, Josh. 19 15, ναβααλ [B], νααλωλ [A], αναλωθ [L]; 21 35, σελλα [B], δαμνα [AL]), or **Nahalol** (נַהֲלֹל, Judg. 1 30, δωμανα [B], εναμμαν [A; ?=εν αμμαν], αμμαν [L]), a town in Zebulun, mentioned between Kattath and Shimron. In Talm. J., *Meg.* 1 1, it is identified with Mahlūl—*i.e.*, probably *Ma'lūl*, a village W. of Nazareth, in which view Schwartz, van de Velde, and Guérin concur; see, however, MARALAH. A hint may be gained from 𝔊B at Judg. 1 30 (see above), which suggests the reading 'Dimnah' instead of 'Nahalal.' These two place-names are in fact given together in Josh. 21 35, and the probability is that each name represents a fragment of Jerahmeel—*i.e.*, ירחמאל became נחלל=רחכל, and also רמנה=רמלח (see DIMNAH). And the question is whether Maralah and Nahalal (both from Jerahmeel) do not mean the same place. Double representation is not infrequent in the lists of P and Ch. T. K. C.

NAHALIEL (נַחֲלִיאֵל, as if 'torrent-valley of God'; μαναηλ [B], μανα[να]ηλ [B$^{a.b\ vid.}$; the μ in these two forms representing the previous preposition 'מ], νααλιηλ [A], ναχαιηλ [L]), a station of the Israelites N. of RAMOTH, Nu. 21 19. Conder (*Heth and Moab*, 141 *ff.*) and G. A. Smith (*HG* 561 *f.*) identify it with the *Wādy Zerḳā Ma'īn* (famous for its hot springs); but cp Oort, *Th. T*, 1885, p. 247. Probably, however, Nahaliel is a corruption of Jeraḥmeel (cp NAHALAL); the text should run 'And from there to Beer-jeraḥmeel, and from Beer-jeraḥmeel to Bamoth.' Bamoth was near 'the Pisgah,' and both, according to the original story, seem to have been in the Jeraḥmeelite highlands. See BEER; NEBO, MOUNT, § 2; MOSES, § 16; WANDERINGS.

According to Conder (*Heth and Moab*, l.c.) 'the valley in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor,' in which Yahwè (?) buried Moses (Dt. 34 6) was probably Nahaliel, 'God's valley'!
T. K. C.

NAHAM (נַחַם; ναχεθ [B], -χεμ [A], ναουμ [L], a Judahite (1 Ch. 4 19). See NAAM, NAHATH. A connection with MANAHATH may be suspected. See also NAHUM, NEHEMIAH.

NAHAMANI (נַחֲמָנִי, § 62), a leader in the great post-exilic list (EZRA ii., §§ 8*e*, 9), Neh. 7 7 (*ναεμαν[ε]ι* [BA], *νααμμ.* [ℵ], *ναιμ.* [L]; cp RAAMIAH, end), ∥ Ezra 2 2 omits (but 𝔊L *νεμανι*) = 1 Esd. 5 8 ENENIUS, RV ENENEUS (*ενηνιος* [BA], *μαιαιναμινιος* [B$^{ab\ mg.}$], *νεμανι* [L]; *emmanius* [Vg.]). Cp NAAMAN.

NAHARAI (נַחְרַי in 2 S., נַחֲרַי in 1 Ch.), a Beerothite (see BEEROTH i.), Joab's armourbearer, 2 S. 23 37 RV, AV **Nahari**[1] (*γελωρε* [BA], *αραια* [L]), 1 Ch. 11 39 (*ναχωρ* [Bℵ], *νααραι* [A], *νοαραι* [L]).

NAHASH, CITY OF (עִיר נָחָשׁ), 1 Ch. 4 12 EV$^{mg.}$, EV IR-NAHASH.

NAHASH (נָחָשׁ, 'serpent,' § 68; ναας [BℵAL]). 1. An Ammonite king in the time of Saul (1 S. 11 1 *f.*; cp 12 12).

The present writer sees reason to think that, as in some other passages, 'Ammon' is misread for 'Amalek,' and that 'Jabesh-gilead' should be 'Beth-gilgal.' 'Amalek' and 'Jerahmeel' are ultimately the same name. 'Nahash' (see 2) was perhaps the king of Rehoboth. The principal family of Rehobothites bore the name Nahash or rather, as one should probably read, Achish; cp 1 S. 21 11 etc. 1 K. 2 39 *f.*, where גת, as often, is miswritten for ת[ב]ח[ר]—*i.e.*, Rehoboth. See SAUL, § 1.

2. An Ammonite king, the father of HANUN, 2 S. 10 2 1 Ch. 19 2 (*ανας* [B]). The statement that he had 'shown kindness' to David has been much discussed. The 'kindness' cannot have been passed over in the records, and yet where does the traditional text mention it? The conjectures offered by Thenius and others are of no weight.

The text may contain some corruptions. 'Ammon' should probably be 'Amalek' and 'Jericho' (*v.* 5) should be 'Jerahmeel'—*i.e.*, Carmel in Judah. 'Achish king of Gath'—*i.e.*, Nahash king of Rehoboth—is probably the king who 'showed kindness' to David. See further, SAUL, § 1; MAACAH i.; SHOBACH.

3. The father of Shobi of Rabbath Ammon, 2 S. 17 27. The passage, however, is very corrupt (see SHOBI).

4. The name of the first husband of David's mother (Köhler), or of a second wife of David's father (Thenius), or of an unknown person (a Bethlehemite?) who was Joab's father (We. *IJG*(2), 57, n. 1), 2 S. 17 25. But see ZERUIAH; there is deep corruption of the text.

Others think that 'Nahash' is a corruption produced by 'Nahash' in *v.* 27, and read 'Jesse' (see ABIGAIL), or, with Wellhausen (*TBS* 201; cp Gray, *HPN* 91), omit בת נחש as a corruption of בן נחש (*v.* 27). This hardly goes far enough.
T. K. C.

NAHATH (נַחַת, ναχεθ [L]). 1. b. REUEL (*q.v.*), b. Esau; Gen. 36 13 (*ναχομ* [A], *ναχοθ* [*D*$^{sil.}$E], 17 *ναχοθ* [A*D*], *ναχωρ* [E]), 1 Ch. 1 37 (*ναχες* [B], *ναχεθ* [A*], *ιναχεθ* [A$^{a\ vid.}$]). Probably the same as NAHAM [*q.v.*] in 1 Ch. 4 19 (We. *de Gent.* 38) and NAAM (*q.v.*). Naam, Nahath, and Naham are all represented as Jerahmeelites (Che.).

2. An ancestor of Samuel (1 Ch. 6 26 [11], *καιναθ* [BA], *νααθ* [L]); cp JAHATH, TAHATH, TOHU, EPHRAIM, § 12.

3. A Levite overseer (2 Ch. 31 13, *μαεθ* [B; see MAHATH, 2], *ναεθ* [A], *νααθ* [L]).

NAHBI (נַחְבִּי; ναβ[ε]ι [BF], -βα [A], -βια [L], *NAHABI* [Vg.]), the Naphtalite spy (Nu. 13 14†).

NAHOR (נָחוֹר; ναχωρ [BℵADEL]), father of Terah, and grandfather of Abraham (Gen. 11 22-25, P; cp 1 Ch. 1 26), also represented as Terah's son and Abraham's brother (Gen. 11 26, P; Josh. 24 2, redactional insertion). By Milcah he had eight sons, and by Reumah four more (Gen. 22 20 *ff.*). Among the former was BETHUEL (*q.v.*). We also hear of the 'God of Nahor' (Gen. 31 53, E) and the 'city of Nahor' (Gen. 24 10, J). 'Nahor' must, therefore, have filled an extremely important place in the old Hebrew traditional legends, and the difficulty of accounting for the name is surprising. 'Once,' says Dillmann, 'it must have been the name

[1] But NAHARAI in AV of 1611 A.D.

of a people of some importance'; but he grants that the echoes of the name which some have found (*e.g.* Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 64) in the name of the village of Ḥaura in the district of Sarūj (Sĕrūg), or in that of Ḥadītha en-Naura, to the S. of 'Āna, are scarcely probable. It is much more natural to conjecture that the name is that of an Aramæan deity (Jensen, *ZA*, 1896, p. 300); but the true explanation is probably to be sought in another direction. Comparing the following clauses from Gen. 24 10 and 27 43 (both J), 'He arose and went to Aram-naharaim, to the city of Naḥor,' and 'Arise, flee thou to Laban my brother, to Ḥaran,' we may be inclined to suspect that (in spite of the *h* in Naharaim), Naharaim, Naḥor, and Ḥaran are connected, and the considerations offered under GALEED may lead us to the conclusion that נהרים, נחור, and חרן are all corruptions of חֹוָרן. In Gen. 24 10, Grätz and Ball have already corrected 'city of Nahor' into 'city of Ḥaran'; they have thus taken the first step towards the emendation here proposed. Cp HARAN. Whether all the phases of the tradition of Haran and Nahor have thus been recovered is doubtful. Cp JACOB, § 3, and for a further inquiry *Crit. Bib.*

As a consistent mythologist, Winckler (*GI* 2 97) makes 'Nahor' originally a form of the sun-god, adopting of course the plausible view that Milcah means 'queen (of heaven).' T. K. C.

NAHSHON, or, in Ex. 6 23 AV, NAASHON (נַחְשׁוֹן; ΝΑΑ[C]CΩΝ [BℵAFL]), b. Amminadab, brother-in-law of Aaron, and (in Nu., Ch.) 'prince' of the tribe of Judah; also (in Ch., Ruth, Mt.) ancestor of David (Ex. 6 23 Nu. 1 7 [*νασσων*, B] 2 3 7 12 17 10 14 1 Ch. 2 10 *f.* Ruth 4 20 Mt. 1 4†). Cp ELISHEBA, JOSHUA.

The name might mean 'little serpent' (§§ 68, 77). If, however, a 'serpent-clan' is improbable, and if the affinities of 'Nahshon' and the names grouped with it are N. Arabian, it is a reasonable conjecture that Naḥshon has arisen, partly by corruption, partly by expansion, out of חוּשָׁם (חוּשָׁן), Ḥusham (Ḥushan), an Edomite name in Gen. 36 34 *f.* See NUN (end).

T. K. C.

NAHUM (נַחוּם, § 62; ΝΑΟΥΜ [BℵAQ]), 'rich in comfort, comforter' [is God]; cp רַחוּם, חַנּוּן and see Stade, *Gram.*, § 227). The name occurs nowhere else in OT (נַחוּם, Neh. 7 7 is a miswriting for רְחוּם, Ezra 2 2; cp Neh. 10 26), but is found in Phœnician inscriptions (*CIS* 1, no. 123; cp נחמי in 93 *f.*; cp A. Jeremias, *Beitr. zur Ass. u. sem. Sprachwissensch.* 3 [1894], 91).

1. Heading. The heading of the book is twofold. The first part is evidently late (note *maššā*, and see ISAIAH ii., § 9); it describes the reference of the prophecy, and is suggested by 2 8 [9] 3 7. The second part will become identical in form with the headings of Isaiah and Obadiah, and almost so with that of Habakkuk in its original form (cp also Am. 1 1), if we regard the opening word *sēpher* (ספר), 'book,' as a late editorial addition. The concluding word, 'the Elkoshite,' gives the name of the prophet's home, which lay, probably but not certainly, in the southern kingdom (see ELKOSHITE).

2. Date of prophecy against Nineveh. Nahum is mentioned in Tob. 14 4 [ℵ] Sinaiticus; but only as the author of oracles on Nineveh, the fulfilment of which is yet to be expected. Of Nahum's life all that even the *Vitæ Prophetarum* can tell us is that his prophetic message was confirmed by the wonder of the fall of Nineveh, and that he was buried in his native place—therefore not in Assyria (see ELKOSHITE). These statements have no point of contact with history. It is, however, a safe inference from the book itself that the decline of Assyria had begun in the prophet's lifetime. The capture of No-amon (the Egyptian Thebes) was already past (3 8 *ff.*), and the capture of Nineveh by Cyaxares and Nabopolassar was still future when the prophecy was written. Thus we get both an upper and a lower limit of date for the composition of the work. We have next to ask which capture of Thebes is intended. The Egyptian Thebes was twice captured by AŠUR-BANI-PAL (*q.v.*, §§ 1, 3). It is, however, only the second of these events (about 663 B.C.) that was a real conquest and corresponds in its details to the description in Nah. 3 8 *ff.* (cp the inscription on the Rassam cylinder translated with parallels by Jensen, *KB* 2 160-169; also Schr. *KAT*(2), 450 *ff.*). Wellhausen (*Kl. Proph.*(3) 164) objects that the conquest of Thebes could not be meant, as in that case to the question 'Art thou better than No-amon?' Nineveh might with good reason reply, 'Obviously, for No-amon itself fell before me.' It is, however, as 3 8 *f.* clearly shows, on ability to resist an enemy, above all on natural strength of position and resources, that the comparison rests, and such a comparison is valid even if Thebes did fall before the Assyrians. Still, should new monuments bring to light a conquest of Thebes by some other power at a more suitable date, a rather improbable supposition, this would naturally be preferred. It is only if the prophecy of Nahum had to be assigned a date as near as possible to the conquest of Thebes by the Assyrians, that Wellhausen's objection would have to be allowed some weight, as in that case the abstract and impersonal nature of the comparison, and the absence of the taunt 'As thou hast done to her, so will others do to thee' would certainly be remarkable.

However, the fact that we know of only one imperial city and one great fortress adapted for Nahum's comparison by no means shuts us up to one of these two alternatives,—(*a*) to fix the date of his prophecy immediately after 663 (Schr., Kautzsch, Wi.), and (*b*), if we insist on giving it a later date, to assume also a later capture of Thebes (We.). On the contrary, the catastrophe of the year 663 might very well be referred to even several decades later, more particularly if the city 'never recovered from it' (E. Mey. *GA* 354 [1887]).

On the other hand, it is intrinsically probable that the prophecy belongs to a time moderately near the actual fall of Nineveh, or at least when the fall of the Assyrian power might reasonably be hoped for. Such an occasion, indeed, Winckler[1] thinks he has found not long after 663 in the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukin of Babylon against his brother Ašur-bāni-pal of Assyria (see Ašur-bāni-pal's account of it, *KB* 2 182 *ff.*; cp also 3 1 194 *ff.*), in which many of the vassals of Assyria, amongst them 'the West land' and thus *perhaps* also Manasseh of Judah, took part.

The situation may very well have been for a short time quite threatening for Ašur-bāni-pal, and a Judæan prophet—whether his own king were involved in the struggle or not, matters not—might very well look forward to the success of the revolting powers. In that case, however, in the opinion of the present writer, the prophecy must have been directed rather against the reigning king in his own person than against the capital of his kingdom. If Ašur-bāni-pal's twin brother really succeeded, what his success meant was the end of the Babylonian vice-regency and his own mounting the throne in Nineveh; no one could in such a case expect a real fall of Nineveh itself from its position as ruler of the world. Moreover, Nahum's description does not read as if Nineveh's own subjects or a great confederacy were marching against it; on the contrary, the reference appears to be to a single, unnamed, perhaps newly-risen nation, against which Nineveh, like Thebes (3 9), could at first oppose the masses of its own vassals (2 9 3 15 *b*-17).

Glad as we should be, then, to follow Winckler in using the book of Nahum to impart life to the dreary days of Manasseh, the intrinsic probabilities of the case furnish no support for his ingenious hypothesis. It was probably only with the death of the powerful Ašur-bāni-pal (626) that Assyria showed any visible decline in strength. It may have been shortly after this that Nahum uttered his prophecy, which would thus fall in the days preceding the first siege of Nineveh by Cyaxares. Absolute certainty with regard to the date is unattainable. Nor yet can we be sure whether Nahum had any definite hostile force in view, whether Mede or Scythian.

The date thus fixed can hardly be applied to the

[1] *AT Unters.* (1892), 124; *GI* 1 (1895), 101. [So too, before Winckler, Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy, *Good Words*, Nov. 1891, p. 743.]

whole of the book. In chap. 1 1-2 1 3 Bickell and Gunkel,

3. Date of 1 1-2 1 3

following up a hint first given by G. Frohnmeyer (see Del. on Ps. 9), have discovered an alphabetical acrostic.[1] The order, it is true, has been dislocated; it is seen most clearly down to the letter י (cp אל [*v.* 1], בְּסוּפָה [*v.* 3], גּוֹעֵר [*v.* 4], . . . הָרִים and וַתִּשָּׂא [*v.* 5], וַעֲמֹו and חֲמָתוֹ [*v.* 6], טוֹב and וְ)יֹדֵעַ [*v.* 7]); but no attempted restoration will lead to adequately certain results. This much at least must be conceded, however, to Bickell and Gunkel, that there once was a complete alphabet, and for this at least the whole of chap. 1 is required. Now, throughout the whole of this chapter there is no reference to Nineveh, and the (better preserved) first part is rather colourless and academic in tone. What it speaks of is not a particular but a universal judgment, resting upon the fundamental laws of the divine government (*v.* 7 *f.*). We find here an approach, on the one hand, to the manner of the didactic alphabetical songs of a later age, and, on the other hand, to that of certain eschatological and apocalyptic appendices by the insertion of which the framers of the prophetic canon sought to adapt other older prophetic books (especially those nearest to Nahum—viz. Micah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah) to the tastes of the readers of their own day. This section of Nahum, therefore, we must, with Gunkel and Bickell, assign to a late date; Wellhausen had already observed, on 1 7, that 'the language of the Psalms here begins to make its appearance.' The editor of Nahum in this case has for once prefixed the more generalising supplement to the ancient oracle, instead of (as was usually done) making it an appendix; the reason perhaps being that Nahum's genuine prophecy had already been mutilated at the beginning. He did not, however, make the supplement himself; he found it among materials already before him; he himself attached no importance to its alphabetical form, and in its closing portion he obliterated this in the course of a revision which from *v.* 12 onwards is clearly designed to form a transition leading up to the special subject of the divine judgment. We cannot hope, therefore, that any attempt at restoration can be rewarded with full success.

The prophecy against Nineveh as we now have it begins with 2 2, immediately followed by *v.* 4 (cp We.).

4. Contents of the genuine prophecy of Nahum.

2 4-11 (on the text of *v.* 4 see STEEL) predicts vividly and picturesquely the assault upon Nineveh (which is named in *v.* 9), the capture and sack of the city. Verses 12-14 contain an oracle of Yahwè against the king of Assyria, who is likened to a lion seeking its prey (in *v.* 14 read with Buhl and Wellhausen masc. suffixes of the 2nd pers.). 3 1-7 again prophesies war, desolation, and the deepest humiliation for Nineveh (named in *v.* 7) as punishments for its deeds of violence and treachery. Verses 8-11 (not necessarily the beginning of a new section) justify the prophecy by reference to the similar fate of the Egyptian Thebes (see NO); *vv.* 12-14, again, contain very vivid touches drawn from incidents of the war, especially the defence by the besieged; *vv.* 15*b*-17 picture the melting away of the Ninevite forces by comparing them with swarms of locusts vanishing as quickly as they have come. Finally, *vv.* 18 *f.* are addressed to the king of Assyria after his power has fallen to ruin.

Thus the entire prophecy of Nahum admits of division into three sections, each of which may perhaps have originally been a separate prophecy:—2 2 4-11 2 12-14 3. The last of these is possibly made up of several pieces. Billerbeck (*ap.* Jeremias, as above) proposes to introduce 3 12-15*a* (חֶרֶב) after 2 4 so as to bring together in one place the descriptions of war and siege with the effect of enriching them; but this is surely quite unnecessary.

All the pieces in question, by their similarity of spirit, as well as by the richness of fancy and power of

5. Possible restoration of text.

poetical representation which they exhibit in common, declare themselves as a whole to be the work of a single writer who in 1 1 is designated as Nahum of Elḳōsh or Elḳeshē (see ELKOSHITE, *b*). In details we are left uncertain as to what really ought to be assigned to the author, by many corruptions of the text. The unusual difficulty of the book arises from the same cause, in part at least. The corruption is of ancient date, for 𝔊 gives but little help.[1] Valuable contributions towards a restoration have recently been made by Buhl (*ZATW* 5 179 *ff.* [1885]), and still more by Wellhausen (*Kl. Proph.*(3)); on chap. 1, compare also Bickell and Gunkel [see note, col. 3259; also, on chaps. 1 12-2 14 and chaps. 2 3, Ruben's articles cited at end of article]. Much, however, still remains to be done.[2] [Ruben has also restored the text of chap. 3; but his results are still unpublished. He has succeeded in emending the impossible מנזריך of 3 17, as pointed out in *SBOT* on Is. 33 18; cp SCRIBE.]

It was indicated by the writer of the present article, as far back as 1882, that in chaps. 2 and 3 there occur

6. Metre.

occasional examples of the *ḳīnā* or elegiac verse—the halting verse with two members, a shorter and a longer. Two such verses are found in 2 2, one in *v.* 7, two in *v.* 9 (as restored), two in *v.* 11, with a supernumerary member, two in *v.* 13, two in 3 8 (as restored), four in *v.* 11 *f.*, three in *v.* 14 15*a*, five in *v.* 18 *f.* (delete עליך in *v.* 19). Are we to suppose that the 'elegiac' metre was still more prominent in the original text, and that therefore the attempt to recover this text must include the search for 'elegiac' verses (cp *New World*, 1893, pp. 46 *ff.*), textual criticism being thus supplied at once with a standard and an instrument? In some cases this question must be answered affirmatively. Thus, 2 12 cannot possibly have had a different metre from *vv.* 11 13; 3 9 10 13 were of course constructed on the same model as 3 8 11 12 14 15*a* and still show unmistakable traces that this was the case; the same assumption is very natural for 2 8 and 2 10. To apply this method further is tempting, but not free from risk. If the description in 3 1-7 and in the (closely related) threatening in 2 14 [13] were originally written in 'elegiac verse,' their present form shows that they must have been greatly modified by an editor. This is also the only portion of the prophecy against Nineveh which contains the divine name (2 14 [13] 3 5), and which has a certain theological colouring, reminding one of Ezekiel; elsewhere the prophet expresses simple human indignation at Nineveh's violent deeds, and describes war as if it were a natural phenomenon—a storm which no one thinks of seeking to explain.

7. Literature.

Besides the commentaries on the Minor Prophets and the articles, etc., quoted above, see O. Strauss, *Nahumi de Nino Vaticinium*, 1853; A. B. Davidson, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 1896; Billerbeck and A. Jeremias, 'Der Untergang Ninevehs u. die Weissagungsschrift des Nahum von Elkosch,' in *Beitr.*

[1] Cp *ZATW*, 1893, pp. 223 *ff.*; *SWAW*, *Phil.-hist. Classe*, 131 5, 1894; Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chaos* (1895), 102. Further attempts are made by Nowack, *Kleine Propheten*, 1897, and O. Happel, *Der Psalm Nahum*, 1900. See also G. B. Gray, *Expos.*, Sept. 1898; Cheyne, *ib.* Oct. 1898 (who contribute fresh suggestions); W. R. Arnold, *ZATW*, 1901, pp. 225-265.

[1] Cp Vollers, *Das Dodekaproph. der Alex.* I., Berlin, 1880; Schuurmans Stekhoven, *De alexandrijnsche vertaling van het Dodekapropheton*, Leiden, 1887.

[2] In 2 8 the word שֵׁגָל, 'queen,' seems to have dropped out before גלתה, although the text is not quite healed by its restoration. [For העלתה Paul Ruben, *Acad.* March 7, 1896 (cp June 20), suggests העתלה, 'the Lady'; cp Ass. *etellū*, fem. *êtellitu* (see ATHALIAH); we must then suppose הצב to be a corruption of some verb parallel to גלתה, and insert שגל as proposed already.] In 2 9 restore (after 𝔊) מֵימֶיהָ וְהֵמָּה, and then delete מימיה as (correctly) explanatory of והמה; it may be presumed further that after the second עמדו a יאמרו has fallen out; in 2 14 perhaps we ought to read בִּרְכָּה for רכבה instead of the רִבְבָה of 𝔊 assumed by Buhl and Wellh.; in 3 8, adopt Wellh.'s emendations, but also delete מים סביב לה as a gloss. [On 2 1 cp Cheyne on Is. 52 7 *SBOT*.]

z. *Ass.* 3 [1898], pp. 87-188; P. Ruben, 'An Oracle of Nahum,' *PSBA*, 20 [1898], pp. 173-185; and *JQR* 11 [1899], pp. 448-455. A. R. S. Kennedy, art. 'Nahum' in Hastings' *DB* 3 473 *ff.* See also AMOS and HOSEA, end, and on some outstanding critical problems, PROPHECY and *Crit. Bib.* K. B.

NAIDUS (ΝΑΙΔΟϹ [B], ΝΑΕΙΔΟϹ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 31 = Ezra 10 30. BENAIAH, 8.

NAIL. 1. יָתֵד, *yāthēd* (*πάσσαλος, paxillus*), a peg, pin, or nail, driven into the wall (Ezek. 15 3, EV 'pin,' Is. 22 25) or more especially a 'tent-pin' driven into the earth to fasten the tent (Ex. 27 19 35 18 38 31 Judg. 4 21 *f.* Is. 33 20 54 2); see TENT. Hence to drive a pin or fasten a nail can mean to give any one a firm and stable abode (Is. 22 23), an image still frequent among the Arabs (examples in Ges. *Thes.*, *s.v.*). The figure of a pin or nail is also applied to a prince (so 𝔊 paraphrases Is. 22 23 25) on whom the care and welfare of the state depend (Zech. 10 4, ‖ פנה, see CORNER-STONE).

2 *מסמר, only in pl. מַסְמְרוֹת, *masmĕrōth* (Jer. 10 4), מִסְמְרוֹת, *mismĕrōth* (2 Ch. 3 9), מסמרים, *masmĕrīm* (Is. 41 7), מִסְמְרִים, *mismĕrīm* (1 Ch. 22 3) (ἧλοι; cp Jn. 20 25) applied to nails of iron; מַשְׂמְרוֹת, *maśmĕrōth*, used metaphorically in Eccles. 12 11 (see RV).

NAIN (ΝΑΙΝ [Ti. WH], some MSS ΝΑΕΙΝ, ΝΑΕΙΜ), a city (note the 'gate' and the 'great multitude' of *v.* 12) where Jesus restored to life a dead man who was being carried out to burial (Lk. 7 11†). According to Eusebius (*OS* 285 41) it was 12 (but Jerome [143 22] says 2) R. m. S. of Tabor, near Endor. This may be held to point to the hamlet now called *Nain*, which is at the base of the Neby Dahi (or Little Hermon), and is a most miserable nook, though the associations of the gospel-story enable one easily to forget this; the situation, too, is charming—on one side the western base of Little Hermon, on the other the broad expanse of Esdraelon. But *is* the site correct? Though there are rock-tombs near the modern Nain, this is not enough to prove that there was ever a walled city on this site. The Midrash (*Bēr. rabba*, 98, on Gen. 49 15) does indeed mention a locality called Naim; but this may be identical with the land of Tin'am (תנעם) mentioned just before. There is also a special reason for doubting the accuracy of the traditional text. The parallelism between the miracle of the raising of the widow's son of 'Nain' and that of the widow's son of ZAREPHATH (*q.v.*) is so close (cp 1 K. 17 8-24) that one is justified in suspecting that there has been a combination of the story of Elijah's merciful miracle with the similar one of Elisha (2 K. 4 18-37), and that Nain, or Naim, should rather be Shunem (*σουνημ*; for a parallel see SALIM). Nain or Naim may be a scribe's correction of the fragmentary *νημ*. He knew that Jesus had to pass by Esdraelon, and that there was a locality called Naim in the old territory of Issachar (see the Midrash above), and fixed its site not so very far from the true scene of the narrative, for it is but a short hour's ride from Shunem to the modern Nain.[1]

1. Geographical problem.

Nestle (*Philol. Sacra*, 20) ingeniously, but less plausibly, suggests that Nain might perhaps be transliterated נחים, and rendered 'the awakened.' It is satisfactory that Nestle, too, recognises the doubtfulness of the locality assigned in Lk.

It should be noticed in conclusion that if Tischendorf's reading 'ν τῇ ἑξῆς (AV 'the day after') be accepted in *v.* 11, the evangelist did not know the distance between Capernaum and Shunem. This will not at all impair the effect of his narrative, for the combination of the Sermon in the Plain, the Capernaum cure, and the still greater marvel of 'Nain' is the finest possible preparation for the message in Lk. 7 22. We may indeed save Lk.'s credit as a geographer by adopting the alternative reading ἐν τῷ ἑξῆς (RV, 'soon afterwards') with Treg., WH, and B. Weiss. Perhaps neither reading is correct, and we should restore ἐν τῇ ἑξ. ἡμέρᾳ (9 37).

2. Method of Luke.

It is true, Lk. states his object to be to produce an orderly recital of the things most confidently received among Christians (Lk. 1 1); but the principle of this arrangement was not purely historical: ideas had an overpowering influence on the mind of the arranger. Jesus could not, he felt, be inferior to Elijah and Elisha, and a miracle like those of Zarephath and Shunem must necessarily have followed the wonderful cure at Capernaum. According to a saying of Jesus current in some circles the Master had remarked on the limitations of the beneficent activity of Elijah and Elisha. It is Lk. who transmits this saying (Lk. 4 25-27), though he gives it a setting which makes it seem unnecessarily and unintelligibly provocative. If we place this saying in connection with such a narrative as that of 'Nain,' we shall no longer find it unintelligible. Lk. is the Pauline evangelist, and expounds by narratives the universality of the grace of Jesus Christ. Not of the gracious Master could it be said that the only leper healed by him was a Syrian, or that the only widow's son restored by him to life was a Sidonian. Whether Lk. himself devised the 'Nain' story, is uncertain. We do know, however, that he devised an introduction to the message to John the Baptist (*v.* 22) already recorded in Mt. 11 4 *f.*, which, however harmless in its intention, cannot be based on facts because it radically misunderstands the symbolic language of that grand Messianic utterance. It *is* possible therefore that the beautiful 'Nain'-story (or rather Shunem-story?) is in no sense traditional, but the expression of the tender and deeply thoughtful nature of Lk. T. K. C.

[1] It is probably true that the gospel narratives (and not in their earliest form) influenced some of the place-names in Palestine in the early Christian period.

NAIOTH (נָוִית or נָוַ֫ית [Driv.] or נֵוִית [Kön.] Kt.; נָיוֹת, Kr.; [Ν]ΑΥΑΘ [BL], ΝΑΥΙΩΘ [A], ܢܘܝܬ [Pesh., transposing ' and ו], ΓΑΛΒΟΥΑΘ [Jos. *Ant.* vi. 11 5]; *nuath* [Jer. in *OS* 36 12]), usually supposed to be the name of a place in Ramah, where David and Samuel took refuge when Saul was pursuing David, 1 S. 19 19 22 *f.* (*bis*), 20 1. Except in 19 18 it is always followed by בָּרָמָה, 'in Ramah,' and in this passage too Wellhausen following 𝔊, would restore בָּרָמָה. It is most unlikely, however, that a place within a place would be specified, especially in this *late* narrative (cp SAMUEL, BOOKS OF, § 4). Tg. Jon. explained the word 'school' (בֵּית אוּלְפָנָא), thus making נוית an equivalent of מִשְׁנֶה in 2 K. 22 14 (AV, following Tg., COLLEGE [*q.v.*]). This view, however, though supported on grounds of his own by Ewald (*Hist.* 3 49 *f.*), is philologically too fantastic to be adopted (see Driver, *TBS* 125), though it may safely be added that no explanation of the word can be made more probable.

Plainly the word is corrupt, and the best emendation of נוית ברמה is perhaps גִּבְעַת יְרַחְמְאֵל, 'Gibeah of Jerahmeel' (cp Jos. *γελβουαθ*). The place intended is that mentioned in 1 S. 10 5, where MT and 𝔊 read ג' האלהים (EV 'the hill of God'), but where we should (supported by several parallel cases) certainly read ג' יְרַחְמְאֵלִים, 'Gibeah of the Jerahmeelites.' What the Jerahmeelites have to do in this connection is explained elsewhere (see SAUL, § 2). Cp H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*, who, however, cannot throw any light on the word.

T. K. C.

NAME. 'Name' and 'names' are inseparable departments of the same subject. The conception of 'name' ideally precedes the production of names; the very first name that can be supposed to have been given presupposes the conception of 'name.' When (the Hebrews said) the first man called the beasts and birds by their names (Gen. 2 20) it was because, as Milton (*Paradise Lost*, 8 352 *f.*) puts it, he 'understood their nature'—because the (Hebrew) names he gave them were the natural and adequate expressions of their innermost beings. And the wise man commonly known as the Preacher assures us (Eccles. 6 10*a*) that 'whatever comes into being, long ago has its name been pronounced.' When, however, nothing had come into existence, there could be no names, as indeed there could be no name-giver. As the Babylonian creation-epic says:—

1. Name = nature.

There was a time when, above, the heaven was not named,
Below, the earth bore no name.

We can now consider the terms for 'name.' In Hebrew, as in Assyrian, there are two synonyms. (1)

2. Terms.

זֵכֶר, *zēker*, is commonly rendered 'remembrance,' but is certainly connected with the Ass. *zikāru*, 'to name,' 'mention' (whence *zikru*, 'name'); (2) שֵׁם, *šēm*, corresponds to the Ass. *šumu*. For *zēker* we may quote Ex. 17 14, 'I will blot out the *name* (EV remembrance) of Amalek from under heaven'; Ps. 34 16, 'to cut off their *name* (EV the remembrance of them) from the earth'; Ex. 3 15, 'this is my name for ever, and this is my *title* (EV my memorial) unto all generations'; Ps. 30 5 and 97 12, 'give thanks to his holy *name*' (so RV; AVmg. 'to the memorial of his holiness'); Hos. 12 5 [6], 'Yahwè is his *name*' (EV 'his memorial'). The same word *zēker* may be used of the recital or solemn mention of God's titles to honour and gratitude in the cultus; hence a psalmist says (Ps. 6 5 [6])—

> In (the world of) death there is no *mention* (EV remembrance) of thee;
> In Sheol who will give thee thanks?

The other word (*šēm*) is much the commoner. The root-meaning is uncertain, nor is there any valid reason for thinking that the primary meaning in usage is 'monument' (as if from 'to be high'?).

In 2 S. 8 13 the text is certainly, and in Gen. 11 4 most probably,[1] corrupt. In Is. 55 13 we read that the new

3. OT references.

splendour of nature which will accompany the deliverance of Israel 'will be to Yahwè for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.' 'Monument' would not be unsuitable here; but the familiar sense 'renown' will do perfectly well (cp Dan. 9 15 EV, 'thou hast gotten thee renown'). In Is. 56 5, 'a memorial (see HAND) and a name better than sons and daughters,' the word 'name' implies ideas more mystic and primitive than would be suggested by the simpler word 'monument.' The idea seems to be that God-fearing eunuchs will, even in the world of death, enjoy the consciousness of the honour still paid to them upon earth by the congregation of worshippers in the temple. The popular religion clung to the primitive veneration of ancestors (cp 1 S. 24 22 2 S. 18 18, with H. P. Smith's notes), and the prophetic writer appears to mean that no cultus of dead ancestors will give such satisfaction to those ancestors as the honorific mention of the names of pious proselytes in the community of Zion will give to these proselytes even in death. This may seem to us a strange idea; but the passage quoted above from Ps. 6 5 (cp 88 11) may strike us as still stranger, if we consider what it implies. Why should the great God, Yahwè, be moved to pity by such a consideration as the psalmist offers? We must not weaken the passage too much. It certainly contains the idea that worshippers are needful to Yahwè, because the divine life would lack some touch of perfectness without the tribute of reverent and grateful praise. This idea may be unphilosophical; but it is profoundly religious. In some form, the idea of sacrifice is essential to a fervent religion, and to the noblest psalmists true sacrifice is the recital of Yahwè's gracious acts, each of which calls for the ascription to Yahwè of a new title. Now, to primitive men the name is the expression of the personality. Yahwè's worshippers, therefore, from a primitive point of view, enable God's personality to find that fuller expression which it constantly needs.

The truth of the statement that the name is (ideally at least) the manifestation of the personality, and consequently may even be prophetic of the fortunes of the person named, will be clear if we look at a few of the OT narratives; see, *e.g.*, Gen. 35 10, 'Thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name,' and *ib.* 18, 'she called his name Ben-oni, but his father called him Benjamin.' It is true, this intimate connection between name and character or fortune is not always prominent. Names are often given, according to the narratives, for some apparently accidental reason; it is when the person named has some special dignity or pre-eminence among the leaders of Israel that the name has evidently a mystic significance. The prophets make great use of the idea. Thus—

> Is. 1 26, 'afterward thou shalt be called The city of righteousness, the faithful city.'
> 9 6 [5], 'his name shall be called Wonderful, counsellor (?),' etc.
> 63 16, 'thou, O Yahwè, art our father; our redeemer from of old is thy name.'
> Jer. 33 16, 'this is [the name] by which she shall be called—Yahwè is our righteousness.'[1]
> Ezek. 48 35, 'the name of the city from that day shall be, Yahwè is there.'
> Mt. 1 21, 'thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.'[2]

This connection of name and personality leads to a singular use of ὄνομα in the NT. In Acts 1 15 and Rev. 3 4 11 13, ὀνόματα has the sense of 'persons' (cp, however, Nu. 1 20); Deissmann produces unexpected parallels for this from the Egyptian papyri (*Neue Bibelstudien*, 24 *f.*).

Before passing on to the great religious phrases, 'the name of Yahwè,' 'the name of Jesus,' we must not

4. Idiom 'to call a name upon.'

omit to mention the idiom, 'to call the name (of some one) over.' For examples see, first, 2 S. 12 28, where Joab in his message to David respecting Rabbath-ammon says, 'lest I take the city and my name be called upon it.' Here we see one of the most obvious secular applications of a phrase which OT writers most frequently employ in a religious context. Eastern warriors were accustomed to change the name of a conquered city. The citadel of the Jebusites, conquered by David, became 'David's burg'; exactly similar cases occur in the Assyrian inscriptions. Joab—that daring Miṣrite adventurer (see ZERUIAH)—threatens David that he will not allow Rabbah to go out of his hands if he, not David, is the conqueror; 'Joab's burg' shall become its name.[3]

The other passages are 2 S. 6 2 Is. 4 1 Dt. 28 10 1 K. 8 43 (= 2 Ch. 6 33), Jer. 7 10 *f.* 14 30 14 9 15 16 25 29 32 34 34 15 Am. 9 12 Is. 63 19 2 Ch. 7 14 Dan. 9 18 *f.*; cp Ps. 49 11 [12].[4] Of these, Is. 4 1, like 2 S. 12 28, gives the phrase a secular application. In the depopulated condition of Jerusalem, seven women will say to one man, 'Only let thy name be called over us'—*i.e.*, 'let us enjoy the benefits of having a husband for owner and consequently for protector.' In Am. 9 12 another secular application is implied. Although it is Yahwè who speaks, and a relation of Yahwè which is described, the form of expression is distinctly secular. 'The remnant of Edom' has, at least in one sense of the words, no religious relation to Yahwè; it is as Yahwè's property that his 'name' is said to have been called over it (and over the other hostile nations); for the sufferings involved for Edom in its anticipated subjugation by the Jews Yahwè, as here represented, has no sympathy.

All the other passages, however, imply that ownership involves an interest in the welfare of the persons or things owned. The complaint of the Jewish community in Is. 63 19 is, not that they are owned by Yahwè, but that, although his property, they are treated by him as if his 'name' had not been 'called over' them; compare this with Yahwè's statement in Jer. 25 29, and Daniel's prayer in Dan. 9 18.

1 Probably no one practised in textual criticism will fail to see that ונעשה־לנו שם comes out of וראשו לשמים, a variant to וראשו בש׳ which precedes. מ = נו.

1 The name surely belongs to Jerusalem, not to the ideal king, as in the second form of the same prophecy (23 6). See *Jew. Rel. Life*, 95.

2 We may treat these words, put into the mouth of an angel, as prophetic.

3 Joab is wise enough to give David a chance of averting from himself this dishonour. Not improbably, however, Joab's reported message to David (*vv.* 26 *f.*) is due to an editorial desire to reconcile two different traditions of the capture of Rabbath-ammon (if we assume that to be the right reading; see, however, REHOBOTH).

4 Cp Kautzsch, *ZATW* 6 18 *f.* (1886).

NAME

In Dt. 28 10 we read that all the other peoples will be afraid to touch righteous Israel, because they will see, by Israel's prosperity, that Yahwè's 'name' must have been 'called over' it; in *v.* 9 the parallel phrase is 'a holy (*i.e.*, consecrated) people,' and in Jer. 14 9 for Israel to be the bearer of Yahwè's name is synonymous with having Yahwè in its midst, and gives a right (but not an indefeasible right) to protection; the same idea is expressed in 1 K. 8 43, where (as in Jer. 7 10, etc.) it is the temple over which the divine 'name' has been called.

It is plausible to give a similar interpretation to the phrase descriptive of the ark in 2 S. 6 2, in spite of the difficulty caused by the position of עָלָיו (see Wellh. *TBS*, *ad loc.*). See also Bar. 2 15 26 1 Macc. 7 37, and, in the NT, Ja. 2 7 (on which see CHRISTIAN, § 1, col. 752), Acts 15 17 (=Am. 9 12).

There still remain two passages, Ps. 49 11 [12] and Jer. 15 16. Of the passage in Ps. 49 there are several renderings. That of Wellhausen in *SBOT* is, 'even should they have called whole countries their own,' which implies that קָרָא בְשֵׁם עַל and קָרָא שֵׁם עַל may have the same meaning (so, too, Hupfeld). There is good reason, however, for thinking that this is not what the psalmist meant; the text is more than probably corrupt.[1] The passage in Jer. 15, if correctly transmitted, is singularly beautiful as a record of prophetic experience. Jeremiah says that not only externally but also internally he has become entirely the possession of his God—'thy word (=revelation) became to me a delight and the joy of my heart, for thy name has been called upon me, O Yahwè Ṣebāōth.' Probably, however, for וַיְהִי 'and . . . became,' we should read וִיהִי 'and let . . . become,' making it a prayer of Jeremiah (cp Cornill and Duhm *ad loc.*).

In this connection we may refer to the naming of a son by the father. It is true that the name might be given by the mother (Gen. 29 30 35 18, 1 S. 4 21), and no doubt was given by her generally in the primæval period of matriarchy (cp KINSHIP, § 4); but in the period of monandrous 'baal'-marriage (KINSHIP, § 9 *ff.*) the priority of right belonged to the father (Gen. 16 15 17 19 Ex. 2 22 2 S. 12 24[2] Is. 8 3 Hos. 1 4 *ff.* Lk. 1 13 63), who could, if he chose, alter the name given to the child by the mother (Gen. 35 18). The son, in fact, should theoretically have been named by the father, as a sign of lordship.

Another phrase which may be quoted here is 'a new name.' In Is. 62 2 it is said of Jerusalem that at its restoration it shall be called by a new name (שֵׁם חָדָשׁ, ὄνομα καινόν), and, according to Is. 65 15, Yahwè will call his servants by another name (𝔊, again, ὄνομα καινόν). Further, in Rev. 2 17, we hear of a 'new name which no man knows but he that receives it.' It is doubtful whether this means a new name for each believer, or the new name of Christ (cp 3 12 19 12). The former view is more probable. When born into a new world, each believer will need a new name, suggestive of his new character and standing. We may venture to compare the giving of a new name to kings (as notably in Egypt) at their accession; cp 2 K. 23 34 24 17.[3] The new name in Rev., *l.c.*, is also said to be hidden from all but its bearer. This reminds us of the feeling, so widespread among savage tribes, of the danger of disclosing one's name, because this would enable an enemy by magic means to work to one's personality some deadly injury (cp Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 1 404 *ff.*).

5. New Name.

We now pass on to those great religious phrases 'the name of Yahwè,' 'the name of Jesus' (or, of the Christ).

6. Name of Yahwè.

The 'name' of a god is properly his manifestation, and since one form of this manifestation is the name (presumably a revealed name) given to him in the cultus, the 'name' of Israel's god is Yahwè, as the name of Moab's god is Chemosh. Whatever the primitive meaning of the Heb. *šēm* and the Ass. *šumu* may have been, it was not merely 'name' in our sense of the word, but something much fuller which would be applicable to all forms of divine manifestation. 'Name,' 'glory,' 'face,' are parallel terms. The divinity in the so-called *Mal'āk* or 'Angel'[1] of Yahwè (cp ANGEL, § 3) is sometimes called the *pānīm* (פָּנִים) 'face,' sometimes the *kābōd* (כָּבוֹד) 'glory,' sometimes the *šēm* (שֵׁם) or 'name' of Yahwè (Ex. 23 21 33 14 18 22 *f.*; cp 32 34 and Is. 63 9). The ark, too, is described as a dwelling-place of the 'glory' (1 S. 4 22), and of the 'face' (Nu. 10 35, מִפָּנֶיךָ, 'from thy face'), but not of the 'name,' of Yahwè. The reason is that the 'name' of Yahwè came to be specially connected with the cultus—*i.e.*, with the temple, where the solemn invocation of Yahwè took place. The connection of the 'name' of Yahwè with the *Mal'āk* or Angel was too primitive to be abandoned; but the ark of Yahwè, not being as primitive in conception as the Angel, never succeeded in annexing the third of the synonymous terms—viz. 'name.' As time went on, however, this term, which was originally associated with the cultus at all sanctuaries (Ex. 20 24), became more and more closely attached to the temple (see 1 K. 8 16 29 9 3, Is. 18 7, Jer. 7 12). And how does Yahwè continue to make known his name? By answering the prayers offered in (or, towards) the temple—*i.e.*, by delivering his people (Is. 52 6 64 1). Hence, in Ps. 20 1 [2], 'The name of the God of Jacob place thee in security' means, 'The God whom thou hast invoked answer thy prayers.' Indeed, in all such passages (*e.g.*, Ps. 20 7 [8] 44 5 [6]) we may safely say that there is a tacit reference to the invocation of God's name in the sanctuary. Thus the prayers of faithful Israel are a substitute for the presence of the ark in the Israelitish host, and by prayers are meant invocations of Yahwè as the promise-keeping God of Israel.[2]

Against one serious temptation the Israelitish thinkers and writers were consistently proof; they never allow us to think that the 'Name of Yahwè' is a separate divine being from Yahwè. Like the Mal'ak Yahwè (in whom, indeed, according to Ex. 23 21, Yahwè's name is), the Name of Yahwè is virtually equivalent to Yahwè (note the parallelism in Ps. 20 1 [2]). Such a phrase as 'Ashtoreth, the name of Baal' (עשתרת שם בעל, *CIS* 1, no. 3, l. 18) has no analogue in Hebrew writings. Certainly in Is. 30 27 we find the startling expression 'the name of Yahwè cometh'; but the context shows that Yahwè himself is meant, and in the ‖ passage, 59 19, 'the name' alternates with 'the glory' of Yahwè (cp Ex. 33 18 *f.*).

In Lev. 24 11, Dt. 28 58, we find הַשֵּׁם used independently (in Lev. 24 16, however, שֵׁם should be שֵׁם י׳, see 𝔊 Vg.).

7. Name = Yahwè.

The son of an Israelitish woman whose father was an Egyptian (so EV; but מִצְרִי might mean a Muṣrite; cp MIZRAIM, § 2*b*, MOSES) blasphemed the name and cursed; therefore (*v.* 23) he was stoned; so P. Another late writer makes Moses exhort the Israelites to 'fear this glorious and fearful name, Yahwè thy God.' With this, G. Hoffmann (*Ueb. ein. Phön. Inschriften*, 47 *ff.*) compares

1 The number of conflicting explanations is significant.

2 Kt. ויקרא; Ḳr. ותקרא, with reference to *v.* 25*b*.

3 There is surely some mistake in the document. Either the names given by Necho and Nebuchadrezzar respectively, were not those here given (cp the case of the son of Necho I., *KAT*(2), 166), or else the change of names was not due to these suzerains of Judah but to the religious authorities. See MATTANIAH, SHALLUM.

1 The use of the term מַלְאָךְ as a term for the temporary manifestation of Yahwè as a director and agent has not yet been explained. Great difficulties in expounding the biblical notices consistently will be overcome if we suppose that the term originally employed was, not מַלְאָךְ, 'messenger,' but מֶלֶךְ, 'king.' The inferior divine beings, afterwards described as 'angels,' were—if this is correct—originally designated מְלָכִים, 'kings.' The objection to calling them either 'gods' (אלהים) or 'kings' (מלכים) naturally led to the abandonment of the former term (אלהים), and the modification or transformation of the latter (מלכים).

2 Cp Lagarde's explanation of the name Yahwè as 'promissorum stator.'

a passage in the inscription of Eshmun'azar (*CIS* 3 16 *f.*) which he reads שֵׁם מְאֹר רָם (a title appended first to עשתרת, Astarte, and then to אשמן, Eshmun), and renders as 'supreme Person' (*nomen = numen*). He remarks that the object of the phrase was to avoid seeming to bind the entire divinity to the spot where the temple was, and illustrates the form of the expression by Ps. 47 10 92 6 on the one hand, and Ps. 7 18 9 3 92 2 on the other; in the latter passages, following Hitzig, he thinks (but here perhaps few will follow him) that עֶלְיוֹן is to be connected adjectivally with שֵׁם.

8. NT usage. The exegesis of the NT passages in which the term 'name' occurs is not always easy. We have no right to presume that OT presuppositions by themselves are sufficient to account for the expressions. Passages like Acts 19 17 ('the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified') cause no difficulty; but what is to be said of certain phrases in the same chapter, 'they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus' (*v.* 5), and 'to name over those who had the evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus' (*v.* 13)? Elsewhere the use of the formula, 'to be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus' (*βαπτίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* [or *ἐν*, or *ἐπὶ* (*τῷ*) *ὀνόματι*] *κυρίου Ἰησοῦ*), has been fully treated from the point of view of the history of the rite of baptism (col. 473 *f.*); but it still remains to consider the possible meaning or meanings of the phrases. The formula 'baptize in the name of Jesus' (*βαπτ. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* I.) has no doubt an analogy in the phrase 'believe in the name of Jesus' (*πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* I.), which means to believe that Jesus is what Christian teachers say that he is—*i.e.*, that he is the Christ, or in the case of the Fourth Gospel (where, however, the phrase is not prominent, see FAITH, § 3) that he is the only-begotten Son of God; and we have reason to think that the expression of faith in the Lordship or Messiahship of Jesus was the condition on which, in the earliest times, the rite of baptism was administered. Baptism, therefore, might be simply the consummation of discipleship—the outward and visible sign of the entering on a new life characterised by self-purification, and the opening of one's heart to the word of God; and such it doubtless was in the primitive Jerusalem community. Largely owing to Paul, however, baptism became much more than this. Paul's Hellenic converts needed mysteries, and such mysteries he (and perhaps others before him) provided for them by expanding the significance of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.[1] Necessarily 'in the name' (*εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*) and the similar phrases now obtained a mystic meaning. The gift of the Spirit was communicated at baptism, no doubt on ethical conditions—at least according to Paul—but not without the invocation of the name of Jesus. It is difficult to feel sure that all Paul's disciples followed him in this. We find in Acts 3 16 4 7 10 (as well as in Lk. 10 17, cp also the late passage, Mk. 16 17) clear traces of a belief that wonderful works would be performed by pronouncing the name of Jesus; and we must therefore regard it as one of the possible meanings of the phrase before us, 'to be baptized, pronouncing the wonder-working name of Jesus.' (Cp EXORCISTS.) We assume that Paul can be adequately known from the epistles most commonly assigned to him, and we fully grant that whatever mystic effects the apostle may have ascribed to the name of Christ were, in his mind, conditional on the presence of a certain moral attitude in the baptized. We also maintain, of course, that the Jewish Christian Church, which continued the OT tradition, was entirely free even from a moralised mysticism.

Two NT passages need special, however brief, reference. In Mt. 28 19, we find a formula of baptism (*εἰς τὸ ὄν. τοῦ Πατρὸς κ.τ.λ.*) which is admittedly late (see BAPTISM, § 3). Conybeare, however, has shown (*ZNTW*, 1902) that an earlier text (repeatedly attested by Eusebius) gave *μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου*, without the phrase which all critics admit to be late. In Phil. 2 10 all beings of heaven, of earth, and under the earth are bound, it is said, to show the same reverence to Jesus, who has, by the divine gift, '*the* name (*τὸ ὄνομα* [ℵAB]) which is above every name,' as Lord of all, and seated at God's right hand, that they show to God himself (Is. 45 23); cp Eph. 1 20 *f.*

9. Proper names. The study of proper names (personal and local) requires, however, much more than a perception of the mystic significance attaching to names. It may be questioned whether in the pre-exilic period nearly as much thought was bestowed on the naming of children as has been supposed. It is far from the present writer's intention to adopt a controversial attitude towards theories, many of which he has himself till lately shared, and on the elaboration of which treasures of scholarship have been lavished. He must express his conviction, however, that the theories referred to presuppose a view of the traditional Hebrew text which is almost too optimistic. So far as he has been able, he has based the explanations of names given by himself in various articles on a critically emended text; but it is only in a part of them that he has been able to assume a well-grounded and far-reaching theory, which, though it does not, of course, affect all OT names, transforms our view of not a few of them. Without meaning to say that all the new interpretations of names advocated by the present writer come under this head, he may presume to mention as deserving prolonged and special consideration the theory referred to, viz., that certain ethnics, in a variety of corrupt and distorted forms, underlie a great many of the names commonly explained either quite arbitrarily from other Semitic languages, or as expressions of religious feeling. In particular, names of the types 'Jehoiakim,' 'Obadiah,' 'Nethaneel,' have to be received with the greatest caution. It is probable that in post-exilic times a thorough revision and indeed transformation of ancient names was effected. This can be shown most plausibly in the name-lists of the Chronicler; but there are few books which do not supply striking evidence of this fact. It would be satisfactory to exhibit in orderly arrangement all the names on which a methodical and consistent textual criticism throws a perfectly new light. By this means the old theory and the new would be conveniently compared, and the unavoidable clash of opinion would doubtless serve the interests of truth. All that can be done, however, is to urge the reader to study the etymological introductions to the articles in this volume seriously and in connection, and not to make up his mind hastily. Criticism of a new theory is useless until the point of view which leads to it is gained, and until the facts have been mastered. There are numerous facts connected with proper names which are as much hidden from adherents of the older theories, as the facts connected with the older documents which enter into our present OT books are hidden from adherents of a conservative school of criticism. It may be said in conclusion that geography is in some directions hardly less the gainer than history by the results of the new criticism, though chiefly by the more consistent application of the ordinary principles of textual correction. There is nothing surprising in this, for the later editors knew comparatively little about the older geography; and with regard to modern geographers, even when they are in sympathy with modern criticism, it does not follow that they superadd to the rare faculty of catching and of making others catch the chief physical aspects of a region, the equally rare faculty of seeing what is possibly or probably the real form of a place-name in an old document. Once more, the reader is requested, in his own interest, to give a careful study to the new details here put before him. The best way to learn a new method is to watch the application on an extended scale. Offhand criticism of details gives little help. T. K. C.

[1] The attitude of the writer of the Fourth Gospel is not quite so obviously sacramentarian as has been supposed. He had disengaged himself from the sacramental forms in about the same degree, perhaps, as some of the psalmists have disengaged themselves from the sacrificial forms of early Judaism.

NAMES [1]

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A. PERSONAL NAMES.

1. Hist. of investigations. Each of the many names of persons in the Bible must, of course, originally have had some special meaning. To discover this meaning is of great importance, since much light may thereby be thrown upon the manners and thought both of the ancient Hebrews and of the neighbouring peoples, not to mention the linguistic interest which attaches to such investigations. In the more ancient parts of the OT itself etymological explanations of names begin to occur (*e.g.* Gen. 4 1 5 29); but these artless attempts, it need scarcely be said, have no more scientific value than the etymologies of Plato. The more systematic explanations given by Philo are likewise, as a general rule, mere plays upon words, and are moreover based upon a very inadequate knowledge of the language. They nevertheless exercised great influence during some fifteen centuries, owing to the fact that they served as the principal foundation of various Greek Onomastica and of the Latin Onomasticon of Jerome;[4] similar works were likewise produced among the Syrians. Moreover, the explanations of proper names in the sixth and final volume of the Complutensian Bible are, for the most part, derived from Philo. It was not till later that the subject began to be treated in a scientific manner (especially after the appearance of the great works of Hiller[5] and of Simonis[6]), and thus many points have been satisfactorily cleared up. Important contributions have been made quite recently by various authors, especially by G. B. Gray (*Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*), who carefully and with marked success determines what kind of name-formation prevailed in the various periods. To a very large extent the present writer agrees with his result. It must be admitted, however, that very much still remains obscure, far more than was supposed by Gesenius,[1] for example, and even by the sceptical Olshausen.[2]

2. Difficulties. We are here met by two great difficulties, the fact that the Hebrew language is but imperfectly known, and, what is much more important, the fact that the traditional forms of the names are often untrustworthy. In the first place, we cannot fail to perceive that the vocalisation of the less known names is, in many cases, chosen arbitrarily. This is sufficiently proved by the manifold inconsistencies in the treatment of analogous and even of identical names:

3. Vocalisation. for instance, by the side of the correct form Mīchāyāhū[3] (מִיכָיהוּ; 2 Ch. 13 2 17 7) we often find Mīchāyĕhū; by the side of 'Ādēr (עָדֶר, 1 Ch. 8 15), the pausal form of 'Eder, we find 'Ēder (עֵדֶר, 1 Ch. 23 23 24 30), and so forth. It was impossible to ascertain from tradition the exact pronunciation of names no longer in use, particularly of such as occur in the ancient lists in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah; accordingly, the scribes used to content themselves with the shortest possible vocalisation, as was first remarked by Wellhausen (if the present writer be not mistaken). The LXX version often exhibits a different pronunciation, which, in some cases, is preferable

4. Consonants. to the Massoretic. Even the consonants, however, are sometimes far less trustworthy than we might at first suppose. It is enough to compare

1 The whole plan of the present work (see vol. i. p. ix [second paragraph], p. xvi, § 5) rendered it necessary that the article Names should be one of the first written and forbade any subsequent modification of its general structure. On the relation of the article to the separate articles on individual names see (in addition to the passages in the preface referred to above) below, §§ 87, 107, note, and cp Name, § 4.

2 This table of contents does not everywhere follow the actual order of the article. It is to a certain extent a compressed subject-index (arranged logically, not alphabetically).

3 See the footnote to this heading *in loco* (col. 3320).

4 See Lag. *OS* (1870), 2nd ed. (1884).

5 Hiller, *OS*, Tüb. 1706.

6 Simonis, *OS*, Halle, 1741.

1 See the explanations of proper names in his monumental work, the *Thesaurus*.

2 See his *Heb. Gramm.* 609 *ff.* This section, however, is remarkably instructive, in particular the introductory portion.

3 The names in this article are, as elsewhere, for practical convenience generally spelled as in AV, unless there is strong reason for following RV or giving a new transliteration. Long vowels are often marked as long, *shewas* as short—mainly to avoid ambiguity, the Hebrew being, as a rule, unvocalised. Absolute consistency has not been aimed at.

the list of David's warriors in 2 S. 23 with those in 1 Ch. 11 and 27, referring also to the Greek text; many of the names are quite different, and some are perhaps in no case handed down correctly.

Instead of צלמון (2 S. 23 28) we find עילי in 1 Ch. 11 29, whilst 𝔊B in 2 S. appears to read Ελλων[1] (see ZALMON). Instead of אבי עלבון (2 S. 23 31), which is omitted in 𝔊 (unless it appears at the end of the list as γαδαβιηλ υἱός [B], cp γαας αβιηλ [BℵAL] of 1 Ch.), we find אביאל in 1 Ch. 11 32; it has been conjectured that the original form was אביבעל, but this cannot be regarded as absolutely certain (cp ABIALBON). In 2 S. 3 3 David's second son is called כלאב, which is, no doubt, a corruption due to the following word לאביגל (see DANIEL, 4), just as in Gen. 46 10 Ex. 6 15 ימואל seems to be a corruption of נמואל (Nu. 26 12; 1 Ch. 4 24; cp also Nu. 26 9), through the influence of the following ימין (cp NEMUEL, 1); but the Δαλουια of 𝔊 (AL and in 2 S, B) and the דניאל of 1 Ch. 3 1, which take the place of כלאב, are likewise open to suspicion (for a suggestion as to the true reading, see DANIEL, 4).

In the much later list also of those who returned from the Exile, twice cited by the Chronicler from the memoirs of Nehemiah (Ezra 2 = Neh. 7; cp 1 Esd. 5), we may observe slight divergences. Even the list of Saul's family in 1 Ch. 9 39 *ff.* differs in several points from that given in 8 33 *ff.* of the same book. The carelessness with which the Chronicler treated the lists of names is shown by the fact that on more than one occasion he quotes the same piece twice; especially in regard to our knowledge of the proper names the inaccuracy of this compiler is much to be deplored. Even in the documents from which he copied, however, some of the names may have been already grievously distorted. Hence in the case of names which occur only once in Chronicles, Ezra, or Nehemiah, the greatest possible caution is necessary. We have still more reason to regret that the books of Samuel contain so many corrupt readings, which, even with the help of 𝔊, can be emended only in part; the proper names in particular, which were many and invariably genuine, have suffered much in consequence.

We may note, for example, that the same man is called האורנה (*Kr.* הארונה) in 2 S. 24 16, ארניה (*Kr.* ארונה) in *v.* 18, ארונה in *vv.* 20 (*bis*) 22 23, whilst in Chronicles he always appears as Ornān (ארנן), in 𝔊 always as Ορνα (once Ορναν [accus.] in 1 Ch. 21 21), and in Josephus, it would seem, as Ὀρονᾶς (Niese, Ορουνας or Ορωνας). What was his real name? (For a plausible conjecture see ARAUNAH.)

Even in books of which the text is, in general, much better preserved, however, the forms of the proper names cannot always be trusted.

When we find יוב in Gen. 46 13 corresponding to ישוב in Nu. 26 24 (ישיב in 1 Ch. 7 1, *Kt.*), the mistake can be easily corrected, the more so as the Sam. text and 𝔊 likewise read ישיב in this passage (cp JASHUB, 1). But the list in Gen. 46, as compared with Nu. 26, presents some other variations which prove the existence of early corruptions in one at least of these texts. Hence we have no guarantee that names which occur only once in the Pentateuch, not to mention the Book of Joshua, are correctly written.

5. Vowel letters.

It must be remembered, furthermore, that in all probability many proper names which now contain vowel letters were written defectively in the more ancient documents (see WRITING, § 15).

We cannot, therefore, feel at all sure that in every instance the vowel-letters were inserted as correctly as in the case of the well-known דויד (instead of the more ancient דוד, on which see DAVID, DODO, DODAI, DODAVAH). The sovereign who is called מישע (Mesha)[2] in 2 K. 3 4 appears as משע in the inscription set up by himself; his name in 𝔊 is Μωσα (but Josephus has Μ[ε]ισας) [BAL], *i.e.*, מושע, and this would seem to be the correct form. The name of the king of Tyre in 1 K. 5 24 32 [10 18] is חירום, but elsewhere, in Samuel and Kings, חִירָם, with which 1 Ch. 14 1, Kt. agrees; in the latter passage the Kr. is Hūrām (חורם), and elsewhere, in Chronicles, this form is invariably used. The Tyrian tradition followed by Josephus (*c. Ap.* 1 17 *ff.* 21) has Ειρωμος, or Ιρωμος, and so we should read in Herod. 7 98 (cp 5 104), instead of Σίρωμος. Hence it follows that חירום is the only correct form, and that חורם can be nothing but a blunder. Such being the case, what reason have we for believing that the names of less celebrated persons, such as Bāni (בני), Bunni (בוני, בני), or Binnui (בנוי), are always correctly vocalised, especially as the Bani of 2 S. 23 36 seems to become Mibḥar (מבחר) in 1 Ch. 11 38? (for an explanation see MIBHAR, HAGRI).

6. Greek versions.

On the other hand, there may be many cases in which the Massoretes failed to mark the long vowels because the names in question had been handed down without vowel letters. It is of less importance that in certain names the Greek texts exhibit a somewhat older pronunciation than that recognised by the Massoretes.

Thus the Greek forms often preserve the vowel *α*, particularly in unaccented closed syllables, where the Massoretic form has *i*, in accordance with the latest phonetic development of Hebrew; for example, Μαριαμ—*i.e.*, Maryām or rather Maryam (מִרְיָם, the only form known to the Syrians and the Arabs)—is, of course, more primitive than Miryām. Cp also Ματθαθιας, Ματταθίας with Mattithyāh (מַתִּתְיָה), Γαλααδ with Gil'ād (גִּלְעָד), etc. Similarly the *α* in Αβελ, Γαβερ is more primitive than the *e* (ֶ) in Hebel (הֶבֶל), Geber (גֶבֶר); but in the majority of such forms 𝔊 has the later pronunciation with *ε*.

From all this we may conclude that in the case of obscure names we have no right to assume the traditional punctuation to be correct, and must always make allowance for considerable changes.

7. Meanings obscure.

Since, moreover, our knowledge of the Hebrew language, as has been remarked above, is very imperfect, and since we cannot hope to discover the particular circumstances by which this or that name was first suggested, it follows that even when the form of a name is fairly certain its meaning is often unintelligible. This applies even to such names as Judah (יהודה), Aaron (אהרן), Rēchāb (רכב), Ruth (רות), etc.[1] By a comparison with the cognate languages we frequently obtain nothing better than an interpretation which is barely possible. It is, for example, conceivable that the Hebrews once used the verb ברע in the Arabic sense 'to rise,' 'to be prominent,' and that hence the name Beriah (בריעה) was formed; but this is very far from being certain. The reader must therefore bear in mind that many of the explanations given below are merely tentative, even where doubt is not positively expressed. Furthermore, many names which at first seem to admit of an easy explanation prove, on closer inspection, to be either very obscure or transmitted to us in a doubtful form. In general, it may be said, compound names are more easily explained than simple ones (cp § 88).

8. Eponyms.

Among the persons mentioned in the OT we find a considerable number of *eponyms*—*i.e.*, representatives of families and tribes. It is certain, or at least highly probable, that some of these were originally names of countries or places, for both in ancient and in modern nations there has been a widespread tendency to assume that a people, a tribe, a family, or a country must derive its name from some individual. In Gen. 10 the genealogy of Noah's descendants includes even plurals such as Ludim (לודים) and Pathrūsim (פתרסים), as well as countries and cities, such as Egypt (מצרים) and Zidon (צידון). Here the fictitious character of the list plainly shows itself. Similarly 'the Jebusite,' 'the Arvadite' (*i.e.*, native of Aradus), and others who appear in the same chapter, are to be understood, in accordance with the genuine Hebrew usage, as collective terms for the tribes, or rather inhabitants, of the places in question.

9. Gentilicia.

In like manner we are to explain the *gentilicia* (*i.e.*, adjectives derived from proper names) with the ending *ī*, which are enumerated among the posterity of Jacob in Nu. 26 15 *ff.* Perhaps even

[1] In citing Oriental words from 𝔊 aspirates and accents are here omitted, since they were introduced into the text at a time when the real pronunciation could no longer be ascertained.

[2] Another Mēshā' (מֵישָׁע, 1 Ch. 2 42) whose name, for some unknown reason, is written with *ā*, while that of the Moabite king has *a*, is called Μαρισα(ς) in 𝔊BA by a confusion with the Mareshah who comes later in the same verses.

[1] To suppose that here a *y* has been dropped is contrary to the laws of the language.

Levi (לוי) and Naphtāli (נפתלי) may belong to the same class.

The name Mushi (מוּשִׁי) which occurs, together with Merāri (מְרָרִי) and Maḥli (מַחְלִי), in the pedigree of the Levites, is rightly regarded by Wellhausen as a derivation from Moses (מֹשֶׁה); מוּשִׁי is that part of the priestly tribe which claimed descent from Moses himself (cp MOSES, § 2). That in the later system the name occupies a different place, and that the vowel has been slightly changed, is not to be wondered at. The expression 'the sons of half the tribe of Manasseh' (בְּנֵי חֲצִי שֵׁבֶט מְנַשֶּׁה; 1 Ch. 5 23) may serve as a warning against explaining such 'fathers' literally, for no one, of course, can have imagined that חצי שבט מנשה was an individual.

Among the descendants of Jacob there are also, it would seem, several names of places; Hezron (חֶצְרוֹן), a grandson of Judah, represents the place bearing this name in the Judæan territory (Josh. 15 25)—the word signifies 'enclosure' (which is the original sense of the English 'town') from the same root as Hazor (חָצוֹר, see HAZOR), and some other Semitic names of places, for instance, the well-known Hatra in the Mesopotamian desert.

10. Place names.

In 1 Ch. 2 names of places such as Ḥebrōn (חֶבְרוֹן) and Tappūaḥ (תַּפּוּחַ) are cited as persons; Ḥebron (חֶבְרוֹן) appears also as a grandson of Levi (Exod. 6 18), since Hebron was a Levitical city. The Manassite Shéchem (שֶׁכֶם; Nu. 26 31; Josh. 17 2, cp 1 Ch. 7 19) and the non-Israelite Shĕchém (שְׁכֶם; Gen. 33 18; Josh. 24 32; Judg. 9 28), alike represent the city of Shechem. Shimrōn (שִׁמְרוֹן), a son of Issachar (Gen. 46 13), is probably to be pronounced Shōmĕrōn (שֹׁמְרוֹן), and stands for the city of Samaria; that this place derives its name from a man called Shemer (שֶׁמֶר; 1 K. 16 24) is very unlikely. The Josephite tribes, it must be remembered, were in part settled on the ancient territory of Issachar (and Asher), cp Josh. 17 11.[1] The other capital of the northern kingdom, Tirzah (תִּרְצָה), is represented by a daughter of the Manassite Zelophehad (צְלָפְחָד, Nu. 26 33, and elsewhere). Many similar instances might be adduced. It is even possible that the Judæan Ethnān (אֶתְנָן; 1 Ch. 4 7) may stand for the Judæan city Yithnān, EV Ithnan (יִתְנָן; Josh. 15 23). In the case of some names mentioned in the earlier parts of Chronicles we cannot determine whether they were intended, at least by the original narrator, to represent places or persons; 'sons of So-and-so' may very well mean 'inhabitants of such-and-such a place.'

11. Tribe names.

Most of the family names and tribal names which occur in the OT are formed exactly like the names of persons. Among the Arabs there are very many names which are borne by tribes and individuals alike, and often the name is such as properly applies to an individual only. In a large number of cases 'the sons of So-and-so' are really descendants of the man in question, though they sometimes include adopted members. In other cases, a whole tribe takes the name of a famous chief or of his family, and the old tribal name gradually falls out of use. Such processes may be observed in Arabia even at the present day. Other causes also may operate in producing these changes. At all events we are justified in treating the names of real or supposed ancestors as individual names, unless their appearance indicates the contrary.

12. Fictitious.

A considerable number of names in the OT must be regarded as fictitious. Not to mention the names in the lists of mythical patriarchs down to Abraham, who are perhaps, in some cases, of non-Hebrew origin, we meet with various names which were invented in order to fill up the gaps in genealogies and the like. Such names appear in the middle books of the Pentateuch and are particularly numerous in Chronicles. The so-called Priestly Code—which gives not only the exact measurements of Noah's ark and of the scarcely less fabulous Tabernacle, but also impossible statistics as to the numbers of the Israelite tribes—mentions many representatives or chiefs of the tribes, and there is every reason to suspect that some of these personages had no existence. Their names are indeed generally formed in the same manner as the names of real men; but they sometimes exhibit certain peculiarities; it is, for example, only here that we find names compounded with Shaddai (שַׁדַּי; see SHADDAI) and Ṣūr (צוּר; see ZUR, NAMES WITH). The main object of the compiler of Chronicles is to glorify the Levites, and especially the families of temple-singers and door-keepers, and thus, in treating of the times of David and Hezekiah, he mentions many Levites, whose names rest upon no better documentary evidence than the descriptions of the religious services, performed by the said Levites according to the post-exilic ritual. Names coined by prophets or poets (such as the author of Job) belong, of course, to a different category.

13. Cognate dialects.

The present article includes those OT names which were in use among the nations bordering on Israel—names formed according to ordinary Hebrew analogy. On the other hand, the names of Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Persians are excluded (see ASSYRIA, § 22, EGYPT, § 40).

14. Arabic.

At the present day we are acquainted with very many personal names that were current among other Semitic peoples. The Arabic names known to us are particularly abundant; these include the great majority of the names found in the *Nabatæan* inscriptions (of which the *Sinaitic* inscriptions are a subdivision), and also a large proportion of the *Palmyrene* names. Many Arabic and Aramaic names have been preserved in the Greek inscriptions of Syria and of the neighbouring countries.[1] As to the pronunciation of most Arabic names we are accurately informed, thanks to the industry of Mohammedan scholars. But this knowledge unfortunately throws very little light upon Hebrew proper names, owing to the fact that the nomenclature of the Arabs differed widely from that of the Israelites.

15. Phœnician.

To the latter the *Phœnician* is much more nearly akin. The Phœnician inscriptions contain many proper names; since, however, vowel letters are very rarely used, the exact pronunciation cannot be ascertained, nor is much information to be derived from the transcriptions which occur in Greek and Latin documents. These transcriptions, moreover, vary considerably. The Phœnicians, particularly in Africa, appear to have had a somewhat indistinct pronunciation and a fondness for dull vowels, so that the sounds are reproduced by Greeks and Romans in an uncertain manner.

Thus the Punic name מתן (Heb. מַתָּן, Mattān) figures in the Latin inscriptions of Africa as *Metthunus*, *Mettun*, *Motthun*, *Mutum*, *Mytthum*; Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 21 has Μύττυνος; Polybius ix. 22 4, Μύττονος; Livy 25-27, *Muttines*; and perhaps we may add the Ματτήν of Herod. 7 98.

16. Aramaic.

It must likewise be remembered that of the Phœnician language extremely little is known. With respect to *Aramaic* names we possess very much fuller information; a considerable number may be found in inscriptions and literary works, and the pronunciation is, for the most part, fairly certain.

17. Sabæan.

The names in the *Sabæan* inscriptions agree to some extent, it is true, with the Arabic (in the narrower sense), or at least are formed according to Arabic analogy; but many of them have an antique character, unknown in classical Arabic, and these latter names exhibit many features which appear also in Hebrew nomenclature. The Sabæan pronunciation, however, is but very imperfectly known, and even those who are really acquainted with the inscriptions (which is far from being the case with the present writer) understand still less of the language than students of the Phœnician monuments understand of Phœnician.

18. Abyssinian.

The formation of *Abyssinian* proper names, as they are coined even in our own time, offers very instructive analogies to the Hebrew (see below, §§ 21, 22).

The fact that it has been found necessary to exclude

[1] See, however, ASHER (§ 3).

[1] Such names will here be cited in the genitive case, whenever the nominative is uncertain.

Assyrio-Babylonian and Egyptian names[1] from this article, doubtless constitutes a serious defect, for, quite apart from general analogies, it is not impossible that the two ancient centres of civilisation, Babylonia and Egypt, exercised a direct influence on the mode of coining names among the neighbouring Semitic peoples. The present writer, however, is not in a position to verify the statements of Assyriologists and Egyptologists, still less to throw fresh light upon such matters. Furthermore, it would seem that the proper names of the Assyrians and the Babylonians sometimes differed essentially from those of the Hebrews. It may be noted, in particular, that there was a liking for very long names. The names of the non-Semitic Egyptians probably diverged still more from the Hebrew type. In consequence of some attention devoted to *Greek* proper names—a study which the work of Fick[2] has now greatly facilitated—it has been thought permissible to cite a few illustrations from this department. Some surprising analogies will here be found, in spite of the great dissimilarity of the two races.

19. Other languages.

Very many Hebrew names are formed by composition from two or more independent words. We will first consider these compounds from the point of view of their form, before treating of their signification. Such names, according to the Massoretic vocalisation, undergo various contractions, which must be based, to a large extent, upon sound tradition, or at least upon correct analogy; but some of the details are uncertain.[3] A compound name may consist of (*a*) two substantives, the second being in the genitive (§ 20 *f.*), or else it may form (*b*) a complete sentence (§ 22 *ff.*).

20. Composite names: their form.

a. To the class of compounds consisting of two nouns, in the nominative and the genitive respectively, belong such names as Jedīd-iah (ידידיה), 'beloved of Yahwè,' Mattithiah (מתתיהו), 'gift of Yahwè,' Esh-baal (אשבעל), 'man of Baal,' Obadiah (עבדיהו), 'servant of Yahwè,' etc. In many proper names the first part ends in *ī*. This is mostly to be regarded as the suffix of the first pers. sing.,[4] but sometimes as a mere appendage of the construct state—a formation of which we occasionally find examples elsewhere, and a survival, it would seem, of some old case-ending. A few of these instances are open to question, in consequence of the general uncertainty of the vowels.

21. Connective *ī*.

If the form Abdi-ēl (עבדיאל) in 1 Ch. 5 15 (equivalent to Abdĕēl [עבדאל] in Jer. 36 26) be correct, it can mean only 'servant of God,' just as Zabdiel (זבדיאל) in Neh. 11 14 1 Ch. 27 2 (cp Ζαβδιὴλ ὁ Ἄραψ, 1 Macc. 11 17) means 'gift of God.' Hanniel (חניאל) is 'favour of God,' like the common Carthaginian name חנבעל, Hannibal, Ἀννίβας.[5] So also Melchizedek (מלכי־צדק) is probably 'king of righteousness,'[6] and the name of the angel Gabriel (גבריאל), 'man of God.'

The use of this old termination *ī* in names formed at a late date may be due to an imitation of antique names. Archaic forms have an air of solemnity, for which reason the same ending *ī* is sometimes added to ordinary nouns in the construct state by later poets. Similarly the *ū* before the genitive in another common Punic name עזרבעל, *Azrubal*, *Azzrubal*, *Hasdrubal*, Ἀσδρούβας, 'help of Baal,' seems to occur in a few ancient biblical names—*e.g.*, Samuel[7] (שמואל), 'name of God.' In some names a preposition stands before the noun in the construct—*e.g.*, Bĕsōdĕ-iah (בסודיה), 'in the secret of Yahwè,' Bĕzálĕēl (בְּצַלְאֵל), 'in the shadow of God'; cp the Phœnician בידאל, 'in the hand of God.'[1] Such formations are common among the Abyssinians—*e.g.*, *Baĕda Māryām*, 'by the hand of Mary,' *Baṣalōta Mīkāēl*, 'by the prayer of Michael,' etc.; cp also the Sabæan לחיעתתר, 'to the life of Athtar.' Single nouns with prepositions appear in Lāēl (לאל), and Lĕmōel (Prov. 31 4, MT למואל), or Lemūel (לְמוּאל), 'to God' (*i.e.*, belonging to God), as also in Bera (ברע) and Birsha (ברשע), 'with (or, in) evil,' and 'with (or, in) wickedness,' the names of the legendary kings of Sodom and Gomorrah. Similar are the foreign names Bishlām (בשלם), 'with peace' (Ezra 4 7), and Ethbaal (אתבעל), 'with Baal' (1 K. 16 31), unless the latter be equivalent to Ἰθώβαλος (according to the Tyrian tradition in Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18; *Ant.* viii. 13 2, cp *c. Ap.* 1 21; *Ant.* x. 11 1), which probably means 'with him is Baal.' On such Semitic names with prepositions see *WZKM*, 6 314 *ff.*

22. Prepositional prefix.

b. The use of complete sentences as proper names is common to all Semites. Among the natives of central and northern Arabia, it is true, such formations appear only as sporadic survivals, in nicknames (*e.g.*, *Ta'abbaṭa šarra[n]*, 'he has mischief under his arm,' *Jā'a ḳamlūhu* 'his lice are hungry'), and in names consisting of a single verbal form (*e.g.*, *Yazīd*, 'he augments'). But among the Syrians these names were freely coined, even in Christian times (*e.g.*, *Ṣlībhā zākhē*, 'the cross conquers,' *Ḳāmīshō'*, 'Jesus is risen,' *Šubhḥā lmāran*, 'praise to our Lord!' etc.)

23. Sentence names.

Similar are the Abyssinian *Takasta bĕrhān*, 'the light has been revealed,' *Madkhānīna Egzī'*, 'our Redeemer is the Lord,' *Mal'ak samrā*, 'the angel has pleasure in her,' *Yĕmraḥana Krĕstōs*, 'may Christ have mercy on us!' etc., and the modern Amharic *Dĕlwambarā*, 'victory is her throne' (name of the wife of Muhammed Grañ, the enemy of the Christians), *Alam ayahu*, 'I have seen the world' (name of a son of King Theodore), *Wandĕmu nañ*, 'I am his brother'; cp also such cases as *Tawābach*, 'she is beautiful' (name of the wife of Theodore), *Abarash*, 'thou (fem.) hast enlightened,' etc.

To these correspond the Hebrew Ḥephzibah (חפצי בה), 'I have my pleasure in her' (2 K. 21 1, cp Is. 62 4); Azrikam (עזריקם), 'my help has arisen'; Col-ḥozeh (כל־חזה), 'he sees all' (?); Jūshab-ḥesed (ישב חסד), 'kindness is requited.' Even the tribal name Issachar (ישׂשכר) seems to belong to this class, since it can scarcely be anything else than יש שכר, 'there is a reward,' although it must be admitted that the meaning appears somewhat strange (see ISSACHAR, §§ 3, 6). In like manner Isaiah expresses one of his fundamental ideas in the name which he gives to his son, Shear-jashub (שאר ישוב), 'the remnant shall be converted'; another son he ventures to call Maher-shalal-hash-baz (מהר שלל חש בז), 'plunder has hastened, booty has sped.'[2] Ezekiel forms the name Oholi-bah (RV), אהלי בה, 'my tent is in her,' cp Lo-ruhāmah (לא רחמה), 'she has not found mercy,' in Hosea. Joshbekashah (ישבקשה), in 1 Ch. 25 4 24, seems to be *yashib ḳāshah*, ישב קשה, 'He (*i.e.*, God) brings back hard fate.' Instead of Hazzĕlelponi (RV), הצללפוני (fem.), in 1 Ch. 4 3, we should perhaps read *Haṣlelpānai* (הצללפני) or *Hăṣelpānai* (הצלפני=הצל פני *hăṣēl pānai*), 'Do thou shadow my face!' We must of course regard as a fiction the statement in 1 Ch. 25 4, where the sentence Giddálti wᵉ Rōmámti 'Ezer [YŠBḲŠH] Mallōthi Hōthīr Maḥăzī'ōth (גדלתי ורוממתי עזר [3] מלותי הותיר מחזיאת), 'I have made great (cp *v.* 29) and have helped mightily (*v.* 31), I have fulfilled (? *v.* 26) abundantly (*v.* 28) visions (*v.* 30),' is cut up in order to furnish names for the five sons of Heman, one of the Levitical singers (see HEMAN). The name of another Levite Shĕmīrāmōth (שמירמות) appears also to have been borrowed

1 See ASSYRIA, § 22, EGYPT, § 40.

2 *Die griechischen Personennamen*(2), Fritz Bechtel and Aug. Fick, Gött. 1894.

3 Contractions so violent as the Phœnician *Bomilcar*, *Boncar* for בדמלקרת, *Gescon*, *Giscon* for גרסכן, *Bodostor*, *Bostar* for בדעשתרת, seem to have been quite unknown in Hebrew.

4 For an alternative view see ABI, NAMES WITH, § 3.

5 מתניבעל (*CIS*, 1 661) appears doubtful on account of the frequent *Mutthumbal* without *i*.

6 See, however, MELCHIZEDEK.

7 On the meaning of this and similar names see SHEM, NAMES WITH.

1 On an intaglio—a term used in this article to include inscriptions on seals, scarabs, and gems, such as those published by M. A. Levy (*Siegel und Gemmen*), de Vogüé (*Intailles*), and Ganneau (*Sceaux et cachets*).

2 Here מָהֵר is probably to be taken as a perfect.

3 Here ישבקשה has been interpolated.

from some poem, which contained the words 'My name (*i.e.* the name of God) is exalted (lit. exalted things),' or else, if we pronounce Shĕmē (שְׁמֵי), 'the heavens on high.'[1]

The above-mentioned names have, for the most part, a religious meaning, implied or expressed. Much more numerous are the names which consist of sentences explicitly *mentioning* the Deity. In such sentences the predicate is sometimes a verb, sometimes a noun. The verb may stand in the perfect or the imperfect, rarely in the imperative; of this last we have an instance in Hachaliah (חכליה), which, as Th. Böhme first pointed out, should be read not Ḥachalyah (חֲכַלְיָה), but Ḥakkĕlĕyah (חַכְּלְיָה), 'wait for Yahwè!' Both in the verbal and in the nominal sentence the subject may stand either at the beginning or at the end—*e.g.*, Elnathan (אלנתן), and Nathanĕēl (נתנאל), 'God has given'; Jehoiarib (יהויריב), 'Yahwè contends,' and Jerubbaal (ירבעל), 'Baal contends'; Elimelech (אלימלך), 'my God is king,' and Malchiel (מלכיאל), 'God is my king.'[2] The order of the words cannot, of course, vary in interrogative sentences—*e.g.*, Michael (מיכאל), 'who is like God?' Michaiah (מיכיהו), 'who is like Yahwè?'

24. Theophorous names: their form.

In many cases, it should be noticed, we have no means of deciding whether the predicate be a verb or a noun, nor even whether the name before us be a sentence or two nouns of which the second is in the genitive. In the absence of conclusive arguments to the contrary, it is best to follow the vocalisation, without placing too much confidence in it. As regards the sense it matters nothing whether, for example, we pronounce Joezer (יועזר), 'Yahwè is help,' in accordance with tradition, or Joāzār (יוֹעָזָר), 'Yahwé has helped,' after the analogy of Eleazar (אלעזר), of which the vowels are certain, since the name was a very favourite one.

In Israelite names the Deity is most frequently called by the name peculiar to the God of Israel, viz. Yahwè (יהוה), which is invariably contracted. At the beginning it appears as Jeho- (יהו) or Jo- (יו), at the end as *yāhu* or *yah* (יהו or יה; EV always -iah or -jah). Often (see *e.g.*, ISAIAH) the same name has both forms.[3] On ancient Israelite *intaglios* we find יו used also at the end—*e.g.*, עזיו (twice), and שבניו (once, while שבניהו, corresponding to שבניה in the OT, occurs once also), עשיו (once), and אביו (once). The pronunciation was probably *yau* or *yāu*, the contraction being similar to that in אָבִיו, *ābhīu*, 'his father,' instead of אָבִיהוּ, which also occurs; the phonetic difference must have been very slight. In like manner we should perhaps read Aḥiyyāu (אחיו = Aḥiyyāhu, אֲחִיָּהוּ), instead of Ahio (אַחְיוֹ), in 1 Ch. 8 14 31 9 37, as also in 2 S. 6 3 *f.* (= 1 Ch. 13 7), where a proper name suits the context better than 'his brethren' (אֶחָיו). Even an Aramaic heathen of Egypt writes his name עזריו, 'Yahwè helps' (Clerm.-Gann., *Ét. d'Arch.*, 1896, § 2 25). The man was perhaps of Judean extraction; the name of his father שגבי seems also to be Hebraic, cp שגוב, § 57.

25. Divine part.

The word El (אל), 'God,' is likewise very common in proper names; at the beginning it usually appears as Ĕli- (אלי), which can scarcely be translated otherwise than 'my God.'[4] Among the Phœnicians, Aramæans, and Sabæans also אל was largely employed in the formation of proper names. Names containing other appellations of the Deity are much rarer, and will be noticed below in their proper place.

[1] Whether the name *Semiramis* has the same etymology cannot here be discussed. In any case the Hebrew name is not borrowed from that of the divine queen.

[2] These facts constitute a strong argument against the opinion that the characteristic difference as to the order of the words between the nominal and the verbal clause in Arabic dates from primitive times.

[3] When both forms occur, only the form with יהו will here be mentioned.

[4] For an alternative view see ABI, NAMES WITH, § 3 *ff.*

Theophorous proper names often give clear expression to the ideas of the Hebrews, and of the Semites generally, as to the relation of man to God. A comprehensive view of the names in question will be found more instructive than a lengthy exposition; in the following lists, however, a rigidly systematic order will not be observed.

26. Their meanings.

In many names God appears as the *giver* of the child. Elnathan, אלנתן (which occurs also in Egyptian Aramaic), Nethanĕēl (נתנאל), Jehonathan (יהונתן), Nethaniah (נתניהו, also on an ancient Hebrew *intaglio*), Mattaniah (מתניהו), Mattithiah (מתתיהו, wrongly written מתתה, Mattattah [RV] in Ezra 10 33). Cp the Nabatæan (or Edomite) קסנתן, Κοσνάτανος (Miller[1]); the Phœnician בעליתן, יתנבעל, and other names containing יתן, -ιαθών, מתנאל, מתנבעל, the old Aramaic רמננתן, the Palmyrene עתנתן, as well as other Aramaic names containing יהב, Arabic and Sabæan names containing והב; so also Θεόδωρος, Δωσίθεος, Ἡρόδοτος, etc. The same meaning belongs to Elzabad (אלזבד), Jehozabad (יהוזבד), Zebadiah (זבדיהו), Zabdiel זבדיאל (Ζαβδιὴλ ὁ Ἄραψ); compare the Palmyrene נבוזבד, זבדבל (Ζαβδίβηλος, Polybius 5 79 105), etc. Perhaps we may, with Gesenius, include in this category יואש, יהואש; cp the Arabic *Aus*, 'gift,' and the Sabæan names אלאוס, אוסאל, יאוסאל. But the vocalisation of Josiah (יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ) seems to militate against this view.[2]

27. God the giver.

God *gives of his own free will*, or *apportions* (as a gift)—Jehonadab (יהונדב), Nedabiah (נדביהו); so also it would appear, Γαβαήλ (Γαβάηλος) in Tobit, 'God has chosen out.' But Pelaiah (פליה, פלאיה), and in 1 Ch. 15 18 21 Eliphĕlēhū (אליפלהו, to be taken as an imperative) probably have a different meaning.

God *increases* (the family)—Eliasaph (אליסף), Josiphiah (יוספיה).

God *opens* (the womb)—Pethaḥiah (פתחיה), as Nestle has rightly explained (*Die Israelitischen Eigennamen*, 168), in accordance with Gen. 30 22; cp the Sabæan פתחאל. The 'opening' or 'enlightenment' of the mind is expressed in Peḳaḥiah (פקחיהו).

God *is gracious*—Elḥānān, אלחנן (also on an ancient Hebrew *intaglio*), Ḥănanĕēl, חננאל (Ἀνάνηλος, Jos. *Ant.* xv. 2 4), Jehoḥānān (יהוחנן), Ḥănaniah, חנניהו (on an *intaglio* חנניה), Ḥanniel (חניאל).[3] Cp the Phœnician יתנבעל, בעליחן (*Baliahon*, *CIL* 8 10785), חנבעל (*Hannibal*), חנמלקרת (*Hamilcar*), חנצר; the Nabatæan חנאל (Ἄννηλος); the Palmyrene עתחן, בלתיחן. So also Ḥăsadiah (חסדיה), in 1 Ch. 3 20, and perhaps Rizia [RV] (רציא) in 1 Ch. 7 39, for Rĕṣāyā, רציה.

28. Gracious.

God *has mercy*—Jĕraḥmĕēl, ירחמאל.

God *blesses*—Barachel (ברכאל), Berechiah, ברכיהו (Βαραχίας), Jeberechiah, יברכיהו. Cp Κοσβάρακος Μαλίχου Ἰδουμαῖος, *CIG*, 5149; the Phœnician אלברך, ברכבעל (*Baricbal* in Latin inscriptions, and so we should read the name in Cicero, *Verr.* 3 39 89), מרברך (on an *intaglio*); the Palmyrene בולברך (Βωλβάραχος).

God *loves*—Jedidiah (ידידיה), perhaps also Eldad (אלדד), Elidad (אלידד). Cp the Sabæan ודדאל, Θεόφιλος, Δίφιλος, Θεοφίλητος, etc.

God *helps*—Eleazar (אלעזר), Azarĕēl (עזראל), Azariah (עזריהו), Eliezer (אליעזר), Joezer (יועזר). Cp the Phœnician אשמנעזר, בעלעזר (Βαλέζωρος, Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18), עזרבעל (*Azrubal*, etc.), עזרתבעל; the old Aramaic הדרעזר, בעלעזר, עזרנאל, יעדראל; the Sinaitic עזאלהי, קוסעדר, the Palmyrene נצרלת (the three last names are Arabic). Adriel (עדריאל), in 1 S. 18 19, 2 S. 21 8, would be Aramaic; but it is

[1] By *Miller* is meant, in this article, the list of Semitic names of the second century B.C. from Egypt, given by E. Miller in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1870, 109 *ff.*

[2] It is hardly justifiable to explain Kushaiah, קוּשָׁיָהוּ 1 Ch. 15 17 (𝔊 Κισαίου [AL]; Κεισ. [B]), for which 6 44 [29] has Kishi (קִישִׁי), from the Assyrian *ḳāšu*, 'to give,' a verb unknown, it would seem, in the other Semitic languages.

[3] חנמאל in Jer. 32 7-9, 12, though repeated several times, seems to be incorrect.

probably a mere mistake for Azriel (עזריאל), or Azarĕēl (עזראל), as the LXX seems to indicate (𝔊ᴸ, however, in 1 S. εδριηλ). The same meaning, it would appear, is conveyed by Jeshaʿ (ישע), Shuaʿ (שוע), Shaʿ (שע, cp תשועה) in Isaiah (Yeshaʿyāhū ישעיהו), Hoshaiah (הוֹשַׁעְיָה, הושעיה), ישעאל (on an *intaglio*), Jehoshua (יהושע), Jeshua (ישוע), Elishua (אלישוע), Elisha (אלישע); similarly Rehabiah, רחביה, 'wideness (*i.e.* help, cp ישע) through Yahwè.'

God *is with* man—Immanuel, עמנואל, and perhaps Ithiel,[1] איתיאל (Neh. 11 7). Conversely Azaliah, אצליהו, 'with Yahwè' (?).

God *confers benefits*—Gamaliel [EV], גמליאל, Mĕhētabĕēl, מהיטבאל (Edomite) *fem.*

God *is good, kind*—Tābĕēl, טָבְאֵל (altered purposely by the scribes into טָבְאַל, Tābĕal, which was intended to signify 'not good'), Τωβιήλ (Tob. 1 1), Tobiah, טוביהו.

God *sustains*—Semachiah (סמכיהו), Ismachiah (יסמכיהו), cp מרסמך (on an *intaglio*).

29. Strength. God *bears*—Amas-iah (עמסיה), cp the Phœnician אשמנעמס, בעלעמס.

God *holds fast*—Jehoahaz, יהואחז, Ahaziah, אחזיהו (the king who bears this name is called יהואחז in 2 Ch. 21 17 25 23), Hezekiah, חזקיהו (the punctuation of the form יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ, which also occurs [see HEZEKIAH], can scarcely be correct), Ezekiel, יחזקאל.

God *is strong*, and *strengthens*—Uzziel (עזיאל), Azaziah (עזזיהו), Uzziah, עזיהו (on an ancient Hebrew *intaglio*, עזיו). Cp the Phœnician עזמלך (Ἀζέμιλκος), עזבעל, עשתרתעז, עזמלקרת, עשנאל (the two last are on *intaglios*), the Sabæan אלעז (Ἐλέαζος); Θεοκράτης, Ποσειδοκρέων, etc. The names Jaaziel (יעזיאל), Jaaziah (יעזיהו), should perhaps be added; so also Amaziah (אמציהו).

God is *a refuge*—Mahseiah (RV) (מַחְסֵיָה) [Bä.]. Instead of Maaz-iah (מעזיהו), and Elüzai (אלעוזי) we should probably pronounce Mĕʿōzīyyah (מְעֻזְיָהוּ) and El'ōzi (אֶלְעֻזִי) respectively. Cp Αὔδηλος (Miller) and numerous Arabic names derived from עוד = Heb. עוז 'to take refuge'; the Aramaic עוידא; Ζηνικέτης, Ἑρμαικέτης. Similarly Bĕzalĕēl (בצלאל), 'in the *shadow* of God,' and Elizur (אליצור), 'my God is a *rock*.'

30. Deliverer. God *delivers*—Elpalet (אֱלִפֶּלֶט), Elipelet (אליפלט), Paltiēl (פלטיאל), Pĕlatiah (פלטיהו). The same meaning it would seem belongs to Mĕlatiah (מלטיהו), and perhaps to Delaiah (דליהו), 'Yahwè has drawn out.' We may include, with certainty, the name of the Herodian Φασάηλος—*i.e.*, פְּצָאֵל—the Palmyrene פציאל (Φασαιέλη, Φασηέλη, fem.) cp Φασάβαλος (Miller), *i.e.*, פצבעל. So also Meshēzabĕēl (משיזבאל). Cp the old Aram. צלמשזב; the Phœnician חלצבעל, בעלחלץ; Σωσίθεος, Θεόσωτος, Ἡρoσῶν.

God *comforts*—Nĕhemiah, נחמיה (on an *intaglio* נחמיהו).

God *heals*—Rephāēl (רפאל), cp the Palmyrene רפאל, Ῥεφέλου, and the old Aramaic ירפאל, which coincides with the name of the city, Irpĕēl EV (ירפאל), Josh. 18 27; Rephaiah (רפיה). Cp the Palmyrene רפאבול, רפבול (Ῥεφαβώλου), בורפא (= בולרפא); the Phœnician בעלמרפא.

God *redeems*—Pedah-el, פדהאל (פדאל on an *intaglio*; Φαδαιέλου), Pedaiah (פדיה), Iphdĕ-iah RV (יפדיה). Cp the Phœnician בעלפדא.

God *preserves*—Shĕmariah (שמריהו). Cp the Phœnician אסרשמר, בעלשמר, etc.; the Nabatæan נטראל (Νατάρηλος); the late Greek Θεοφύλακτος.

God *keeps in safety* (?)[2]—Mĕshelemiah (משלמיהו). Cp the Phœnician אשמנשלם, בעלשלם (Ἐσυμασελήμου).

God *conceals* (*i.e.*, presumably 'defends')—Elzāphān (אלצפן), Zĕphaniah (צפניהו), which occurs also on an *intaglio*. Cp the Phœnician צפנבעל (frequent both as masc. and fem. = *Sophoniba*[3]). So also El-iahba (אליחבא), and Hăbaiah (חביה), probably to be read חֲבִיָּה. Cp the Talmudic סתריאל.

31. Maker. God *makes*—Elĕāsah (אלעשה), Asāhel (עשהאל), Asiel (עשיאל), Ἀσιήλ (Tobit 1 1), Asaiah (עשיה) on an ancient Hebrew *intaglio* עשיו, Jaasiel RV (יעשיאל), Maasē-iah (מעשיהו). Cp the Phœnician אלפעל; ΘεόϜεργος, Διεργις.

God *accomplishes*—Gĕmariah (גמריהו). Cp Θεοτέλης.

God *creates*—Bera-iah (בראיה), 1 Ch. 8 21 (probably apocryphal).

God *builds*—Bena-iah (בניהו), so also on an *intaglio*, Ibnĕ-iah (יִבְנְיָה). Cp Κόσβανος (Miller); the Nabatæan בנהבל; the Aramaic לבונבנא (= נבובנא); Θεόκτιστος.

God *sets up, establishes*—El-iākim (אליקים), Jeho-iākim (יהויקים), mis-spelt יוקים, Jokim in 1 Ch. 4 22. Also Jecam-iah (יקמיהו), the vocalisation of which can scarcely be correct. Cp the Sinaitic מקמלהי; the Sabæan יקמאל, הקמאל. Furthermore כוניהו (*Kt.*)—*i.e.*, Conan-iah כּוֹנַנְיָהוּ (the forms Kānan-iah, כְּנַנְיָהוּ, Kĕnaniah, כְּנַנְיָהוּ, are less probable), Jeho-iachin (יהויכין), Jecon-iah (יכניהו), in Jer. 22 28 Con-iah (כניהו).

God *determines fate*—Gaddi-el (גדיאל).

God *brings back*—El-iāshib (אלישיב). Cp the Phœnician ישבעל, which name, as Geiger has remarked, should be restored in 2 S. 23 8, the received text having ישב בשבת, 𝔊ᴮ Ἰεβοσθέ, and the parallel passage 1 Ch. 11 11 ישבעם, which point to an original ישבעל, or more correctly ישבבעל,[1] so 𝔊ᴸ, Ἰεσβααλ, 2 S.; Ἰεσσεβααλ, 1 Ch. (see JASHOBEAM). Shūbā-el (שובאל), Shebu-el (שבואל, שבאל), seems to mean 'O God, turn again (*i.e.*, forgive),' or, if we pronounce Shābĕ-ēl (שָׁבְאֵל), 'God has forgiven.' So also Shābiah (שביה), 1 Ch. 8 10 (which is preferable to the reading Sachiah (שָׂכְיָה), cp 𝔊ᴮᴸ Σαβιά, 𝔊ᴬ Σεβια; see SHACHIA). Whether the Sabæan תובאל has the same meaning is uncertain.

God *places* (?), *sits on the throne* (?)—Joshib-iah RV (יושביה, 1 Ch. 4 35), of which Joshaviah (יוֹשַׁוְיָה, 1 Ch. 11 46) and Joshah (יושה, 1 Ch. 4 34) are presumably corruptions. Also Jesimi-el, ישימאל (pronounce Jesīmĕ-ēl, יְשִׂימְאֵל ?),[2] 1 Ch. 4 36.

God *causes to grow* (?)—Yashwahyah (יַשְׁוַחְיָה), as we should perhaps read instead of Jĕshōhā-iah (יְשׁוֹחָיָה) in 1 Ch. 4 36.

32. Knower. God *knows*—El-iāda (אלידע, a name borne also by an Aramæan, in 1 K. 11 23), Jeho-iāda (יהוידע), Jeda-iah (ידעיה), Jedia-el (ידיעאל). Cp the Palmyrene ידיעבל (Ἰεδείβηλος); the Sabæan ידעאל; Θεόγνωστος, Διόγνωστος.

God *remembers*[3]—Jozachar (יוזכר),[4] Zechariah (זכריהו). Cp the Sabæan יזכראל; Θεόμνηστος, Διόμνηστος. So also, it would seem, Hăshab-iah (חשביהו), and Hăshabnĕ-iah RV (חשבניה), further corrupted into Hashbaddānah RV (חשבדנה),[5] and Hăshabnah (חשבנה), for which we should read Hashabni-jah (חֲשַׁבְנִיָּה), 'God has taken account of me.'

God *weighs*—Āzaniah (אזניה), Jaăzan-iah (יאזניהו), Jĕzan-iah (יזניהו). Cp יזנאל, on a Phœnician *intaglio*.

God *sees*—Hăzā-el (חזהאל, חזאל, a native of Damascus), Jahăzi-el (יחזיאל, of which Hăzi-el, חזיאל, 1 Ch. 23 9 and Jezū-el, יזואל, 1 Ch. 12 3 Kt. or Jezi-el [יזיאל] Kr. may be corruptions), Hăzā-iah (חזיה), Jahzĕ-iah RV (יחזיה;

[1] The name cannot be אִיתִיאֵל, 'God has brought' (Aramaic), since in Nehemiah's time the older form היתיאל would have been used.

[2] Or perhaps 'requites.'

[3] Mis-spelt *Sophonisba*. The vocalisation agrees with that of Σoφovίας in 𝔊; since, however, the Punic *o* can scarcely correspond to the Hebrew *o*, we may conclude only that in this, as in some other names, the first part was regarded as a verb by the Massoretes, but as a noun by the Greek translator, in accordance with the Punic form.

[1] This, it is true, may also mean 'Baal dwells.'

[2] Variant ישימאל. The punctuation varies also between שׂ and [illegible].

[3] See Nestle, *l.c.*, who rightly refers to Gen. 30 22. The mother is *primarily* the object of the verb.

[4] Ginsb. יוֹזָבָר.

[5] Unless ד may be due to dittography; see HASHBADANA.

Jeziah, RV Izziah, יזיה, Ezra 10 25 ?).[1] Also יְרִיאֵל, רְאָיָה (Rĕāiah), יִרְאִיָּה (Irijah EV), יְרִיָּה (Jeriah).

God *hears*[2]—Eli-shāma (אֱלִישָׁמָע, which occurs also on an *intaglio*, probably of ancient Hebrew origin, אלשמע; cp Sabæan אלסמע), Ishmael, ישמעאל, (cp Sabæan יסמעאל), Hoshāma (הוֹשָׁמָע) 1 Ch. 3 18 (for Jehoshama יהושמע, or Joshama, יושמע), Ishmaiah (ישמעיהו). Cp the Phœnician מלקרתשמע, etc.; the Sabæan וקהאל.

33. Treats with man.

God *answers* (properly, by an oracle, hence, 'He grants a petition')—'Αναήλ, unless connected with חנן (see Swete, 'Αν.) Tobit 1 21, Ana-iah (עניה). So also Anan-iah (ענניה), which should probably be pronounced Anāni-jah (ענניה), 'Yahwè has answered me.' Cp the Syriac *'Anānishō'* 'Jesus has answered me.'

God *speaks* (by an oracle)—Ămar-iah (אמריה). Cp the Talmudic מרימר, אמימר (=אמרמר); the Phœnician בעלמגלא, 'Baal reveals.' Perhaps we may add the Phœnician יחומלך, יחואלן, יחולן, from the verb חִוָּה; Θεόφημος, Διόφημος, Θεόφραστος, Θεόχρηστος, etc. Possibly the name Kola-iah (קוליה) also refers to an oracle.

God *swears* (?)—Eli-sheba (אלישבע), Jehoshéba (יהושבע) (both feminine). In Jehoshabĕath (יהושבעת) and the NT name 'Ελ(ε)ισαβέτ [BℵA] (so in Ex. 6 23 [A'F]; cp Ελευσαβεθ, Ex. 6 23 [B]), the feminine ending appears, which is quite contrary to rule; the grammatical form presents great difficulties.

God *promises* (?)—Noad-iah (נועדיה), Mōad-iah (מועדיה, Neh. 12 17, for which *v.* 5 has Maad-iah, מעדיה). Cp the Phœnician אשמניעד.

God is the object of *hope*—EV Hachaliah (חֲכַלְיָה, see above, § 23), RV El-ieho-ēnai (אליהועיני), El-io-ēnai (אליועיני), 'towards Yahwè are mine eyes turned.'

34. Object.

God is the object of *praise*—Jĕhallel-ēl RV (יהללאל), Mahălal-ēl RV (מהללאל), Hōdav-iah (הודויהו), Hodi-jah (הודיה), Hodĕvah (הודוה, pronounce Hōdū-jah, הודויה, הוֹדְיָה).

God is the object of a *request*—Shĕalti-el (שאלתיאל).

God *admits into his confidence*—Bĕsōdĕ-iah (בסודיה).

35. Various acts.

God *comes*—Eli-āthah (אליאתה), 1 Ch. 25 4 (=El-iāthah, אליתה, in *v.* 27).

God *passes by* (?)[3]—El-ādah (אלעדה), 1 Ch. 7 20, for which *v.* 21 has Eleād (אלעד), Adiel (עדיאל), Ada-iah (עדיה), Jeho-addah RV (יהועדה), 1 Ch. 8 36 *twice* (for which 9 42 has Jarah, יערה, *twice*). Possibly Laadah (לעדה), 1 Ch. 4 21, may be for אלעדה.

God *dwells* (among his worshippers)—Shĕchán-iah (שכניהו).

God *lives*—Jĕḥi-el (יחיאל, also in Palmyrene), Jehi-eli (יחיאלי), Hi-el (חיאל, 1 K. 16 34), probably to be read Ḥay-ēl (חיאל, 𝔊[BA] has 'Αχ[ε]ιήλ, but חיאל occurs in Sinaitic inscriptions). Cp כמשיחי (on an *intaglio* which is probably Moabite), the Phœnician מריחי.

God *meets* (with his worshipper?)—Pagi-el (פגעיאל).

God *contends*[4]—Jeho-iārib (יהויריב), probably also Israel (ישראל), Sera-iah (שְׂרָיָה),[5] and perhaps Mĕra-iah (מריה), 'Yahwe has withstood.'

God *shoots*[6]—Jeremiah (ירמיהו, *Yirmĕyāhu*). The same meaning perhaps belongs to the Phœnician בעלשלך (a very favourite name, transliterated *Balsillec*, etc., Βάσληχος in Josephus, *c. Ap.* 1 21) and אשמנשלך.

God *thunders*—Raam-iah (רעמיה), Neh. 7 7, for which Ezra 2 2 has Rĕēlaiah (רעליה).

God *is glad*[7] or, more probably, *gladdens*—Jahdi-el (יחדיאל), Jehde-iah (יחדיהו, *Yeḥed-yāhu*).

[1] Possibly יזיאל and יזיה may be connected with נזה; cp מִזָּה *Mizzah, Gen.* 36 13 17 = 1 *Ch.* 1 37.
[2] That is, *primarily*, He 'hears' the mother's prayer for a son.
[3] Cp Ex. 34 6, 1 K. 19 11.
[4] See Ex. 15 3, Ps. 24 8, etc.
[5] סריה, which occurs on an intaglio, seems to be quite different.
[6] See Ps. 7 14 [13] 18 15 [14], Deut. 32 23 42, etc. Originally, these expressions had a literal sense, as in the case of Apollo.
[7] Scarcely in the sense of κύδεϊ γαίων, said of Zeus.

NAMES

God *is mighty* (?)—Jecholiah (יְכָלְיָהוּ), the vocalisation of 𝔊 ('Ιεχελία [AL]) can hardly be correct, as the name so pronounced would signify 'Yahwè comes to an end'; perhaps the genuine form was Jĕchallĕ-iah (יְכַלְיָהוּ), 'Yahwè destroys.' With Jecholiah we may compare Jehūcal (יהוכל), Jer. 37 3 = Jūcal (יוכל), Jer. 38 1. The Sabæan יכלאל may be something altogether different.

God *rises* (like the sun)—Zĕrah-iah (זרחיה), Jezrah-iah (יזרחיה). Cp the Sabæan ירחאל. So also שחריה may perhaps mean 'Yahwè is the dawn.'

God is *light*—Nēriah EV (נריהו). Cp Διοφάεις, Φανόθεος (*i.e.*, 'divinely bright'), etc.

God is *fire*[1]—Uri-jah (אוריהו); perhaps Ări-el (אריאל, Ezra 8 16), and Ar-ēli (אראלי, Num. 26 17) may be corruptions of Ūri-el[2] (אֲרִיאֵל, אַרְאֵל). Cp ארמלך of Byblus, written *Urumilku* in the cuneiform inscriptions (*KB* 2 90); the Palmyrene נורבל (Νούρβηλος) 'Bel is fire.'

God *judges*—Eli-shaphat (אלישפט), Jehoshaphat (יהושפט), Shĕphatiah (שפטיהו). Cp the Phœnician בעלשפט, שפטבעל. So also Daniel (דָּנִיֵּאל, דָּנִאֵל, which occurs likewise in Palmyrene), and perhaps Pĕlal-iah (פלליה).

36. Sovereign.

God is *just*—Jehozadak (יהוצדק), Zedekiah (צדקיהו, Ṣidkiyyāhu). Cp the Sabæan צדקאל; in the ancient Aramaic name צדקרמן (*CIS* 2 73), the letters דק are not quite certain.

God *rules*, is *king*[3]—Ĕli-melech (אֱלִימֶלֶךְ, which occurs also in ancient Aramaic), Malchi-el (מלכיאל, cp the Palmyrene מלכאל), *Malchi-jah* (מלכיהו). *Cp the Edomite Kaushmalaka* (*KB* 2 20), *i.e.*, Κοσμάλαχος; so also 'Ελμάλαχος[4] (Miller); the Phœnician בעלמלך, בעמלך; the Egyptian Aramaic אסרמלך. So also the Phœnician מלקרתמשל.

God is *possessor*—El-ḳanah (אלקנה), Miknē-iah (מקניהו). Cp מקנמלך on an *intaglio*; the Bœotian Θεόππαστος (in an inscription).

God is *Lord*—Adoni-jah (אדניהו), Bĕal-iah (בעליה, 1 Ch. 12 5). Cp the Phœnician אדנבעל, אשמנאדן, etc. The form *Idnibal*, though it occurs only in late times, is important on account of the second *i*, which must be the suffix of the first person, 'my lord is Baal' (or Yahwè, as the case may be).

Thus *man* is regarded as *the servant of God*—Abdĕ-ēl (עבדאל, which occurs also in Edessene); Abdi-el (עבדיאל), Obadiah (עבדיהו, which occurs also on two ancient Hebrew *intaglios*); the Massoretic pronunciation of this last name is עֹבַדְיָהוּ ('Ωβεδίας in Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13 4); but 𝔊 usually has 'Αβδ(ε)ία(ς) [BAL], though 'Οβδ(ε)ιου [BℵAL] also occurs.

37. Man a servant.

Among the Phœnicians, Aramæans, and Arabs, names compounded with *'Abd* (עבד) are much commoner than among the Hebrews; among the Abyssinians the synonymous term *Gabra* is used instead. Names compounded with the corresponding feminine term אמת occur frequently among most Semitic peoples but are wholly wanting in Hebrew. In Greek, names compounded with δοῦλος appear only in Christian times. The name Nĕariah (נעריה) can scarcely have this meaning; derivatives from the root נער are found in other Semitic names, but the sense is always uncertain.

Man is likewise regarded as belonging to God—Lāēl (לאל), Lĕmūēl (למואל, למואל, see above, § 21). Cp the Palmyrene לשמש (Λισάμσου) and the Phœnician לעשתרת, if at least the reading Λεαστάρτου, in Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18 be correct.

At the same time God is the *portion* of man—Hilkiah (חלקיהו); a *costly possession*—Magdi-el (מגדיאל); a *delight*—El-nāam (אלנעם); *health*—Shelūmi-el (שלמיאל).

God is great—Gĕdal-iah (גדליהו), for which Jer. 35 4 has Igdal-iah (יגדליהו). The vocalisation is that of the perfect tense, which can scarcely be right here; 𝔊 usually

38. Divine perfections.

[1] See Ex. 3 2 *ff.* Dt. 4 24, 'the pillar of fire,' etc.
[2] See also ARIEL, 1.
[3] See Ps. 27 4 *ff.* etc.
[4] These forms have the pronunciation of the perfect tense, see Ps. 47 9 93 1 96 10 97 1 99 1.

has Γοδολία(ς)—*i.e.*, גְּדַלְיָהוּ where *gĕdhol* seems to be a contraction of גָּדוֹל. Cp רבאל (Ῥαβήλου, Ῥάβιλος), which occurs in Palmyrene, Nabatæan, and Sabæan, as well as other compounds with רב; likewise the Sabæan אלכבר.

God is *perfect*—Jōthām (יוֹתָם); possibly, however, this is not a compound but a single word meaning 'orphan' (like יָתוֹם).

God is *high*—Jehoram (יְהוֹרָם), Ram-iah (רַמְיָה, unless this be a corruption of Jeremiah, יִרְמְיָה, or Rĕmă-iah, רְמַיָה). Cp the Phœnician בעלרם, רמבעל on an old Aramaic (?) *intaglio*; the Sabæan אלרם; the Sinaitic רמאל. So also the Syriac *Rāmīshō'* 'Jesus is high.'

God is *in front* (?)—Kadmi-el, (קַדְמִיאֵל). Cp the Sabæan אלקדם.

God is *glorious*—Jochébed (יוֹכֶבֶד fem.), which we should probably pronounce *Jōchābĕd*.

God is *blissful* (?)—Jehoaddin RV (יהועדין fem.), 2 K. 14 2 (Kt., for which the Kr. substitutes יְהוֹעַדָּן, Jehoaddān AV, according to 2 Ch. 25 1). Perhaps we may add Ladān RV (לַעְדָּן, which occurs several times in Chronicles), a contraction, it would seem, of אלעדן.

God is *incomparable*—Micha-ēl (מִיכָאֵל), Michaiah (מִיכָיְהוּ, which occurs also on an ancient Hebrew *intaglio*).

His *Godhead* is expressly affirmed in Ĕli-jah (אֵלִיָּהוּ), 'my God is Yahwè'; we even find Eli-el (אֱלִיאֵל), 'my God is God.' Cp the Egyptian Aramaic נבואלה, the Palmyrene אלהבל, Ἐλάβηλος. Whether Jo-el (יוֹאֵל) belongs to this category is doubtful, since it may perhaps correspond to ואילו (fem. ואילת), the commonest of all proper names in the Sinaitic inscriptions, the Arabic *Wā'il*[1]—*i.e.*, 'he who seeks refuge (with God)'; see above, § 14. We may add Elihu (אֱלִיהוּא), and probably Jehu (יֵהוּא, for Johu, יוֹהוּא, like Jēshūa, יֵשׁוּעַ, for Joshua יוֹשֻׁעַ).

Some other names compounded with El (אֵל) or Jeho (יְהוֹ) are very obscure. Thus Jahziel (יַחְצִיאֵל), Jahzĕ-ēl (יַחְצְאֵל) means 'God halves'; but how is this to be explained? Nor is it easy to account for שְׁמוּאֵל, Samuel, 'name of God,' though in Syriac we find שְׁמַבַּיְתָה, name of his house,' and in a recently discovered Phœnician inscription, שמובל fem., not to mention several other Syriac names compounded with שמא, and Sabæan names compounded with סם.[2] Possibly שמואל may signify 'bearing the name of God'; cp Ἀπολλώνυμος, Ἑκατώνυμος, 'named after Apollo (Hekate).' In the case of so well-known a name it is scarcely permissible to alter the pronunciation into Shĕmōel, 'his name is God,' although the 'Letter of Aristeas,'[3] probably composed in the first half of the first century, B.C., mentions in its list of translators two men called Σομόηλος as well as one called Σαμούηλος; see, however, below, § 42. Another obscure name is Misha-el (מִישָׁאֵל), which seems to be compounded with אל, since there is a name Mēsha (מֵישָׁא), and in Palmyrene we meet with מישא fem. (= Μαῖσα, the name of the Syrian grandmother of two Roman emperors). So also Bakbuk-iah (בַּקְבֻּקְיָה) can scarcely mean 'pitcher of Yahwè,' though the simple Bakbūk (בַּקְבּוּק, § 71) undoubtedly means 'a pitcher'; on the other hand the name Bukkiah (בֻּקִּיָּה) might be connected with the Syriac verb בקא, and if read as Bĕkāyāh, would signify 'Yahwè has tested.' Elihōreph (אֱלִיחֹרֶף) cannot possibly be interpreted as 'my God is winter';[4] and to translate the Edomite name, Eliphaz (אֱלִיפַז), by 'my God is pure gold' likewise sounds very strange. Of Jaareshiah RV (יַעֲרֶשְׁיָה) and Shērēbiah (שֵׁרֵבְיָה) no plausible explanation has as yet been offered. That the consonants of Shĕbaniah (שְׁבַנְיָהוּ) and Rĕmaliah (רְמַלְיָהוּ) are correct is proved by *intaglios* bearing שבניהו, שבנו, and רמליהו; but the Masoretic vocalisation here gives no sense. The writer of the present article is inclined to read *Shābanī-jah*, 'Yahwè has brought me back,' and *Rāmlī-jah*,[1] 'Yahwè is exalted for me,' but this is very far from being certain. Similarly the unintelligible Tĕbal-iah (טְבַלְיָהוּ) should perhaps be read Tōbli-jah, 'Yahwè is gracious to me.' In Āthaliah (עֲתַלְיָה), also the word לי may be contained, and in Othni-el (עָתְנִיאֵל), the suffix ־ני, cp Āthā-iah (עֲתָיָה, Neh. 11 4); the meaning of עתה in this connection remains, however, quite obscure. Finally Hăbazziniah RV (חֲבַצִּנְיָה, Jer. 35 3) may perhaps stand for Hăbāṣani-jah (חבצניה), 'Yahwè has reduced me to straits.' On the whole, it can hardly be doubted that the suffix *ani* is contained in some names where the Masoretic pronunciation conceals the fact. A few other names compounded with אל or יהו—*e.g.*, Uēl (אוּאֵל)—must here be passed over in silence; several of these are no doubt corrupt. Names compounded with words expressing relationship will be mentioned later (§ 43 *ff.*).

39. Obscure.

Other appellations of the Deity than Yahwè or El are comparatively rare in Israelite proper names. Ădōnī (אֲדֹנִי), 'my Lord,' occurs, *e.g.*—in Adoni-kam (אֲדֹנִיקָם), 'my Lord has risen up,' and in Adoni-ram (אֲדֹנִירָם), 'my Lord is exalted'; Adoniram appears in 2 S. 20 24 and 1 K. 12 18 as Adoram (אֲדֹרָם, but 𝔊 [A, and B in 2 S.] Ἀδωνιράμ; see ADONIRAM). Whether Adonizedek (אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק), the name of a mythical king of Jerusalem, means 'the Lord of righteousness,' or whether we should read some such form as Adoni-zaddīk, 'my Lord is righteous,' cannot be decided (see ADONI-ZEDEK).

40. Other divine names: Adoni.

The word מֶלֶךְ, 'King,'[2] as a name of God, is found in Nāthan-melech (נְתַן־מֶלֶךְ), 'the King has given,' Ebed-melech (עֶבֶד מֶלֶךְ, which occurs also in Phœnician, sometimes shortened into עבמלך; cp the Mohammedan name, 'Abd-almalik), and Regem-melech (רֶגֶם מֶלֶךְ), which seems to have the same meaning as Jeremiah (יִרְמְיָהוּ), the first part being probably verbal, 'the King has hurled.' *Malchi* (מַלְכִּי), 'my king,' is found in Malchi-ram (מַלְכִּירָם, Phœnician, מלכרם), 'my King is exalted,' and Malchi-shua (מַלְכִּישׁוּעַ), 'my king is help' (?).

41. Melech.

Baal (בַּעַל), 'lord,' which occurs so frequently in Phœnician proper names, may in early times have been used to a large extent by the Israelites also. In the OT, however, names formed with Baal are rare. Thus we find Esh-baal (אֶשְׁבַּעַל), 'man of Baal' (1 Ch. 8 33 and 9 39), which stands for איש בעל, ISH-BAAL (*q.v.*), 'man of Baal,' and in other passages is purposely altered into Ish-bosheth (אִישׁ בֹּשֶׁת), or even Ishui (יִשְׁוִי, 1 S. 14 49), while in 1 Ch. 4 21 it is wrongly spelt אַשְׁבֵּעַ, Ashbēa (cp the Phœnician אשתנת and such Arabic names as אמרי שמש, which occurs in Palmyrene inscriptions, perhaps also the Phœnician מתועשתרת, if at least the reading Μεθουάσταρτος in Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18 be correct); Bĕĕl-iāda (בְּעֶלְיָדָע), 'Baal knows' (where the Massoretic vocalisation intentionally disguises the word בעל; the name is altered into El-iāda [אֶלְיָדָע] in 2 S. 5 16 [but see LXX], and in 1 Ch. 3 8); Jerubbaal (יְרֻבַּעַל), 'Baal contends' (explained away even in the biblical narrative so as to mean 'he contends against Baal'); in 2 S. 11 21 it is distorted into Jerub-besheth (יְרֻבֶּשֶׁת). The same meaning belongs to Mĕrib-baal (מְרִיב בַּעַל, 1 Ch. 8 34 and 9 40), once wrongly spelt Meri-baal (מְרִי בַעַל), and in all other passages corrupted into מְפִיבֹשֶׁת or מְפִבֹשֶׁת, Mephi-bosheth (*q.v.*). To these must be

42. Baal.

[1] So Nestle, *loc. cit.* 132. The Phœnician יאל is, however, not a complete name, but only the beginning of one; hence nothing can be concluded from it.

[2] See further SHEM (NAMES WITH).

[3] See the edition of Moriz Schmidt in Merx's *Archiv*, i. p. 22 *ff.*

[4] חרף is in Hebrew the opposite of קיץ and therefore cannot mean 'the time of ripe fruits.'

[1] It is impossible for us to discover to what extent vowels originally long may have been shortened in the ordinary pronunciation of proper names.

[2] In those cases where the later Jews recognised מלך as the name of a (heathen) god they altered it into Μολόχ, Molech.

added the Edomite Baal-hanan (בַּעַלְחָנָן, Gen. 36 38 *ff.*), 'Baal has been gracious,' and perhaps the Ammonite Baalis (בעלים), a name of which the meaning is unknown.

43. Other divine names. The Babylonian form Bēl (בל), may perhaps be contained in Ashbēl (אַשְׁבֵּל, for Ish-bel, 'man of Bel'), unless the name be a mere corruption of אִשׁ בַּעַל, Ishbaal; a more probable instance is בִּלְדַּד, BILDAD (*q.v.*), 'Bel has loved' (?).

שַׁדַּי, of which the traditional pronunciation, Shaddāi, can scarcely be correct,[1] is found in the following names only—Shĕdē-ūr (שְׁדֵיאוּר), 'שַׁדַּי is fire,' Zūrishaddai (צוּרִישַׁדָּי), 'my rock is שַׁדַּי' (Σαρασαδαί [B], or Σαρισαδαι [ℵ], Judith 8 1); and Ammishaddai (עַמִּישַׁדָּי); see below, §§ 45 and 117. None of these names seems to be really ancient, and the same may be said of Pĕdahzūr (פְּדָהצוּר), '*the Rock* (*i.e.*, *God*) *has redeemed*.'

In Zĕlophĕhād (צְלָפְחָד, more correctly Ṣalpaḥad, 𝔊 Σαλπαάδ), the word פחד (paḥad) should probably not be taken as a name of God (cp פַּחַד יִצְחָק, the *paḥad* [fear] of Isaac, Gen. 31 42 53), since צלפחד seems to mean 'shadow (*i.e.*, protection) from terror.'

Although Gad (גד) is the name of a deity in Is. 65 11 (cp the Syrian name גדיהב, 'God has given'), Azgad (עזגד) appears to signify only 'fate is hard.'

In Shĕmīda (שְׁמִידָע), the word *shem*[2] may possibly be a divine appellation, as in the Syrian אחישמא (cp אחיה, Ahijah), and ברשמא (cp בר אלהא ,בן הדד).

On names formed from names of the Egyptian gods, see below, § 81.

The name of a foreign deity occurs in Obēd-ĕdōm (עֹבֵד אֱדֹם), but whether the vocalisation be correct is doubtful (see OBED-EDOM); עבד ארם is also a Phœnician name. In the following names borne by foreigners we likewise find mention of foreign gods—Ṭabrimmōn RV (טַבְרִמּוֹן), 'good is Rimmon'; Benhădad (בֶּן הֲדַד), 'son of Hadad'; Hădadĕzer (הֲדַד עֶזֶר), 'Hadad is help.' Possibly Hadad occurs also in Hēnādād (חֵנָדָד), which is usually explained as standing for חֵן הדד, 'favour of Hadad'; if this be so, we must suppose the name to have been adopted during the Exile by an Israelite who was not conscious of its real meaning, as happened in the case of the name Mordecai (מָרְדֳּכַי) and others.

44. Names of relationship: their syntax. We have next to discuss a group of proper names which consist of a noun expressing relationship coupled either with the name of a god or with some other word.[3] The interpretation of these names involves peculiar difficulties, owing chiefly to the fact that the commonest of the nouns in question, namely Ab (אב), 'father,' and Aḥ (אח), 'brother' take in the construct state the termination (*i*) which serves also as the suffix of the first person singular. Modern discoveries have proved beyond all possibility of doubt that, strange as it may appear to us, names expressing 'brotherhood' or some other relationship with a god were current among the ancient Semites (see ABI [NAMES WITH], § 4 *f.*, and cp AMMI, HAMU). The feminine proper name אחתמלך, on an ancient *intaglio*, names of Punic women such as חתמלך and חתמלקרת, as well as the masculine name חמלכת (*Himilcon*, *Imilcon*, etc.), in which the two component parts are of different genders, cannot be translated otherwise than 'sister of Melk,' 'sister of Melḳart,' 'brother of Milkath,' respectively. So we find the Abyssinian names Aḥwa Krestōs, 'brother of Christ,' Eḥta Krestōs, 'sister of Christ.' So also חמלך must mean 'brother of Melk.' Hence, too, the Hebrew Ahijah (אחיהו, and אחיו, Ahio; see above, § 24) is 'brother of Yahwè,' not 'my brother is Yahwè,' which of course would come to the same thing, while Joaḥ (יוֹאָח) can signify only 'Yahwè is (my) brother.'[1] The names Abiel (אביאל), Abijah (אביה), Abimelech (אבימלך), as also the Phœnician אביבעל (on an ancient *intaglio*), אבבעל, Ἀβίβαλος (Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 17 *ff.*, *Ant.* viii. 5 3), אבעל, and *Abillahas* (*CIL*, 8 9198)—*i.e.*, *אביאלה (probably the name of a Syrian)—are all more naturally explained as meaning 'my father is God, Yahwè, Melek,' etc., and with this it agrees that Abijah (אביה) is also used as a feminine name, like the Sabæan אבמלך ,אבעלי; the Phœnician אבנבעל, moreover, undoubtedly signifies 'our father is Baal' (cp Θεοπάτρα), and Abihu (אביהוא) can be nothing but 'my father is He.' We also find Abi (אבי) and Ahi (אחי) used in proper names precisely like El (אל) and Jeho (יהו), and we are therefore obliged to regard them as appellations *of the Deity*—*Abidan* (אבידן) *corresponding to Daniel* (דניאל), Abida (אבידע, Midianite) to Jeho-iada (יהוידע), Abi-nadab (אבינדב) and Ahinadab (אחינדב) to Jehonadab (יהונדב), Abiezer (אביעזר, of which Iezer, איעזר, is a contraction, as Ewald has shown)[2] and Ahiezer (אחיעזר) to Eliezer (אליעזר), Abiram (אבירם) and Ahiram (אחירם) to Jehoram (יהורם), Abi-asaph (אביאסף) and Eb-iasaph (אביסף) to El-iasaph (אליסף), Abishua (אבישוע, on an *intaglio*, אבשע) to Jehoshua (יהושע), Abiner (אבינר) and Abner (אבנר) to Nēriah (נריה, which is synonymous with Ἀχιώρ in Judith 5 5 *ff.*), Ahisāmach (אחיסמך) to Sĕmachiah (סמכיהו), Ahikam (אחיקם) to Adonikam (אדניקם), Ahishahar (אחישחר) to Shĕhar-iah (שחריה). Compare likewise ABISHUR (*q.v.*), אבישור, 'my father is a wall,' with the Palmyrene בלשור (Βηλσούρου), 'Bel is a wall.' Abiathar (אביתר, *Ebyāthār*) appears to mean 'my father is eminent,' and so יתר is used in several Sabæan names. Ahishar (אחישר) should perhaps be read Ahisar (אחישר), 'my brother is a prince.'[3] Cp the Sabæan names אבאמר (like Hebr. אמריהו, Amariah), אחירפע, 'the brother raises' (like Hebr. יהויקים, Jehoiakim), אחכרב, 'the brother is princely,' etc. The very ancient name, Abram (אברם), Abraham (אברהם), however, must signify 'high father,' since it stands in connection with Sarai (שָׂרַי), Sarah (שָׂרָה), 'princess,' and Milcah[4] (מִלְכָּה), 'queen.'

45. Second part abstract. In those cases where the second part of the name is an abstract term the grammatical analysis becomes more difficult. Here the rendering 'my father is —,' 'my brother is —,' appears to be supported by the following two considerations. Firstly, the use of 'father' in the sense of 'possessor,' 'one who has to do with a thing'—a use which in ancient Arabic is rare,[5] though it is common in the Arabic of the present day—does not occur in Hebrew, unless we reckon the obscure expression, אֲבִי־עַד, 'father of eternity,' in Is. 9 5 [6].[6] To employ 'brother' in the vague sense mentioned above would likewise be contrary to Hebrew usage. Furthermore, names with the prefix אבי or אחי are borne, in some cases, by women.[7] Hence Abihud (אביהוד), Ahihud (אחיהוד), must mean 'my father, brother, is glory,' and similarly Abitub (אביטוב), Ahitub אחיטוב (where טוּב, ṭūb, is to be rendered 'happiness,' or else changed into טוֹב, ṭōb, 'good,' as seems to be indicated by the ancient Aramaic name, אביטב, compounded with טָב, 'good'), Abinoam (אבינעם), Ahinoam אחינעם (נֹעַם, 'pleasantness'), Abihail (אביחיל, masc. and fem., חַיִל, 'strength'), Abigail (אביגיל, fem. גִּיל, 'exulta-

1 This pronunciation is based upon the impossible view that שַׁדַּי means 'One who suffices,' Gr. ἱκανός. The original pronunciation was probably שֵׁדִי, Shēdi (see SHADDAI).

2 On names compounded with this word see SHEM, NAMES WITH.

3 Cp WRS *RS*[2] 52 *ff.*, and see also ABI- and AHI-, AMMI-, and HAMU, NAMES WITH.

1 For another view see ABI (NAMES WITH, § 1).

2 *Hebr. Gram.* ed. of 1863, p. 667.

3 For another suggestion, see AHISHAR.

4 On these names see also the special articles.

5 This use is a development of the *kunya*, a form of nomenclature peculiar to the Arabs.

6 For another suggestion see ABIHUD; ABI, NAMES WITH, § 1.

7 It is true that the modern Arabs, in certain districts, apply *abū*, 'possessor,' even to a woman, *e.g.*, *abul-'uyūn alwujʿān*, 'the woman with languishing eyes.' The same meaning belongs to the Neo-Syriac phrase *mar ēnē mārʾe*, where *mar*, 'master,' stands for 'mistress' (see Socin, *Neuaramäische Dialekte*, 135, 10). It is very improbable, however, that this usage existed in Hebrew.

tion'), Abishalom (אבישלום) or Absalom (אבשלום, שלום, 'health,' 'peace'), which latter form is supported by 1 Macc. 13 11 'Αψάλωμος (one of the Hasmonæans, see Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4 4), and 'Αψάλαμος (see Miller), whilst the spelling 'Αβεσσαλώμ in 𝔊 (BA and sometimes L) is by no means inconsistent with it. To these may be added Ichābōd (איכבוד), 'my father is glory,'[1] and the feminine Abital (אביטל), 'my father is dew.'[1] In some cases, of course, the real meaning is doubtful. Thus Abishai (אבישי), Abshai, RV^mg (אבשי), Ithāmār (איתמר), Abishag (אבישג, fem.), Ahimaaz (אחימעץ), Ahi-thophel (אחיתפל), Ahimān (אחימן), Ahbān (אחבן, cp Eshban, אשבן), are all obscure (see the several articles); others are quite uncertain.[2] Ahimoth (אחימות) may perhaps mean the twin brother of a child born dead, or of a child who died immediately after birth.[3] Ahilud (אחילוד) is probably nothing more than 'a brother is born'—*i.e.*, Ah-yālūd[4] (אח־ילוד). The name of the Phœnician woman Jezebel (איזבל) can scarcely belong to this category (see JEZEBEL); cp two other Phœnician names, בעלאזבל and שמזבל (both fem.).[5]

It is therefore in accordance with analogy to interpret Hammu-el RV (חמואל) as standing for Hămū-el (חמואל, so already AV) 'brother-in-law of God,'

46. Uncle. like the Sabæan (חמאל) חמעתת (see further HAMU, NAMES WITH). The Sabæans also use חל *ḥāl* 'avunculus,'[6] as an appellation of the Deity, in the names חלכרב, חלידע, חלאמר just as they use עם 'patruus' in עמכרב, עמאמר, etc. This word עם (*'amm*) 'patruus' is common to all the Semitic languages and must at one time have been employed in Hebrew also; in certain phrases of the OT it still retains the general sense of 'a kinsman by blood.'[7] Hence we are led to interpret עם or עמי (*'ammi*), in certain Hebrew names, as 'my kinsman,' and to refer it to some deity (see further under AMMI, NAMES WITH). Ammi-nadab (עמינדב) corresponds exactly to Abi-nadab (אבינדב) and Jeho-nadab (יהונדב), Ammi-zabad (עמיזבד) to Jeho-zabad (יהוזבד), Ammihud (עמיהוד) to Abihud (אביהוד). The name Eliam (אליעם),[8] in 2 S. 11 3, instead of which 1 Ch. 3 5 has עמיאל, Ammi-el (found in several other passages), can hardly mean anything but 'my God is the kinsman,' or, if we follow the other reading, 'my kinsman is God.' In the case of Ammishaddai (עמישדי), it is possible that the narrator who coined the name intended עם to be understood as 'people,' and the name of David's son, EV Ithream (יתרעם), may naturally be explained as 'the people is eminent,' although the analogy of Abiathar (אביתר) tells in favour of the other interpretation (see further ITHREAM). The names of the two rival kings Rehoboam (רחבעם, Rĕḥab'ām) and Jeroboam (ירבעם, Yārob'ām), however, certainly appear to mean 'the people is wide' and 'the people increases'; it is conceivable that they adopted these names on coming to the throne, or that one of them, at his accession, adopted a name formed in imitation of his rival's.[9] On שבעם see above, § 30.

Perhaps Dodāvah (דודוהו) in 2 Ch. 20 37 (𝔊^L Δουδίου)

47. Dod, etc. may be a mistake for דודיהו (Dōdiyyāhu) 'my cousin (or friend) is Yahwè'; on shorter forms of the same see below, § 51 (end). Moreover, the name of the Edomite clan Ohŏli-bāmah RV (אהליבמה) appears to contain a word corresponding to the Arabic *ahl* 'kindred.' A similar formation is Ohŏli-ab RV (אהליאב), whether it be genuine or not; on the other hand, in Oholi-bah RV (אהליבה), coined by Ezekiel, the word אהל obviously has the sense of 'tent.' The ancient name רעואל (REUEL, *q.v.*) we may suppose to mean 'companion of God.' Compare such Abyssinian names as Arka Dengel, 'friend of the Virgin (Mary),' Bitza Ḥawāreyā, 'companion of the apostle.'

Ben (בן) 'son' appears nowhere as an integral part of a Hebrew proper name except in the case of Benjamin

48. Son. (בנימין), which perhaps means originally 'those who dwell to the right'—*i.e.*, the most southern portion of the tribes who went by the name of Joseph (2 S. 19 20 [21]). In the NT we find the Aramaic forms Barsabas (Βαρσαββᾶς—*i.e.*, ברשבא, *Barshabbā*), 'born on the Sabbath' and Βαρνάβας, a surname of which the sense is obscure (see BARNABAS). There are several instances of Aramaic names which designate the bearer as the 'son' of some god; but the only example in the OT is the Damascene בֶּן הֲדַד, Ben-hădad (*q.v.*). Compare such Abyssinian names as Walda Le'ūl, 'son of the Most High,' Walda Māryām, 'son of (St.) Mary,' Walda Gabreēl, 'son of (the angel) Gabriel,' etc. Cases in which a man is called not by his own name but by a patronymic (as happens several times in 1 K. 4; cp Βαριησοῦς, Acts 13 6 and probably Βαραββᾶς also), do not, of course, belong to this category. *Bath* (בת) 'daughter' occurs in Bath-sheba (בת שבע) and Bath-shua (בת שוע); but whether these really signify 'daughter of the oath' and 'daughter of help' may be questioned. Bith-iah (*q.v.*; בתיה) would mean 'daughter of Yahwè'; but the name is doubtful, though supported by the analogy of the Phœnician בת בעל. Compare such Abyssinian names as Walata Māryām, 'daughter of (St.) Mary,' Walada Madkhen, 'daughter of the Saviour.'

In all languages there is a tendency to shorten, or otherwise to modify proper names. This phenomenon,

49. Abbreviated names. which has so often been observed in the Indo-European languages, is likewise conspicuous in the languages of the Semites. To this cause it is largely due that, in the vast majority of cases, Arabic proper names take the form of nouns pure and simple. Thus when we find the name *Sa'd*, 'fortune,' used side by side with *Sa'd Manāt*, 'fortune from (the goddess) Manāt' (cp the Nabatæan שעד אלהי, and the Sabæan סעד עתתר, etc.), there can be no doubt that the simple *Sa'd* is an abbreviation. The same thing applies to *Wahb* and *Aus*, 'gift' (which are used sometimes alone and sometimes with the name of some god), as well as to many other words. Even a name like *'Alī*, 'high' (cp the Nabatæan עליו, 'Αλείου) may be a shortened form of עליאל (which also occurs in Nabatæan) 'God is high,' or of some similar compound; the Hebrew Ēli (עלי) is perhaps to be explained in like manner, and so also Rām (רם, as compared with יהורם, Jehoram). An analogous case is the Greek "Υπατος ('Υπάτης, 'Υπατίας), contracted from 'Υπατόδωρος; these names were current at Thebes, where Ζεὺς ὕπατος was worshipped (Fick, 271). The fact that the shorter name, taken by itself, offers a plausible sense constitutes no valid objection, for it not unfrequently happens that proper names, with or without change of form, acquire a meaning different from that which they originally conveyed.

Particularly clear examples of abbreviation are to be found among the Abyssinians, who often use part of a compound as a proper name, without further modification—*e.g.*, *Sĕbhat*, 'praise,' shortened from *Sĕbhat la-Ab*, 'praise to the Father,' *Tasfā*, 'hope,' shortened from *Tasfā Māryām*, 'hope in Mary,' or *Tasfā Ḥawāriyāt*, 'hope in the Apostles,' etc.; often, however, the termination *ū*, *ō*, or *iē* is added—*e.g.*, *Khailū*, *Khailiē*, for *Khaila Mīkāēl*, 'power of Michael,' etc., *Habtū*, *Habtō*, *Abtū*, for *Habta Māryām*, 'gift of Mary,' etc., *Tansiē* for *Tansēa Krestōs*, 'Christ is risen,' and so forth. To these may be added

[1] If the forms are not corrupt (see ICHABOD, ABITAL).

[2] The ancient Aramaic אחלבר and the Palmyrene אחיתור are also of doubtful meaning.

[3] Unless the word is corrupt; see AHIMOTH.

[4] For another suggestion see AHILUD.

[5] It should be mentioned that the real sense both of זבל Zebūl) and of Zĕbūlōn (זבולון) is unknown.

[6] See Praetorius, *Neue Beitr. zur Erklär. der himjar. Inschr.* 25.

[7] Cp M. Krenkel, *ZATW* ['88], 280 *ff.* With some details in this paper the writer of the present article is, however, not able to agree.

[8] Cp the Phœnician אלעם, and also אליעם which seems to occur on an *intaglio*. The עם which stands at the beginning of some other Punic names is merely a false spelling of אם, *i.e.*, אמה 'handmaid.'

[9] For another suggestion see JEROBOAM.

the Syriac צליבא, 'cross,' and צליבי, for צליבא זכא, 'the cros conquers.'

In like manner the Hebrews abbreviated names, no additional termination being primarily required—*e.g.*,

50. In Hebrew. Nathan (נתן), Zabad (זבד), Nadab (נדב), Asaph (אסף),[1] Hanan (חנן), Hoshea (הוֹשֵׁעַ, which occurs also on an ancient Hebrew *intaglio*), Azaz (עזז), Shaphat (שפט), Palal (פלל), which are obviously abbreviations of compounds containing some name of the Deity. The king who is called Ahaz (אחז) in the OT appears as *Yauḫazi—i.e.*, Jehoahaz (יהואחז)—in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III. (see *KB* 2 20). Similarly Giddēl (גדל) 'has reared,' must be a shortened form of some name in which God was mentioned, and the same thing applies to Ēzer (עזר), Pekah, (פקח, also on an *intaglio*), Zecher RV (זכר, also in Phœnician), Pelet (פלט), Shema, שמע (also on an *intaglio*, cp the Sabæan שמע), Ebed (עבד), Obēd (עוֹבֵד, cp the Arabic and Sabæan '*Abd*), Shemer (שמר). The name Zeraḥ (זרח) may be an abbreviation of Zĕraḥ-iah (זרחיה); but it is also possible that it was, at least in the earlier period, identical with Ezrāḥ (אזרח), 'indigena.' That all these abbreviations are correctly vocalised is very unlikely, and we may therefore hazard the conjecture that חֶלֶץ, חֵלֶץ, Helez (𝔊 Ἐλλής or Χελλής) is really חִלֵּץ (Hillez), a shortened form of some name resembling the Phœnician בעלחלץ, חלצבעל 'Baal has delivered.' The shortened form חלץ, which occurs also on an *intaglio*, perhaps corresponds to *Helis* (*Ephem. epigr.* 7 165). Azēl (אצל) seems to be shortened from Ăzal-iah (אצליהו), Ănāni (ענני) and Anān (ענן) from *Anāni-jah*, ענניה (see above, § 32, and cp the Palmyrene ענני and ענני, the latter signifying 'he has answered *us*'), Sheba (שבע) from some such form as Elisheba (אלישבע). Similarly מחת, which is found on an ancient *intaglio* probably of Hebrew origin, stands for מחתיהו, and in like manner we must explain מַתָּן, a common Phœnician name. Σαλώμη—*i.e.*, שְׁלוֹם—in the family of Herod and in the NT, is doubtless shortened from שלומיאל, or something of the kind.[2]

In many names the second part is represented by the termination *ā*, א ָ, the first part being sometimes preserved entire and sometimes abbreviated.

51. Contractions in *ā*. The fixity of the spelling favours the assumption that here the א was originally pronounced as a consonant, like the Arabic *hamza* (a slight guttural aspirate); only in a few cases has the vowel-letter ה been substituted for the א, in accordance with the later pronunciation. But the Aramaic abbreviations in א (*e.g.*, the Palmyrene זבדא, Ζαβδᾶς) were presumably pronounced with a simple *ā*; the same termination is fairly common in Phœnician names, and perhaps sounded as *ō*. Thus we find Abda (עבדא, also in Phœnician and Aramaic), Shimĕa EV (שמעא), Shimĕah (שמעה), Shammah (שמה), 1 S. 16 9 (probably for שמעיהו, Shemaiah), Uzza (עזא), and Uzzah (עזה), probably for עזיהו, Uzziah), Gēra (גרא, for some compound with גר 'ally,' cp the Phœnician גרסכן, גרעשתרת, גרמלקרת), Asa (אסא, for some such form as *אסאל, Asā-el = רפאל, Rephael), Shebna (שבנא), and Shebnah RV (שבנה for שבניהו, Shĕban-iah), Ishma EV (for ישמעאל, Ishmael), Ela RV (אלא) and Elah (אלה, for some compound beginning with אל), Joha (יוחא) for Johanan (יוחנן), Mica RV (מיכא) and Micah (מיכה) for Micaiah (מיכיהו), cp גמלא (in the Talmud) for גמליאל. Ara (ארא) should perhaps be pronounced Ura for Uriah (אוריהו). Some of these forms are altogether obscure—*e.g.* Baasha, *q.v.* (בעשא), Ămāsa, *q.v.* (עמשא), Ămāsai (עמשי), where the ש cannot be taken as the equivalent of a ס, Ziba (ציבא), Ziha (ציחא), the ancient Canaanite Sisĕra (סיסרא), etc. In Hannah (חנה), the ה ָ of the shortened form serves as the feminine ending, and the name therefore does not correspond exactly to the Phœnician חנא *Hanno*.

Other abbreviations have the ending י ִ (*ī*) or י ַ (*ai*), the first part of the name being sometimes more violently contracted.

52. In *ī* or *ai*. In these cases the vocalisation is not to be trusted implicitly; moreover, it is often doubtful whether the *ī* should be regarded as a sign of abbreviation or as the adjectival ending. Thus we find Zabdi (זַבְדִּי) in the OT, but Zabdai (זַבְדַּי) in Aramaic (cp Ζεβεδαῖος in the NT), shortened from some such form as[1] Zĕbad-iah (זבדיהו), and similarly Palti (פלטי) for Paltiel (פלטיאל), Ishi (ישעי) for Isaiah (ישעיהו), Jĕrēmai, ירמי (probably to be pronounced Jirmi) for Jeremiah (ירמיהו), Hanāni (חנני) for Hănan-iah (חנניהו), Abdi (עבדי, cp the Phœnician Ἀβδαῖος *i.e.*, עַבְדַּי, Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 21) for Obadiah (עבדיהו), Uri (אורי) for Uriah (אוריהו), Amzi (אמצי) for Amaziah (אמציהו), Imri (אמרי) for Ămar-iah (אמריהו), Zichri (זכרי) for Zĕchariah (זכריהו), Bani (בני) for Bĕna-iah (בניהו), Ăhi (אחי) for Ahi-jah (אחיהו), Bukki (בקי) for Bukkiah (בקיה, see above, § 38), Unni (עני) for Ana-iah (עניה), Shilhi (שלחי) for some name formed with שלח 'he sent,' Ahzai RV (אחזי) for Ahaz-iah (אחזיהו), Athlai (עתלי) for Ăthaliah (עתליהו), Jaasai RV^mg. יעשי (Kt. יעשו) for *יעשיהו, cp Asa-iah (עשיה), Helkai (חלקי) for Helkiah (חלקיהו), Zaccai (זכי, Ζακχαῖος in NT) for Zĕchariah (זכריהו), Zabbai (זבי) for Zĕbadiah (זבדיהו), Shammai (שמי) for Shĕma-iah (שמעיהו), יִשַׁי (EV JESSE [*q.v.*]) for Ishmael (ישמעאל?), Amittai (אמתי) for some name compounded with אֱמֶת. Similarly we may explain the Phœnician *Sichæus—i.e.*, *סכי—as standing for *Sicharbas—i.e.*, *סכרבעל, with סכר, as usual, instead of זכר. In many cases the contraction is such as to render the discovery of the original form impossible. The changes which proper names undergo in the mouths of small children account for a large number of these peculiar abbreviations—who could guess, to take modern examples, that Bob and Dick arose out of Robert and Richard? It would therefore be vain to inquire whether Bēsai (בסי) is for Bĕsōdĕ-iah (בסודיה), or Bēzai (בצי) for Bĕzalĕ-ēl (בצלאל). Jaddai (ידי, cp the Palmyrene ידי, Ιαδδαῖος) might well be shortened from Jeda-iah (ידיה) 1 Ch. 4 37; but this latter name is itself obscure.[2] Such forms in *ai* were particularly common in later times—*e.g.*, ינאי (Ἰανναῖος, cp. Jannai RV) for Jŏnāthān (יונתן), נתי (Ναθαῖος in the Epistle of Aristeas) for Nĕthanĕ-ēl (נתנאל), and many more in the Talmud, which also exhibits various other kinds of abbreviation.

There are some possible instances of shortened names with the ending *ō*—*e.g.*, Iddo, Ezra 8 17 (אדו, perhaps equivalent to the Phœnician ארא), Iddo (עִדּוֹ, עִדּוֹא, the prophet, etc.), of which the meaning is obscure; Dodo (דודו or דדו), as well as Dodai (דודי) and Dodi (דדי), might stand for *דודיהו, Dodi-jah. Pādōn (פדון) and Jādōn (ידון) possibly belong to the same category.

If we compare Joseph (יוסף) with Josiph-iah (יוספיה), or Jārīb (יריב) with Jeho-iarib (יהויריב), we can hardly doubt that the shorter ('increases,'[3] 'contends') are abbreviations of the longer ('Yahwè increases,' 'Yahwè contends') or of something quite similar.

53. Abbrev. imperf. names. Cp also Izrah, EV Izrahite (יזרח), 'rises' with Izrah-iah (יזרחיה); Jakīm, (יקים, Sabæan יהקם), 'raises' with El-iakim (אליקים); Jachin (יכין) 'fixes' with Jeho-iachin (יהויכין); Jephthah EV (יִפְתָּח) 'opens' with the name contained in גי יפתח־אל (valley of Jiphthah-el); Japhlēt (יפלט), 'rescues,' with *יפלטיהו (= פלטיהו, Pelat-iah); Yirḥām (ירחם, Yĕrahēm; MT Jĕrōhām) 'pities,' with Jerahmĕ-ēl (ירחמאל); Ibhar (יבחר), 'chooses' (cp Ἔκκριτος), with the ancient Aramaic יבחראל; to these we may probably add Imrah (ימרה),

[1] Cp the Phœnician feminine name אספת, Ἀσεπτ.

[2] Cp the name of Herod's daughter Σαλαμψιώ—*i.e.*, שלם ציון 'prosperity of Zion,' Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5 4—and see Dalman, *Gram.* 122, where some later Jewish corruptions of the name are mentioned.

[1] In what follows the phrase 'some such form as' is omitted as superfluous.

[2] For some reduplicated forms, see below, § 57.

[3] Cp the Arabic name *Yazīd*.

'resists,' and Mĕrā-iah (מְרָיָה), Yaḥboh (יחבה), 'hides' (1 Ch. 7 34, Kt.; see JEHUBBAH), and El-iahba (אליחבא, יהוק, on an *intaglio*), and Ezekiel (יחזקאל). The following names presuppose the Deity as the subject, and perhaps originally contained some divine appellation—Jāïr (יאיר), 'enlightens'; Jābīn (יָבִין), 'distinguishes,' 'perceives'; Igal (יגאל), 'ransoms' (cp פדיהו, Pĕda-iah); Jamlēch (יַמְלֵךְ), 'gives dominion' (cp the Palmyrene ימלכו, Ἰάμλιχος, in Greek literature Ἰάμβλιχος[1]); Imna (ימנע), 'wards off'; Imnah (ימנה), 'determines' (properly, 'counts'); Jaălah (יעלה) or Jaăla (יעלא), 'is high' (cp the Arabic *Ya'lā*), which last name, however, may possibly be from the Aramaic, and signify 'mountain-goat' (see below, § 68). Jaroah (ירוח) should perhaps be read *Yarwaḥ—i.e.*, '(God) enlarges'—cp the Sabæan ירהחב. To the same class may belong Jeush (יעוש or יעיש, if it be really the equivalent of the Arabic *Yaghūth*, Ἰέγουθος in Miller—*i.e.*, 'helps,' cp the Phœnician יעזר), and also Jair (יעיר, 1 Ch. 20 5), 'awakes.'

On the other hand, the bearer of the name seems to be the subject in the following:—Jibsām (יִבְשָׂם), 'is fragrant' (?), cp Băsĕmath (בשמת, Ἀρωματίνη), Jaălām (יעלם), 'is youthful' (?),

54. Simple imperf.

Jashub (ישוב),[2] 'returns' (cp Εὔνοστος), Imla (ימלא) or Imlah (ימלה), 'is full' (cp ימלא as well as מלא, Μαλῆ in Palmyrene), Jephunneh (יפנה, 𝔊 Ἰεφοννῆ), 'is brought back' (?), Izhār (יצהר), 'shines' (or 'oil'), Ishbāk (ישבק), 'leaves behind,' 'outruns'[3] (?), Ishuā (ישוה), 'is worthy' (?), from which Ishuī (ישוי) was probably formed by the addition of the adjectival ending, Isaac (יצחק), 'laughs' = ישחק, 'sports,'[4] Jacob (יעקב), 'follows'; the last two appear to have been originally names of gods. The following names, nearly all of which occur only once (in Chronicles), are altogether obscure—Ishpān (ישפן), Idbāsh (ידבש), Idlāph (ידלף), Jāzīz (יזיז), Jālōn (ילון), Jaakan (יַעֲקָן or יַעֲקָן), Jachan (יַעְכָּן), Ishbaḥ (ישבח). The same may be said of the national name Jĕtūr (יטור), if at least it be derived from טור and not from וטר.

A feminine form of this class is Timna (תמנע, Edomite), which perhaps originally presupposed some goddess—*e.g.*, Ashtōreth (עשתרת)—as the subject.

55. Prefixed *t*.

In the case of Tahan (תחן), the true pronunciation is possibly Tāḥōn, 'she is gracious.' Tēmān (תימן), 'south,' is primarily the name of a place.

Instead of a sentence, a simple participle or adjective expressing the same idea may often serve as a proper name; in such cases the Deity is usually the logical subject. Thus we find Zābūd

56. Adjective names.

(זבוד), 'given (by God)'; fem. Zĕbidah (RV following Kt. זבידה), Zĕbūdah (AV following Kr. זבודה), 2 K. 23 36 (cp the Aramaic זבידא, Ζεβειδᾶς, the Arabic *Zabīd*, also Δῶρος, Δωρώ, the Aramaic יהיבא, etc.); Bārūch (בָּרוּךְ), 'blessed'; Rĕhūm (רחום); Hānūn (חנון), 'pitied' (cp the Talmudic חנין, חנינא); Rāphū (רפוא), 'healed'; Gāmūl (גמול), 'benefited' (scarcely 'weaned,' cp גמליאל); David (דוד, דויד), 'beloved';[5] probably Mōdād (מודד, as the Samaritan text and the LXX read in Nu. 11 26 *ff.*, instead of the Masoretic Medad, מידד); perhaps Hobab[6] (חבב, cp the Aramaic and Arabic חביב, etc., נאהבת which occurs on an *intaglio*, also Φιλούμενος; names which at least, in certain cases, may have been intended rather to express love on the part of men); Sĕthūr (סתור), 'hidden' (cp the Talmudic סתריאל). To the same class belong, in spite of the different vocalisation, Zaccūr (זכּוּר), 'remembered'; Azzūr (עזור), 'helped'; Shammūa (שמוע), 'heard' (or rather, 'one with reference to whom a prayer is heard,' the prayer primarily being that of the mother);[1] Hasshūb (חשוב), 'thought of'; Jaddūa (ידוע), 'known'; Āmōs (עמוס), 'borne.' Probably we may add Meshullam (משלם), fem. Meshullemeth (משלמת), 'kept safe'; and Shallūm (שלום). A slightly different example is Sāūl (שאול), 'asked' (cp שאלתיאל, Shĕalti-el), with its exact equivalent in Aramaic שאילא, שילא (Σεειλᾶς, Σίλας), cp Θεαίτητος, Ἔπευκτος, etc.

It is possible that in several other cases laudatory titles, used as proper names, were originally understood as referring to some deity whose name was contained in them (see above, § 49).

57. Possible abbrev.

This might apply to Āmōz (אמוץ), 'strong' (cp אמציהו, Ămaz-iah); Zādōk (צדוק), 'just' (cp יהוצדק, Jehozādāk); Ram (רם) and Sĕgūb (שגוב or שגיב), 'lofty' (cp ונשגב יהוה, Is. 2 11 17). More doubtful cases are Adin (עדין), Adīna (עדינא), and עדן, Ēden, 'blissful' (in spite of יהועדין, Jehoaddin RV; יהועדן, Jehoaddān AV); Pārūaḥ (פרוח), 'blooming' in spite of the Talmudic פרחיה; Hārīph (חריף), Hārēph (חרף), 'sharp' (?—in spite of אליחרף, Elihoreph); Ēthān (איתן), 'perpetual.' In the case of the Edomite Hădad (הדד), the name of the god is all that has remained of the original compound, and the same remark may apply to Melech (מֶלֶךְ, cp אלימלך, Eli-melech), Mallūch (מַלּוּךְ), Baal (בעל, cp Βααλ the Tyrian, Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 21), Addon (אדון) and Addan (אדן, cp the Palmyrene אדונא), for which we should probably read Ādōn. It is quite possible, however, that these latter names mean nothing more than 'master,' as applied to human beings, like the Aramaic מרא, fem. מרתא, Μάρθα, and its variations. The personal name Gad (גד, and Gādi גדי?) is probably to be regarded as the abbreviation of a compound in which גד was either a god or else 'fortune.' The tribe of the בני גד[2] may also have derived their name from the god.

Thus, there can be no doubt that very many Hebrew proper names are in reality abbreviations. Among these must be included those reduplicated forms which originate with small children

58. Reduplicated forms.

(after the manner of 'Lili' for 'Elizabeth,' 'Mimi' for 'Marie,' 'Lulu' for 'Louisa')—*e.g.*, Shavsha (שושא),[3] Shisha (שישא), Shēshai (ששי), Shāshai (ששי), Shēshān (ששן), Shashak (ששק), Zaza (זזא), Ziza (זיזא).[4] To discover the original forms of such names is, of course, impossible. In Bēbāi (בבי) we seem to have the same term of endearment which, in the form *Babba*, served as the nickname of a well-known Arab,[5] and is found also in a N. African inscription—*Babbe* (for *Babbæ*) *f(ilius)*, see *Ephem. epigr.* 5 256; the word is ultimately identical with Engl. *baby*, Fr. *bébé*, words formed in imitation of an infant's first attempts to speak.

Of the names hitherto enumerated the vast majority have a religious meaning, and this is true even of many of those in which no god is expressly mentioned. The same thing may be said of the Semites generally; nor shall

59. Character of these religious names.

we be wrong in supposing that such was once the case among the Arabs, though long before Islām a great change had taken place in consequence of the growing tendency in favour of simple names. In Greek names also religious ideas are prominent, but less so than in the names of the Semites.[6] Great importance, moreover, must be attached to the fact that, as the above

1 *Iamlicus* in *CIL* 8 3332, is probably a Palmyrene. The Arabic name *Tamlik* (fem.) means only 'she has power,' 'she rules.'

2 But ישב, which is found on an ancient Hebrew *intaglio*, may be יָשָׁב, *i.e.*, יָשִׁיב (for אלישיב, Eliashib), according to 1 Ch. 7 1 (Kt.)

3 Cp שׁוֹבֵק which exactly corresponds to the Arabic *Sābiḳ*.

4 It would seem that the roots צחק and שחק were originally distinct.

5 For another possible explanation see DAVID (beg.).

6 For other suggestions see HOBAB.

1 Such abbreviations are common in names of this sort.

2 No importance can be attached to the fact that the Massoretic vocalisation distinguishes Gad the idol, as well as Gaddi (Nu. 13 11), from the other Gād, Gādi (see GAD, § 1).

3 For another explanation see SHAVSHA.

4 On reduplicated forms in the language of Arabian children, see Goldziher in the *ZDMG*, 33 607.

5 He derived the name from a verse uttered by his mother when he was an infant.

6 It is remarkable how few theophorous names occur in Homer.

parallels show, the names of the Hebrews hardly differ at all from those of the other Semites with respect to the religious conceptions therein expressed. These formations, it is to be remembered, go back to a remote antiquity; we must therefore be careful not to interpret them in too spiritual a sense. Names like 'God has helped,' 'God has delivered,' etc., referred no doubt originally to the help afforded by the Deity to the mother in granting her a child or in averting the peril of death. It is true that from the time of the prophets onward a more spiritual or at least a more general conception began to prevail. But a name like the Palmyrene בולחא (=בוללחא), 'Bol has wiped away, effaced,' also belongs to a more advanced stage of religious development, since the reference is to the effacing of sin.

We may now pass on to names of other kinds, mentioning some of those categories which are most important and most clearly defined.

60. Other kinds. In well-nigh every case these names consist of a single member only, though it will sometimes be necessary to include compounds, and even to refer back to names which have a religious meaning. It may be taken for granted that the meaning of a name applies, in strictness, only to the first individual who receives it. When once a name has been coined, it is liable to be used indiscriminately, that is to say, without any special reference to its original significance. We must admit, however, that among the Hebrews the real meaning of indigenous names could never be forgotten to so large an extent as has been the case among the nations of modern Europe.

Some names refer to the special position which the new-born child occupies within the family. If we were

61. First-born. better acquainted with the circumstances in which names have been coined, we should doubtless perceive that this class of names is really much larger than might appear at first sight. Thus, as was mentioned above, it is clear from Gen. 30 22 that Jephthaḥ (יפתחאל=יפתח, Yiftāḥ-el) means the first-born. The same meaning obviously belongs to Becher (בכר, from which is derived the adjectival form בכרי, Bichri), the equivalent of the Arabic *Bakr*, found also in Nabatæan and Sabæan; cp Πρωτογένης, Πρωτοκτήτης, Πρόγονος. For בכורת, 1 S. 9 1, some MSS. of 𝔊 have Βαχ(ε)ιρ,[1]—*i.e.*, בכיר or בכר. In 1 Ch. 8 38 (= 9 44) Bōchĕru (בֹּכְרוּ) is expressly stated to be the name of a man, but it was no doubt originally בְּכֹרוֹ, 'his first-born,' cp 8 30.

In the Semitic languages we find a considerable number of names from the root חלף, whereby a child is designated

62. Substitution. as a substitute for one lost. The Nabatæan חלפאלהי, 'substitute of God' (*i.e.*, given by God), proves that these names also originally had a religious sense, like Ἀντίδοτος, Ἀντίδωρος, which presuppose a giver; cp likewise Ἀντίγονος, Ἀντιφάνης, Ἀντίφαντος. Among the Jews the earliest specimens of names formed from the root above mentioned are Χαλφει (Chalphi RV), 1 Macc. 11 70 [AV], and Alphæus, Ἀλφαῖος in the NT, which corresponds to חילפאי in the Talmud. Probably, however, the same meaning underlies several other names—*e.g.*, Mănasseh (מנשה), 'he who causes (a loss) to be forgotten,' Menahēm (מנחם), 'comforter' (found also in Phœnician and ancient Aramaic, cp fem. מנחמת on an ancient *intaglio*, which is Palestinian but probably not Israelite), Nahūm (נחום, Phœnician נחם, Νάουμος of Aradus, *CIG*, 2526), also vocalised Nĕhūm (נְחוּם) and Naham (נחם), so likewise נחמני (Nahămāni) derived from נחמן, Tanḥūmeth[2] (תנחמת), 'comfort,' evidently an abstract noun (cp the Talmudic תנחום, תנחומא, Θανούμου), Nehem-iah (נחמיה), in which the reference to God still appears. The names Rĕphā-iah (רפיה), Rĕphā-el (רפאל, cp Arabic *Yarfā*), perhaps convey a similar idea; so also certain derivatives of שוב—*e.g.*, Mĕshōbab (מְשׁוֹבָב), Shōbāb (שׁוֹבָב), and, if it be really pre-exilic, El-iāshib (אֶלְיָשִׁיב). This last, at a subsequent time, no doubt, was supposed to denote restoration from the Exile. Rĕūbēn (ראובן) probably belongs to the same class, and may be explained as 'reparation' like the Palmyrenian רבת, *Rubatis*, the Arabic *Ru'ba*; but the interpretation, 'behold a son!' is also possible. The Arabic names *'Iyāḍ*, *Budail*, the Abyssinian *Fantō*, *Fantū*, *Tikkū*, *Matakkō*, *Kāsā* (the real name of King Theodore), likewise signify 'compensation.'

Jeshebĕ-ab [EV] (ישבאב, 1 Ch. 24 13) appears to be יָשֵׁב אב, 'he brings back the father'=Ἀντίγονος. It is true that Ἰσβαάλ in 𝔊[AL] seems to presuppose ישבבעל (*i.e.*, Baal); but in this case βααλ must be a scribal error, for the Chronicler would scarcely have bestowed such a name on a Levite.

Posthumous (Ἐπιγένης, Μετάγονος, etc.) is the most probable rendering of Akkūb (עקוב), Jacob (יעקב). In the case of the latter the essential point is that he was born after his brother.

The root עקב, which appears also in the Palmyrene בלעקב, עתעקב (Ἀθηάκαβος), the Syriac עקבלהא, the Talmudic עקבא, עוקבא, עקיבא, עקביה, the Arabic *'Oḳba*, *'Oḳaib*, admits of various other senses, and may perhaps also mean 'compensation.'

Twin occurs first in the NT name, Θωμᾶς (Thomas),

63. Circumstances of birth. explained as Δίδυμος (Didymus), which is itself a Greek proper name, corresponding to the Phœnician תאם. Θωμᾶς is תְּאוֹמָא, a Hebrew form with the Aramaic termination; the later pronunciation is תיומא.

Azūbah (עזובה), 'forsaken,' perhaps means a girl whose mother died in giving birth to her. The same idea may be conveyed by Azmāveth (עזמות), 'death is cruel,' by Gĕnūbath[1] (גנבת, cp the Talmudic and Syriac גניבא), and by the Aramaic form, Hatīpha (חטיפא, Ezra 2 54 = Neh. 7 56).[2]

The name Geber (גבר, 1 K. 4 13 19) expresses the joy

64. Child names. of the mother on having a *male* child; cp Job 3 3, הֹרָה גבר. It is of course possible that we should pronounce *Gibbōr*, 'hero.' Cp the Palm. גבר, the Ar. *Jabr*. On Ăhīmoth (אחימות), see above, § 45 end.[3]

Bēn (בן), '*son*,' in 1 Ch. 15 18, is very doubtful; perhaps it should be read בני—*i.e.*, it may suggest more or less distinctly the idea of 'my son,' like the Abyss. *Gōbāziē*, 'my boy.' Cp also the Talm. ינוקא, 'suckling,' ברונא, 'little son,' and the Ar. *Walīd*, 'son.'

Naărah (נערה), 'girl,' occurs in 1 Ch. 4 5 *f.*, and corresponds to the Talm. ילתא (for ילדתא). Cp the Nabatæan בנית, 'little daughter.'

Jaălām (יעלם, see above, § 54) may mean 'youthful, strong,' and Jāphīa (יפיע), 'tall of stature,' a name of this kind being often bestowed upon an infant as a *bonum augurium*.

Instead of Ahiam (אֲחִיאָם), we should probably read Ahi-ēm (אֲחִיאֵם), 'mother's brother,' and instead of

65. Relationship. Ăhūmai (אחומי), the form אחימי, according to 𝔊[Aa] (Ἀχειμαί)—*i.e.*, אחי אמי (Ahi-immi), 'my mother's brother.' So also in Aram. we find אחודמה, אחמה, not to mention other varieties of spelling; on this and similar expressions of relationship used as proper names, see an essay by the writer of the present article in the *WZKM*, 6 307 *ff.*[4] The idea is that the new-born child will at some future time stand by his mother, as if he were her brother. To this corresponds Ahab (אחאב), 'father's brother,' of which the more correct form is

[1] For other readings see BECHORATH.

[2] The vocalisation can scarcely be correct.

[1] See also GENUBATH.

[2] On the other hand the Palmyrene name גנבא means 'thief' like the Arabic *Sāriḳ*. Such a name might perhaps have been used by Israelites also at a very early period, when skill in stealing, or at least in robbing, was very highly esteemed.

[3] Instead of Gibbār (גבר), Ezra 2 20, we find in Neh. 7 25 Gibeon (גבעון, the name of a place), which is probably the right reading.

[4] A considerable number of fresh details might now be added.

probably Ahi-ab (אחאב), since 'Αχίαβος was the name of a nephew of Herod, and in Jer. 29 21 *f.* 𝔊 [BℵAQ] has 'Αχιάβ. Cp the Aram. אחא ראבוהי and several varieties of the same name. To the same class belongs Ah-iān (אחין) = Syr. אחינא, 'relative, cousin,' which also occurs as a proper name.

We now turn our attention to a group of names descriptive of physical peculiarities. Some of these may have been originally nicknames, like the corresponding names in Latin;[1] but Arabic usage seems to show that such terms, even when they are far from flattering, often served from the first as proper names in the ordinary sense.[2] This applies also to many Hebrew names of other kinds, such as those borrowed from animals.

66. Physical peculiarities.

Hakkātān (הקטן), Ezra 8 12, 'the small one'; the article is here not easy to explain. Cp the Phœn. קטן (doubtful), קטנא, the Talm. זעירא, etc., also *Pumilio*, *Pusilla*. Hăbakkūk (חבקוק), or (after 𝔊's αμβακουμ) חֲבַקּוּק (Habbākuk), might be explained as 'dwarf,' from the Arabic; but the meaning is extremely doubtful.[3]

The very ancient name, Laban (לבן), 'white,' corresponds to the Ar. *Abyaḍ*, to Λεῦκος and to *Albinus*.[4] The Levitical name, Libni (לבני, 𝔊BA Λοβεν[ε]ί), which has the adjectival ending, may perhaps convey the same sense. Hārūz (חרוץ) is probably 'yellow' (= *Flavius*?), and Zōhar (צחר), 'reddish white'; cp the Talm. סומקא, the Ar. *Aḥmar*, *Kŭmait*, the Lat. *Rufus*, all of which mean 'red.' On an ancient Hebrew *intaglio* we find the name שחרחר, 'blackish,' like the Syr. אוּכָמָא, the Ar. *Aswad*, *Sŭhaim* (which is also Sab.), etc., Μέλας, *Niger*.

Hārim (חרם, חרים) might be derived from חרם in its usual meaning, 'inviolable,' 'holy,' etc. Since, however, Hărūmaph (חרומף) is probably to be explained, with Gesenius, as חרום אף, we may conclude that the former name also signified 'with pierced nose,' like the Ar. *Aḥram*.

Heresh (חֶרֶשׁ, more probably Hērēsh, חֵרֵשׁ), or, in its Aram. form, חרשא, Harsha (cp the Palm. חרשא, 'Αρσᾶ), 'dumb,' = Ar. *Aḥras*. Chimhām (כמהם), Chimhan (כמהן, in Jer. 41 17 Kt. כמוהם), 'blind' (?). Atēr (אטר = Iṭṭēr), 'left-handed,' Σκαῖος, *Scævola*. Paseāḥ (פסח = Pisseāḥ), 'halting,' Ar. *A'raj*, etc., *Claudius*.

Kāreaḥ (= קָרֵחַ = Kērēaḥ, קֵרֵחַ), 'bald,' cp the Palm. קרחו, נביחתא, the Ar. *Akra'*, etc., *Calvus*. The Sinaitic קרחה, admits of another meaning. Kōraḥ (קֹרַח) appears to have been originally the name of a place ('bare surface').

Ikkēsh (עִקֵּשׁ), 'crooked,' cp Ar. *Aṣ'ar*, *Ṣu'air*.

Gideōn (גדעון) = Ar. *Jud'ān*, 'maimed.'

Gārēb (גרב), 'scabby,' cp Palm. גרבא, גריבא, Ar. *Juraib*, *Jarbā*.

Zerūah (צרועה), 'leprous' (fem.), like the Ar. *Abraṣ*.[5]

Among laudatory names may be mentioned Job (איוב), 'assailant,' *i.e.*, 'brave warrior' (cp Ar. *Muḥārib*); Bārāk (ברק), 'lightning'; Mered (מרד), 1 Ch. 4 17, 'resistance,'[6] unless this be the name of a place, of which in Semitic countries there are several derived from the root מרד. To these may be added כלב, CALEB [*q.v.*] (of which Chĕlūb, כלוב, and Chĕlūbai, כלובי, are probably incorrect variations), 'raging with canine madness'; a brave warrior may be compared to a mad dog, as is shown by the corresponding Arabic name *Aklab* (which occurs also in Nabatæan). On the other hand, Nabal (נבל), 'fool,' can hardly have been the real name of the foolish man who refused his services to David. On laudatory proper names, see also above, § 57. To the same class belong Nĕzīaḥ (נציח), 'excellent' (Aram.); Naămān (נעמן, cp Ar. *Nu'mān*), and the fem. Naămah (נעמה), 'pleasant,' together with several other Arabic names from the root נעם; Dĕlīlah (דלילה), probably 'delicate.' We might add Asher (אשר), which perhaps means 'happy'; but it may also be taken as an abbreviation of the obscure name which appears as Ăsar-ēl RV (אשראל) or Aśri-el (אשריאל) in the MT. The notion of 'long life' seems to be expressed in Huldah (חלדה, fem.), Hēled (חלד, very doubtful), and Heldai[1] (חלדי); cp Arabic *Ḥālid*, *Maḥlad*, *Yaḥlud*. Similarly Amōn (אמן), AMNON (*q.v.*, אמנון), may signify 'safe,' out of danger.

67. Laudatory.

Names borrowed from animals (not always, it should be observed, of the nobler and stronger kinds) are found among the Hebrews as well as among the Arabs and other races. That the name of the 'lion' is so used does not appear certain, since Arieh (EV האריה), 2 K. 15 25, may be open to question, on account of the article.[2] 'Αρί, Josephus, *BJ*, vi. 1 8 vi. 2 6 vii. 5 5, may be an abbreviation. Instead of Laish (לַיִשׁ) of 1 S. 25 44 we find לוש in 2 S. 3 15 Kt., and 𝔊BL diverges in both passages; but ליש, corresponding to the Ar. *Laith*, 'lion,' is probably the right reading. The same meaning belongs to *Asad* ("Ασαδος, Miller), a favourite name with all Arabs; cp Λέων, *Leo*. Zĕēb (זאב, a name said to have been borne by a Midianite prince) is 'wolf'; cp Arabic *Dhi'b*, also Λύκος, *Lupus*. Zibĕōn (צבעון), 'male hyæna';[3] cp Arabic *Ḍubā'a*, *Ḍubai'a*. Shuāl (שׁוּעָל), 'fox'; cp Ar. *Thu'al*, Gk. 'Αλώπηξ.

68. Animal names.

Eglah (עגלה, fem.), 'cow,' cp Ar. *'Ijl* (masc.), *'Ojail*, Palm. עגילו ('Ογῆλου, fem. 'Ογήλη), Sab. עגלם, Gk. Πόρτις, Δάμαλις, etc., *Vitulus*.

Zibiah (צביה) fem., צביא, Zibia, masc. 1 Ch. 8 9), in its Aram. form Ταβιθά (Acts 9 36 40), 'gazelle.' Cp Phœn. צבא, Ar. Zabya, etc., also Δορκάς, Νεβρίς, etc. Similarly Ēpher (עפר), and the diminutive form Ephrōn (עפרון), seem to mean 'young gazelle'; cp Ar. *Ghazāla Farkad*, etc. Some animal of a kindred species is denoted by Dīshōn (רשן, רישון), Dishān (רשן). In like manner Lēāh (לאה, fem.) perhaps means a kind of gazelle, corresponding to *La'y*, *Luwaiy* in Arabic; Ărōn (ארן), Ărān (ארן, according to the Syr. *Arnā*), is 'mountain-goat,' like Jāēl (יעל, fem.), of which Jaala (יעלא), Jaalah (יעלה), may be the Aram. form (see above, § 53); cp Arabic *Wa'la* (masc. form Οὐάλου). The Arabic *Badan* and *Arwā* (fem.) have the same meaning.

Immēr (אמר), 'male sheep,' corresponds to the Arabic *Ḥamal*; and Rachel (רחל), 'ewe,' to the Arabic *Ruḥaila* (diminutive form).

Hămōr (חמור), 'ass' = Arabic *Ḥimār*, Lat. *Asellus*.

Hēzir (חזיר), 'boar' = Arabic *Ḥinzīr*, and still at the present day *Ḥanzīr*.[4] The name בני חזיר, which may seem strangely inappropriate in the case of the Jews, is confirmed by an inscription of this very family; the pronunciation Hēzir, which is also that of 𝔊BL, has been adopted in order to distinguish the name from Ḥăzīr. By the 'boar' is here meant the wild boar, as a type of combativeness. The names Κάπρος, *Aper* were similarly used; the corresponding term *Varāz* appears frequently as a proper name among the aristocracy of the Sasanian Empire.

Shaphan (שפן), the name of an animal similar to the marmot (hyrax)—cp the synonymous Arabic names, *Wabr*, *Ubair*.

Achbōr (עכבור), 'mouse'—cp עכבר on an Israelite *intaglio* and several times in Phœnician inscriptions,

[1] For what follows many English, German, and other modern European *family names* might be quoted.
[2] Cp such names as Παναίσχης, Αἰσχύλος in Greek.
[3] See also HABAKKUK.
[4] For another view see LABAN.
[5] See, however, ZERUAH.
[6] For another view see MERED.

[1] But see also HULDAH, HELED, HELDAI.
[2] See ARGOB, 2.
[3] The many animal names among the inhabitants of Seir (Gen. 36) have been noticed by WRS (*Kin.* 218). In some points, it must be admitted, he has gone too far, and his explanation of the facts does not appear satisfactory to the writer of the present article.
[4] See Jones in the *Record of the Bombay Government*, 43 60.

Arabic *'Akbar* and the synonymous *Fa'r*, etc., also Μῦς, *Mus*.

Aiah (איה), 'hawk,' or some such bird of prey, corresponds to the Arabic *Ḥida'*, *Ḳash'am*, Gk. Ἱέραξ.

Ōrēb (ערב, a name ascribed to a Midianite prince), 'raven' = Arabic *Ghurāb*, Gk. Κόραξ, Lat. *Corvus*.

Jonah (יונה), 'dove,' is a man's name, like the corresponding Arabic names *Ḥamām*, *Ḥamāma*. The Arabic *Fāḥita*, Gk. Περιστερά, Τρυγών, Φάττιον, are names of women.

Hoglah (חגלה), partridge'—the word may have the same meaning when it is the name of a place, shortened from בית חגלה.

Zippōr (צִפֹּר, צִפּוֹר, fem. Zippōrah, צִפֹּרָה), 'small bird' = Palm. צפרא (Σεφφερα), Arabic, *'Uṣfūr*, Gk. Πίπος, Στροῦθος.

Nahash (נחשׁ), 'serpent,' with its diminutive Nahshōn (נחשׁן), corresponds to the Arabic *Ḥaiya*, *Ḥanash*, *Af'ā*, etc., Gk. Δράκων. Nĕhushta (נחשׁתא, fem.) is doubtful. Saraph (שׂרף) also denotes some kind of serpent.

Nūn (נוּן, Nōn, נוֹן), 'fish.' So ancient a name may perhaps be connected with the worship of fish-deities which is known to have prevailed in those countries; to this Exod. 20 4 refers, 'or that is in the water under the earth.'

Hagab (חגב), and, in its Aram. form, Hăgaba (חגבא), Hăgābah חגבה (cp AGABA, AGABUS), 'grasshopper,' corresponds to the Arabic *Jarād*, *Jundūb*, Gk. Ἀκριδίων. Gazzām (גזם) is probably another form of *gāzām*, which has the same meaning (*e.g.*, Joel 1 4).

Dĕbōrah (דבֹרה, דבורה, better it would seem, Dibbōrah, דִבּוֹרָה, according to 𝔊's form Δεββώρα), 'bee,'—cp Μέλισσος, fem. Μέλισσα.

Parosh (פרעשׁ), 'flea,'—cp Ψύλλος, Ψύλλα, and the African priest, L. Cæcil. Saturninus *Pulex* (*Ephem. epigr.* 5656).

Gaal (געל) is explained by Wellhausen (*IJG* 26, 2nd ed. 44) as equivalent to the Arabic *Ju'al*, 'dung beetle'; but this is uncertain, although Josephus seems to have the form Γυάλης. Cp Κάνθαρος, fem. Κανθάρα, Σήραμβος.

Tola (תולע), 'worm,'—the Arabic names, *Du'ād*, *Dūdān*, perhaps have the same meaning.

69. Plant names. Names borrowed from *plants* are much rarer. Tāmār (תמר, fem.), 'date-palm,' seems to have no equivalent among Arabic proper names; since names of this class are many in Arabic, it must appear strange that the queen of trees is unrepresented. Allōn (אלון), 'oak' or 'terebinth,' 1 Ch. 4 37, is perhaps properly the name of a place, like Ēlōn (אילון, אלון), Tappūaḥ (תפוח, see § 10), and Eshcōl (אשׁכל, Gen. 14 13 24), the representative of the נחל אשׁכל, 'valley of grape-clusters'; Wellhausen is probably right in identifying Ānub (ענוב, 1 Ch. 4 8), with the place called Ănāb (ענב) in Josh. 11 21 15 50 (*De gent.* 34 *ff.*). Lĕbāna (לבנא), Lĕbānah (לבנה), is perhaps 'poplar,' properly 'the white tree,' like the Aram. חורא; elsewhere the poplar is called *libneh* (לבנה).

Rimmōn (רמון), 'pomegranate,'—cp Ῥοῖος, fem. Ῥοιώ. Zēthān (זיתן), Zēthām (זתם), may signify 'olive,'—from a similar form is borrowed the Arabic word *Zaitūn*. Hădassah (הדסה), 'myrtle'; cp Μύρτη, Μύρτιον, Μυρίννη.

Σωσάννα, Σουσάννα (Susanna), in the apocryphal addition to Daniel and in the NT is שׁושׁן or שׁושׁנה, 'lily'; this name appears as Σωσάνη, in the old Semitic myth from Ctesias, Diod. Sic. 2 6; cp Λείριον (fem.).

Kōz (קוץ), b'ne Hakkōz (בני הקוץ), 'briar'; many Arabic proper names are borrowed from thorny plants, which symbolise men formidable to their enemies; cp Ἄκανθος.

It is not certain whether there are any Hebrew names denoting a trade or profession; in Arabic we find only a few such—*e.g.*, *Ḥārith*, 'ploughman'; *Najjār*, 'carpenter.' Carmi (כרמי) probably does not mean 'vine-dresser,' but is to be taken as an adjective designating

70. Trade names. race (cp CARMI). בן־הרקחים (AV 'son of [one of] the apothecaries'), Neh. 3 8, is one whose parents or ancestors were *aromatarii*; accordingly we should read, in the same verse, בן־הצורפים, 'son of the goldsmiths.' Such appellations are not rare in Syriac. The בני הלחשׁ ('sons of the *lōḥēsh*'; see HALOHESH), traced their descent from a magician, the בני הספרת ('sons of the Sophereth'), from a female scribe (!), whilst the בני פחת מואב ('sons of Pahath Moab'), were proud to call themselves after an ancestor who had been governor of Moab. A singular nickname is given to the mother of the family known as בני פכרת הצבים ('the sons of Pochereth-hazzebāīm'), 'she who fetters the gazelles,' which seems to mean that she was so swift of foot as to overtake these animals.[1] The above designations are of course not to be regarded as real names. Arah (ארח) might be the Aramaic word for 'wanderer' (corresponding to the Hebrew Orēaḥ). Heber and Hēber (חבר) appear to be wrongly vocalised; the form Ḥōbēr might be a real name, meaning 'enchanter,' whereas Ḥābēr would be 'associate.'

71. Names from objects. In Arabic, very many names are derived from objects of various kinds. Such names are suggested sometimes by a resemblance between the person and the object, sometimes by a purely accidental circumstance attending the birth. The present writer was once informed by Wetzstein that among the Bedouins a girl might be named *Thalje*, 'snow-flake,' because it happened to be snowing when she was born. It is, of course, impossible in most cases to guess what gave rise to such names. Among the Hebrew names hitherto unexplained, there may be some which belong to this class, though it does not seem likely that they are very numerous. We may here mention Hōthām (חותם), 'seal,' like the Gr. Σφραγίς; the same meaning probably belongs to (בני) טבעות, sons of Tabbāōth, where the plural form, strange as it appears, is attested also by 𝔊. Pūrah [RV] (פרה), if correctly vocalised, is 'wine-press.' Bakbūk (בקבוק), 'pitcher' (cp the Aram. name Χουζᾶ[ς], Chuza, *i.e.*, כוזא, 'pitcher,' Lk. 8 3). Rebecca (רבקה, *Ribhḳah*, Ῥέβεκκα), 'cord,' especially such as was used for tying sheep (that her daughter-in-law is called Rachel [רחל], 'ewe,' may be an accidental coincidence). Rizpah (רצפה), 'pavement,' Achsah (עכסה), 'anklet' (for women). This last belongs to a special category, namely, that of names borrowed from articles of luxury, of which the following also are examples:—Pĕninnah (פננה), probably the singular of פנינים, 'corals,'[2] Shoham (שׁהם), some precious stone (perhaps the onyx). Keziah [RV] (קציעה), 'cassia,' and Keren-happuch (קרן הפוך), 'box of face paint.' The last two are ornamental titles bestowed by the poet upon the daughters of Job. Perhaps we may include in the same class the somewhat doubtful name Zĕri (צרי), which may be another form of ṣŏri (צרי), 'storax,' and Zerūiah (צרויה fem.), which may mean 'one who is perfumed with storax.' Cp Μύρος, fem. Μυρώ, also Bāsĕmath [RV] (בשׂמת).

72. Time. The time of birth may have suggested the names Nogah (נגה) and Moza (מוצא), 'sunrise'; but it is also possible to explain them as metaphors. An analogous case is Shahăraim (שׁחרים), 'dawn,' if the form be correct. A similar assumption being made, Hōdesh (חדשׁ, fem. 1 Ch. 8 9) signifies 'born at the feast of the new moon'; cp Phœnician בנחדשׁ which is rendered by Νουμήνιος. Shabbĕthai (שׁבתי, Σαββαταῖος in the *Letter of Aristeas*) is clearly 'one born on the Sabbath' like Βαρσαββᾶς in the NT (see above, § 48). Haggi (חגי), Haggai (חגי), fem. Haggith (חגית),[3]

[1] In old Arabic poetry a horse used for hunting is styled *Ḳaid al 'awābid*, 'fetter of the flying animals.'

[2] See RUBY.

[3] Haggiah (חגיה, the name of a man, 1 Ch. 6 15 [30]) can hardly be correct; the only possible rendering would be 'my feast is Yahwè.'

probably mean 'born on the feast day.' Perhaps Mōadiah (מועדיה, see § 32) may have the same sense. Names of this kind, usually compounded with *ben* (בן) or *bar* (בר) as the case may be, are employed by other Semites, in particular by the Syrians.

73. Direction. An idea of direction is expressed in the names Jāmin (ימין), Ben-jamin (בנימין), Min-iāmin (מן ימין) or Mijamin (מימין), and Zĕphōn (צפון, צפין Ziphion). Both בנימין and צפון (a son of Gad) seem to be properly names of districts, 'southern' and 'northern.'

We may here add the strange names Jaăkōbah (יעקבה), 'towards Jacob,' and Chenaănah (כנענה), 'towards Canaan.' Moreover in 1 Ch. 25 14 Jĕsharēlah [so EV] (ישראלה, for which *v.* 2 has Ăsharēlah, אשראלה) may naturally be taken to mean 'towards Israel.'

74. Abstract. The Arabs use also many abstract nouns as proper names. To account for such names is sometimes even harder than to account for those which are borrowed from material objects. A few examples of this class have already been mentioned incidentally (cp Gr. Ἰσότης, Ἀβροσύνη, Σωφροσύνη, etc.). We may cite here, מנוח, Manoah, 'rest,' (unless it comes from the root מנח, 'to present a gift,' and therefore belongs to the category in § 57); Mērab (מרב) probably 'increase'; Maḥlōn (מחלון) and Chiliōn (כליון), 'sickness' and 'wasting' (two persons who are introduced into the narrative for the purpose of explaining how two young women came to be widows); Nābōth (נבות, masc.), perhaps 'height'; Tikvah (תקוה, masc.), 'hope'; Rinnāh (רנה, masc.), 'shouting'; Sācār (שכר), 'reward' (from God); Tĕhinnah (תחנה, masc.), 'request' or 'favour'; Hezion (חזיון, an Aramæan), 'vision'; Mīchāl (מיכל, fem.), perhaps 'power'; Harhūr (חרחור), 'fever.' That Mirmah [RV] (מרמה), 'deceit,' should be the right form seems very improbable. Τωβ[ε]ίτ, Τωβειθ, Tobit (masc.), 'goodness,' appears in post-biblical Jewish writings as טבית, טבות. Māhōl (מחול) might be 'dance,' were it not that Mahlah (מחלה, masc. and fem.), Maḥălath (מחלת, fem.) and Mahli (מחלי, the name of a family of Levites) point to some other derivation than that from חול; the uncertainty of the vocalisation here renders it impossible to draw any conclusions. Amongst the names ending in *ōth* (וֹת) there may be some abstract nouns which perhaps should be pronounced with *ūth* (וּת); but nearly all of

75. Final ṁ. these are very doubtful, and in some cases even the form varies. Thus the man who is called Mĕshillēmōth (משלמות) in Neh. 11 13 2 Ch. 28 12, is called Mĕshillēmith (משלמית) in 1 Ch. 9 12; in this last passage (as in 2 Ch.) 𝔊 has -ωθ [BAL], whereas in Neh. 11 13 one reading [ℵ^c.a mg. inf.] is -ιθ.[1] In like fashion the same man appears as Shĕlōmoth (שלמות) and Shĕlōmith (שלמית), the former being used as a name elsewhere. To settle the precise meaning is hardly possible. Nor can we explain Mĕrēmoth (מרמות, masc.); though it is once spelt מרמת it may perhaps be compounded with מות, 'death.' The same word is possibly contained in Jĕrīmoth (ירימות), Jĕrēmoth (ירמות), and doubtless in Azmaveth (עזמות, § 63). Lappidoth [RV] (לפידות, masc.), 'torches,' is no less suspicious in appearance than Mikloth (מקלות, Μακελ[λ]ώθ), 'rods.' On the other hand, Jĕriōth (יריעות), 'tents' (1 Ch. 2 18), may be originally the name of a place. Nĕbāiōth (נביות), 'heights' (?), the name of a people, seems to be a real plural, like the names of modern Arabian tribes in -*āt*.

The plural forms Huppim (חפם, חפים, Gen. 46 21; 1 Ch. 7 15) and Shuppim (שפים, שפם, 1 Ch. 7 12 15 26 16, for which Gen. 46 21 has Muppim, מפים) are proved incorrect by the adjectives Hūphāmite (חופמי) and Shūphāmite (שופמי). The form Shĕphūphām [RV] (שפופם, Samaritan שופם) is found in Nu. 26 39, and Shĕphūphān (שפופן) in 1 Ch. 8 5. Both form and meaning are here quite uncertain. The same may be said of Shāphām (שפם, the name of a man), Shĕphām (שפם) and Siphmoth [EV] (שפמות, names of places), and also of the adjective Shiphmite (שפמי). Whether the dual Diblaim (דבלים), as the name of a man, be correct, it is impossible to say, since the meaning of the word is unknown.

[1] Bℵ*A omit; L has -ωθ.

76. Final ī. Adjectives in -*ī* (*gentilicia*) appear to have been very rarely used as names in the strict sense. Thus we find Jehūdi (יהודי, Jer. 36 14 21 23); the man in question is thereby designated as a real Judæan, perhaps in consequence of the fact that his great-grandfather, to judge by his name Cushi (כושי), was a native of Æthiopia. Similarly we find a Bœotian named Βοιωτός, a Molossian named Μολοσσός, a Thessalian named Πετθαλός (*i.e.*, Θετταλός); see Fick, 340. A Judith [EV] (יהודית) appears even in Gen. 26 34, and in the well-known romance the heroine bears the name Ἰουδειθ, as being the ideal of religious and political virtue. The Cushi who was a member of the royal family, according to Zeph. 1 1, very possibly had a mother belonging to some black race. The man called הכושי (the Cushite) in 2 S. 18 and עבד מלך הכושי (Ebed-melech the Cushite; EV Ethiopian), who is mentioned several times by Jeremiah, were no doubt of African extraction; cp כשי in the Phœnician inscription of Elephantinè, which is contemporaneous with Jeremiah. We also find Bĕēri (בארי, or ברי, Bēri, 1 Ch. 7 36), 'belonging to the well,' or 'belonging to the place called Beer,' and Gēhăzi (גחזי or גיחזי), which has the appearance of being derived from the name of some place compounded with גי or גיא (*Gē*, valley); we are reminded of the mysterious phrase גי חזיון (Ge-hizzaiōn, 'valley of vision') in Is. 22 1 5. On the many names ending in *ī* in the genealogies, see above, § 52—these are used simply as adjectives. So far as the form is concerned we must include in the same class names like Omri (עמרי), Barzillai (ברזלי), 'made of iron' (cp the Punic *Birzilis*, genitive case, *Ephem. epigr.* 5 40) and Shimshai (שמשי), 'solaris,' the name of a non-Israelite; in later times Shimshai appears among the Syrians as Σαμσαῖος, Σαμσέος, and the brother of Simeon Stylites was called שמשי. Though the grammatical form of these three names offers no difficulty, their origin and meaning are quite obscure.[1] שמשי might also be regarded as an abbreviation of some name like שמשגרם (Σαμψιγέραμος), which was not rare among the Aramæans.

77. Final ān, ōn, ām, ōm. A considerable number of names end in ָן (*ān*) or וֹן (*ōn*), for which, in some cases, the archaic termination ָם (*ām*) or וֹם (*ōm*) is substituted. Whether these terminations are really identical is by no means certain. Sometimes וֹן appears to be a diminutive termination—*e.g.*, in Ephrōn (עפרון), 'hinnulus'; Eglōn (עגלון), 'vitulus,' Arabic '*Ojail;* Nahshon (נחשון), 'small serpent'; Samson (שמשון, *Shimshōn*), 'small sun,' like the Arabic *Šumais* (name of a man); Abdon (עבדון), diminutive form of the abbreviated name Ebed (עבד), like the Arabic '*Obaid*. Other examples of these terminations are—Hemdān (חמדן), Gen. 36 26 (so also in 𝔊 [ADL] and Samaritan text), but Hamrān (חמרן) in 1 Ch. 1 41 (𝔊^AL follows Gen.) probably 'desirable,' like the Arabic *Hamdān;*[2] Amrām (עמרם), probably 'in good condition'; Chimhān (כמהן), Chimhām (כמהם), and Gideōn (גדעון); see above, § 66. Malcham (מלכם, 1 Ch. 8 9) is open to suspicion. No definite meaning can be extracted from Simeōn (שמעון), Gērshōm (גרשום), Gērshōn (גרשון), Ōnām (אונם), Ōnān (אונן), Hēmām (הימם, Gen. 36 22, for which 1 Ch. 1 39 has Hōmám, הומם), Hēmān (הימן), Bilhān (בלהן; the fem. Bilhah, בלהה, is also obscure), Balaam (בלעם, Bil'ām). As for Īrām (עירם) and Ērān (ערן), they are no less difficult to explain than Īr (עיר), Ēr (ער), Īrā (עירא), Iri (עירי), Ēri (ערי), Iru (עירו),—forms of which some are doubtless incorrect. In Rĕūbēn (ראובן, as in ירדן, *Yardēn*,

[1] For other possible explanations see OMRI, BARZILLAI, SHIMSHAI.
[2] See also HEMDAN.

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EV Jordan), we seem to have a variation of *ān*, if the view expressed in § 62 be right. The *n* disappears in שלמה, Shĕlōmō, EV Solomon (=Arabic *Salāmān*), 'peaceable' or 'happy,' and probably in יתרו, EV Jethro (= *Yithrān*, יתרן), 'eminent.'

Had all Hebrew names been transmitted to us in their correct form, we should presumably be able to point out in them many *archaisms* and *dialectic peculiarities*. As it is, the most noteworthy phenomenon of this kind is the retention of the ancient feminine ending ת in a few OT names—a form which survives in Phœnician and even in Moabite. Thus we find the masculine names Gĕnūbath (גנבת), Shimrāth (שמרת), Goliath (גלית, a Philistine), Mānahath (מנחת, originally, it would seem, the name of a place), Gīnath (גינת, 𝔊 Γωναθ [BA] -ωθ [L]); the feminine names Bāsĕmath (בשמת), Mahălath (מחלת). Of these names only a few admit of a satisfactory explanation. Tāphath (טפת, fem. 1 K. 4 11) has a suspicious appearance, as the words נפת דאר immediately precede.

78. Archaic feminine.

It is interesting to notice that all the grammatical persons occur in Hebrew proper names, though they do not always refer to the same kind of subject.

79. Grammatical persons.

i. The third person is used of the Deity in names like Ăzar-iah (עזריהו), and also without any express mention of the Deity—*e.g.*, in Jōsēph (יוסף)—whilst in Jĕphunneh (יפנה) and the like it refers to the bearer of the name.

ii. The second person occurs only in imperative forms; it is used of God in Shūbā-ēl (שובאל) and הצלפני (if the explanations given above, §§ 22, 30, be correct), and of man in חכליה (Ḥakkē-le-yah, see above, § 23), הודויה (Hōdū-jah; see § 33), perhaps in ראובן (Rĕū-ben; but see above, §§ 77, 62).[1]

iii. The first person singular refers (*a*) to God in the artificial names Giddalti (גדלתי) and Romamti-ezer (רוממתי עזר), see above, § 22. (*b*) To the bearer of the name in such cases as Ăbīhu (אביהוא), Ĕlīhu (אליהו), and in those which have *nī* or *lī*—*e.g.*, Hăshabnĕ-iah (חשבניה), Tĕbal-iah (טבליהו);[2] (*c*) to the mother, or, in some cases, to the father, in Shĕalti-el (שאלתיאל), Hephzi-bah (חפצי בה), Noŏmi (נעמי, EV Naomi), 'my sweetness,' 'my delight'; Pĕullĕthai [RV] (פעלתי, pron. Pĕullāthi), 'my wages'; Naări (נערי), 'my lad'; Bĕni (בני), 'my son' (if we adopt the view that these forms are to be substituted for the Massoretic Naărai and Bunni respectively). Among the Abyssinians we find a multitude of such names expressing motherly affection—*e.g.*, 'my king,' 'my crown,' 'my gold,' 'my plum,' 'my buffalo' (*i.e.*, 'my hero'); similarly in Palmyrene, מרתי, 'my mistress'; שבחי, 'my glory'; חביבי, 'my beloved'; and in the Talmud זעירי, 'my little one.' Whether Cozbi (כזבי) and Tibni (תבני) belong to this class is doubtful. (*d*) The first person plural refers to the parents or to the whole community in Immānuel (עמנואל); cp Phoen. אבנבעל, Syr. אבון, Talm. בון, 'our father' (a term of endearment used by the mother, like אבא, 'father,' etc.), Palm. בולנא, 'Bōl is ours'; עננו, 'he has answered us.'

In conclusion something may be said about the *history of the formation of names* among the Israelites. Whilst the divine appellation Ēl (אל), which was common to all the Semites, appears even in the oldest names, such as Isrāēl (ישראל), it would seem that names compounded with jah (יהו) came into use later and gradually increased in number.[3] Jōchebed (יוכבד) is scarcely to be regarded as historical. In Jĕhōshūa (יהושע), the name of the successor of Moses, we have an apparent instance of Jeho- (יהו) as a divine appellation;

80. History: El and Yahwè names.

[1] Cp also Beninu.

[2] These and many others may, however, really belong to *c*.

[3] W. Max Müller has completely failed in his attempt to produce from hieroglyphic inscriptions examples of the use of יה (*sic*, not יהו) in ancient names of places, and at least in one name of a person (*As. u. Eur.* 312 *ff.*).

but since the same man is also called Hōshēa (הושע), some doubt still remains. On Sĕrāiah (שריה) and Rĕāiah (ראיה) in Chronicles no argument can be based, for even if these names be genuine they belong to a later period than that which might be supposed from their connection with the patriarchs. Whether Gideon's son Jōāsh (יואש), and Samuel's son Jōēl (יואל), are cases in point is at least not quite certain (see above, §§ 26, 37). In any case names formed with Jeho (יהו) occur shortly before the period of the kings, and after a while they became more popular than any other class of names.

Names formed with Baal (בעל) were doubtless used to a considerable extent in early times, and even under the first kings. We may still perceive traces of the attempt to abolish this name of the Deity, which had become offensive in consequence of the feeling that it stood in contrast to Yahwè (see also § 41). It is therefore quite possible that in several biblical names Ēl or Yahwè has been substituted for Baal.

Since the Israelites were at one time sojourners in Egypt and ever afterwards continued to have intercourse with that country, like all the neighbouring peoples, we might naturally expect to find a certain number of Egyptian names in use among them. The only clear case, however, is Phīnĕhās (פינחס), a name which (according to information received by the present writer from Erman and Spiegelberg) was extremely common in Egypt, and has the singular meaning 'this negro' (cp Cūshi, כושי). It might be plausibly conjectured that Moses (משה) is of Egyptian origin, although the Egyptian equivalent which has been suggested for it, namely *Mose* (or some such form), has a different sibilant (see Moses, § 2). Pūtīēl (פוטיאל) bears a resemblance to the Egyptian names Potiphar (פוטיפר) and Potiphéra (פוטיפרע); a name compounded with El (אל) might be coined in Egypt as easily as one compounded with some other Semitic appellation of the deity. Ashhūr (אשחור) is very probably Ish-ḥōr, 'man of Horus,' an Egyptian god who undoubtedly appears in the Phœnician name עבדחר (cp עבדאסר, 'servant of Osiris,' and other Phœnician names). It seems therefore quite possible that Hūr (חור), who, like Phinehas, stands in connection with Moses, is neither more nor less than 'Horus,' for, acccording to Spiegelberg, this name occurs in Egypt as the name of a human individual, not only as the name of a god.[1] The same scholar has also corroborated the further suggestion that Pashhūr RV (פשחור), which certainly does not look like a Hebrew name, is compounded with 'Horus'; PShḤR 'portion of Horus,' or 'Horus apportions,' occurs once as a proper name. Persons thoroughly acquainted both with Egyptian and with Hebrew would probably be able to point out a few more Egyptian names borne by Israelites.[2]

81. Egyptian.

A reference to the *Exile* is contained in Assīr (אסר), 'prisoner,' the name of a son of Jeconiah who was carried captive to Babylon (see Assir). In Ex. 6 24 1 Ch. 6 7 8 22 [22 23 37] the same name אסיר must have been suggested by some other circumstance. The name El-iāshib (אלישיב) was likewise used, at the period in question, with reference to the return to Canaan. Zerubbābel (זרבבל), according to Jensen, occurs several times as a Babylonian proper name; it signifies 'seed of Babylon.'

82. Exile.

Of the same period are the following Babylonian names (on which see the special articles): Sheshbazzar (ששבצר), Sharezer [RV] שראצר (*Sar'eser*) Zech. 7 2, Bilshān (בלשן,

83. Babylonian.

[1] That חור is Horus has already been suggested by Nestle, who regards Putiel (פוטיאל) likewise as Egyptian (*l.c.* 110 *ff.*).

[2] Cp Che. *Proph. Isa.* (3 *ff.*) 2 144. S. Kerber in his very able treatise 'Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der hebräischen Eigennamen,' which appeared after this article was set up (see above, col. 3269, n. 1) points out (75 *f.*) that the name אחירע is compounded with the name of the great Egyptian god Ra'. It is to be noticed that this man belongs to the family of the Naphtalites mentioned in Numbers.

which is found also in an ancient Aramaic document, *CIS*, 2 59, and corresponds to the Babylonian *Belshun*), Nĕkōda (נקודא, the Babylonian *Niḳūdu*, a kind of bird), see Friedr. Del. *Prol.* 212, where the name Barkōs (ברקס) is also explained as Babylonian.[1] On Sanballat (סנבלט), see Schrader, *KAT*(2), 382. Mordĕcai (מרדכי, Μαρδοχαῖος) is at least derived from the name of the Babylonian god Marduk.

In Meshēzabĕēl (משיזבאל, § 29) the first part is doubtless of Babylonian origin; but since the verb שיזב, שוב had already passed into the Aramaic language, the name must be regarded as *Aramaic*. It is certain that at that time Aramaic was largely used in Babylonia. Hence it is that several families of Jewish exiles mentioned in Ezra 2 = Neh. 7 = 1 Esd. 5 bear Aramaic names—*e.g.*, b'ne Hătīpha (בני חטיפא), b'ne Hătīta (בני חטיטא) ('pointed'?), b'ne Pĕrīda (בני פרידא) or b'ne Pĕrūda (בני פרודא, 'separated'?), etc. So also we find Azīza (עזיזא) 'strong' (Palm. עזיז, and, in its Arabic form עזיזו). Zĕbīna (זבינא) 'bought' (used in later times both by Jews and Aramæans), cp Palm. אלהזבן 'God has bought'; the name must therefore be included among those mentioned in § 56. We may observe here how ready the Jews were, even at that period, to conform to foreign custom in the matter of names, as in other *externals*, while rigidly preserving their national character.

No *Persian* names are borne by Jews in the OT; even Esther (אסתר) is scarcely of Persian origin. See ESTHER.

In the time of Ezra some ancient names reappear—*e.g.*, Shimeōn (שמעון), Ezra 10 31. The great popularity of

84. Old names revived.

this name (in Greek, Συμεών, Σίμων, the latter being also a genuine Greek name) is probably due to Simeon the High Priest, of whom Jesus bar Sira speaks with such admiration, and to Simeon the brother of Judas the Maccabee, who was himself a great-grandson of another Simeon. Joseph (יוסף) is found in Ezra 10 42, Neh. 12 14, and afterwards appears very frequently, sometimes in its full form, sometimes shortened into Jōsē (יוסי), in the NT Joses, Ἰωσῆς. Joshūa (יהושע), the name of the successor of Moses, occurs again in 1 S. 6 14 18 and 2 K. 23 8; the same name, mostly written Jēshūa (ישוע) according to the later pronunciation, was borne by the high priest in the days of Darius I. About 340 B.C. it reappears in the family of the High Priests, and occasionally in the period following. At the time of Christ, and even later, it was extremely common (Greek form, Ἰησοῦς, Jesus). The name Jōnāthān (יונתן) had never dropped out of use. Of repetition of the name Judah (יהודה) the earliest instances are Judas the Maccabee and one of his contemporaries (1 Macc. 11 70); in subsequent ages it was very popular, as is shown by the NT. Jacob (יעקב) seems to have come into use very late; the list in the *Letter of Aristeas* contains one Ἰάκωβος, and the NT mentions three (EV James). Of ancient names, moreover, the following were particularly common at that period—Hănaniah (חנניה), Jōhānān (יוחנן), Ἰωάννης (EV John), and, as a feminine name Ἰωάννα, Joanna, (Lk. 8 3 24 10), Eleāzār (אלעזר), Λάζαρος (Lazarus), Āzariah (עזריה), Mattithiah (מתתיה), Ματθίας (Matthias). We also find in a considerable number of cases Menahēm (מנחם), Hezekiah (חזקיה), Jeremiah (ירמיה). On the other hand, as has long ago been remarked, the Jews continue for many ages after the Christian era to avoid the sacred names Abraham and Moses, likewise Aaron and David. The *Letter of Aristeas*, it is true, mentions an Ἄβραμος (Abram), and in Tobit Σάρρα (Sara) plays an important part. The name of Moses' sister probably owed its popularity to Mariamme, the last of the Hasmonæans; in the NT we meet with several women called Μαριάμ or Μαρία (Mary).

Since Ezra's time very few Hebrew names have been coined. The following may be mentioned—*חֹנְיָה,

85. New names.

known to us only in the shortened forms Ὀνίας, Onias (חוניה). Talmudic חונא, הונא (which latter represents the Babylonian pronunciation); Ἄβουβος, Abubus 'beloved' (חבוב, *Hăbūb*), 1 Macc. 16 11; Φασάηλος (פצאל, *Pĕsāēl*); Μαργάλωθος 'pearls' (מרגל[י]ת), Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6 2; Σωσάννα, Σουσάννα, 'lily' (שושן or שושנה). At the same time some Aramaic names became current—*e.g.*, שאילא (see above, § 55), Νετείρας (נטירא) 'preserved (by God),' Jos. *BJ* iii. 7 21; but such names are fewer than we might have expected.

Soon after Alexander the Jews began to adopt Greek names; this process doubtless originated in the upper classes. A high priest called himself

86. Greek.

Ἰάσων, Jason, attempting to imitate his real name Ἰησοῦς, Jeshua (ישוע), just as a certain Ἰάκιμος (יָקִים, Jākīm) called himself Ἄλκιμος, Alcimus, and Σίλας, Silas (שאילא) in the NT was transformed into Σιλουανός, Silvanus. From that time Jason became a common name among the Jews. The brother of the above-mentioned Jason, Ὀνίας, Onias (חוניה), bestowed upon himself the name of Μενέλαος, Menelaus. The author of the *Letter of Aristeas* includes several Greek names in his list of those who translated the Pentateuch in the third century B.C., a list which, it is true, he composed from his own imagination. The national reaction of the Maccabæan period did not put a stop to this tendency. A nephew of Judas was named יוחנן Ὑρκανός, Johanan Hyrcanus; his sons were יהונתן (shortened into ינאי) Ἀλέξανδρος, Jannai Alexander, יהודה Ἀριστόβουλος, Judah Aristobulus, and Ἀντίγονος, Antigonus. The NT also contains double names of this kind—*e.g.*, Σαῦλος (שאול, Shāūl) Παῦλος, Saul Paul; Ἰωάννης (יוחנן) Μᾶρκος, John Mark; Συμεὼν (שמעון) ὁ καλούμενος Νίγερ, Simon called Niger (Acts 13 1).[1] Even in Palestine, however, many Jews of the time of Christ bore only Greek names. Of the apostles, who were Galilæans in an inferior social position, one was called Φίλιππος, Philip, and another Ἀνδρέας, Andrew. Among the Jews of the more western regions, Greek names seem at that period to have had a decided preponderance. Nor was any offence caused by names connected with the worship of heathen deities, since no one thought of the meaning. It is true that in the Book of Daniel Abed-nĕbō (עבד נבו), of which the sense was only too obvious, has been changed into Abed-nĕgō (עבד נגו); but just as Ashhur (אשחור) and Mordĕcai (מרדכי) were regarded as unobjectionable, we read of strict Jews calling themselves Ἀπολλώνιος, Apollonius, and Διόδωρος, Diodorus (names borne by the envoys of the Maccabæan prince in Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 2), whilst the associate of the apostle Paul was named Ἀπολλῶς, Apollos. Similarly at a later period, the father of a certain Rabbi Jose bore the distinctively Christian name פיטרס, Πέτρος, Peter. Some names which the Jews borrowed from the Greeks are ultimately of Latin origin; a particular favourite was Ἰοῦστος, Justus, יוסטא or יוסטי (which is the form of the vocative).

In the NT[2] and elsewhere we find many Greek abbreviations used by Jews—*e.g.*, Ἀλεξᾶς, Alexas (אלכסא); Λουκᾶς, Lucas; Ἀρτεμᾶς, Artemas; Κλεοπᾶς, Cleopas; Κλωπᾶς, Clopas; Θευδᾶς, Theudas, which last is a genuine Greek abbreviation of Θεόδωρος, Theodorus, or Θεοδόσιος, Theodosius, whereas Θαδδαῖος, Thaddæus, תדאי, is formed after the Hebrew fashion. Soon after the apostolic age, if not earlier, some Jews adopted the practice of spelling their Hebrew names according to the Greek pronunciation—*e.g.*, סימון, Simon, Σίμων, or סימיון, Simeon, Συμεών, for שמעון, Shim'ōn; איסק, Isak, for יצחק, Yishāḳ; יודא, Juda (vocative) or יודן, Judan (accusative) for יהודה, Yehūda; cp the name לויטס, Levites, Λευίτης, for הלוי, Hallēvi. The fusion of Greek

[1] See, however, BARKOS.

[1] On double names—the one indigenous, the other Greek—of Jews and other Orientals, cp R. Herzog in *Philologus*, 56 37 *ff*.
[2] See Winer, *Gram.*(8), § 16, 9.

and Jewish culture, a process of such vast importance in the history of the world, is here, as it were, symbolically represented. The creative power whereby a nation is enabled to coin new names had at that period long been extinct among the Jews, even as it has become extinct among the Christian peoples of the present day.

T. N.

B. PLACE-NAMES

In the following sections dealing with place-names, as in the rest of the article, the aim is (1) to give the right points of view for the study of the names, (2) to show how they may be classified, with examples, (3) to discuss in an introductory way some of the many difficult questions which arise out of the subject, and (4) incidentally to throw some light on certain names and so to supplement the special articles.

87. Compared with personal.

The names of places recorded in the OT are, regarded as a whole, different in character from the personal names. Two differences in particular are worthy of notice. (1) A very much smaller proportion of place-names consists of compounds forming a sentence (sentence-names); for whilst the great majority of compound personal names are sentences (*e.g.*, Elnathan), the great majority of compound geographical names are combinations of two (or more) nouns in a genitival relation (*e.g.*, Bethel). (2) Whilst in the case of personal compounds with a divine name, the number of those containing the *proper* name of the deity is larger than that of those making use of one of the *common* divine terms (such as *el*, *ba'al*); in geographical compounds, on the other hand, the proper name of a deity is very rare, and a common term, such as *el*, *ba'al*, frequent.

Both these differences may be due to the great antiquity of the place-names; for there are indications that sentence-names were not the earliest type even of personal names among the Hebrews (cp *HPN* 246 *ff.*), and an early preference for the common rather than the proper name of deity is also a probable inference from the history of personal names. It would be hazardous, however, to make the assumption that place-names were generally derived from personal, or the reverse, the basis of an examination of either group. The two groups require in the first instance independent analysis and examination, and only in the light of this can the determination of the relation between them be profitably attempted.

88. Obscurity.

The rarity of sentence-names among the names of places is one cause of the greater obscurity in which geographical names are involved; for the combination of two terms into a sentence limits the range of ambiguity of either more than their union as construct and genitive. Another cause is the greater antiquity and non-Hebrew origin of at least many of the place-names; we have to interpret them with but little or none of the literature of the people who framed them to help us. Yet another cause is the uncertainty attaching to the period in which they originated; we can seldom fix more than a *terminus ad quem*, the *terminus a quo* being absolutely undefined. The textual tradition of place-names is frequently very dubious.

A very large number of place-names at present defy any reasonable interpretation. In other cases difficulty arises from the ambiguity of the form; and not unfrequently from the uncertainty of the Massoretic reading. As an example of both causes of obscurity we may take Migron. This name may come either (1) from the root *mgr* with the substantival suffix *ōn*, or (2) from *gry* with substantival prefix *m* and suffix *ōn*, or (3) from *grn* with prefix *m*. As to No. 1, it is true that the origin from the root *mgr* is the barest possibility. It is unlikely that a root so Aramaic in character should have entered into the name of a Mid-Canaanite town already existing in the time of Isaiah (10_{28}). We may also dismiss No. 2 (root *gry*) on the ground of the lateness of the noun formation (Barth, *NB*, § 204), and, adopting No. 3 (root *grn*), interpret the name as 'threshing-floor' (see We. on Is. 14_2). Next, as to the reading. This, though retained by critics, cannot be held to be quite certain. In the only two places where this name is found, 𝔊 in Is. and $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ in 1 S. reads Megiddo, which has suggested a new emendation of the text in 1 S. 14_2 (see MIGRON). Here then we have a typical instance of the uncertainty of geographical names. For another such instance take Madon ($\mathfrak{G}^{BF}$ Marron)—of which possible roots are *dūn*, *mdw*, *mrw*.

In dealing with the present subject it is most important to bear in mind this great ambiguity or uncertainty of most individual names. It is as a rule only when the instances are many that we can be certain that a particular class of meanings was actually expressed by place-names. There can, for example, be no question that many place-names are identical with animal names. Many of the individual instances even in this case are uncertain; but the coincidences are too many to admit of the reality—and, indeed, of the considerable extent—of the class being doubted.

Still further uncertainty is connected with this and many other classes when we proceed from determining the meaning to inquire into the cause and origin of the name. For instance: are these animal names due to totemistic beliefs, or were they given because the animals referred to abounded in the neighbourhood of the several places, or because in some prominent feature the place resembled the animal in question?

It is impossible within the limits of the present article to discuss the various theories or to examine in any way exhaustively the various possible meanings of the whole of the biblical place-names. All that we can attempt to do is to arrange the names in classes and according to meanings that are tolerably well established. Moreover, we shall, generally speaking, exclude the names of Egyptian, Assyrian, and other towns remote from Palestine, confining ourselves to the names in the land of Israel and the immediately surrounding countries.

89. How far pre-Israelitish?

Before we proceed to the classification, however, certain points that have already been briefly referred to call for discussion, and, especially, the history of names of Palestinian places. It is difficult to say how many of these were given by the Israelites. In a considerable number of cases we know definitely that they were not. In other words, many of the names of places in the land of Israel are pre-Israelitish. As to these there are two main sources of information—the Amarna tablets (*circa* 1400 B.C.) and the lists of Thotmes III. (not later than 15th cent.), Seti I. and Rameses II. (predecessors of Mernephtah in whose reign the Exodus is usually placed), Pap. Anastasi I. (*temp.* Rameses II.); for references and details compare Winckler's edition of the Amarna tablets with index (*KB* 5), and for the Egyptian lists W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.*, especially 154, 157-164, 181). Cp PALESTINE, § 15.

Among names (of subsequently Israelitish towns) occurring in the list of Thotmes, and therefore at least as ancient as the fifteenth century B.C., are Abel, Accho, Achshaph, Ain, Aphek (?), Asthteroth-karnaim, Edrei, Gath, Gaza, Hadid, Helkath, Ijon (?), Joppa, Kanah, Makkedah, Migdal, Mishal, Rehob, Sharuhen, Socoh, Zephath; and among names mentioned in the lists of Seti I. and Rameses II. are Beth-anath, Luz and Secu, and perhaps also Jabneh and Heres. In the Amarna tablets (14th cent. B.C.) we meet with Aijalon, Gath-rimmon (?), Hannathon, Hazor, Jerusalem, Kanah, Lachish, Megiddo, Seir (?), Zorah.

The significance of these sources for our present purpose, however, is not fully represented by the actual identifications. Several of the names are typical instances of considerable classes—Ain (cp also Ḫi-ni-a-na-bi = עין ענב, Amarna 237_{26}) and Abel of the numerous com-

pounds with these terms; Aijalon and Zorah of animal names; Jabneh of names which consist of a third sing. impf. Further, other names in these sources, though not identical with biblical names, are instances of other large groups of the latter; Bit-ninib (Amarna), Ba^{i}-t^{i}-y'-ā (Thotmes list) of compounds with Beth; and Joseph-el (see JOSEPH i., § 1) and Jakob-el (see JACOB, § 1, and cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 162 *ff.*) of compounds of an impf. and *el*. In brief, the biblical place-names have so many and such close resemblances to those early names that it is difficult, if not impossible, in the absence of direct information to distinguish names given to places by the Israelites from the names which they took over from the former inhabitants.

With regard to a few names, it is true, the biblical writings contain statements or suggestions that certain names were first given by the Israelites. Thus it has generally been inferred (*e.g.*, by Di.) from Judg. 19 10 1 Ch. 11 4 *ff.* Josh. 15 8 18 16 28 that Jebus was the Canaanite name of the city which was subsequently called by the Hebrews Jerusalem, and this was probably intended by the Hebrew writers; but the occurrence of the name Jerusalem in the Amarna tablets now shows us that this was not the case.

The words 'their names being changed' in Nu. 32 38 may be, as Dillmann suggests, a gloss directing that the two preceding names Nebo and Baal-maon are to be so read as to conceal their heathen origin; in any case the clause can hardly mean that these two names are of Israelitish origin. To the name Baal-perazim an Israelitish origin is attributed in 2 S. 5 20, but perhaps erroneously (see BAAL-PERAZIM, and cp *HPN* 133). See, further, BETHEL, SAMARIA. Joktheel was the name given to Sela by Amaziah (2 K. 14 7); but whether the name itself, which is borne by a Jewish town (Josh. 15 38), be pre-Israelitish or not, we cannot say.

In any case, the number of names directly stated or implied in the OT to have been of Israelitish origin is small. In one or two cases the character of the name itself clearly indicates such an origin; perhaps the clearest instance is Baal Judah (*HPN* 133; see also for a suggestion relative to Laish, *ib.* 102, n. 5).

Most of the pre-Israelitish names cited above are clearly Semitic; but it is not improbable that some of the biblical place-names are not merely pre-Israelitish but non-Semitic. Such a name as Ziklag, for instance, is difficult to explain from the known Semitic vocabulary. Cp ZIKLAG.

90. Non-Semitic.

Names of Greek or Latin origin (in some cases substitutes for old names, in others names of entirely new towns) are easily distinguishable. The ancient name Beth-shean is already displaced by Σκυθῶν πόλις in Judith 3 10 (cp Judg. 1 27, 𝔊); and the NT refers to several places with such names—*e.g.*, Ptolemais, Cæsarea, Antipatris; see further, Schürer *GJV*$^{(2)}$ 2 50-131.

Modern Palestinian names are Arabised forms of the ancient names or fresh Arabic formations (cp *Survey of Western Palestine*—Special Papers, 254-258, and the Name Lists).

91. Conclusion.

To sum up, then. Apart from the Greek and Latin names which are confined to the Apocrypha and the NT, and are immediately distinguishable, the great majority of biblical place-names are of Semitic origin; of the Palestinian names many are certainly pre-Israelitish, a few may be non-Semitic, a few are certainly Israelitish; but with regard to the great majority we are left in doubt whether they were given by the Israelites or their Semitic predecessors. Hence from place-names we can infer Israelitish belief and practice only with great caution and under strict limitation. The precise origin of a name is of course of less interest when it refers to unchanging physical features of a place; but it is of considerable importance when it refers to belief, practice, or social characteristics which are subject to change. In these cases it is seldom safe to infer more than is justified by the consideration that, even when not given by the Israelites, these names were intelligible to them.

92. Abbreviations.

The interpretation of the names is to some extent controlled and in some cases facilitated by certain more or less general characteristics. Many names (below, *a*, *b*, *c*) are *abbreviations* of compound names (יבנאל = יבנה) or compound terms (בר עשן = עשן); others (§ 93) are *expansions* of simpler terms, *e.g.*, מעון = בעל מעון. (For another question relating to the form of certain place-names see § 107).

(*a*) *Abbreviation by omission of defining member.*[1]—One of the commonest forms of abbreviation is the omission of the article, or the genitive, which originally defined an appellative used as a proper name. In some cases we still find both the full and the abbreviated form of the same name in the OT; but it must be remembered that where the definition is by means of the article the EV never retains the distinction. Thus Gibeah (hill) is the name of at least three different places mentioned in the OT; one of these appears under these different forms—הגבעה (the hill), גבעת שאול (Saul's hill), גבעת בנימין (the hill of Benjamin), גבעת (hill); the other two are each mentioned but once: in the one case we find the simple, undefined form גבעה (hill), in the other the compound expression גבעת פינחס (the hill of Phinehas). Compare further, Kirjath and Kirjath-jearim, Bamoth and Bamoth-baal. We have no doubt to explain certain place-names of very general significance as the result of this process of abbreviation—*e.g.*, Adamah (=land [of . . .]), which was perhaps also the original form of the names now appearing as Adam, Admah, and Adami (in Adami-nekeb); Ain=Well (of . . .); Gezer and Helkath=Portion (of . . .).

(*b*) *By omission of defined members.*—A second type of abbreviation is due to the omission of the substantive in compound terms consisting of a substantive and an adjective; thus 'Ashan (old) in Jos. 15 42 etc. is an abbreviation of the full name Bor-ashan (=old well, unless indeed the name is to be explained with BDB as 'smoking pit'; see COR-ASHAN), which occurs in OT only in 1 S. 30 30. This instance shows how in some cases fuller forms did actually lie behind adjectival names. At the same time it is probably unnecessary to assume that all adjectival names spring from original compound terms.

The way in which tribal names became place-names is illustrated by the abbreviation of Beeroth Bene-jaakan (Dt. 10 6) into Bene-jaakan in a younger source (Nu. 33 31 *f.*, R); perhaps also by Addar as an abbreviation of Hazar-addar (cp § 105).

(*c*) The parallel forms Jabneh and Jabneel illustrate another important class of abbreviations—cp Barth, *NB*, § 154.

Other types of abbreviations occur among the class of names which constitute what we have termed expansions (next §).

93. Expansions.

The existence of the various forms Beth-baal-meon, Beth-meon, Baal-meon, and Meon (so read in Nu. 32 3 for Beon), taken in connection with the meaning of the constant element Meon (Dwelling), suggests that the full form is an expansion from the original simple place-name which, like so many others, is an appellative of wide signification and was once no doubt defined by the article or a genitive. Moreover, in other similar compounds the final element is of a similar character; cp Baal-hermon, Baal-hazor.

These expanded compounds, however, as the above parallel forms prove, were in turn subject to more than one form of abbreviation; the middle term Baal or the first term Beth was omitted. The omission of Beth is further illustrated by such alternative forms of the same place-name as Beth-lebaoth and Lebaoth, Beth-azmaveth, and Azmaveth. For further discussion of these points see *HPN* 125-136 324; on the significance of the Baal names see also below, § 96.

[1] Cp. König, *Syntax d. hebr. Sprache*, § 295.

We now come to the classification of place-names according to their meanings; and we may first consider I. Names originating in religious ideas or practices.[1]

94. Meanings: religious.

As we have seen, these names cannot be indiscriminately used to illustrate Israelitish belief or practice; by themselves they merely prove that such and such a belief or practice was at some time connected with such and such a place. In some cases, however, the testimony of the meaning of the name *combined with* other testimony renders much more definite conclusions possible.

1. A considerable number of names reflects the worship of certain objects or deities. As already remarked, the deity is in most place-names referred to under a general term (*e.g.*, *baal*); but in a few a more definite designation occurs.

95. With divine proper names.

Sun-worship pretty clearly accounts for several.

(1) Beth-shemesh (House or Temple of the Sun), the name of a city in Judah (also called Ir-shemesh = City of the Sun, and, perhaps, in Judg. 1 35 MT. HERES [*q.v.*]), of another in Naphtali and another in Issachar; (2) En-shemesh (Well of the Sun), the name of a well on the borders of Judah and Benjamin; (3) the ascent of HERES [*q.v.*]—on the E. of Jordan; (4) Timnath-heres (Portion of the Sun), in the hill-country of Ephraim.

The distribution of these names is general; their origin, no doubt, pre-Israelitish; for the last name (Timnath-heres) is probably found as Ḥi-ra-tá in the list of Rameses II., and Šamšan (in the neighbourhood of the southern territory of Dan) in the same list is obviously of similar significance (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 165, n. 4, 166). Perhaps, in spite of the different sibilant (ש not ס), the name of the Moabite city KIR-HERES, or Kir-haraseth, is of similar origin. Cp, further the Šamšimurun of the Assyrian inscriptions, which may lie concealed in the name usually read SHIMRON-MERON in Josh. 12 20.

The worship of the moon may perhaps be traced in Jericho, and Lebanon might be similarly explained; but the latter word can be explained quite satisfactorily, and therefore more probably, by the primary meaning of the root, 'to be white'; see below, § 102. The name of the Babylonian moon-goddess, Sin, is generally detected in the names Sinai and Sin.

Other proper names of gods surviving in place-names are:—those of the Babylonian god Nebo in the Moabite town and mountain, and in a town of Judah of that name (but cp NEBO); of Anath in BETH-ANATH, BETH-ANOTH, ANATHOTH (the localities indicate the wide spread of this primitive cultus); of Ashtoreth in ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM and BE-ESHTERAH; of Dagon in BETH-DAGON (represented both in N. and in S.). Rimmon, which appears in several place-names, is ambiguous: it means a pomegranate; but it is also the name of a god. The use of the article (סלע הרמון in Judg. 20 45) favours interpreting the Rock of Rimmon as the Rock of the Pomegranate; but in several of the other names (En-rimmon, Rimmon, Rimmon-perez, and Gath-rimmon) it is possible that Rimmon is a divine proper name. It is true, the evidence of 𝔊 is rather against this view (*JPTh.* 334, n. 1; but see RIMMON). The name given as HADAD-RIMMON (*q.v.*) is too doubtful to quote, and the same remark applies to the name ETH-KAZIN (*q.v.*), considered as a mark of the cultus of the goddess Athé. The Babylonian Bel (as distinct from Baal) perhaps lies concealed in EBAL (*q.v.*) and the RIBLAH (*q.v.*) of Nu. 34 11 (𝔊 . . . αρβηλα); and a god Ḳush or Ḳish (= Ar. Ḳais) in KISH, KISHON, and ELKOSH. Possibly Zur in Beth-zur is the name (or title) of a deity. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether the 'am which we find at the end of some place-name be the name of a deity; see AMMI [NAMES IN]. The altar-names, Jehovah-shalom and Jehovah-nissi, and the names Jehovah-jireh and Jehovah-shammah are hardly of the same kind; cp also Jer. 33 16. The only two instances occurring in OT of actual town-names containing Yah, Yahwè, are Jeshua and Ananiah. Both of these are mentioned for the first, and, indeed, in each case, for the only time in Neh. (11 26 32); both are elsewhere personal names. If the text be sound where they occur as town-names, the names of the towns in question were probably derived from persons. Unmistakably geographical is Beth-jah, which, according to W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 162, 312), occurs in the List of Thotmes, and is consequently a pre-Israelitish name.

[1] Cp Von Gall, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten.*

2. Of divine general terms *ēl* and *bá'al* enter into several place-names. In Bamoth-baal (the high places of Baal) and Kiriath-baal (the city of Baal) Baal is the second term of the compound and defines the first. In the other compound names it is the term defined; thus Baal-hazor is the Baal or owner of the place Hazor, Baal-tamar the Baal of a particular palm tree, and so forth. For further details as to the significance of the divine term in question see BAAL. What we have to observe here is that such names as those just cited are, properly, names, not of places, but of deities. All names of this type, together with the undefined names Baal, Baalah, and Bealoth, when used as place-names, are abbreviations, having arisen by the omission of Beth (cp § 93). The Beth which still survives in Beth-baal-meon most probably referred in the first instance to the temple or abode of the god (cp Judg. 9 4 46), and the whole compound then became used of the town or village in which the temple of the god stood; cp other names consisting of Beth and a divine name or title—*e.g.*, Beth-anath, Bethel, Beth-shemesh, and perhaps Beth-zur. The omission of Beth, however, was not the only method of abbreviation used; the divine term itself might be the element omitted; Beth-baal-meon is abbreviated not only to Baal-meon but also to Beth-meon. Obviously, in the last instance, it is only the survival of the parallel forms that proves Beth-meon to be a name originating in religious worship. It would, therefore, appear very probable that some of the compounds with Beth which do not at present contain Baal are abbreviations of forms that did; this theory, perhaps, does most justice to compounds with Beth and a term (like Maon) which by itself is a suitable place-name; *e.g.*, Beth-rehob is probably an abbreviation of Beth-baal-rehob, and although it is not easy to select many particular cases and say that they are necessarily or probably abbreviations, it is at least likely that the considerable number of Baal names of places which the OT mentions would be increased if all the alternative forms of the Beth names were preserved. On the other hand, it would be unreasonable to suppose that all or even most of the Beth names have arisen from the omission of Baal; Beth does not necessarily mean temple, nor consequently does it necessarily imply that the name of which it forms a part has a religious significance; Beth-shittah is quite suitably and sufficiently interpreted as meaning 'The place which contains the acacia tree,' Beth-marcaboth as 'the place where the chariots are kept,' Bethlehem as 'the place of food,' though the second element of the last name has been identified by some with the Babylonian god Laḫamu (see BETHLEHEM).

96. With Baal.

Some twenty towns or districts mentioned in the OT bear names containing *ēl* as one element. These names are of three classes.

97. With *ēl*.

(i.) Names in which *el* is a genitive defining the first element of the compound.

These names are Bethel (cp § 96), Nahaliel = the wady of El; Migdal-el = the tower of El; Penuel = the face of El, and two names of obscure meaning, Neiel (the first part of which may be connected with Neah, הנעה) and BETHUEL [*q.v.*].

(ii.) Names in which *el* is part of a (compound) genitive.

Such are the valley of Iphtah-el—where IPHTAH-EL (*q.v.*) seems to be the name either of a town or of a man, which attached itself to the valley (cp Class iii., on the one hand, and

the Sabæan *personal* name יפתחאל on the other); the Tower of Hananel (Hananel probably being originally a personal name); and perhaps Beth-arbel.

(iii.) *Names in which el is the subject of a sentence.* These are Jezreel (='let El sow'), a town in Issachar, and another in Judah (cp also 1 Ch. 4 3); Jabneel (='let El build'), a town in Naphtali and another in Judah; Jekabzeel (='let El collect'), of which KABZEEL (*q.v.*) is probably an abbreviated form;[1] Irpeel (='let El heal'), *i.e.*, probably, 'let El rebuild' (cp the use of רפא in 1 K. 18 30); Iphtahel (cp § 11) = 'let El open.' Joktheel, the name of a town in Judah, which was also given by Amaziah to the conquered Sela (2 K. 14 7), is obscure as far as its first element is concerned (see JOKTHEEL).

If the first part of Elealeh be the divine term, so that the name belongs to the present class, it would appear to mean 'El doth ascend' or 'hath ascended'; but see below, § 107, end. With the exception of this doubtful instance, however, in all place-names consisting of *el* and a verbal element, the subject stands last, and the verb is imperfect. Consequently, since there appears to have been a strong tendency in earlier times to give the divine subject the first place in a name intended to make a statement, the translation of the verbal elements in these place-names by the voluntative as above is preferable to the commoner method of translating by the imperfect—El soweth, etc. The point is argued more fully in *HPN* 215-218.

The *el* in all names of classes i. and iii. is probably the *numen* of the place (cp the accounts of the theophanies of Bethel and Beer-lahai-roi).[2]

An instance of abbreviation of the third type (iii., above) of *el* names is JABNEH (*q.v.*), the full form of which (see above, § 92 *c*) also occurs. Similarly, both Iphtah and Iphtahel are found, though not as the name of the same place. We should probably also regard as abbreviations Jazer (='may [El] help') and possibly JANOAH (='may [El] make resting-place here'); but scarcely JABBOK (*q.v.*). The pre-Israelitish names Jakob-el and Joseph-el (see JACOB, § 1; JOSEPH i., § 1; ii., § 1; and cp § 89) do not occur in the OT, nor are even the corresponding abbreviated forms, Jakob and Joseph, used as strictly geographical terms.

98. Without divine name.

3. Names clearly due to religious considerations, though not containing the name or title of a deity, are derivatives from the roots *Ḳdš* and *ḥrm*, which express general Semitic religious ideas. KADESH (*q.v.*; pre-Israelitish) and Kedesh (the name of at least two places, one of which has a pre-Israelitish record; see KEDESH) from the one root, Horem, Hormah, and Hermon from the other, must all have been given to the respective places on account of their sacred or inviolable character. Some less certain but possible instances of names having a religious origin may be added: Gilgal, the name of five places in different parts of Palestine, and Geliloth of two, may be derived from sacred circles (of stones); Mishal (mentioned by Thotmes III.) may denote a place 'where (the advice or judgment of a deity) is sought'; and Oboth may be named in reference to spirits (אֹב). It is quite possible that a very much larger number of names ought to be included here (on the animal names, for example, see below, § 104); but we cannot admit as more than a mere possibility what has sometimes been maintained (most recently by Grunwald in *Die Eigennamen des AT*, 1895), that names denoting all sorts of objects or qualities are survivals from Fetichism, Demonism, and the like.

II. Passing now from names originating in religious ideas or practices, we note a second considerable class consisting of names derived from the natural or artificial features of the place.

99. Non-religious: height.

1. Height. (*a*) Loftiness of situation is clearly indicated by Ramah (from רום = to be lofty)—generally with the article (הרמה), or defined by a genitive (*e.g.*, רמת לחי), but also (according to MT in Jer. 31 15) undefined—the name of seven places in different parts of Palestine; Ramoth and Rumah from the same root, and, perhaps, Arumah from a cognate root; Geba, Gibeah, and Gibeon (several places, see the articles), all signifying hill. Naphath-(or Naphoth-)Dor (Jos. 11 2 etc. AV, RVmg.) would, if it were the proper name of a town, be a further instance; but Naphath is rightly *translated* in RV's text ('the heights' [of Dor]). Terms picturesquely indicating the lofty situation of the town itself, or a lofty natural feature in the neighbourhood, are Jogbehah (from גבה, to be high), Sela (two places) = The Cliff, and perhaps Hadid (ἥτις ἐπ' ὄρους κειμένη —Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6 5) = the sharpened or pointed cliff with which we might perhaps further compare En-haddah (yet see *PEFM* 2 297). Some would include SHAHAZUMAH (*q.v.*) in this list. Some metaphorical terms for natural configuration became names of places and are to be noticed here:—Shechem = 'Shoulder,' and, metaphorically, '*a ridge*' (*cp Gen.* 48 22, *but see* SHECHEM; the use of the synonymous כתף in Nu. 34 11 etc.; and Ges. *Thes.* 1407 *b*); Dabbésheth = 'a camel's hump' (Is. 30 6), which is also according to some (see BDB) the meaning of Gilead; Chisloth-tabor (כסלת תבור), or abbreviated Chesulloth (כסלות—the different punctuation adopted by MT in the case of the full and abbreviated form is not supported by 𝔊) = the flanks of Tabor; Aznoth-tabor perhaps = the ears (and hence metaphorically the peaks) of Tabor. If the last interpretation be correct, we may probably (though against 𝔊) add UZZEN-SHEERAH (*q.v.*). Compare also Bohan (shape of a thumb).

(*b*) The indication of lowness of situation, or the neighbourhood of some notable depression, is obvious in all compounds with *Gê* (גיא = valley, and so translated always in RV except Neh. 11 35 mg. and 1 Ch. 4 14), which are, however, always names of valleys, not of towns; in Beth-emek = House of the valley; and probably in Horonaim and Beten (literally = belly). Jahaz, if we may follow a cognate Arabic term (*waḥṣa*), means *terra rotunda et depressa* (BDB). The names SHARON (*q.v.*) and BASHAN (*q.v.*) seem to have arisen from the absence of conspicuous irregularities of height over the districts which they designate. Bithron (a district) probably means cleft or ravine [but cp MAHANAIM]; and Shepham *possibly* a bare height (*ZATW* 3 275 [1883]).

100. Nature of soil.

2. The character or condition of the soil, the fruitfulness of the place, or the reverse, account for several names. Horeb (a mountain) and Jabesh *in Jabesh-gilead (a city) are both [but cp* SINAI] most naturally interpreted of the dryness of the ground; Argob perhaps indicates a rich and earthy soil (cp Driver, *Deut.* 48), EKRON (*q.v.*, § 3) barren or unfruitful; the Arabah (the name of the valley of the Jordan and its prolongation) means the desert or waste country; hence the town-name Betharabah abbreviated in Josh. 18 18 into 'the Arabah.' On the other hand CARMEL (*q.v.*, §§ 1, 9), the name of the well-known, now thickly-wooded mountain range, and of a place in Judah capable of supporting large numbers of sheep, expresses the fertile character of the places in question, and Ephraim and Ephrathah (if correctly derived from פרה; so Ges.-Buhl, but not BDB; see EPHRAIM i., § 1 *f.*) have a similar meaning. The following interpretations (some of which are discussed in the several articles) may be mentioned here: Bozkath = an elevated region covered with volcanic stones (BDB), Zion = waterless (Lagarde, *BN* 84), Abel (= meadow) by itself and in several compounds (*e.g.*, Abel-Shittim).

101. Water.

3. The presence of water accounts for many names,[1]—most clearly for those which are compounded with Beer (= well) or En (= a spring).

a. En.—In some cases such as En-hakkore = the partridge's (?) well (Judg. 15 19), En-rogel (Josh. 15 7), En-harod (RV 'the spring of Harod'), as well as in a very large number of modern Palestinian names in 'Ain, the name appears to be that of a spring only.

[1] Cp Barth, *NB* 227, n. 3.

[2] Cp Stade, *GVI* 1 428, n.

[1] 'The etymology of Arabian place-names refers mostly to water, pasturage, plants, and trees,' Jacob, *Das Leben d. vorislâmischen Beduinen*. 41.

In most cases, however, the name serves also for the name of the place containing the well or spring, or possibly in some cases for a new township that sprang up nearer to the well than the place from which the name was derived (? Hazor and En-hazor, Josh. 19 36 *f.*). En-mishpat (the well or spring of judgment) was no doubt originally the name of the spring at Kadesh; but in Gen. 14 7 it is used of the place itself. Town-names of this type are many, distributed over all parts of the country, and were already in use before the Israelitish conquest of Canaan. In OT we have mention of the following:—En-dor, En-gannim, En-gedi (2), En-haddah, En-eglaim, En-hazor, En-rimmon, En-shemesh, En-tappuah. Ain is an abbreviated name (perhaps from En-rimmon, *q.v.*). Enaim (=Enam) perhaps means 'Two springs' (cp § 107) and in any case owes its origin to the presence of a spring, as also does Hazar-enon (Hazar-enan) and *perhaps* Anim.

b. Beer, which in Hebrew generally (though not exclusively: see, *e.g.*, Nu. 21 17) denotes a well rather than a spring, is less frequent in names; OT mentions Beer (two places—in both cases without the article) Beeroth (pl.=wells), Beer-lahai-roi, Beer-sheba, Beer-elim, Beeroth-bene-jaakan. Berothah (=Berothai) is perhaps to be similarly explained.

c. Me (=water) is found in Me-jarkon, Me-zahab (if we may regard this name as only apparently personal, and really geographical; Gen. 36 39, cp Dt. 1 1 Dizahab) and *perhaps* in Medeba. Giah (to judge from the root-meaning) very probably means a spring; so also Gihon. The presence of hot springs gave rise to the names Hammath, Hammoth-dor and Hammon (perhaps only two different places in all), and of a bitter spring, if we may for once trust the biblical etymology, to Marah. Nahalol means the 'watering-place.'

102. Other features.

4. *Beauty* of situation and appearance, for which some of the Hebrew writers certainly had an eye (Ps. 48 2 Cant. 6 4), or general attractiveness may account for some names—*e.g.*, Shaphir, Shepher (a mountain)=beautiful, beauty; Tirzah=she is pleasing; Jotbah and Jotbathah=pleasantness; and, more metaphorically, Ziz perhaps =the flower. Most of the names, however, that have been or might be cited in this connection are really very ambiguous or indecisive.

5. *Colour* appears to account for a few names. Lebanon is most probably named from the whiteness of its cliffs (or its snows?); and the root meaning 'to be white' seems at least as probable an explanation as any of other proper names from the same root, viz., Laban, Libnah (2), Lebonah. Kidron, the name of a torrent-bed, may mean black or dull-, dirty-, coloured (cp Job 6 16); Hachilah (a hill), dark; Zalmon (two hills according to MT; but see ZALMON), dusky; Adummim, red; Jarkon in Me-jarkon, yellow; Hauran, black. None of the foregoing instances, however, are really free from ambiguity; though in some at least the colour-meaning seems the most probable.

III. Having dealt with religious place-names and names indicating natural or artificial features, we must consider next place-names derived from names of trees, plants, etc., and of animals.

103. Plant names.

1. *Trees, plants, etc.*—Some instances are unmistakable: (Abel) Shittim=(the meadow of) the *acacias*, Beth-shittah=the house of the acacia; the *apple tree* (tappûăḥ) gives its name to three places—Beth-tappuah, En-tappuah and Tappuah; the *palm tree* (tāmār) to Tamar, Baal-tamar, Hazazon-tamar, the city of palm trees (Judg. 1 16, 3 13=Jericho, Dt. 34 3), and probably also Tadmor (cp Lagarde, *Übers.* 125); the *terebinth* (or whatever large tree may be implied by the Heb. אלון, אלה, איל) to El-paran (=Elah, Elath, Eloth), Elim, Elon and *perhaps* Allammelech. All of these are names of towns. On the other hand Allon-bacuth appears to be simply the name of a particular tree (cp in the Hebrew Gen. 12 6 13 18 Dt. 11 30 Jos. 19 33 Judg. 9 37 1 S. 10 3, where similar designations have been translated). The *pomegranate* appears at least in the Rock of Rimmon (Judg. 20 45 etc.) and probably in other compounds with Rimmon; but for another possible interpretation of these, see above (§ 95). *Olive trees* give their name to the Ascent (2 S. 15 30) or Mount (Zech. 14 4 etc.) of Olives; *vineyards* to Abel-cheramim (the meadow of vineyards) in Ammon and Beth-haccherem in Judah; the *grape cluster* to the valley of Eshcol; and probably, the '*choice vine*' (שרק) mentioned in Is. 5 2 (cp Gen. 49 11) to the fertile valley of Sorek and the Edomite town Masrekah. Anab, too, probably means grapes in spite of the differing punctuation of the proper name (עֲנָב) and the common noun (עֵנָב). TAANATH-SHILOH (*q.v.*) is the *fig tree* of Shiloh, if we may follow the Greek rather than the Hebrew vocalisation. RITHMAH, a station in the wilderness, is the *juniper tree*, and AROER (*q.v.*) has been interpreted bushes of dwarf juniper. EZION-GEBER (*q.v.*), another station, derives its name from the tree called in Arabic *ġaḍā*. *Thorn bushes* of different kinds are denoted by the names Atad, Shamir (2), and perhaps also Seneh (see BUSH); the *almond tree* by Luz (which, however, is otherwise explained by Lagarde, *Übers.* 158). The *balsam tree* accounts for the name of the valley of BACA (*q.v.*), and perhaps also for Bochim (cp Moore, *Judges*, 59 *f.*). Libnah may be named from a tree (cp לִבְנֶה=? the white poplar—Gen. 30 37, Hos. 4 13) or be more closely connected with the root-meaning 'to be white.' (For another view see LIBNAH.) In the light of Aramaic we can without much difficulty interpret Gimzo the *Sycamore tree*, and Dilan the cucumber; cp Löw, *Pflanzennamen*, 387, 334, 351. Betonim, especially in the Greek (βοτανειμ) closely resembles the Hebrew word (Gen. 43 11) for pistachio nuts (NUTS, 2). A water-plant (סוף), as most scholars suppose, gave rise to the Hebrew name Yam Sūph; see RED SEA; but cp MOSES, § 10.

104. Animal names.

2. *Animals.*—The following animals have given names to places.

(*a*) Wild quadrupeds: the stag (Aijalon), the lion (Lebaoth, Laish and ? Shahazumah), the leopard (Beth-nimrah), the Gazelle (Ophrah [2], Ephron [1 or 2]), the wild ass (Arad), the fox (Hazar-shual, the land of Shual, Shaalbim), the hyena (Zeboim).

(*b*) Domestic quadrupeds: Lambs (Telaim, Beth-car), the cow (Parah), or calf (En-eglaim, Eglon), the horse (Hazar-susah [or Susim]), the goat (? Seirah) or kid (En-gedi).

(*c*) Birds: the partridge (Beth-hoglah, ? En-hakkore), birds of prey (Etam [1-3]).

(*d*) Reptiles and insects: the serpent (Ir-nahash), the lizard (Humtah), the hornet (Zorah), scorpions (Akrabbim), the cricket (Gudgodah).

Names of animals applied to towns are much more frequent in the southern territory of the Israelites than in the northern: cp *HPN* 105 *f.* Names of this class are also frequent as clan names (on the other hand they are comparatively rare as personal names). This is one of the reasons which favour tracing at least many of them back to a totem stage of society.

105. Compounds with Hazor, etc.

IV. A considerable number of places derive their names from what may be termed the social, political, and industrial characteristics of the place. Here we may notice first the names consisting wholly or in part of the terms Hazor or Hazar, Ir, and Kiriath. Ḥāṣēr or Ḥāṣōr[1] denotes the fixed settlement as contrasted on the one hand with the movable encampments of nomads, and on the other with walled towns; cp in the one case the contrast between the *ḥaḍariyy* or *ahlu l-ḥaḍar* (with which perhaps cp the ישבי חצר of Jer. 49 30 33) and the badawiyy or ahlu l-bādiyah (*i.e.*, the Bedouin) and in the other, *e.g.*, Lev. 25 31. Clearly the proper names can only be taken to indicate the character of the place at the time of the origin of the name; in the case of the Hazor of Judg. 4 2 17 etc., at least, the name must have continued in use long after the place had ceased to be an actual ḥāṣōr and had become a fortified city; for it is mentioned by Thotmes III. among his conquered towns, in the Amarna Tablets as the seat of a prince (šar Ḫa-zu-ra—154 41) and in the OT, more than once, in

[1] חָצֵר (constr. חֲצַר) or חָצוֹר, the latter only in proper names but cp Lag. *Übers.* 47.

connections which indicate that it was a place of strategic importance (*e.g.*, 1 K. 9 15 2 K. 15 29). With the exception of the place just mentioned, Hazar-enan (or -enon) on the N. boundary of Palestine, and (Baal-) Hazor in Benjamin, all names of this type are of places in the S. of Palestine (being assigned to the territories of Judah or Simeon) or in the wilderness; many of them, therefore, no doubt retained the character whence they originally derived their name. The places are Hazor (two places, one of which is also called Kerioth-hezron), Hazor-hadattah (? = New Hazor—if the text be right), Hazar-addar (= Hezron), Hazar-gaddah, Hazar-susah (or -susim), Hazar-shual, Hazeroth. Hazarmaveth (*q.v.*) is the name of a district in S. Arabia, and is perhaps only apparently connected with the type of name under discussion.

There are some indications that the second element in the compounds is, as we might independently expect, a clan or tribal name. Thus we note (1) the alternative forms (Susah and Susim), (2) the two animal names (Susah [horse] and Shual [fox], if the most obvious meaning is correct; but cp HAZAR-SUSAH, HAZAR-SHUAL)—cp the many clan names of this type (*HPN* 97 *ff.*). (3) Addar actually occurs as a clan name, if the text of 1 Ch. 8 3 be sound. (4) Gaddah resembles the tribal name Gad. Similarly Jair in Havvoth-jair (the tent villages of Jair) is no doubt a clan name (see JAIR). Other names originating in and reflecting much the same stage in social development as Havvoth-jair and the compounds with hazar are Mahaneh Dan (Camp of Dan) and Mahanaim (two camps), Succoth (booths, though the originality of this form of the name is contested, see SUCCOTH).

'Ir (עִיר), which forms the first element in the compound names Ir-shemesh, Ir-nahash, the City of Salt (עִיר הַמֶּלַח, Josh. 15 62), and the City of Palm trees (עִיר הַתְּמָרִים, Judg. 1 16), is a wider term, applicable to a camp or a watch-tower (Nu. 13 19 2 K. 17 9) as well as to fortified towns, in which latter case, however, the term may be more exactly defined (Lev. 25 29). As to the second element: in the first of the foregoing names (Ir-shemesh) it is an object of worship, in the second (Ir-nahash) probably tribal rather than personal, and in the last two (City of Salt and of Palm trees) presumably derived from natural characteristics of the place. The *'Ār* (עָר) in the Moabite name Ar Moab (or, abbreviated, Ar) is a parallel form of the same term.

The *ḳiryah* (קִרְיָה), again, which constitutes, or forms part of, several names, cannot be very closely defined; etymologically, it appears to mean simply 'meeting-place.' The plural form KERIOTH (*q.v.*) is the name of a Moabite city, and, compounded with Hezron, of a city in Judah; the dual form Kiriathaim is the name of a city in Reuben and another in Naphtali; three of the compound names—Kiriath-arba (Four cities—cp § 107), Kiriath-jearim (City of Forests), also called Kiriath-baal, and Kiriath-sepher (City of Books)—are found in Judah, and another Kiriath-huzoth (City of streets?) in Moab. Kir, the Moabite word for city (MI 11 *f.* 24 29) probably as a walled place (cp the Hebrew usage), forms, by itself as an abbreviation, or in one of the compound forms Kir-Moab, Kir-heres or Kir-hareseth, the name of an important Moabite town. With Kartah compare the word for city (קֶרֶת) used in Job 29 7. On these names, as indeed throughout these introductory discussions, compare the special articles.

106. Names due to character of town.

The defensive character or feature of the town is more or less clearly indicated by the names Bezer (2) and Bozrah, which mean a fortified place (cp *'ir mibṣār* = fortified city, 1 S. 6 18 and often); Geder, Gederah; Gederoth, Gederothaim, Gedor—all of which are from √*gdr* = to wall up, but some of them perhaps with the specific sense of sheepcotes (so often Heb. *g'dērah*); Hosah (place of refuge); the compounds with Migdal (= tower), viz., Migdal-el, Migdal-gad, Migdol (cp also Magdali, *KB* v. 237 26); Mizpeh or Mizpah (5), which signifies the watch-tower (cp 'the field of Zophim,' Nu. 23 14 and Di. *ad loc.*; possibly also Zephath). Azem and Azmon, if, as is likely, they are to be derived from √*'aṣm* = to be strong, are probably to be explained in the same way; of the meanings 'enclosure' or 'fortress' suggested in BDB for Aphek and Aphekah the latter may perhaps be justified by the Assyr. *epeku* = to be strong (Del. *Ass. HWB* 115*a*), but scarcely (with Ges. in *Thes.*) by known usages of the root in Hebrew and Arabic.

The size of the town appears to have been the origin of the names Zoar and Zior (small), Rabbah (large) in Judah (הרבה) and in Ammon (fully רבת בני עמון). Rabbith is perhaps also to be connected with the root of Rabbah.

En-mishpat, Madon, and probably Meribah, owed their names to being places where disputes were settled.

The presence of one or more wine-presses gave their names to the cities of Gath, Gath-hepher, Gath-rimmon (2), Gittaim (in addition to the place so named in Neh. 11 33, cp Gen. 36 35 𝔊 Γεθθαιμ = Heb. עוית; see AVITH, GITTAIM); cp further Judg. 7 25, יקב־זאב. Similarly the town of Migron is probably derived from a threshing-floor (see § 88); but it is not clear whether 'the threshing-floor of Atad' (Gen. 50 10 *f.*) and the 'threshing-floor of Nacon' (2 S. 6 6 = Chidon 1 Ch. 13 9) are names of towns or not (see ATAD, NACON). Madmen in Moab, Madmenah in Benjamin, and Madmannah in Judah, mean the dung-place or dung-pit,[1] and KIRIATH-SEPHER (*q.v.*) should apparently be translated Book-city.

Whether the stenches which appear to have given their names to Zanoah (2), Ziphron, and Ophni[1] were natural, proceeding from some well or cave or the like, or artificial—*i.e.*, due to the life of the town—is uncertain. In the latter case, the names may have originated with the Bedouins, who are sensitive to the smells of towns (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 210 438).

107. Plurals and duals.

Many place-names are plural in form—*e.g.*, Gederoth, Akrabbim. In some cases the exact number of objects whence the name was derived is perhaps definitely indicated. Thus Kiriath-arba may mean four-cities; Beer-sheba, seven wells. Migdal Hammeah (EV the tower of Meah) should mean the tower of the hundred; but on the reading of MT see HAMMEAH. In the case of Sheba (seven) and Eleph (a thousand) we have names consisting of a term of number only; unless, indeed, as is quite possible, the names are to be otherwise interpreted. The question whether this class of names is at all large depends on the actual character of certain names apparently dual in form.

Such names are—

Adithaim	Enaim	Kiriathaim
Adoraim	En-eglaim	Mahanaim
Almon-diblathaim	Ephraim	Mizraim
Beth-diblathaim	Gederothaim	Ramathaim
Diblaim	Gittaim	Shaaraim
Diblathaim	Hapharaim	Zemaraim. Cp also
Dothaim (DOTHAN)	Horonaim	SAMARIA, JERUSALEM, § 1
Eglaim	Kibzaim	

Does Kiriathaim mean two cities, Enaim, two wells, as Kiriath-arba means four cities and Beer-sheba, seven wells? The dual significance of this ending in many or all of these proper names has been called in question by Wellhausen (*JDTh.* 1876, p. 433), Philippi (*ZDMG*, 1878, pp. 63-67), Barth (*NB* 319, n. 5),

[1] The occurrence of such names as Madmen, and perhaps we may add Kibshan, 'furnace' (see NIBSHAN), makes it plausible (but cp the special articles) to hold that ZANOAH (2), ZIPHRON, and OPHNI are so called from natural or artificial stenches. זנח is a well-known Heb. root. For Ziphron cp *ḏafira* = to smell (especially, though not exclusively, of bad smells); cp also Syr. *z'phar* = foetuit, a sense of which some trace is found in certain derivations of Ar. *zafira*. With Ophni cp Ar. *'afina* = to be putrid. We might add Hannathon if this name be from the root *ḥanan* (but see below, § 107); cp Ar. *ḥanna* = foetorem emisit; Syr. *ḥannīnā* = rancid; also in Heb. Job 19 17 (וזרה from זור = to be loathsome).

Kautzsch (*Heb. Gram.*[26], 88 *c*), Strack (*Genesis*, Excursus, 139 *f.*). Cp also WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 251 *f.* [Winckler, *KAT*[3], 28 *f.*] The dual interpretation is retained, sometimes with a ?, in certain cases by BDB (see, *e.g.*, under אדורים, חרנים), and defended by König (*Lehrgeb. d. Heb. Sprache*, 2 436 *f.*).

The main reasons urged against the dual character of the ending are these: (1) The dual in Hebrew, as also, it is urged, in original Semitic, is confined to things found in pairs; in many cases the proper names cannot be naturally explained of a pair of objects. (2) Such a form occurs in some cases side by side with a singular—*e.g.*, Mahaneh and Mahanaim, Ramah and Ramathaim. (3) The forms also occur side by side with forms in *-ān* (ָן) and *-ām* (ָם).

This last parallelism has been explained indeed by the supposition that *-ān* and *-ām* are alternative dual endings; but on the other hand it is argued with force that the endings *-ān* and *-ām* are unquestionably frequent in names in which there is no reason to assume a dual meaning; and that in some names the ending *-aim* is certainly secondary, as may be seen most clearly in the case of Jerusalem (cp Amarna *Urusalim* and MT Kt. form ירושלם), which was later pronounced Jerusalaim (ירושלים MT Kr.), and Samaria (שמרון, but in Aram. שמרין). Barth's explanation is somewhat different; he regards *-aim* (*-ain*) as an *old* locative ending which was subsequently displaced by the more familiar *-ōn*, *-ān*.

The first of the foregoing objections (limitation of Hebrew dual) cannot be pressed; the names in question may be pre-Israelitish (cp § 89) and sprung from a dialect which, like Arabic, used the dual more freely than Hebrew; nor can a stricter dual-meaning be considered in all cases inappropriate—*e.g.*, Kiryathaim may mean 'The twin cities' (cp use of the Heb. dual in יומים—Ges.-Kautzsch, *Gram.*[26] ET, § 88*c*).

The second objection (parallel singular forms) is far from conclusive.

As to the third (parallel forms in *ām*, etc.)—in view of the history of the name Jerusalem, a certain tendency to change a name so that it should resemble a dual form cannot be denied. On the other hand, this very tendency renders the prior existence of actual dual names probable. Further, in many cases the endings *-aim*, *-ām*, *-ān* are attached to the feminine inflection; if these endings be duals, the forms of the names are in accordance with the known laws of inflection; but if they are substantival afformatives the proper names in question are exceptional formations; Barth, at least, in his section (*NB*, 316-416) on nouns with suffixes, cites no instance of nouns formed by the addition of endings (such as *-ām*, *-ān*, *-ōn*) to the feminine inflection. Among proper names might be cited some few ambiguous forms, such as נבתון, חנתון.

The present writer therefore concludes that those names in which the endings *-aim*, *-ām*, or *-ān* are attached to the feminine termination are dual forms; that several other names also may be duals, but that the ending in their case is ambiguous. Though not unaware of the divergence of some scholars, he would interpret Kiriathaim, 'the two cities'; Gittaim, 'the two winepresses'; Diblathaim (in Beth-diblathaim = Almon Diblathaim), 'the two assemblies' (cp BDB *s.v.*); RAMATHAIM[1] (*q.v.*), 'the two hills.' Gederothaim is a name of doubtful genuineness, but, if genuine, would mean the two walls or sheepcotes. In the following (among other) names the ending is ambiguous; but the dual is in some cases appropriate and probable—Dothan (דתינה דתן), Enaim or Enam (the two wells), Horonaim (the two hollows), Shaaraim (two gates, or double gates; cp St. *Heb. Gr.* 340 *b*).

[1] Probably a *later* name of Ramah.

The significance of place-names turns not only on their meanings but also in some cases on their forms. This is too complicated a question to discuss here. As is remarked elsewhere, the names of two towns in Judah (ESHTEMOA [*q.v.*] and Eshtaol) present the same modification of the root as is found in the Arabic verb (conj. viii.) (and also in Mesha's *Inscr.* *l.* 11); and in three names of towns belonging to the southern tribes (Eltekon, Eltekeh, and Eltolad), possibly also in the Reubenite Elealeh, the first element may be the Arabic article.[1] G. B. G.

C. DIVINE NAMES[2]

108. Significance of names. The special importance attaching to the names of God in the OT and the emphasis often laid on their signification (cp Ex. 3 13 *ff.* 15 3 Is. 42 8 51 15 Jer. 33 2) finds a partial explanation in the peculiar emphasis with which the word *name* itself is there employed. The name of a person or thing was for the Hebrew not simply distinctive; it was a revelation of the nature of the person or thing named, nay, often almost an equivalent for the thing itself. This is specially true of names of God. A new special revelation of God leads to the formation of a new name (Gen. 16 13). Only so can we explain many Hebrew forms of expression that either seem to us pleonastic or peculiar, or else easily become associated with a false meaning. [For other applications of the term, some of them compelling attention by their boldness, see NAME, § 9.]

109. Yahwè, the sacred name. I. What is called the Tetragrammaton, יהוה,[3] appears in the OT 6823 times as the proper name of God as the God of Israel. As such it serves to distinguish him from the gods of other nations. It is 'the [sacred] name' *par excellence* (Lev. 24 11 Dt. 28 58). In the MT יהוה (YHWH) is almost always written with the vowels of *Ădōnāi*, אֲדֹנָי,[4] 'lord' (YĕHōWāH, יְהוָֹה), the vowels of *ĕlōhim*, אֱלֹהִים, 'God' (YĕHōWīH, יֱהוִֹה) being used when ădōnāi itself precedes.[4] This was a direction

[1] [It will not be surprising that the special articles, having been prepared independently, do not always agree in their explanations of these names with the present critical discussion. The reader will rightly infer that the question at issue is difficult.]

[2] For other titles applied to God, see the several articles:—ABI-, ADONI-, AHI-, AMMI-, DODI-, HAMU-, SHEM-, ZUR, names in; also BAAL, MOLECH, etc.

For epithets applied to God, see above §§ 26 *ff.*

For designations of other supernatural beings, heavenly or earthly, see ANGELS, AZAZEL, DEMONS, LILITH, SATYRS.

For names of deities other than Yahwè, see ANATH, ASHERAH, ASH-HUR, ASHTORETH, BELIAL, CHEMOSH, CHIUN, DAGON, QUEEN OF HEAVEN, SICCUTH, TAMMUZ, FORTUNE, ABRAHAM, ISAAC, SARAH, MILCAH, LABAN, SAMSON, also above, § 40 *ff.*

[3] So also MI *l.* 18. In the second half of compound Hebrew proper names the name has the form יָהוּ; contracted into יָה (only, in the case of some of the names compounded with יָה, 'the final element יָה or יָהוּ represents merely an emphatic afformative and not the divine name'; so Jastrow, *JSBL* 13 101 *ff.* [cp the view often maintained in this volume that the final יה or יהו is due to post-exilic manipulation of early names, such as נתני, ערבי, צפתי, of ethnic origin]). The contraction יָהּ occurs not only in the liturgical formula הַלְלוּ יָהּ (written הַלְלוּיָהּ only in Ps. 104 35), praise ye Yah, but also twenty-four times otherwise, though only in poetical (and probably all late) passages. It is most probably to be regarded with Jastrow (*ZAW*, 1896, p. 1 *ff.*) as an artificial post-exilic formation. It is very doubtful whether ־ַי (*e.g.*, in מַתְּנַי, etc.) occurs as a contraction for יָהוּ. Cp on this point Olsh. *Lehrb.* 612 *ff.*, and Grimme, *Grundzüge der Heb. Akzent- und Vokallehre* (Freiburg, 1896, p. 146).

In the first half of compound proper names, on the other hand, we find the form יְהוֹ (from יְהַו, the equivalent of יַהְוּ) contracted into יוֹ (*e.g.*, in יוֹנָתָן, etc.).

[4] In 310 places (143 of them in Ezek.) יהוה (originally probably without vowels) is retained in the text after the Ḳr. אֲדֹנָי, which has come to be regarded as a Kĕthib. The resulting combination 'Adōnāi [substituted for] YHWH,' Ḳr. 'Adōnāi YĕHōWīH'—*i.e.*, Adōnāi Elōhīm—appears in EV as 'the Lord GOD.'

to the reader always to substitute for the unpronounceable[1] actual name either *ădōnāi*, אֲדֹנָי (hence in 𝔊 ὁ κύριος for יהוה) or *ĕlōhīm*, אֱלֹהִים. On this *Ḳrê perpetuum* cp Gesen. *Gram.* § 17 3.

The controversy as to the correct pronunciation of the tetragrammaton, whether as Yahwè, יַהְוֶה, Yahᵃwè, יַהֲוֶה, Yahwā, יַהְוָה, or Yahᵃwā, יַהֲוָה,[2] a controversy in which, as in Ex. 3 14, the derivation of יהוה from an imperfect form of הוה was always assumed,[3] has been gradually brought to an end by the general adoption of the view, first propounded by Ewald, that the true form is Yahwè, יַהְוֶה. The abbreviated form, Yāhu, יָהוּ, can be explained only by the form, Yahw, יַהְו (with closed syllable; cp שְׁחוּ from שְׁחְו), and the *sĕghōl(è)* of the second syllable is attested, to mention nothing else, by the fact that, in Samaritan poetry, יהוה rhymes with words ending in that way.[4]

110. Its pronunciation.

A much more difficult point to decide is the original meaning of the word Yahwè. In E of the Pentateuch יהוה, transposed from the third person into the first, is explained by God himself first by 'I am that I am' (אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה), and then by the simple 'I am' (אֶהְיֶה). YHWH (יהוה) is here obviously regarded as the third person imperfect of the archaic stem HWH (הָוָה=הָיָה), 'to be,' in the sense of 'he is (and manifests himself) continually,'[1] with the additional connotation of remaining the same, so that the name would express both the attribute of permanence and that of unchangeability, and especially unchangeability in keeping promises—*i.e.*, faithfulness.

111. Supposed meaning.

This explanation offered in the OT itself has been felt by many modern scholars (beginning with Ewald) to be only an attempt to explain a primitive name that had long since become unintelligible, and, further, to be simply the product of a religious-philosophical speculation and far too abstract to be by any possibility correct. Increased importance is given to these considerations by the observation that the name is in no sense peculiar to the Hebrews, and on other soil it must originally have had a much simpler and in particular a much more concrete signification.

Of the various hypotheses that maintain an adoption of the name from some foreign nation, that which derives it from the cultus of the Kenites has still the greatest claim to mention (so Tiele, years ago; most recently in his *Gesch. der Rel. im Altertum*, 1 299; St. *GVI*, 1887, 1 130 *ff.*; cp Che. *EB*(9) 5 [1876] 790). At Sinai Yahwè revealed himself to Moses and then to the whole people; whence Sinai was—what it long continued to be; cp, *e.g.*, 1 K. 19 8 *ff.*—the proper seat of Yahwè. According to the oldest tradition the Sinai district was inhabited by the Kenites (cp KENITES, MOSES, § 14). That indeed the name Yahwè was then revealed to Moses and through him to the people is expressly asserted only by the youngest Pentateuch source (P).[2] E does not say this expressly, and according to J Yahwè was in use from the beginning as the name of the god of the patriarchs; even the interpolated Gen. 4 26 carries it back as far as Enoch. It is, in fact, hardly conceivable that Moses should have been able to proclaim a god that was simply unknown, a new god, as 'god of the fathers.' Great uncertainty, however, attaches on the other hand to the hypotheses of the occurrence of the related forms *Yahu* (*Yau*) and *Ya* in Assyrio-Babylonian or Canaanitish proper names.[3]

112. Supposed foreign origin.

[1] As early as the beginning of the third century B.C. יהוה seems to have been regarded as ἄρρητον, at least beyond the sacred precincts. Thus is to be explained to a considerable extent the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in the latest books of the OT, as *e.g.*, in Daniel (except chap. 9), to some extent in Chronicles, and, in consequence of editorial revision, in Ps. 42-84, as well as in the Apocrypha generally. The NT follows LXX in invariably substituting 'the Lord' (ὁ κύριος) for YHWH, יהוה. At the same time, however, the gradual change that came over the idea of God as it became more and more universal, had also a great deal to do with the suppression of the personal name in favour of 'God,' אֱלֹהִים (so everywhere in Koheleth) and other appellatives. What led more than anything else, however, to men s avoiding the utterance of the sacred name, was probably the dread of breaking the injunction Ex. 20 7. It would appear, indeed, from 𝔊 of Lev. 24 16 that the very mention of the sacred name was threatened with death. Probably, however, as in the original, all that is meant is the employment of it in abusive language or in witchcraft.

According to the Babylonian Talmud (*Yōmā* 39 *b*) the name יהוה had ceased to be pronounced even by the priests in the blessing as early as the time of Simon the Just (about 270 B.C.; cp, however, on this date, ECCLESIASTICUS, § 7 [*b*]). Philo, on the other hand, declares simply that the sacred name was pronounced only in the sacred precincts, and according to the Jerusalem Talmud (*Yōmā* 3 7) it was lawful down to the very end for the high priest to pronounce it—though finally only below his breath—in the ceremonial of the day of Atonement. Moreover, Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 12 4) seems to have known the true pronunciation, though he excuses himself from giving it as being unlawful. As late as 130 A.D. Abbā Shāūl denied eternal bliss to any one who should pronounce the sacred name with its actual consonants. See on this especially Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Gesch.* (Berlin, 1889), and cp Che. *OPs.* 299-303.

[2] Cp Franz Del. 'On the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton,' *ZATW* 3 *f.* (1883-84). Brinton reads Jahva, 'The origin of the sacred name Jahva,' *Archiv für Rel.-Wiss.*, 1899, 3 226 *ff.*

[3] Grimme alone (*op. cit.* 143 *ff.*), on quite insufficient grounds, explains יהוה as a lengthened form of יָהוּ, Yāhu, regarding it as a sort of plural or collective form from the root יהו or והו.

[4] On this cp Kau. *TLZ*, 1886, no. 10, col. 223. Moreover, Theodoret (*quæst.* 15 *in Exodum*) states that the Samaritans pronounced the sacred name Ἰαβέ, and the same pronunciation is ascribed by Epiphanius (*Adv. hær.* i. 3 20) to a Christian sect, and is to be found in Egyptian magic papyri (on this, as also on the whole question, see the thorough investigation of A. Deissmann, 'Griechische Transskriptionen des Tetragrammaton' in his *Bibelstudien*, Marburg, 1895, p. 3 *ff.*; Author. Transl. by A. Grieve, 1901, p. 321 *ff.*). Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 6 34, according to the better reading) attests the still more exactly corresponding form Ιαουέ or Ἰαουαί; Origen, the form Ἰαῆ. Burkitt's edition of fragments of Aquila shows that Aquila wrote the sacred name in archaic Hebrew characters. Finally, on 'Jahwè' is based also the form Ιαωουηε in the Jewish-Egyptian Magic-papyri; cp L. Blau, *das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (1898), 128. According to Blau, ω appears in the third place in order that the first three vowels may be sounded Ιαω (=יהו). The form *Jeve* occurring in Latin MSS (cp *ZATW* 1 346 [1881], 2 173 [1882]) at least testifies to an *e* in the second syllable. On the other hand, the form *Iao*, handed down by the Gnostics, may be left out of account. Like all similar forms (*e.g.*, Ιευω, in Philo Byblius), it is simply the product of erroneous or misunderstood Jewish statements. On this cp Baudissin, 'Der Ursprung des Gottesnamens *Iao*,' in his *Studien zur semit. Rel.* 2 181 *ff.* (1876).

[1] The MS known as the *Græcus Venetus* finely renders יהוה by inventing the substantive ὁ ὀντωτής—*i.e.*, probably 'the really existing one'; hardly, as Lag. (*Übers.* 138), comparing δουλόω, supposes, with a causative signification, to indicate יהוה as a Hiph'il.

[2] When P nevertheless gives Jochebed (יוֹכֶבֶד, Ex. 6 20) as the name of Moses' mother, we must suppose this to be a name substituted by a later editor for what P originally wrote. Others take the name Jōchébed as an indication that Yahwè was originally the God of Moses' family or his tribe. But cp JACOB, § 1; JOCHEBED.

[3] In support of a Canaanitish *Jahu* the following cases have been cited:—the place-names mentioned by W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 162 312 *f.*)—viz., from the list of Thotmes III., *Bai-ti-y-'-ā* (בֵּיתְיָה??), and from that of Šošenḳ, *Ba-bi-y-'ā*, *Sa-na-y-'ā*, and *Ḥa-nī-nī-'ā*—all equally doubtful; *Yaubi'di*, the name of a king of Hamath, also written *Ilubi'di*; so Schr. *KAT*(2), 23 *ff.*, and Wi. *GI* 36 *ff.*, who has also proved *Azriyau* of *Yaudi* (according to Schrader, Azariah of Judah) to be the name of a N. Syrian king (*AOF* 1 13); but cp also Jastrow, '*Ilubi'di* and the supposed *Jaubi'di*,' *ZA*, 1895, p. 222 *ff.* The names adduced by Pinches, '*Ya* and *Jawa* in Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions,' *PSBA* 15 1 pp. 1-13 (cp also Jäger, *Beitr. zur Assyr.* 1 452 *ff.*; Grimme, *Grundzüge*, etc., 145; Hommel, *AHT* 115, and *Exp. T* 10 42 48 144; Sayce, *ib.* 9 522; [against Hommel] König, 'the origin of the name יהוה,' *ib.* 10 189 *ff.*), must for the present, on account of the uncertainty attending the explanation, and often the reading as well, be left out of account. Against the proposal of Frd. Del. (*Par.* 158 *ff.*) to derive a form *Jahu*, common to all Canaanites, from an Accadian *Ja-u*, transformed by the Hebrew priests into יהוה, so as to render possible its derivation from היה, 'to be,' cp Philippi, *Z. f. Völkerpsych. u.*

Ex. 3 14 being left out of account, 'Yahwè' has been explained variously.[1]

113. Modern etymological explanations.

(*a*) As *nomen imperfecti Kal* of הוה, 'to fall,' either in the sense of 'rushing, crashing down' (Klo. *GI* 70), or in that of 'falling (from heaven),' as being originally the name of one of the objects (see MASSEBAH, § 1 *d*) called *Baityl* (so, along with other possible explanations, Lag. *Orientalia*, 2 27 *ff.*).

(*b*) As a *nomen imperfecti Kal* of הָוָה, 'to blow' (cp Arabic *hawā(y)*, 'to blow,' *hawāun*, 'air, breeze'), 'the Blower,'[2] as a name for the storm-god, analogous to the Assyrian Rammān.

(*c*) As a *nomen imperfecti Hiph'il* of הוה, either as 'he who makes to be, calls into existence,' the Creator,[3] or, following (*a*), as 'he who makes to fall, who smites with lightning,'[4] and so, as before, the storm-god.

A *Hiph'il* (or a causative form analogous to the Hebrew *Hiph'il*), however, from הָוָה (or הָיָה) cannot be produced, apart from late Syriac formations, in any Semitic dialect, and the signification 'fall' occurs in Hebrew only in the imperative הֱוֵא, Job 37 6 (where Siegfried, *SBOT*, reads רְוֵה); and for the meaning 'blow' recourse must be had to Arabic; whilst the interpretation of Yahwè as creator would ill agree with Hebrew usage, which employs the name Yahwè chiefly with reference to revelations of God to his people, or the conduct of the people towards their national god, whereas the cosmic working of God is connected with other divine names.

It is not to be denied that יהוה may have had originally another much more concrete signification than that given in Ex. 3 14. Nevertheless it seems precarious to suppose that while Hebrew was still a living language, the people should have been so completely deluded as to the meaning of the most important and sacred name. The objection that Ex. 3 14 rests on a piece of too subtle metaphysical speculation, falls so soon as we cease to force into it the abstract conception of 'self-existence,'[5] and content ourselves with the great religious idea of the living God who does not change in his actions.

114. Elōhīm: form and meaning.

Of originally appellative names by far the commonest (2570 times) is *ĕlōhīm* (אֱלֹהִים), the regular plural of *ĕlōah* (אֱלוֹהַּ), God, which (if we allow for the modification of *ā* to *ō*) corresponds to the more original Arabic *ilāh* (Aramaic אֱלָהּ). Of the fifty-seven places where the singular (אֱלוֹהַּ) occurs, forty-one belong to the Book of Job, and the rest (apart from the Kt. of 2 K. 17 31) either to poetic passages or to late prose. It can hardly be doubted, accordingly, that the singular (אֱלוֹהַּ) is only an artificial restoration based on the plural (אֱלֹהִים).[1] The plural serves sometimes to denote the heathen gods (Ex. 9 1 12 12 20 3 etc.) or images of gods (Ex. 20 23 etc.), but mostly to denote a single god (or image of a god—*e.g.*, Ex. 32 1, most probably also Gen. 31 30 32), whether a heathen deity (*e.g.*, 1 S. 5 7, of Dagon; 1 K. 11 5, even of a female deity—for Hebrew never had a word for goddess) or the God of Israel.[2] In numberless places—especially with the addition of the article—הָאֱלֹהִים (*i.e.*, like ὁ θεός in the NT, the well-known, true God) is a sort of proper name and equivalent for Yahwè. The usage of the language gives no support to the supposition that we have in the plural form *ĕlōhīm*, as applied to the god of Israel, the remains of an early polytheism,[3] or at least a combination with the higher spiritual beings (the 'son of God' or 'sons of the gods'—*i.e.*, according to Heb. usage, simply beings belonging to the class of Elohim, Gen. 6 2 4 Job 1 6 2 1 38 7, cp Ps. 29 1 89 7 [6]). Rather must we hold to the explanation of the plural as one of majesty and rank (a variety of abstract plural expressing a combination of the several characteristics inherent in the conception).[4]

115. Etymology.

There is much difference of opinion as to the etymology, and therefore the proper signification, of the word *Elōhīm*. A verbal stem, אָלַהּ, of which one would naturally think first of all, is not known in Hebrew; and the Arabic *'alaha*, 'to worship God,' is obviously a denominative from the substantive *'ilāh*, 'God.' On the other hand, the derivation from the Arabic *'aliha*, with medial *i* (according to Arabic scholars an old Bedouin word meaning 'to be filled with dread, be perplexed,' and so 'anxiously to seek refuge'), seemed enticing. *'ilāh* (אֱלוֹהַּ) would thus mean in the first place 'dread,' then the object of the dread with whom one nevertheless seeks refuge.[5]

Support for this view has been found in particular in several allusions in the OT itself to the supposed proper meaning of the word, since in Gen. 31 42 53 God is called 'the fear (פחד) of Isaac,' and in Is. 8 13 Ps. 76 12 [11], 'the object of fear' (מורא). The state of the problem is this. If *'aliha*, along with the cognate *waliha*, 'to fear,' is really an independent verbal stem, the above explanation has a greater claim to consideration than any other. Possibly, however, *'aliha* itself, along with *waliha*, is only a denominative from *'ilāh*, and signifies originally 'possessed of God' (cp ἐνθουσιάζειν, δαιμονᾶν), as the Arabic *ba'ila* means 'to be possessed of *Ba'l*.'[6] In this case, naturally, Fleischer's explanation would be futile.

Sprachwiss., 1882, pp. 175 *ff.*; Tiele, *Th.T*, 1882, pp. 262 *ff.*; Kue. *Hibbert Lectures*, 308 *ff.* Moreover, according to Winckler (*GI* 1 36 *ff.*), יהוה, with the meaning of 'Lord of eternal being,' is to be regarded as a spiritualising of the quite independent and distinct popular form *Jahu*.

1 Cp especially Driver, 'Recent theories on the origin and nature of the Tetragrammaton,' *Stud. Bibl.* 1; T. P. Valeton, 'De Israelitische Godsnaam,' *Theol. Stud.*, May 1889.

2 So Wellh. *IJG*(2 *f.*), 25, n. 1, (4) 26 n. 1: 'The etymology is quite obvious; he rides through the air, he blows.'

3 So already Jn. Clericus (1696) on Ex. 6 3; Schr., since 1862, and in Schenkel's *Bib.-lex.* 3 167 *ff.* (cp, however, also *KAT*(2) 25); Lag. *ZDMG* 22 331, and most recently in *Übers.* 137 *ff.* (='he who calls into being what he has promised'). The equating of יהוה and יחוה, so as to obtain the meaning, 'the Vivifier, distributer of life,' must be rejected, for the interchange of ה and ח at the beginning of a Semitic word is unheard of.

4 So Lag. *Orientalia*, 2 29 (alongside of the explanation as imperf. Kal), and, doubtfully, Stade, *GVI* 1 429. According to G. Margoliouth (*PSBA*, 1895, p. 57 *ff.*), יהוה is 'one who sends down things from heaven.'

5 So, *e.g.*, Di. (*Gen.*, 1887, p. 74): 'he who exists absolutely and lives in himself'; Schultz, *Alttest. Theol.*(5), 387, 'the immutable, self-centred existence; the absolute personality.' Deserving of mention, also, is the hypothesis of G. H. Skipwith ('The Tetragrammaton,' *JQR* 10 662 *ff.*), according to which יהוה, 'he will be,' is the elliptic form of the invocation of the ancient Israelite warrior-god, to be completed by אֵל and עִמָּנוּ—*i.e.*, 'God will be with us.' The *Untersuchungen über den Namen Jehova* of B. Steinführer (1898), and W. Spiegelberg's *eine Vermutung über den Ursprung des Namens* יהוה (from an Egyptian word for 'cattle'), *ZDMG*, 1899, p. 633 *ff.*, are quite valueless.

1 According to Baethg. (*Beitr.* 297) the poetic author of Dt. 32 is to be regarded as the inventor of the sing. אֱלוֹהַּ.

2 The use of אלהים (1 S. 28 13) in the sense of supernatural being, ghost, is quite exceptional, and it is certainly an error to assert that 'א sometimes indicates judges or magistrates in general. In Ex. 21 6 22 7 *f.* [8 *f.*] 1 S. 2 25 'א invariably means God, as witness of a lawsuit or dispenser of oracles. (We have clearly a relic of the last-mentioned usage in Ex. 4 16 [J ?] and even in 7 1 [P ?].) In Ex. 22 7, too, the parallelism shows that what is meant is the reviling of God as the giver of decisions on points of law. In Ps. 82 1 6 97 7 138 1, on the other hand, the 'א are, like the 'holy ones' of Ps. 89 6 8 [5 7], the gods of the heathen, which, in later post-exilic times, fell to a lower rank (see ANGELS).

3 According to WRS (*RS*(2), 445), 'the Elohim of a place originally meant all its sacred denizens, viewed collectively as an indeterminate sum of indistinguishable beings.'

4 On this point cp Ges. *Gram.*(27), §§ 124 *g* and 132 *h*. In the Phœnician inscriptions, too (cp G. Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phön. Inschr.*, 1889, p. 17 *ff.*), אלם (ēlīm) indicates most probably the universal conception of divinity, אֵל, on the contrary, the individual deity in the idol.

5 So especially the illustrious Arabist Fleischer (most lately in *Kleine Schriften*, 1 154 *ff.*), and after him Franz Del. (most recently in his *Genesis*, 1887, p. 48, where he explains אֱלוֹהַּ as 'awe or respect,' and then 'object of awe').

6 So Nöld. *ZDMG* 40 174, after We. *Wāḳidī*, 356, n. 3 (*uliha 'an-irraǵuli*, 'the fear of God has made the man harmless').

There is just as little proof, however, for the view of Ewald, and after him Dillmann (on Gen. 1 1; also in *Handb. d. ATlichen Theol.*), that אָלַהּ means 'to be mighty,' and is to be regarded as a by-form of the stem אלה (אלי), from which אֵל comes.

Nestle follows another course (*Theol. St. aus Würt.*, 1882, p. 243 *ff.*), explaining *ĕlōhīm* as the plural, not of the late artificially revived form *ĕlōăh*, but of the sing. *ēl* (see next §).[1]

Nestle supposes the plural to have arisen from *ēl* by the artificial insertion of a ה (*h*), like Heb. אֲמָהוֹת, maidens, from אָמָה, Arab. *'abahāt*, fathers, Syr. *šemāhān*, names, etc. Nestle is thus able easily to explain how the older language had no singular for ĕlōhim but ēl, and no other plural for ēl but ĕlōhīm. The explanation of this plural form would thus be dependent on that of the sing. ēl (see below). To Nestle's hypothesis, however, there is the objection[2] that at least the Arabic formations of this kind have a short *ă* before the termination, whilst the long *ō* of ĕlōhīm would represent a long *ā*; and above all, that all examples with inserted הּ (if we ignore some secondary formations in Syriac) have the fem. ending. Moreover, were this hypothesis accepted, the Ar. *'ilāh* and the Aram. אֱלָהּ would have, with Nestle, to be regarded as words borrowed directly or indirectly from the Hebrew.[3]

There is no less difference of opinion as to the explanation of ēl, 'God,' a word which appears as a divine name 217 times (73 in Ps., 55 in Job, and generally almost only in poetical passages, or at least in elevated prose), and just like ĕlōhīm (see preceding col., n. 2) may denote either deities (אֵלִים *e.g.*, in Ex. 15 11, etc., Ps. 58 1 [2] corrected text) which have come to be viewed as subordinate divinities, or the god of Israel. Sometimes it occurs with the article (yet also without it; so especially in Deutero-Isaiah, 40 18, etc.), like 'the *ĕlōhīm*' (הָאֱלֹהִים) in the sense of the true God (*e.g.*, Gen. 46 3), but specially often with some attribute or other, whether a noun (*e.g.*, אֵל גִּבּוֹר, 'hero-god,' Is. 9 6) or an adjective as in אֵל חַי, 'the living God,'[4] אֵל עֶלְיוֹן (see below, § 118), 'God most high,' אֵל שַׁדַּי (see below, § 117), 'God almighty (?),' or with a genitive, as אֵל בֵּית־אֵל, 'the God of Bethel'[5] (Gen. 35 7), אֵל עוֹלָם, 'the god of antiquity' (Gen. 21 33), or finally with a noun in apposition—*e.g.*, Gen. 46 3; cp also 33 20 where Jacob calls the *maṣṣēbāh* (for in view of וַיַּצֶּב־ we must read thus, not מִזְבֵּחַ, 'altar') that he erected '*ēl*, god of Israel.' Very frequent is the occurrence of *ēl* (never אֱלוֹהַּ or אֱלֹהִים) as first or second member in proper names—*e.g.*, אֱלִיָּהוּ, אֱלִיעֶזֶר, אֶלְחָנָן, יוֹאֵל, עִמָּנוּאֵל, etc. (see above, § 25).

116. El.

Against the derivation of the substantive *ēl* (אֵל) from אול 'to be strong,' with the meaning 'the strong one,' a derivation at one time common and in itself satisfactory,[6] objections have been raised. The most that

The other example from *Lieder der Hudhail* (ed. We. 123), no. 278, *l.* 3, is less certain.

1 Conversely, Ewald had already explained אֵל as abbreviated from אֱלוֹהַּ (אֱלֹהִים); *Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, 2 382 *ff.*

2 Cp Nöld. *SBAW*, 1882, p. 1180.

3 Cp the detailed refutation of this theory by Nöld. (*SBAW*, 1882, pp. 1183 *ff.*), according to whom both *ēl* and *ilāh* were already in existence side by side before the parting of the Semitic nations. Cp also Ed. Meyer, 'El' in Roscher's *Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Mythol.* 1223 *ff.*; Baethgen, too, shows (*Beitr.* 271, and in the excursus, 297 *ff.*) that it is at best but traces of the form *il* (*el*) that are to be found in the various Semitic tribes and peoples, whilst *ilāh* is quite wanting in some languages. On the other hand, *il* has in some cases become quite unfamiliar in the living language; in others it is passing out of use, its place being taken by *ilāh*. It is only in personal names that '. . . *il* has established itself in all Semitic languages, either alone as in some of them, or alongside of *ilāh* as in others.'

4 Cp El roi, Gen. 16 13 RVmg. (אֵל רֳאִי); see ISAAC, § 2.

5 On this usage of *ēl*, perhaps the oldest, where it originally denoted the local divinity (afterwards identified with Yahwè) of the several places of worship, cp Stade, *GVI* 1 428.

6 Wellhausen says (*Skizzen*, 3 169): 'the true content of the conception "God" amongst the Semites generally is that of lord-

can be cited in the way of evidence for such a use of the substantive *ēl* is the expression יֶשׁ־לְאֵל יָדִי, 'it is in the power of my hand' (Gen. 31 29 and elsewhere). It has been urged too, especially by Lagarde (*Mitteilungen*, 1884, pp. 96 *ff.*), that the derivation of this particular name from a neuter verbal stem is unthinkable (cp, however, also לֵץ, 'scoffer'; שֵׁד, 'Demon'). Above all it is objected that a participle or verbal noun from אול (or איל) would of necessity have an unchangeable *ē*,[1] whereas forms like Elḥānān (אֶלְחָנָן), Elīmélek (אֱלִימֶלֶךְ) and many others would argue for the *ē* being simply a prolongation of an original *i*. The last objection would apply also to Nöldeke's[2] derivation from אול, 'to be in front.' Dillmann (on Gen. 1 1) and Lagarde[3] derive אֵל from אלה (or אלי); but for the meaning, assumed by Dillmann, 'to be mighty,' no authority can be found, and Lagarde's connection of ēl with the preposition (אֶל) 'to,' is open to serious question. (See NATURE-WORSHIP, § 2.)

Lagarde maintains that *el* denotes: him 'after whom one strives,' 'who is the goal of all human aspiration and endeavour' (according to *Deutsche Schriften*, 222, the 'aim' or 'goal'), or (1888) 'to whom one has recourse in distress or when one is in need of guidance' (*Übers.* 170: 'to whom one attaches oneself closely'). Such an origin for the name would be no doubt conceivable on the basis of pure and strict monotheism; it is, however, inconceivable if *ilu*, *el*, originally served to denote any god whatever,[4] and even a demon or local divinity.

We are no nearer a solution in the case of the divine name Shaddai, שַׁדַּי. Whilst it occurs six times[5] as an attribute of אֵל, it occurs as an independent divine name 39 times, of which 31 belong to the poetical parts of Job (since here, as is well known, Yahwè is avoided and its place taken by other names). According to Ex. 6 3 (P) it was by the name ēl šaddai (not Yahwè) that God revealed himself to the patriarchs. It is in agreement with this that four of the six Genesis passages belong certainly to P (along with the three personal names compounded with שַׁדַּי), whilst, as 𝔊 shews, šaddai in Gen. 43 14 is a Redactor's interpolation into the text of E. The only pre-exilic testimony for šaddai is therefore Gen. 49 25 Nu. 24 4 16.

117. Šaddai.

It is incorrect to appeal in support of the common explanation 'Almighty' to the Arabic root *šadda*, 'to be firm, strong,' for the Hebrew equivalent for this would be not שׁדד (ŠDD) but שׂרר (ŚDD). Nor is much weight to be laid on 𝔊's rendering šaddai by 'Almighty' (παντοκράτωρ). This occurs only in the book of Job, and there only in 15 out of 31 places, whilst in the Pentateuch šaddai is simply rendered by a pronoun (μου, σου, ὁ ἐμός) or passed over altogether.[6] Judged by its form, šaddai could only be a derivative

ship.' With this it agrees that Yahwè is also called in Is. 6 5 and elsewhere 'the king,' and that in Ethiopic the *pluralis majestatis amlāk* has become a sort of proper name for God.

1 Yet Nöldeke still in 1882 decided (*SBAW*, 1882, p. 1188) that אֵל has *probably* an originally long vowel. As a matter of fact the punctuation of the Massora (in אֱלִיאָב, etc., alongside of אֵלִיָּהוּ) may be founded on an error. Whether the Babylonian *ilu*, 'God' (but never as the name of a defined god; cp on this point Jensen, *Kosmog. der Bab.* 116), can be cited in support of the original shortness of the vowel in אֵל, must be left an open question. Lagarde (*Übers.* 131 *f.*) regards the Assyrian form *Sir-'-la-ā*—'Israelite' as sufficient proof.

2 *SBAW*, 1880, p. 760 *ff.*, less definitely 1882, p. 1175 *ff.*

3 *Symmicta*, 2 (1880), 101 *ff.*; *Orientalia*, 2 (1880), 10 *ff.*; *Mittheilungen*, 1 94 *ff.* 107 *ff.* 231 *f.* 2 27 *f.* 183 (1881-86); at length (most recently) in *Übers.* 159 *ff.* According to p. 167 the derivation of אֵל from the preposition אֶל was proposed as long ago as by Josue de la Place (†1655).

4 According to Lagarde, it is true, אֵל was not a native word amongst the Arabs, Idumæans, etc., but only a loan-word from the Jews (cp, however, above n. 3).

5 Five times in Gen. (for we must certainly read אֵל שַׁדַּי for אֵת שׁ in Gen. 49 25) and in Ex. 6 3.

6 In Ezek. 10 5, probably an interpolated verse, 𝔊 retains the form Σαδδαι. This, however, by no means furnishes any real evidence for the originality of the pronunciation שׁ׳.

of the form שדד with the suffix *ay*.[1] But this root means only 'lay waste, destroy,' and it is surely inconceivable that, for example, in the oldest passage (Gen. 49 25), ēl šaddai designates God as the devastator or destroyer. Moreover, the pronunciation šaddai is perhaps purely artificial, intended to embody the explanation שַׁדַּי (·שֶׁ) = 'what (or who) is sufficient.' It is only thus we can explain the remarkable rendering (ὁ ἱκανός; cp ἱκανωθῆναι [=די] in Mal. 3 10) of 𝔊 in Job 21 15 31 2 40 2 Ruth 1 20 *f.* of 𝔊ᴬ in Ezek. 1 24 and of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion (also R. Isḥaḳi on Ex. 6 3). To derive the name from a root שדה would require the pronunciation šaddâi (שַׁדַּי, the so-called *nomen opificis*). But there is no such root in Hebrew, though according to Frd. Delitzsch (*Prol.* 1896) there is a root *šadû* 'to be high' in Assyrian.[2] See SHADDAI.

Like šaddai, the title 'Elyōn (עֶלְיוֹן), 'the Almighty,' appears sometimes in connection with Ēl (Gen. 14 18-20 and in apposition with Yahwè in *v.* 22; Ps. 78 35) or Yahwè (Ps. 7 18 [17]; in 57 3 [2] 78 56, too, Elōhīm has been substituted by a Redactor, as elsewhere in Ps. 42-84 for Yahwè: see PSALMS, § 7), sometimes standing alone (Nu. 24 16 Dt. 32 8 Ps. 21 8 [7] 46 5 [4] 77 11 [10], etc.; as a vocative 9 3 [2]). That when it stands alone 'elyōn was felt to be a proper noun is clear from its never having the article even after prepositions; cp, *e.g.*, Ps. 73 11 Is. 14 14 Ps. 50 14. With this agrees the testimony of Philo Byblius (Eus. *Præp. evang.* 1 10) that among the Phœnicians Ἐλιοῦν was in use as a name for God. This is the simplest explanation of the fact that in the single early passage where 'Elyōn occurs (Nu. 24 16) it is put in the mouth of a foreigner, whilst the employment of the word as an Israelite name for God belongs almost exclusively to post-exilic usage.

118. 'Elyōn.

Another word, occurring as a sort of proper noun 130 (or according to the Massora 134) times, not as Ḳr. for Yahwè (see above note 1) but as Ktb., is (ארני, *i.e.*) according to MT Ădōnāi (אֲדֹנָי) but probably originally Ădōni (אֲדֹנִי) 'my lord.'[3] Ādōn (אָדוֹן) without suffix is used only in Ps. 114 7, of God; and 'the Ādōn' (הָאָדוֹן) in Mal. 3 1, and, in connection with other divine names, in Ex. 23 17 34 23 and five times in Is. (1 24 3 1, etc.).

119. Adonai.

Of other terms indicative of lordship Baal (בַּעַל) 'proprietor, lord' (with the article הַבַּעַל) was also in ancient times used without hesitation as a designation for the god of Israel. This is proved by a series of proper names compounded with 'Baal,' in the bestowal of which not the heathen Baal

120. Baal.

[1] So Baethgen (*Beitr.*, etc., 294) who appeals to Palmyrene and other parallels. He maintains that 'שׁ can be explained only as an Aramaism, an Aramaism that the Hebrews brought with them from their Aramæan home.

[2] Nöldeke (*SBAW*, 1880, p. 775; *ZDMG* 42 480) conjectured that שֵׁדִי or (on the analogy of אֲדֹנִי) שֵׁדַי, 'my lord' was the original pronunciation. Cp G. Hoffmann, *Phōn. Inschr.* 53-55. But what explanation could then be given of אֵל שׁ' in the mouth of God (Gen. 49 25 Ex. 6 3)? Cp SHADDAI.

[3] As Dalman has shown (*Der Gottesname Adonaj u. seine Gesch.*), it is simply by Rabbinic arbitrariness, not yet known to the Talmud, that we have the form (אדנָי) with long *ā* (commonly supposed to be a means of distinction from the ordinary profane form [אֲדֹנַי] 'my lords'; but supposed by Nestle *ZATW*, 1896, p. 325, to be a reaction of the *ā* of יְהוָה, such a form as יְהוִֹה being impossible; and by Lagarde, *Übers.* 188, to be an Aramaism, related to the Old Palestinian אָדוֹן like Syriac *malkāy*, 'kingly' to *mᵉlekh*) or even a plural suffix at all (in connection with the plural of majesty אֲדֹנִים). For with the suffix of the first person sing. elsewhere only the sing. אֲדֹנִי is found, and from this form the divine name had to be distinguished. The common assertion that the suffix in ארני is often, as in *monsieur*, *madame*, etc., quite meaningless, is corrected by Dalman by the observation that outside of the Book of Daniel and eight critically doubtful passages, the suffix is never quite meaningless. (Cp excursus on Adonai, Che. *OPs.* 299-303.)

but Yahwè was certainly thought of.[1] See JERUBBAAL, ISHBAAL, MERIBAAL, BEELIADA (forms retained in Ch.), but in the earlier books deliberately corrupted by the substitution of El or Bōsheth.[2] See, however, MEPHIBOSHETH.

The title ''Ăbīr of Jacob' (אֲבִיר יַעֲקֹב) 'the Strong One of Jacob' (*i.e.*, he whom Jacob must acknowledge and honour as the Strong One; cp קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל in all parts of the Book of Isaiah—*i.e.*, he whom Israel ought to treat as the Holy One), Gen. 49 24 and four other times (cp Is. 1 24 א' יִשְׂרָאֵל), occurs only in poetical writing. Since no adjective *ābīr* (אָבִיר) is known, it is probable that we should read *abbīr* (אַבִּיר), but with the same meaning, 'the Strong One of Jacob,' not 'the Bull of Jacob' as by itself it might mean. Isaiah would certainly not have employed the expression had it contained for him any reminiscence of steer-worship. On the other hand it is very probable that *ăbīr* (אֲבִיר) is so written in order to avoid the likeness to *abbīr* (אַבִּיר) 'bull.'

121. Abir.

Another term used only in poetry as a kind of divine name is *ṣûr* (צור), 'Rock.'[3] It occurs attached to a genitive (צוּר יִשְׂרָאֵל, 2 S. 23 3 Is. 30 29) or with a suffix (*e.g.*, Dt. 32 30; in *v.* 31 also of a heathen deity), and also alone—*e.g.*, in Dt. 32 4 18—even as a vocative, parallel with Yahwè, Hab. 1 12 (if the text is sound). On the other hand it is very questionable whether in the plainly very corrupt text of Gen. 49 24 (אֶבֶן יִשְׂרָאֵל), 'the stone of Israel' is to be taken (like צור י') as a name for God.

122. Rock.

Special fulness is required in discussing, finally, the combination of Yahwè or Elōhīm with the genitive ṣĕbāōth (צְבָאוֹת) 'hosts,' from which sprang a much used name for God.[4] The original appellative signification of ṣĕbāōth appears still quite plainly in the full formula 'Yahwè the god of the hosts' (יהוה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת, with the article), Hos. 12 6 [5] Am. 3 13 6 14; according to 𝔊 originally also 9 5. Much more common is the form (י' אלהי צבאות) without article, and commonest of all 'Yahwè of hosts' (י' צבאות).[5] Frequently, too, ădōnāi is prefixed to this (probably in most cases an interpolation to supply the place of the original Yahwè, on which cp above § 109, note 4), sometimes also הָאָדוֹן, 'the lord' (Is. 1 24 19 4, to which, according to 𝔊, 10 16 is to be added).

123. Ṣĕbāōth.

Of the 282 places where the genitive ṣĕbāōth occurs, no less than 246 are in the prophets (55 in 1 Is., 81 in Jer.), and even the five that occur in Kings are in speeches of prophets. It nowhere appears in the Pentateuch,[6] Josh., Judg., Ezek., Joel, Obad., or (apart from Ps. 24 10 and 15 places in the 2nd and 3rd Books of Psalms and 3 in Ch. taken from 1 S.) the whole Hagiographa.

[1] In 2 S. 5 20 we have a place-name (BAAL-PERAZIM) containing Baal governing a genitive (cp below, § 123), although it is Yahwè that is meant.

[2] In 2 S. 11 21 we find the form Jerubbesheth = Jerubbaal.

[3] Cp especially A. Wiegand, *ZATW* 10 85 *f.* The employment of צור in the proper name Pedahzur (פְּדָהצוּר: Nu. 2 20 and elsewhere) specially favours its being a genuine divine name. (On the difficult problems involved see ZUR, NAMES IN.)

[4] Cp Kautzsch, 'Zebaoth' in *PRE*(2) 17 423 *ff.* and *ZATW* 6 17 *ff.*; Löhr, 'Jahve Zebaoth' in *Untersuchungen zum B. Amos* (1901), 37 *ff.* (with a thorough statement of the usage of 'צ).

[5] Cp on this abbreviation Gesen. *Gram.* 26, § 125 *h*. For the grammatically impossible combination '(Yahwè) god, hosts' (י' אלהים צ' or אלהים צ') in Ps. 59 6 [5] and elsewhere (for the last time 84 9 [8]) we must everywhere read 'Yahwè of hosts.' Elōhīm ('god') was substituted for Yahwè throughout the 2nd and 3rd Books of Psalms by some redactor without regard to Syntax; but then the original Yahwè was in some cases also retained in the text. Cp PSALMS, § 7.

[6] The theory of Klostermann (*Gesch. Isr.* 76) is worthy of notice. He thinks that the name was really removed from the Pentateuch by a redactor just as in Josh. 3 11 13 4 7, instead of 'the ark of the lord of all the earth,' there must clearly originally have stood 'the ark of Yahwè of hosts.'

NAMES

The old dispute whether the title Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth designates Yahwè as God of the earthly (Israelite) or of the heavenly hosts (angels or stars or both) may be decided in this way—viz., that ṣĕbāōth denotes in the first place the earthly hosts, the hosts of Israel fighting under the leadership of Yahwè. Apart from this divine name, ṣĕbāōth in the plural never means anything but armies of men,[1] and indeed almost always Israelite armies, whether at the Exodus (Ex. 6 26, etc., cp especially 7 4 and 12 41) or later (Dt. 20 9, etc., and so also Ps. 44 10 [9] 108 12 [11]), only in Jer. 3 19 Ps. 68 13 [12] heathen armies. The heavenly host on the other hand is without exception[2] designated by the singular (צָבָא).

The above interpretation of Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth is favoured moreover by 1 S. 17 45 where 'the God of the ranks of Israel' is plainly intended as an interpretation of Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth—an interpretation not superfluous for a Philistine—and above all by the fact that of the 11 occurrences of Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth in the book of Samuel, 5 (1 S. 1 3 11 4 4 2 S. 6 2 18) are directly or indirectly connected with the ark, and 3 others (1 S. 15 2 17 45 2 S. 5 10) with military transactions. The sacred ark is, according to the earliest references (cp especially Nu. 10 35 *f.* 14 44 *f.* Josh. 6 4 *f.* 1 S. 4 3 *ff.* and 4 21 *f.* 2 S. 11 11), the symbol, nay the pledge, of the presence of Yahwè as the god of war, the proper leader of Israel; and in 1 S. 4 4 and especially 2 S. 6 2 the name Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth is expressly connected with the sacred ark. The idea that the appositional phrase 'who is enthroned above the cherubim' here designates Yahwè as leader of the heavenly hosts, appears to us to be quite excluded by 1 S. 17 45 (see above). On the other hand it cannot be denied that even in the earliest prophetic passages there is hardly a trace to be seen of this original meaning. Nay, we may assume that Isaiah, *e.g.*, would not have used the name so often, had its connection with the former markedly naturalistic representation of the sacred ark been expressly before his mind. On the contrary, the admission of the word into the prophetic vocabulary must have been preceded by its transference from the earthly to the heavenly hosts. At the same time it can never be determined with certainty whether ṣĕbāōth denotes the angels[3] or the stars or both.[4] What is clear with regard to prophetic usage is that with Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth is associated the thought of supermundane power and majesty. It is very significant in this connection that Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth is parallel with 'the holy (one)' (הַקָּדוֹשׁ) in Is. 5 16, and with 'the holy (one) of Israel' (קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל) in *v.* 24, whilst in Is. 6 3 it has 'holy' (קָדוֹשׁ) for its predicate. 'The Holy' (הַקָּדוֹשׁ), however, in Is. likewise means exalted above everything earthly. The most probable conclusion is that in prophetic usage Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth—agreeably to its original meaning—suggested in the first place the angelic hosts of war, but that finally the thought of the starry host, as the grandest proof of divine omnipotence and infinity, prevailed. 𝔊 appears to attach a still more general meaning to Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth, when it renders it, as it often does,[5] by 'Lord of the powers or forces' (κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων),[1] or even by 'the Almighty God' (ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ), or 'Lord Almighty' (κύριος παντοκράτωρ). That Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth early came to be felt to be a single proper name, is shown by the invariable dropping of the article (except in Hos. 12 6 [5] Am. 3 13 6 14 9 5) and the almost equally invariable dropping of the governing noun (אֱלֹהֵי).

124. Father. The transition to the divine names of the NT is effected by the title *āb*, 'Father.' This name cannot, however, claim in the OT anything like the wealth of meaning that belongs to it in the invocation of the 'Lord's prayer,' and in countless other passages in the NT. Just as in the OT (apart from the theocratic king, Ps. 2 7; cp 2 S. 7 14) it is not the individual Israelite but the whole people that is called 'son (or sons)' of God (Ex. 4 22 *f.* Is. 1 2 Hos. 11 1, etc.), so also God is called 'father' not of the individual Israelites but of the whole people. Moreover, the context of such passages as Dt. 32 6 Is. 64 7 [8] Jer. 31 9 Mal. 1 6 2 10 shows that in the name 'father' what is chiefly thought of is the formation of the nation—*i.e.*, its elevation to its historical position. Only in Is. 63 16 is there at the same time an allusion to the redemptive acts of Yahwè, to his fatherly care for his people, whilst in Jer. 3 4 19 'father' is used as a sort of name of endearment. The only reference to an individual relation is to be found in 2 S. 7 14 (see above; and cp Ps. 89 27 [26], likewise with reference to the theocratic king). The thought of the inexhaustible fatherly compassion which is the significant idea in the name father in the NT appears in the OT only in Ps. 68 6 [5] and 103 13, and in both places merely by way of simile.

125. Bibliography. i. *Concordances and Dictionaries.*—For the Hebrew text Mandelkern's Concordance (Brecher's *Concordantiæ Nominum Propriorum*, Frankfort a. M. 1876, is very defective); Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebr. Lex.*; and (for post-biblical Jewish names) Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch.* For the Greek versions and Greek apocrypha Hatch and Redpath's *Concord. to Sept.* (Supplement); for the EV Strong's *Exhaustive Concordance.*

ii. *Text.*—This important part of the subject has never been systematically treated, and as a rule is neglected or indifferently handled in commentaries; it receives much attention in many of the individual articles in this work: see also Lists and Notes in *HPN*, pp. 277-313, and Gray's article in *JQR*, 1901, pp. 375-391; Smend, *Die Listen d. BB. Esra u. Neh.* (1881); Marquart, *Fund.* (1896), pp. 10-26. On the prefixes יְהוֹ and יוֹ see Bonk, *ZATW* 11 125-156.

iii. *Interpretation and usage.*—Lagarde, *OS* (including Jerome's *Liber interpretationis hebr. nominum*): M. Hiller, *Onomasticum Sacrum* (*c.* 1000 pp.; Tübingen 1706): Nestle, *Eig.* (1876): Gray, *Studies in Hebr. Proper Names* (1896): Kerber, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der heb. Eigennamen* (1897). For later Jewish names, see Zunz, *Namen der Juden* (1837) reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 1-82 and H. P. Chajes, *Beiträge zur Nordsem. Onomatologie* (1900). For discussions of details, the reader may consult the separate special articles in the present work, not neglecting the references;[2] and the works of Nestle and Gray. Here it may suffice to mention one or two of the more important discussions in periodicals (chiefly *JQR*, *JRAS*, *JBLit.* and especially *ZDMG*, *ZATW*) prior to the latest of these publications and to some subsequent contributions

[1] Against this view Borchert plausibly objects (*St. Kr.*, 1896, p. 619 *ff.*), that all the places where ṣĕbāōth is used of hosts of men belong to the later or even the very latest literature, and that, besides, ṣĕbāōth in P means not fighting hosts but the masses of the Israelitish people, whilst for the former the sing. ṣābā is used. But we really know no other usage, apart from the divine title, and the angelic host is called in Josh. 5 14 *f.* 1 K. 22 19 Is. 24 21 ṣābā in the sing. Certainly P regards the masses of the people as fighting hosts (see Nu. 2).

[2] In Ps. 103 21 148 2 for 'his hosts' (צְבָאָיו), which the Massora thought necessary on account of the preceding imperative plural, read 'his host' (צְבָאוֹ: the language knows no plural צבאים).

[3] So most recently Borchert explicitly (*op. cit.* 633 *ff.*).

[4] According to Smend (*Alttest. Rel.-gesch.*(2), 202), indeed, the meaning 'lord of all the forces of the world' is to be regarded as the original. [Wellhausen thinks of the δαίμονες (אֵלִים) who were attached to different localities, but were all subject to Yahwè.]

[5] In 1 S. and almost invariably in Is. (hence it appears also in Rom. 9 29 Jas. 5 4) 𝔊 retains [κύριος] Σαβαώθ. It occurs for the first time absolutely as a proper name (*i.e.*, ignoring its dependence as properly a genitive) in the Sibyl (1 304). In the so-called Ophite Gnosis, Sabaoth is one of the emanations from the world fashioner, Jaldabaoth.

[1] In the other Greek versions it is κύριος τῶν στρατιῶν—in what sense is doubtful, but perhaps looking back to the στρατιὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ of 𝔊.

[2] [It is hoped that when the present work is finished, the reader will have before him a more complete and up-to-date survey both of the material at our disposal for solving the problems of names and of the possible solutions of those problems than can be found elsewhere, mainly through the co-operation of scholars of different sections of the critical school. The greatest difficulty has been the backwardness of textual criticism (see TEXT AND VERSIONS), which has inevitably affected all the current treatises bearing on names. The thorough criticism to which in this work the text has been subjected has often led to the adoption of new views of some importance, which, with all deductions for possible errors, justify the editors in claiming that here, as elsewhere, they have been able to carry the subject at any rate 'a little beyond the point hitherto reached in print' (Preface to vol. i., p. 11).—ED.]

on the subjects:—W. R. Smith in *JPhil.* 9 75-100 and Jacobs, *Studies in Bibl. Arch.* (1894) chaps. 4 5 (Animal and Plant Names); Nöldeke in *ZDMG* 1886, pp. 148-157; 1888, pp. 470-487; Renan, 'Des Noms théophores apocopées,' in *REJ* 5 161 *ff.*; M. Jastrow in *JBL* 1894, pp. 19 *ff.*, 101-127; 1900, pp. 82-105 (on compounds with *bosheth*, *-yah*, and the name Samuel); Hommel *AHT*, and *Die Süd-arabischen Alterthümer* (1899) 21-27 (on Ammi); Gray's Criticisms of Hommel's *AHT* in *Exp.* 1897*a*, 173-190. Specially important for the subject of place-names are Stade's article in *ZATW* 1885, pp. 175-185, and von Gall, *altisraelitische Kultstätten* (1898). Further, for the comparison of Hebrew with other Semitic names the following will be found specially valuable: Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. Nordsem. Epigraphik*; the notes in *CIS*; Del., *Prol.*; Hammer-Purgstall, *Ueber d. Namen d. Araber*, We. *Ar. Heid.* G. B. G.

iv. The literature on the names of God is embarrassingly large. On the name Yahwè may be mentioned WRS *Proph.* (1882), pp. 385 *ff.*; Wellh. *IJG*(3), 25; Dr. 'Recent Theories on the Origin and Nature of the Tetragrammaton,' *Stud. Bib.* 1, pp. 1 *ff.*; Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonai und seine Gesch.*, 1889; König, 'Die formell genet. Wechselbeziehung der beiden Wörter Jahve und Jahu,' *ZATW* 17 172 *ff.*; Lag. *Psalterium juxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, 1874; *Or.*, 1879; *Übers.*, 1889; Baudissin, *Stud. zur sem. Rel.-gesch.* 1 (1876), pp. 181-254; Kuenen, *Godsd.* (1869), 1 398 (ET, same reference); Löhr, *Untersuch. zum B. Amos*, 2nd app., 'Jahve Zebaoth' (tables showing where this name, in different forms, occurs in OT, how 𝔊 translates, and on what occasions it is used); Giesebrecht, *Die ATliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens u. ihre religionsgesch. Grundl.*, 1901. Illustrative; Del., *Par.* (1881); Pinches, *PSBA* 15 (1892), 13 *ff.*; Wi., *GI* 1 36 *ff.*; Hommel, *AHT* 102; and *Exp.T*, 1899, p. 42; Sayce, *ib.* 1898, p. 522; Philippi, *Zt. f. Völkerpsych.*, 14 (1883), 175 *ff.*; Jastrow, *ZA* 10 222 *ff.*, and *ZATW* 16 1 *ff.*; Stade, 'Die Entsteh. des V. Israel,' *Abh.*, 97 *ff.*—On the other divine names El, Eloah, and Elohim, Elyon Shaddai, etc., see the references in §§ 108-124.

T. N. (§§ 1-86); G. B. G. (§§ 87-106, 125, i.-iii.); E. K. (§§ 107-124); T. K. C. (§ 125, iv.).

NANEA, RV **Nanæa** (ΝΑΝΑΙΑ [AV]; Syr. ܢܢܝ), the Græcised form of Nanâ or Nanai, a goddess worshipped in Elymais or Elam, in whose temple, according to 2 Macc. 1 13, Antiochus Epiphanes was 'by the deceit of Nanea's priests' (see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7, col. 2876). In 1 Macc. 6 1-4, indeed, a different story is told, and the name of the deity whose temple Antiochus sought to plunder is not given. Polybius (31 11) and, following him, Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 9 1) give it as Artemis; Appian (*Syr.* 66) as Aphrodite. Nanâ, however, was a primeval Babylonian goddess—the only one of the great Sumerian (non-Semitic) goddesses who still retained her rank as 'lady of the temple Ê-anna' in her city of Uruk (Erech). Kudur-nanḫundi, king of Elam, robbed Ê-anna of its lady's image (about 2280 B.C.), and it remained at Susa till AŠUR-BANI-PAL (*q.v.*) recovered it. This accounts for the permanence of the cultus of Nanâ in Elam. The Assyrians and Babylonians, however, did not forget the goddess. Tiglath-pileser III. sacrificed to her under the title of 'lady of Babylon,' after a victorious campaign against Babylonia (*KB* ii. 67). Originally distinct from Ištar (Del. *Par.* 222), she came to be regarded as a form of Ištar (cp ERECH), so that an identification with Artemis and Aphrodite lay close at hand. See ELYMAIS, PERSEPOLIS.

Two more references to Nanâ have been supposed in the OT. Lagarde introduced her name by a very arbitrary emendation into Is. 65 11 (see FORTUNE AND DESTINY), and many have regarded the obscure title חמדת נשים, 'the delight of women,' as belonging to Nanâ (against which see Bevan, *Daniel*, 196).

For literature, cp *COT* 2 159 *f.*, and add Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 665-674; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. Ass.* 81, 85, 206. T. K. C.

NAOMI, better **Noŏmi** (נָעֳמִי, 'my sweetness,' § 79, iii. *c*; ΝΩΕΜΕΙΝ [B], ΝΟΕΜΜ, and A in 2 4 3 17 ΝΟΕΜΜΕΙ, ΝΟΟΜΜΕΙ[Ν] [A], ΝΟΟΜΙ [L]), wife of Elimelech of Bethlehem, and mother-in-law of Ruth (Ruth 1 2 *ff.*). See RUTH.

NAPHATH-DOR (נָפַת דֹּאר), 1 K. 4 11 RVmg., RV 'heights of DOR' (*q.v.*).

NAPHISH, in 1 Ch. 5 19, AV NEPHISH (נָפִישׁ), a son of ISHMAEL (*q.v.*), Gen. 25 15 1 Ch. 1 31 5 19 (ΝΑΦΕϹ [BAE], -ΕΘ [*D*], -ΦΕΙϹ [L]; in 5 19 ΝΑΦΕΙϹΑΔΑΙΩΝ [B], ΝΑΦΙϹΑΙΩΝ [AL]). The name may mean 'wide-spread' (cp Aram. נפס, Ass. napāšu); it may also be a distortion of נפית, a collateral form of נבית (=Nebaioth) presupposed by the Assyrian form Napiati (Schr. *KGF* 104). Cp NEPHISIM. T. K. C.

NAPHISI (ΝΑΦ[Ε]ΙϹ[Ε]Ι [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 50, NEPHISIM.

NAPHOTH DOR (נָפוֹת דּוֹר), Josh. 11 2 RVmg., RV 'heights of DOR' (*q.v.*). Cp § 2 below.

NAPHTALI (נַפְתָּלִי, § 9; ΝΕΦΘΑΛ[Ε]Ι [BℵADFQL], -Μ [BℵA*D*FTL; in Is. 9 1 (8 23) Aq. Sm. Th.], -ΕΙΝ [Ra in Ps. 67 (68) 28, -εμ [E, Gen. 30 8]; in Tob. 1 1 AV, NEPHTHALI, and in Mt. 4 13 AV, NEPHTHALIM), the tribe settled between Issachar and the northern Dan.

1. Origin. Why it was grouped with Dan is not clear (cp BILHAH). If the genealogical scheme that has reached us is on the whole an artificial device of comparatively late times,[1] the fact that Naphtalites and Danites were together in the N. would suffice as a reason for making them brothers. Indeed there need not always have been a positive reason for such combinations. When a company of about a dozen has to be broken up into four groups, even enemies may find themselves side by side: every one has to be put somewhere. No Naphtalite traditions on the subject have been preserved. If, on the other hand, the general genealogical system is in its main points ancient, Naphtali's being a Bilhite clan may be historically significant. Its brother Dan came from the SW. of the Ephraim highlands. Is it possible that Naphtali did so too? The possibility has been suggested (BILHAH). Indeed Steuernagel thinks he can point to data that give it a certain plausibility. The Naphtalite clan-names give no help: only one of them recurs anywhere—viz. Guni, which is also in the list of clans of Gad, and Gad is Zilpite, not Bilhite (see ZILPAH). It is noteworthy, however, that in the fragment treating of Dan in Judg. 1 (*v.* 34 *f.*) the towns mentioned are Aijalon and Shaalbim, in the SW. of 'Joseph.' If, then, Naphtali was once settled along with Dan in its southern seat we should expect to be told of Canaanite cities in the same district that Naphtali was not able to occupy. Now the towns mentioned thus in *v.* 33 are Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath. It has of course been usual to assume that these must be in Galilee; but no Beth-shemesh has been identified there. On the other hand, there is a well-known Beth-shemesh 2 m. from the Danite city Zorah (see BETH-SHEMESH, 1). The case for Beth-anath is not so good; but it is not unplausible. Beth-anoth is mentioned in Josh. 15 59 as a city of Judah (see, however, BETH-ANOTH), and there is Anathoth in Benjamin. To point to the fact that Shamgar who 'smote of the Philistines 600 men,' like the great Danite hero, is called ben Anath seems precarious. No doubt the lateness of the insertion of Judg. 3 31, as Steuernagel observes, does not preclude there being an old story behind it; but the matter is probably too obscure to serve as evidence. Further it has to be remembered that Egyptian lists seem to mention not only a southern but also a nothern Beth-anath, and that a Beth-shemesh is said to have been a border city of Issachar. If Dan and Naphtali ever were settled together on the SW. of Ephraim, and if they grew out of the partition of a Bilhah tribe, there should be some traces of the presence of a Bilhah tribe. Now as a matter of fact there is a Benjamite clan called Bilhan (cp BENJAMIN, § 3), which might be explained as representing a remnant left behind when the rest of the Bilhah tribe migrated northwards. In the same neighbourhood a certain landmark bore the name of Bohan the son of Reuben, who was said to have usurped Bilhah and would in all likelihood be said to have had a son of her. When we remember the story of David it will seem natural that it should be said that Reuben had to bear a curse (Gen. 49 3 *f.*), and the son was turned to stone (so Steuernagel). The geography would suit (see EDER [TOWER], REUBEN).

Another support for the theory that Naphtali once

[1] See the instructive discussion of Bernh. Luther in *ZATW* 21 11 [1901]. Cp now also Winckler, *KAT*(3) 213, 217.

lived farther S. is found by Steuernagel, with some diffidence, in Dt. 33 23. On this theory Dārōm (דרום) can be taken in its usual Talmudic sense of the Shĕphēla (see SOUTH): the words express the hope that Naphtali may yet recover its old seat by the sea and in the Daroma. Outside of Dt. 33, however, Darom occurs only in Ezek., Job, and Eccles. Steuernagel, indeed, argues that it is nevertheless probably an old word, for the Dārōmā would not have been called 'south' by Jews; but דרום may have been as far from meaning 'south' as Negeb. This argument hardly strengthens the case. On the other hand there is nothing positive against the theory. It is part of a wider question (see TRIBE).

2. Name. How the name Naphtali was popularly explained is not quite clear. Some one strove; but who? and with whom? and how? Apparently, not Jacob, although the doubtful expression 'god's wrestlings,' if that be the meaning, might very well refer to such a story as that in Gen. 32.[1] In the present text the speaker is Rachel, and it is the rule in the case of Jacob's sons that the name is given by the mother. If 'wrestle' be the meaning of the hapax legomenon נפתולים,[2] Rachel wrestled with her sister (30 8) and came out best. Was Reuben then in E Leah's only son at this time and so Rachel's obtaining a second (Naphtali, Dan being the first) constituted a victory (so Gunkel)? That would explain how it was Reuben that found the *dūdāīm:* he was at the time Jacob's only son. If, as elsewhere, the verb means to act in a wily manner, perhaps *Test. xii. Patr.*, Napht., § 1, correctly paraphrases E's meaning 'because Rachel acted with guile and substituted Bilha for herself.' Similar is the explanation of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 19 7, § 305) 'as if "got by stratagem" (? *μηχανητός*, var. lect. *αμ.*, *ευμ.*), because of the stratagem used against the fruitfulness of the sister' (*διὰ τὸ ἀντιτεχνάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν εὐτεκνίαν τῆς ἀδελφῆς*).

The meaning of the name Naphtali is not known. If there was really a tribe Bilhah, which broke up into two portions after leaving its southern seat, the part called Dan may have come to bear the name of the deity whose cult was seated where it finally settled.[3] The Bilhites who came to be known as Naphtalites[4] may similarly have taken their name from some later seat. They may, for example, as it has been conjectured that the Asherites did (ASHER, § 3), have halted for a time near the plain of Megiddo. There is in that neighbourhood a place-name Naphath or Naphoth-dor (the vocalisation is uncertain) which is usually supposed to mean 'eminence.' May Naphtali be a derivative of Napht as Karmel seems to be of Karm? Naphtāli would then mean the people of the Naphtal. Land (*De Gids*, Oct. 1871, 'De wording van staat en godsdienst in het oude Israel,' 20, n.) thought so, and (independently?) Wright (*Was Israel in Egypt?* 251). It would be rash to assert that the difficulties[5] are insuperable. Where to locate the Naphath, Naphoth of Joshua, is uncertain. It is usually supposed to be the hilly country just under Carmel. If, however, the suggestion of Dillmann as to the original construction of Josh. 17 11 be accepted (see ASHER, § 3) we must look in Issachar. May the Dor referred to be not that on the coast but some other—that which gave its name to a well? (see, however, ENDOR[1]) or to the hot springs at el-Ḥammeh?: HAMMATH [*q.v.*, i.] seems to have been called more fully Hammoth-dor (Josh. 21 32). On the other hand there may have been Naphoth in more districts than one, as there are more than one Carmel. The country to the W. and N. of the lake of Galilee might well be called hill country. There is in fact a passage (Josh. 20 7) where the mountain land of W. Palestine is expressly divided into three sections: Mt. Judah in the S., Mt. Ephraim in the centre, and Mt. Naphtali in the N. (cp EPHRAIM, § 3). Mt. Naphtali well deserved the name.

3. History. Tradition assigned Naphtali stirring deeds in the early times. In conjunction with Zebulun, Naphtali had fought a great fight and come off victorious (Judg. 4). Another story told of a great struggle in which all the tribes settled round the plain of Megiddo had taken part (Judg. 5). Trained to daring in the exhilarating atmosphere of the open heights, Naphtali joined Zebulun in reckless deeds of valour (Judg. 5 18). Indeed Naphtali perhaps claimed to have had the honour of providing the leader who led to victory (4 6). To get beneath these legends, however, down to the rock of actual facts almost seems to become more difficult the more the question is studied. See JABIN, SISERA, MEROM, TABOR, KEDESH, etc.

How Naphtali fared in the age when the Pharaohs were founding their Asiatic 'empire' we can only guess (col. 3546, nos. 16, 32, 34, 111). The Amarna letters may yield us in time a fuller knowledge of the course of events about 1400 B.C. Letter 146 (rev. 12), complaining that 'all the cities of . . . the king' 'in the land of Kadeš' have been made over to the Ḥabiri may refer to Kedesh on the Orontes (so now Wi. *KAT*(3), 199); but Abimilki, governor of Tyre, complains of the relations of Hazor or its king with the Ḥabiri (154 40-43). See also JANOAH, 2. Later came the conquests of Sety in this district, which led to its subjugation by Rameses II. At that time not Naphtali but Asher was the general name. According to Steuernagel the Bilhah tribe entered Palestine in the van of the Jacob or Joseph tribe, after the Leah-Ḥabiri had settled in Mt. Ephraim and southwards. According to this theory the events in the hill country of Galilee during the Amarna period concerned people who could in no sense be called Israelite: the Ḥabiri there may have been Aramæan.

How far David really succeeded in welding the highlands N. of the great plain into his kingdom is not clear. It is noticeable that there the prefectures in the list in 1 K. 4 coincided with tribal divisions.[2] How rich a province Naphtali was considered appears in the statement that its prefect was a son-in-law of Solomon (AHIMAAZ, AHILUD, BASEMATH [but see SALMA]). Wherever the cities said to have been ceded to Tyre (CABUL) lay (GALILEE, § 2) Naphtali must in the early monarchy have deeply felt the proximity of Phœnicia (cp Wi. *KAT*(3), 129). When the crown passed to ISSACHAR (§ 4), however, Bir'idri (BENHADAD, 1) adopted an aggressive policy (1 K. 15 20: Dan, Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, all the land of Naphtali), which eventually succeeded. Tibni, if Naphtalite[3] (EPHRAIM, § 5, col. 1314, n. 3), may have been an earlier representative of the later pro-Aramæan party, opposed to Omri (see, ever, *KAT*(3), 247). In any case, being contiguous with Aramæan territory, Naphtali was already largely Aramaised when Assyria at last formally absorbed Damascus (732). When precisely Naphtali's turn came cannot be made out from the mutilated inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. (Ann. 150, 209, 228; 3 R 10, n. 2, 6-8, 15-19).

1 On supposed wrestling in prayer (cp the Syriac text cited by Ball ([*SBOT ad loc.*]) see Gunkel, *ad loc.*

2 May it not be, however, that נַפְתּוּלֵי, to which there is no analogy in any Semitic language, is a corruption of נִפְתּוֹל, Niph. inf. absol.? אלהם and ים might then be variants of a misplaced י (=ן).

3 Cp Bernstein, *Sagen von Abraham*, 38, Kuenen, *Th.T* 5 291, Kerber, *Heb. Eigennamen*, 59 68.

4 It is noteworthy that Naphtāli is, like Lēvī, adjectival in form. It never occurs, however, in the OT as an adjective, or with the article, or in the plural. 𝔊L, however, usually and 𝔊BA often have *νεφθαλ[ε]ιμ*—*i.e.*, Naphtalites (?) (Ges.). The text of Josephus gives *νεφθαλεις* (cp *λευ[ε]ις*, Gen. 35 23 [AE]): var. lect. *-λει*, *-λιμος*, *-λλειμ*.

5 The gentilic of כרמל is כַּרְמְלִי, not כַּרְמָלִי. Moreover, if the word נפת means 'height,' the final *t* is not radical.

1 This might even explain the intrusion of Endor which critics have usually cut out as a gloss.

2 Bernh. Luther thinks it was in some such way that the tribal unities came into being (*ZATW* 21 11 [1901]).

3 Guthe (*GVI* 138) suggests Ephraimite or Manassite; Winckler (*KAT*(3), 247, n. 1), of *Γιναια* [EN-GANNIM].

2 K. 15 29 (Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kadesh, Hazor, Gilead [?], Galilee [?], all the land of Naphtali) may refer to its definitive annexation.[1] Possibly the mutilated slab 3 R 10, no. 2, once mentioned this: 'the wide-reaching [Naphta]li[2] in its whole extent I made over to the territory of Assyria.'[3] Josiah may have dreamed of recovering it for a glorified 'Davidic' kingdom (JOSIAH); but that was reserved for more fortunate hands (see MACCABEES, § 4, GALILEE, § 3). Tobit is said to have been of Naphthalite descent (see TOBIT).

4. Boundary, etc.

In Dt. 34 2, a (late?)[4] writer calls the whole country N. of 'the land of Ephraim and Manasseh' 'all Naphtali.' If Naphtali is really a geographical term the usage may perhaps not be late. In 1 K. 15 20 'all the land of Naphtali' ('Ben'-hadad) seems to have practically the same meaning; so in 2 K. 15 29 (Tiglath-pileser III.), especially if JANOAH is really Yānūḥ.

The description of the Naphtali territory in Josh. 19 33 *f.* is clearer than usual; but unfortunately the places named can seldom be identified.

The description may begin at the NW. corner and cross to the Jordan (see HELEPH, BEZAANANNIM, ADAMI-NEKEB, JABNEEL, 1, LAKKUM). The eastern border is supposed to be obvious: the Jordan and its lakes. The southern border passes AZNOTH-TABOR, to HUKKOK. The SW. limit was Zebulun. The western border (after Zebulun, of course) is Asher (on the text see JUDAH AT JORDAN).

Naphtali was thus roughly the eastern portion of the mountainous country reaching along the W.[5] of the lake of Galilee and the Jordan from the Issachar lowlands indefinitely northwards into Aramaic or Phœnician territory. See TAHTIM HODSHI. Naphtali is not said to have marched with Dan, though it extended along the Jordan valley. There can hardly have been a tribe Dan of any consequence in the N. (it is ignored by P). Note the discrepancy as to the mother of Huram-abi. 1 K. 7 14 makes her a Naphtalite (see DAN, § 8, n. 3; HIRAM, 2, n. 1) like AHIRA (*q.v.*) of Nu. 1 15, etc.

Divided into upper (northern) and lower (southern) halves by the remarkable mountain wall that overhangs the plain of er-Rāmeh, Naphtali contains some of the finest country in Palestine, well watered, fertile, salubrious, well peopled (see GALILEE, § 4). The fruitfulness of this land was proverbial: it supplies the matter for the sayings about Naphtali in the 'Blessings' of Jacob and Moses—whatever be the true text.[6] On the intimate connection with the outer world secured for it by its roads, see GASmith (*HG* 425 *ff.*) and cp TRADE.

5. Cities.

Of the nineteen 'fenced cities' promised in Josh. 19 38 the most liberal reckoning finds only sixteen. Very roughly, the enumeration seems to proceed northwards.

HAMMATH (prob. = Hammoth-dor [Josh. 21 32] = HAMMON 1 Ch. 6 76 [61]) and KEDESH have been identified with some assurance in the S. and the N. HAZOR may be Tell Khureibah; and IRON, *Yārūn* near Hazor. For other less confident identifications see EDREI, EN-HAZOR, MIGDAL-EL. CHINNERETH is an interesting name applied also to a district of Naphtali. ZIDDIM and ZER (perhaps also HOREM) are probably corrupt. For the other towns see the special articles (RAKKOTH, ADAMAH, RAMAH, BETH-ANATH, BETH-SHEMESH).

[1] A post-exilic writer has inserted an explanatory verse Is. 9 1 [8 23] (cp Mt. 4 15) founded on this passage as an introduction to the prophecy Is. 9 2-7 [1-6].

[2] So first Hommel, *GBA* 685, n. 1.

[3] The preceding line, according to Rost's collated text (Plate XXV.), is: [n]i-te (city) Ga-al-z[a] . . . [city] A-bi-il-ak-k[a] in the territory (*ša pat*) of Israel (*Bīt Ḫumria*).

[4] See MANASSEH (§ 2, n. 2).

[5] Josephus, however, says that it reached E. as far as Damascus (*Ant.* v. 1 22, § 86). Was he misled by 2 K. 15 29?

[6] In Gen. 49 21, Ball (*SBOT*, 17 172 *f.* [1895]) reads נפתלי פרח שלחה הנתנת פרי שפר, "Naphtali is a spreading vine That yieldeth beauteous fruit." Cheyne (*PSBA*, June 1899, p. 242 *f.*) reads נפתלי עדינה נחלתו הוא יתן ערמת [שפר = פרת = תפארת belonging to next line], "Naphtali—luxurious is his possession; He produces heaps of fruit." The geographical appendix to the saying in Dt. 33 23 is obscure. What is the דרום of Naphtali? (cp above, § 1, end). Some think it means the Jordan depression. Bertholet suggests that we should read דרך ים, 'the way of the sea' (cp Is. 9 1 [8 23]).

There was a famous sanctuary at Kedesh and, to judge from the names, Beth-anath and Beth-shemesh must have been sacred sites.

6. Genealogies.

The Naphtali genealogy (Gen. 46 24 = Nu. 26 48 *f.* = 1 Ch. 7 13) is very simple, containing only four names JAHZEEL (in Ch. Jahziel), Guni, Jezer, and Shillem.[1] The names, except Guni (see above, § 1) do not recur in the OT. H. W. H.

NAPHTHA, the name given by the Greeks to a highly inflammable oil (cp Pliny, *HN* 2 109), which cannot have differed much from the modern article of commerce (see *EB*(9), *s.v.*). It is mentioned only in Apoc. Dan. 3 23 (𝔊 *v.* 46, *ναφθα*; נפטא Syr.; ROSIN, AV).[2] With it we may most probably identify the name NEPHTHAI (RV; *νεφθαι* [V], *νεφθαρ* [A], נפתי [Syr.]; NEPHI, AV with Vg.), which, according to 2 Macc. 1 36, was commonly given to the liquid which, legend states, Nehemiah found in the pit where the sacred fire had previously been concealed. Nehemiah himself, on the other hand, is said to have called it **Naphthar** (AV NEPHTHAR, *νεφθαρ* [AV], *nephthar*, נונפתר [Syr.]), a name which admits of no satisfactory explanation. According to the writer (*v.* 36) it means 'cleansing' (*καθαρισμός*),[3] but is more probably a corruption of the form Nephthai (similarly Eusebius writes *nabor*—with an *r*—for Nebo; cp also Acre, from Accho?).

The legend above referred to (2 Macc. 1 18-36) narrates how the godly priests before the captivity took of the sacred altar-fire and concealed it,[4] which is quite in accordance with the ancient belief that the nation's life and existence is coincident with the preservation of the holy flame.[5] After the return, search was made, and instead of the fire 'thick water' (*ὕδωρ παχύ*, *v.* 21) was found. At the offering up of the first sacrifice the liquid was spread upon the wood and the 'other things' on the altar; prayer was made, and when the sun shone the liquid ignited and the sacrifice was consumed.[6] The consumption of the offerings by fire was a sign that the sacrifice was acceptable, and that the close relations between the Deity and his worshippers, which had been in abeyance during their captivity in a foreign land, were re-established. (Cp SACRIFICE.) In accordance with a custom which finds analogies elsewhere, the Persian king ordered the place where this marvel had appeared to be enclosed and made 'holy' (*ἱερός*); cp *Dict. Class. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Bidental.'

NAPHTUHIM (נַפְתֻּחִים), Gen. 10 13 1 Ch. 1 11†.

In the original text (transformed by the redactor) the name may have been Tappuḥim; see MIZRAIM (col. 3164, n. 1), NEBO ii., § 2.

NAPKIN (ϲογδαριον; Vg. *sudarium*) occurs in Lk. 19 20 Jn. 11 44 20 7 Acts 19 12 (EV 'handkerchief' in last passage). The Greek word is adopted from the Latin (cp *κῆνσος*, *μεμβράνα*, etc.), and probably, at first, had the same meaning with it, being derived from *sudo*, to perspire, and thus corresponding to our word (pocket) *handkerchief*.

The Greek rhetorician Pollux (180 A.D.) remarks that *σουδάριον* had supplanted not only the ancient Greek word for handkerchief, *ἡμιτύβιον* or *ἡμιτύμβιον*, which he considers an Egyptian word, but even the more recent term *καψιδρώτιον* (*Onom.* 7 16). The Roman influence caused the introduction of this word even among the Orientals; the rabbins have סודרא; in Pesh. סידרא

[1] Is the Ša-ra-ma (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 220) of the expedition of Rameses II. in his eighth year to be compared?

[2] The name in olden times was taken to be of Persian origin, cp *OS* 196, 93; 203 21.

[3] Possibly based on a supposed connection with פטר, פַּטִּיר, although the representation of ט by *θ* is against this. See Lag. *Ges. Abh.* 177, *ZDMG* 26, 212.

[4] Cp the similar tradition of the hiding of tabernacle, ark, and altar of incense in 2 Macc. 2 4-8, and see Charles, *Apoc. of Baruch*, 168.

[5] On the sacredness of fire see Frazer, *Paus.* 2 392 *ff.*, also *GB*(2). The altar-fire was one of the five things which, according to the early Rabbins, were possessed by the first temple but lacking in the second. Another legend in the Eth. Book of Adam relates that Ezra on his return found the holy fire concealed underneath the temple; and a late tradition has identified the site of the discovery of the 'Naphthar' with Job's Well (*Bīr Eyyūb*), which from the sixteenth century has been called by the Frank Christians 'the Well of Nehemiah.' See further FIRE in *EB*(9).

[6] In the sanctuaries of Hierocæsarea and Hypæpa, according to Pausanias (v. 27 3), the sacred fires were kindled by the aid of a magical invocation. One is reminded of the Inca's custom of focussing the sun's rays by means of concave pieces of polished metal to obtain fire (Prescott, *Peru*, i., chap. 3; cp Plut. *Numa*, chap. 9, and Ew. *Alterth.* 38 *f.*).

answers to the Hebrew מטפחת, *a veil* (cp MANTLE), and in Chaldee סודר or סודרא is used for a veil or any linen cloth (Buxtorf, *Lex. Chal.* 1442).

It is indeed but natural to expect that a foreign word introduced into any language should be applied by those who borrow it in a looser sense than that which it bore originally. Hence, although the Latin word *sudarium* is generally restricted to the forementioned meaning, in Greek and Syriac it signified, chiefly, napkin, wrapper, etc. These observations prepare us for the different uses of the word in the NT.

(*a*) In Lk. 19 20 it means a wrapper, in which the 'wicked servant' had laid up the pound entrusted to him by his master. For references to the custom of laying up money, etc., in σουδάρια, both in classical and rabbinical writers, see Wetstein's *NT*, on Lk. 19 20.

(*b*) In Jn. 11 44 it appears as a kerchief, or cloth attached to the head of a corpse. It was perhaps brought round the forehead and under the chin. In many Egyptian mummies it does not cover the face. In ancient times among the Greeks it did (Nicolaus, *De Græcor. Luctu*, ch. 3, § 6, 1697). Maimonides, in his comparatively recent times, describes the whole face as being covered, and gives a reason for the custom.

(*c*) In Jn. 20 7 it is said that the σουδάριον which had been 'about the head' of Jesus was found in the empty grave, rolled up, as if deliberately, and laid apart from the linen clothes (χωρὶς ἐντετυλιγμένον εἰς ἕνα τόπον).

(*d*) In Acts 19 11 we read that σουδάρια (handkerchiefs, napkins, wrappers, shawls, etc.) were brought from the body of Paul to the sick; and the 'diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.' Many illustrations of the widely prevalent belief in the possibility of such magical transmission will be found in Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2).

NARCISSUS (ΝΑΡΚΙϹϹΟϹ; as a Syr. name cp Cureton's *Anc. Syr. Documents*, 110, § 5; and possibly the Palm. name נרקים, Vogüé, *Syr. Centr.* no. 75). 'Those of the household of Narcissus who are in the Lord' are saluted in Rom. 16 11. It is not said that Narcissus himself was a Christian. If the greetings in Rom. 16 were really intended for the Roman community (see ROMANS), it is not unnatural to think here of the Narcissus who had been a favourite of the Emperor Claudius and put to death in 54 A.D. (Sueton. *Claud.* 28; Tac. *Ann.* 12 57 13 1).

The name, however, is not uncommon; it was borne by a favourite of Nero (Cass. Dio, 64 3), and appears frequently among slaves and freedmen; see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, 426. In the lists of the seventy disciples of the Lord by Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus, Narcissus figures as bishop of Athens. The fragments of the Gnostic Περίοδοι Φιλίππου, preserved in the Greek *Menæa*, represent him as having been so consecrated by the apostle Philip (Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* 3 37). In the Περίοδοι Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου he is a presbyter of Rome and entertainer there of the apostle Peter. In the *Actus Vercellenses* he is the disciple of Paul. (Cp Lipsius, *op. cit.* 2 175, etc.)

NARD (ΝΑΡΔΟϹ), Mk. 14 3 Jn. 12 3 RV, AV SPIKENARD.

NASBAS (ΝΑϹΒΑϹ [BA]), Tob. 11 18.† See AMAN, 1.

NASI (ΝΑϹΕΙ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 32 RV, AV **Nasith** = Ezra 2 54, NEZIAH.

NASOR (ΝΑϹωΡ [AV]), 1 Macc. 11 67 AV, RV HAZOR (*q.v.*, 1).

NATHAN (נָתָן, § 50; 'He [Yahwè] gives,' cp Ar. *wahb*, etc., but cp NETHANEEL, NETHANIAH; ΝΑΘΑΝ [BNAR'TL]; ΑΘΑΝ [ℵ*, 1 Ch. 17 1], ΝΑΘΑΜ [R* Ps. 51 2]). 1. A contemporary of David and Solomon, nearly always distinguished as 'the prophet' (cp 2 S. 12 1, 𝔊BAL, and see *SBOT*); cp PROPHET, §§ 4, 6. There is some reason to think that he was of Jerahmeelite origin (cp no. 4 below, see JERAHMEEL, § 3), and the name has even been regarded as a modification of the Jerahmeelite name Ethan (so Cheyne)—see NETHANIAH, PROPHET, § 6 and n. According to the Chronicler (1 Ch. 29 29 2 Ch. 9 29) Nathan wrote a

history of the times of David and Solomon; but it is in connection with the latter king that he stands out most clearly (see 1 K. 1). Nathan was opposed to Joab and Abiathar, who were favouring Adonijah's intrigue, and by supporting Bathsheba's claims before David was ultimately able, in conjunction with Zadok, to anoint her son at Gihon. It is interesting to find a trace of Solomon's practical gratitude in the fact that two of his prefects seem to have been sons of Nathan (AZARIAH (6), ZABUD).

The position Nathan occupied with David seems to have been by no means unimportant. In 2 S. 7 he is represented in consultation with David about the building of the temple, and in 2 S. 12 he visits the king to reprove him for the sin with BATHSHEBA [*q.v.*]. Chapter 7 is admittedly of later date (see SAMUEL [BOOKS], § 5), and the narrative in chap. 12 is not beyond suspicion.[1] In fact, the occurrence of Nathan as a *prophet* in David's history seems to rest on as obscure a basis as does the occurrence of the only other prophet with whom the king was intimately acquainted—viz., GAD [*q.v.*]. On נָתָן הַנָּבִיא, see PROPHET, § 6.

2. b. DAVID [*q.v.*, § 11 n.] (2 S. 5 14 1 Ch. 3 5 14 4, cp Lk. 3 31); he is perhaps to be identified with the one whose 'house' (*i.e.*, family) is mentioned in Zech. 12 12.

3. *Father* of Igal (יגאל), 2 S. 23 36, but according to 1 Ch. 11 38 the *brother* of Joel (יואל). Which of the two is correct, is doubtful; see JOEL [3].

4. b. Attai, a Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch. 2 36. His son was named ZABAD, which, on the view that he is to be identified with ZABUD [*q.v.*], has led some to connect him with the prophet (1 above); cp JERAHMEEL, § 3.

5. Head of family, temp. Ezra (see EZRA i., § 2, ii., § 15 [1] *d*), Ezra 8 16 (om. L) = 1 Esd. 8 44.

6. One of the bn'e BANI in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 39 = 1 Esd. 9 34, NATHANIAS (ναθανιας [BA]).

S. A. C.

NATHANAEL (ΝΑΘΑΝΑΗΛ [Ti. WH]; cp NETHANEEL), according to Jn. 1 45-51 21 2, one of the first disciples of Jesus. In Jn. 21 2 he is called 'Nathanael of Cana in Galilee.' The supposition, however, that he was a Galilean is not favoured by the question attributed to him in Jn. 1; a similar speech is reputed to have been uttered at Jerusalem (Jn. 7 41), and the evangelist evidently means that it was uttered by Judæans. Certainly, a Galilean Jew would have remembered Is. 9 1 [8 23], and have admitted that 'some good thing' might 'come out of Nazareth' (or, perhaps, rather that 'the Holy One of God' might 'come out of Galilee'; cp Jn. 6 69 and see NAZARETH). Jn. 21 is admittedly an appendix to the Fourth Gospel, and the description of Nathanael as 'of Cana in Galilee' may be based on a conjectural inference from Jn. 2 2. All that we are told in Jn. 1 45-51 is that Nathanael was 'an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.' Nathanael, conscious of his own sincerity, asks how Jesus has gained this knowledge of him. The answer of Jesus is, 'Before Philip saw thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree, I saw thee.' The usual explanation of this saying (see FIG-TREE, § 5) is perhaps hardly adequate. If it simply means, 'when thou hadst retired under the shade of the fig-tree for meditation or prayer,' we ask why the evangelist did not express the Master's meaning more distinctly (contrast Jn. 4 18), for this Gospel, more even than the others, is written with an eye to edification. We may venture therefore to conjecture that there is a mistake in the Greek text. The Fourth Gospel is a composite work, and the narrative in 1 43-51 may have been partly based on a translation from the Hebrew in which *wᵉ'attā mithḥannēn* (וְאַתָּה מִתְחַנֵּן), 'when thou wast making supplication' (expanded perhaps by the ac-

1 In chap. 12 *vv.* 10-12 are a gloss resting upon 16 20-22 (so We., Kue., Bu.), and according to Budde *vv.* 7-9 ('Thus saith . . . in his eyes') are equally intrusive. But the latter passage constitutes the point to the apologue and can hardly be severed from it. The language of *v.* 7 ('I have anointed thee, etc.') points to 1 S. 16 13 (a late passage), and it is probable that Schwally is right in rejecting *vv.* 1-15*a* as interpolated (see SAMUEL [BOOKS], § 6). Verse 25, which is a doublet to *v.* 24*b*, will stand upon the same footing. See, further, *AJSL* 16 156 *f.* (1900).

cidental repetition of חת) was mistaken for *wᵉ'attā taḥath hattᵉʾēnā* (וְאַתָּה תַּחַת הַתְּאֵנָה), 'when thou wast under the fig-tree.' No critical scholar who has reflected on the state of the text of the NT will any longer resist the force of the argument for emendations as methodical and circumspect, though not as numerous, as those which have constantly to be made in the text of the OT.

On Nathanael's confession—'Thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of Israel' (which reminds us of Mt. 16 16, the confession of Peter) see a paper by Rhees, *JBL* 17 (1898), 21-30, with regard to which it may be remarked that to speculate, however intelligently, on the ideas of the 'confession' is hardly safe, considering the unhistorical atmosphere which pervades the narratives in connection with which the Nathanael episode is introduced.

We have now to notice attempts to identify Nathanael with known historical persons. It is quite possible that the evangelist imagined the typical character of a guileless seeker after truth, who comes at once to Jesus to see whether he is really the Messiah. If so, we may take the name Nathanael as an anticipative reference to the success of his quest, and explain 'God has given [the Messiah].' The traditional view that Nathanael is the same as the apostle BARTHOLOMEW (whose ordinary name seems to be only a patronymic) is adopted by Zahn (*Einl.* 1 23), but chiefly rests on the consideration that Nathanael is said (Jn. 1 45) to have been found by Philip, next to whom, in the list of apostles, Bartholomew is placed by the Synoptists. It is more probable, however, that this otherwise unknown name of a disciple is due to the narrator, who cares far more for ideas than for literal facts. So far we may agree with Spaeth (*ZWT*, 1868, 168 *ff.*, 309 *ff.*); but we cannot admit that Nathanael is synonymous with Johanan, and that the person intended is the apostle John. Certainly, whoever wrote Jn. 21 2 7 20 did not hold this view, nor could a son of Zebedee have asked the question in Jn. 1 46. Yet Spaeth may be right in one-half of his theory—viz., that Nathanael is that exquisite creation of a devout imagination—'the disciple whom Jesus loved' (Jn. 13 23 19 26 20 2 21 7 20). The difficulty in admitting that John the son of Zebedee can have been represented even imaginatively by the author of the 'spiritual Gospel' as having been on the closest imaginable terms of intimacy with his Master (cp Jn. 13 23 with 1 18, εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρός) is not appreciably diminished by referring to the achievements of literary idealisation elsewhere. That Jesus, however, should have loved one who leaped at once to such a height of insight as the imaginary Nathanael has a fair degree of psychological verisimilitude. Why did not the evangelist state this? Possibly some narrative relative to Nathanael was omitted by the redactor (if we may assume such a person) of our present Fourth Gospel, the restoration of which would at once have made things clear. Problems should always be stated, though they cannot always be solved.

To follow Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, 1873, pp. 96-102) and Holtzmann (in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* 4 297) who identify Nathanael with Paul, the 'apostle of visions' (cp Acts 26 16), who sought peace in vain under the barren fig-tree (Mt. 21 19), but found it by personal contact with Christ, is much more difficult.

At an earlier period Hilgenfeld (*Lehrbegriff des Evang. Joh.* 271 *ff.*; *Die Evangelien*, 242 *ff.*) identified Nathanael with Matthew, or (*Nov. Test. extra canonem*, 4 1 93-106) with Matthias. Strauss (*Das Leben Jesu f. das deutsche Volk*(2), 417) and Volkmar (*Die Evangelien*, 176) go further, and identify Nathanael, Matthew, and Zacchæus. Resch (*Texte und Unters.* 10 3 829-832) adopts Hilgenfeld's former view. Rovers (*Th. T*, 2 [1869], 653-661) is favourable to Spaeth's hypothesis.

T. K. C.

2. 1 Esd. 1 9 = 2 Ch. 35 9, NETHANEEL, 7.
3. 1 Esd. 9 22 = Ezra 10 22, NETHANEEL, 8.
4. A name in the genealogy of Judith (Judith 8 1).

NATHANIAS (ΝΑΘΑΝΙΑϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 39, NATHAN, 6.

NATHAN-MELECH (נְתַן־מֶלֶךְ, as if 'the king has given,' § 41; but see below), a high officer (see EUNUCH) under Josiah, near whose 'chamber' were the horses and chariots dedicated to the sun (2 K. 23 11: ΝΑΘΑΝ ΒΑϹΙΛΕωϹ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΥ [BA], Ν. ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑϹΙΛΕωϹ [L, cp Pesh., reading סְרִיס הַמֶּלֶךְ], *Nathanmelech* [Vg.]). On his functions see PARVAR.

The name has been much discussed, but too much on the assumption that the Hebrew names have escaped being worn down by use or transformed. Who is the 'king' intended? Is it Yahwè (cp Malchiah)? Or are the names Ebed-melech and Nethan-melech (cp Nethan-iah) survivals from the time when the Hebrews worshipped a god called Melech distinct from Yahwè? Gray (*HPN* 148) supposes that Nethan-melech was a foreigner who 'had been engaged in the establishment of the foreign god Melech.' But experience in studying the proper names from a fresh point of view suggests that Malchiah, Hammelech, and Melech must be all popular corruptions of Jerahmeel, and hence indicate the increasing prominence of the Jerahmeelite element in the later period of Jewish history. Ebed-melech is probably miswritten for Arāb-melech (עֲרָב־מֶלֶךְ—*i.e.* 'Arāb-jerahmeel (cp OBED-EDOM for 'Arab-edom); and Nethan-melech is a corruption of Ethan-melech—*i.e.*, Ethān-jerahmeel. Ebed-melech is in fact called a Cushite—*i.e.*, a N. Arabian—and we can well believe that his fellow-chamberlain also was of N. Arabian origin. 'Ethan' seems to have been a Jerahmeelite gentilic name; cp 1 K. 4 30 *f.* [5 10 *f.*], where in a list of the legendary wise men of Ḳedem (a corruption of Jeraḥmeel) and Miṣrim (in N. Arabia) we find the name of Ethan. Cp NETHANEEL, NETHANIAH.

T. K. C.

NATIONS. See GENTILES, also GOIIM.

NATIVITY (-NARRATIVES)

The teaching and passion of Jesus had long been subjects of written tradition before any attempt was made to round off the picture of his life by describing its beginnings. Not only in Mk. but even in Jn., the latest of the gospels, the narrative begins with the public appearance of the Baptist. Only Mt. and Lk. deal with the birth and childhood of Jesus, and the two accounts are irreconcilably at variance.

1. In Mt. Mt. describes (1 18-25) in a summary way how Mary, espoused (μνηστευθείσης) to Joseph, was (before they came together) found to be with child of the Holy Ghost; her husband, being a follower of the law (δίκαιος ὤν) and still unwilling to see her subjected to the law's penalty, resolved to put her away secretly. At this juncture an angel of the Lord appeared to him with these words: 'Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee (παραλαβεῖν) Mary thy wife, for that which is begotten in her is of the Holy Ghost. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.' In all this the evangelist finds the fulfilment of the prophecy contained in Is. 7 14, which could be adduced in this connection only in the interpretation of the LXX ('virgin' for 'young woman'). He then proceeds to tell how Joseph, awaking from sleep, did as the angel had commanded, and took his wife to himself, but did not enter into marital relations till she had brought forth a son (DL: 'her firstborn son' according to Lk.), whom he called Jesus. At this stage we become informed of the time and place of these events; it was at Bethlehem of Judæa that Jesus was born and in the days of Herod the king (2 1). The divinity of the child is forthwith confirmed by a sign. Magi came from the East to Jerusalem—their number is not stated—and asked: 'Where is he that is [even now] born King of the Jews? We have seen his star in the east and are come to worship him.' Troubled at the tidings, Herod calls together all the chief priests and scribes, who, appealing to Mic. 5 1 [2], declare Bethlehem of Judæa to be the place where the Messiah promised to the Jews should appear. After learning carefully from the magi the time of the star's appearing, Herod sends them away with the injunction to make diligent search concerning the child, and to bring him word again. Following the leading of the star till it stood still, the magi come to Joseph's house (2 11, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν),

find the child and Mary its mother, fall down and worship him, and, opening their treasures, present him gifts of gold and frankincense and myrrh. Warned by a dream not to return to Herod, they depart into their country another way.

To Joseph also (again) an angel appears in a dream bidding him take the child and its mother and flee into Egypt to escape the wicked devices of Herod. This Joseph did, remaining in Egypt till the death of Herod; and thus was fulfilled the word of prophecy (Hos. 11 1), 'Out of Egypt did I call my son.' Then Herod, in his impotent wrath, gave orders to slay all the male children in Bethlehem and its borders, from two years old and under, in accordance with the date which he had learned from the magi. The sign for return from Egypt was again received by Joseph through an angel in a dream. Hearing, however, that Archelaus the son of Herod was now reigning over Judæa, Joseph is afraid to return thither (that is, to Bethlehem), and in accordance with a fresh admonition received in a dream withdraws to the land of Galilee, where he settles at Nazareth.

If we leave out of account the elements in the preceding narrative that have been derived by research from the OT, there is nothing left which could not have been drawn from living tradition, or, in other words, from popular story. In fact, its vague and unclear statements which perplex the interpreter and have been brought into prominence by Conrady (see below, §§ 6, 21) seem even to preclude the possibility of any written source having lain before the author, and are most naturally explained as arising from careless repetition of oral tradition.

2. In Lk.

The impression produced by the narrative of Lk. 1 5-2 50 is quite different. It is a product of literary art, an art which shows itself in the whole structure of the story, not merely in the reproduction of the forms of a Hebrew psalm. The author constructs his history upon the basis of the presuppositions supplied in the gospel—that the activity of John the Baptist prefigured, as it preceded, that of Jesus, and that the Messiah expected by the Jews had appeared in the person of Jesus; he accordingly seeks to show the fortunes of the two personalities, the Saviour and his forerunner, as intimately interwoven with each other, not only from birth but even from the womb.

Lk. describes with much detail how the angel Gabriel appeared to the aged priest ZACHARIAS (*q.v.*, 10) as he was ministering in the temple and announced to him that his long-barren wife Elizabeth, now far advanced in years, was to bear him a son who should go before the Lord in the spirit and power of Elijah and prepare his people for his coming. Zacharias' unbelief is punished with dumbness; but his wife becomes pregnant and hides herself for five months. Next, while Elizabeth is in her sixth month, the same angel, Gabriel, appears to Mary, the betrothed but as yet unmarried spouse of Joseph, with the annunciation that she is to conceive and bear a son destined to sit upon the throne of his father David, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. Perplexed, because conscious of her virginity, she hears from the angel that that which is to be born of her will be by the Holy Ghost, and she is pointed to the coming maternity of her kinswoman Elizabeth. To her Mary in her gladness betakes herself in the hill-country of Judæa, and there is prophetically greeted by her kinswoman as the blessed of the Lord; and even the unborn John leaps in his mother's womb for joy. Then follows the *Magnificat* (1 46-55), a song of praise in the genuine Hebrew manner, modelled upon that of Hannah in 1 S. 2 1 *ff.*

Following up the observations of Hillmann (*ZPT* 17 197 *ff.*), D. Völter (*ThT* 30 254-256) argued with much cogency that this song belongs, not as the tradition of the MSS and of the church would have it, to Mary, but to Elizabeth, and Harnack has recently brought the question to a conclusion by showing that the 'Mary' of the MSS and the 'Elizabeth' vouched for in its place by ancient authorities are both alike interpolations of the nature of glosses, and proving that the genuine tradition introduces the psalm simply by the words καὶ εἶπε, 'and said'—the subject being given as Elizabeth by the context itself (*SBAW*, 1900, 27 538 *ff.*).

After three months Mary returns to her home, and the narrative goes on to relate the incidents of the circumcision and naming of John, the unlooked-for restoration of speech to Zacharias and his hymn of praise (1 67-79), which speaks at once of the coming Messiah and of his own son who is to prepare the way for him. The narrative closes, so far as John is concerned, with a single sentence about his childhood and youth and his life in the wilderness.

The place of Bethlehem in the narrative is accounted for by the census ordered by Augustus for the whole empire, and carried out in Palestine by Quirinius, the governor of Syria; this census rendered it necessary for Joseph to go up along with his wife to Bethlehem the city of David, because he himself was a member of the house of David. There his wife is delivered of her first-born son, whom she lays in the manger. The shepherds in the field, hearing the angel's message and the song of the multitudes of the heavenly host, come and worship the child in the manger, and Mary stores up these words and ponders them in her heart. As prescribed by the law, the child is circumcised on the eighth day, and at the same time receives the name of Jesus which had been given to him by the angel at the annunciation. After the forty days of purification—'their' (αὐτῶν), not 'her' (αὐτῆς); for the husband also is defiled by contact with the woman in childbed—the child is presented and the appointed offering made in the temple at Jerusalem, on which occasion the aged Symeon, to whom it had been promised that he should not see death before he had seen the Messiah, and Anna the prophetess, bear witness to the fulfilment of their hopes. Now at last, all the precepts of the law having been satisfied, the parents are free to set out with the child on their return journey to Nazareth. There by the grace of God the youth of the coming saviour is passed in uninterrupted growth. Only one occurrence of this period has the evangelist thought fit to record—the scene in which the boy, now twelve years of age, was found by his parents among the doctors of the law in the temple at Jerusalem.

3. Character of Lk.'s narrative.

In the whole tone and character of the narrative—its leading conceptions, its repeated employment of the Hebrew psalm-form, its familiarity with Jewish and its defective acquaintance with Roman conditions—the hand of a Jewish Christian is, as is now generally recognised, unmistakable. The matter of it also clearly divides itself into two distinct sections: that relating to the early history of John (ch. 1), and that relating to the birth and childhood of Jesus (ch. 2). Whilst in the first the foreground is occupied by Zacharias and Elizabeth, and Mary's conception is brought in only as an episode, the second makes no mention at all either of John or of his parents. To separate the two sections from each other, however, as has been proposed, is not possible. They are firmly united; Zacharias' song of praise points to the Redeemer, and in the prophetic words of the aged Symeon is repeated the same Hebrew psalm-form as is seen in the hymns of Elizabeth and her husband (see HYMNS). The space assigned to the story of John is, it is true, larger in proportion to the main subject—that of the annunciation to Mary—than we might have expected in a writer who had addressed himself independently to the task of describing the incarnation of the Saviour.

It is very possible that the miraculous narrative of the promise and fulfilment of the birth of John (Lk. 1 5-25 46-55 57-80) may have already sprung up and gained currency within the circle of John's disciples before it was brought into connection with the story of the conception and nativity of Jesus. Had the composition which was intended to correlate the beginnings of the two lives been a unity from the first, it would certainly have given larger space and greater prominence to the parents of the Saviour, and would not have allowed the principal to be overshadowed by the subordinate figures. The revelation to Zacharias (1 14-17) proclaims in the returning Elijah the fore-

runner not so much of the saviour as of God himself (Mal. 4 4 [5]) and Elizabeth's song of praise has no recognisable reference to Jesus. The whole character of chap. 1 is best explained on the supposition that the narrative of the birth of John first appeared among the disciples of John; the Jewish-Christian author of the whole will then have taken over the poem by a disciple of John along with a revised version of the psalm attributed to Zacharias, expanded it by addition of the Annunciation and Visitation, and in a certain measure imitated it in the short hymn of Symeon (2 29-32). So much may we safely concede to Völter (*Th.T* 30 [1896] 244 *f.*) though not necessarily adopting all his critical conclusions in detail.

Every unprejudiced eye will perceive that the nativity-narratives of Mt. and Lk. are mutually exclusive and irreconcilable. What they have in common—the figures of Joseph, Mary, and Jesus, the designation of Jesus as Messiah, the date in Herod's reign and the birth in Bethlehem—were given data. Upon the common foundation the two evangelists rear quite different structures.

4. Mt. and Lk. contrasted.

Joseph's home in Mt. is Bethlehem, in Lk. Nazareth; the divinity of Christ is attested in Lk. by the angel's words to the shepherds and the song of the heavenly host, in Mt. by the appearance of the star in the East; the new-born Messiah receives his first adoration in Lk. from the shepherds, in Mt. from the magi. In Mt. the family of the saviour flees from the wrath of Herod to Egypt and afterwards avoids Archelaus by settling in Nazareth; in Lk., after fulfilment of all the ceremonial duties arising out of the birth, the return is made to Nazareth direct. There, according to Lk., the youth of the saviour is spent quietly and uninterruptedly, whilst in Mt. his earliest years are disturbed by perils and changes of abode. A still deeper contrast emerges as soon as Lk.'s narrative has been freed from a later accretion (see below, § 16).

From the nature of the case both canonical narratives were accepted by faith and incorporated with each other. We see the process beginning in a writer so early as Justin Martyr. The contradiction between the doctrine of the divine origin of Jesus and the fact that in the gospels not Mary but Joseph is spoken of as of the house of David, he removes by representing that it was Mary who belonged to the house of David (*Dial.* 43, 45, 100), while veiling Joseph's Davidic origin by saying that he belonged to the tribe of Judah (*Dial.* 78). Justin also represents (*ibid.*) Joseph as having 'journeyed from Nazareth where he lived to Bethlehem to which he belonged,' thus seeking to remove the contradiction between the statements regarding his home. It is interesting to observe how the same writer carries on the legend at the same time that he makes these first attempts at reconciliation of contradictions. The birth is in a cave (cp BETHLEHEM, § 4) not in the stable (*Dial.* 78), and the magi are already represented as coming from Arabia (so often, later). The question arises, whether the divergences in Justin's account of the nativity are sufficient to warrant the inference drawn by Credner (*Beitr. z. Einl. i. d. Bibl. Schr.* 1 212 *ff.*) and others after him that he made use of an extra-canonical source.

5. Attempts to harmonise.

Before the end of the second century there had been composed, with the view of removing the glaring contradictions between Mt. and Lk., the so-called *Protevangelium Jacobi*, an apocryphal work by a fanciful fabulist, unhampered by knowledge of Jewish affairs. It obtained great currency and in particular furnished subjects for former Christian art (cp JOSEPH [in NT], § 7). Origen certainly was acquainted with it, and so also possibly was even Clement of Alexandria. Although the author goes much farther back in his narrative than our gospels and seeks to surround the early history with miraculous elements, in other respects he betrays no other intention than that of unifying and rounding out the two canonical accounts, following them so far as possible word for word. The writer's dependence on them becomes most conspicuous precisely in those places where he seems to depart farthest from them. Interested exclusively in the story of Mary, he has attempted to obliterate that of John so intimately bound up with it in Lk.; but he did not wish to pass over the meeting between Mary and Elizabeth (chap. 12) and he refers to Zacharias' dumbness as something well-known, though he does not say what had been its cause or how it came to be removed. His unskilful introduction of the episode of the Magi also tells a tale. His few divergences from the canonical accounts, on the other hand, do not count for much.

6. Protevangelium Jacobi.

The cave as the scene of the nativity comes, as in Justin, from popular tradition; the suppression of the flight into Egypt—which occurs by interpolation (22 2), only in a few MSS—may arise from deference to the third canonical gospel, which the author seems to have preferred. Harnack (*Gesch. d. altchr. Litt.* 1 19, 2 598) has done substantial justice to this apocryphal work.

Other apocryphal sources of stories of the nativity and childhood of Jesus will be found in Tischendorf's *Evang. Apocr.*(2), 1876; for their contents R. Hofmann, *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, 1851, may be consulted. All further treatments of the story of the nativity rest entirely on the three sources we have named—the two canonical Gospels and the *Protevangelium Jacobi*—as Conrady has shown (*Quelle der Kindheitsgesch.* 172 *ff.*). Later additions, such as that of the ox and the ass to the manger, are due to popular imagination, partly influenced by the liturgy.

For Christian orthodoxy, the reconcilability of the two canonical accounts was always a necessary dogma. It explains the divergence of the two by saying that each of the two evangelists selected for narration different sections of the same story. In the age of criticism of sources, this view perforce, in spite of Schleiermacher's warning (*Leben Jesu*, i. 6, 50 *ff.*), had to give way to the hypothesis that behind Mt. and Lk. there lay a single written source, a 'gospel of the birth and childhood of Jesus.' To A. Resch belongs the doubtful merit of having 'discovered' this 'Gospel of Childhood,' as also of having restored it both in Greek and in Hebrew. Conrady, advancing a step farther on the same path, has sought to show that the *Protevangelium Jacobi* is the single source required by the facts.

7. More recent attempts.

The gospels themselves supply ample justification of a criticism of the gospel narratives. In spite of all the revisions which the gospels received before they became canonically fixed, they still not unfrequently preserve references to conditions which are irreconcilable with the later additions and owe their preservation, as a rule, to their being inseparably bound up with weighty utterances of Jesus which the church could not willingly let die. The remark has long ago and often been made that, like Paul, even the Gospels themselves know nothing of the miraculous birth of the Saviour. On the contrary, their knowledge of his natural filial relationship to Joseph the carpenter, and to Mary his wife, is still explicit (see JOSEPH [in NT], §§ 7-9).

8. Implications of the gospels.

Even the episode of the finding in the temple (Lk. 2 41-50) recognises this relationship alone.

Cp *v.* 43, 'and his parents knew not of it' (RV—which in time became changed into 'Joseph and his mother' [so AV]), and Mary says (*v.* 48) 'thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.' The episode is introduced, it is true, for the purpose of allowing the consciousness of divine sonship to receive its first manifestation (*v.* 49); but precisely the fact that his parents do not understand the expression of it (*v.* 49 ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου, lit. 'in the things of my father') convincingly proves that in the mind of the narrator Joseph and Mary were and knew themselves to be, in the natural sense of the words, the parents of Jesus.

Still clearer to the same effect is another passage. When Jesus after the first acts of his public ministry by the sea of Galilee came on one occasion to his native town of Nazareth and appeared in the synagogue, the people, marvelling, asked 'Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? (Mk. has: 'Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary') and his brethren James and Joses and Simon and Judas? and his sisters, are they not all with us?' (Mt. 13 55 *f.*, cp Mk. 6 3). See JOSEPH [in NT], § 9. In the corresponding place in Lk. (4 22 *f.*) Jesus himself answers the question of the Nazarenes, 'Is not this Joseph's son?' in the affirmative by his silence, merely declining to work miracles with the remark that no prophet is acceptable

($\delta\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{o}s$) in his own country; the passage which he reads from the Book of Isaiah (61 1) speaks of the anointing with the Holy Ghost but says nothing of divine sonship. In the Fourth Gospel, Nathanael of Bethsaida is represented as doubting the Messiahship of Jesus; Philip had told him that the Messiah of whom Moses and the prophets had written had been found—'Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph' (1 45) and Nathanael's answer is 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' (see NATHANAEL).

Most eloquent in the same sense is the synoptic account of the repudiation of his kindred by Jesus (Mt. 12 46-50, Mk. 3 31-35, Lk. 8 19-21), which Mk. alone has preserved in its original connection.

The miracles wrought by Jesus had led the scribes to maintain that Jesus had entered into a compact with the prince of the devils (Mk. 3 22, cp Mt. 12 24 Lk. 11 15 Jn. 10 20); see BEELZEBUL. The report of this accusation had reached his home, and his distressed mother and brothers set out to lay hold of him and to bring him back, in the belief that he was beside himself (Mk. 3 21). They find him in a house surrounded by a multitude of listeners and are unable to get near him. On their sending in a message desiring to speak with him, he makes answer, stretching forth his hand towards his hearers, 'Behold my mother and my brethren; for whosoever shall do the will of my Father, the same is my brother and sister and mother'—a saying the bluntness of which is accounted for by the conviction that he found himself and his work misunderstood by his own immediate kindred; in Jn. 7 5 this is expressly said of his brothers. In Acts also (1 14) mention is made of the brothers as well as of the mother of Jesus.

The conclusions suggested by these observations agree excellently with the genealogies preserved to us in Mt.

9. Genealogies. 1 1-16 and Lk. 3 23-38 (see GENEALOGIES OF JESUS). They are completely independent attempts; but both are based on the presupposition that Jesus was the true son of Joseph; and it is in this sense alone that they can be held to have any purpose or meaning.

Whilst Mt. carries the list down from Abraham to Joseph and Jesus in three periods of fourteen generations each, Lk. traces it upwards from Jesus 'being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph' to Adam himself 'which was the son of God'; only the first fourteen ancestors in Mt., and two at the beginning of his third period (Salathiel and Zorobabel) are met with also in Lk. The addition in Lk. of the words 'as was supposed,' and the closing words in Mt.'s list 'Joseph the husband of Mary of whom ($\dot{\epsilon}\xi\ \tilde{\eta}s$) was born Jesus,[1] who is called Christ' betray the hand of the harmonising redactor; but such faltering touches have not sufficed to remove the absolute incompatibility between the narratives of the nativity and these genealogies, of which Joseph, not Mary, is the subject.

If we adopt Lk.'s statement (1 36) as historical, Mary had no connection with the house of David: she was a kinswoman ($\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}s$) of Elizabeth, and Elizabeth was 'of the daughters of Aaron' (1 5). The present writer, however, is unable to follow Hilgenfeld and Hillmann (*ZPT* 17, 250 *f.*) in thinking that Clemens Romanus (1 Cor. 32 1) regarded Jesus as by birth a Levite through Mary, of course). It was not until the belief in the virgin-birth of Christ had attained currency that any necessity could be felt for making Mary a member of the family of David. This was done as early as in Justin Martyr's time (see above, § 5), and next in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (chap. 10); and the Syrian Palimpsest of Sinai even contains the interpolation 'because they were both of the house of David' (Lk. 2 5 [4]). All this is intelligible easily enough, just as it is easy to understand why Resch's theological interpretation discovers the Davidic descent of Mary in the Gospels themselves (*Kindheitsev.* 191).

The chronological difficulties with which learned subtlety has struggled in vain for centuries, can

10. Dates. only be indicated here (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 57 *ff.*, QUIRINIUS). When Mt. places the nativity within the reign of Herod and the return from Egypt in that of Archelaus his successor, the birth of Christ is thereby determined to have been some years earlier than 4 B.C., Herod's death-year. Lk. on the other hand connects the nativity with the census carried out in Palestine by order of Augustus under P. Sulpicius Quirinius the Governor of Syria. This cannot be conceived as having been carried out before the deposition of Archelaus in 6 A.D., and in point of fact it is attested for this date by Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 13 5, § 355; xviii.).

Even if it is made out with a high degree of probability that Quirinius had already for a previous term (about 3-2 B.C.) been governor of Syria (Mommsen, *Mon. Ancyr.*(2), 161 *ff.*; Schürer, *GJV* 1(2) 260 *ff.*, *ET* i. 1 351 *ff.*), the essential fact for the narrative of Lk.—the census by Quirinius in Palestine—cannot be assigned to a date earlier than 6 A.D. Lk., however, is in contradiction not only with Mt. but also with himself; for at the outset of his narrative (1 5) he places the event 'in the days of Herod the king of the Jews.' The two data are separated by an interval of more than ten years. No trustworthy date at all can be obtained from the accounts of the nativity that have reached us. The year can be approximately determined only by the elements supplied in Lk. 3 1 23—that John began his public ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (28-29 A.D.) and that Jesus when he began his (29 A.D.) was about thirty years of age (see further Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 3 260 *ff.*; A. W. Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, 1869).

The gospels say nothing as to the day of the nativity. The church fixed it by mythological analogy. Whilst the ancient church (as also the Armenian church still does) commemorated the nativity at the feast of Epiphany (6th January), which derives from the Alexandrian feast of the appearing of Dionysos, the Roman Church from the middle of the fourth century onwards set apart the *natalis solis invicti—i.e.*, 25th Dec.—as the anniversary of the Saviour's birth (cp Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Unt.*, 1889).

Before this, however, the most diverse attempts were made to fix a date. A learned Jesuit, Antonmaria Lupi, in the eighteenth century took the trouble to show (*Dissertazioni, lettere ed altre operette*, Faenza, 1785, 1 219 *ff.*) that there is no month of the year to which the nativity has not been assigned at one time or another.

Another contradiction which must not be overlooked relates to the place of the nativity. The

11. Place of nativity. traditions that Jesus was born at Bethlehem and that he belonged to Nazareth had become equally firmly established when the Evangelists came to deal with them. Mt. took Bethlehem simply as the native place of Joseph, whom he then represented as fixing his abode at Nazareth in Galilee from fear of Archelaus after the return from Egypt; he had no right (13 54) to call Nazareth the native place ($\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$) of Christ as his predecessor (Mk. 6 1) was able to do. Lk. takes Nazareth as the home of Joseph, and to explain the occurrence of the birth at Bethlehem avails himself of the census of Quirinius.

Just as the teaching activity of Jesus down to the period of his last journey to Jerusalem was certainly for the most part confined to the districts immediately surrounding the lake of Galilee, so also his origin in Nazareth of Galilee was an accepted fact (Mk. 6 1-4 Mt. 13 54 *f.* Lk. 4 16 *ff.* Mt. 21 11 26 69 71 Jn. 1 46 7 41); indeed Mt. 2 23 is able to quote in support of it a (no doubt very apocryphal) prophetical utterance: 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets: he shall be called a Nazarene' ($N\alpha\zeta\omega\rho\alpha\hat{\iota}os$). How was it possible for Bethlehem to set up competing claims?

In this connection it has been noticed that there was also a Bethlehem in Galilee, not far from Nazareth, which is mentioned once in the Talmud as Bethlehem Noseriyyah. Our present problem, however, cannot be solved, but rather only further complicated, by this reference.[1] For it is just as certain that the Bethlehem spoken of in the Gospels as the birthplace of Jesus is the Bethlehem in Judæa, south of Jerusalem, as it is that Nazareth was universally accepted as his home.

It is important, however, that, of all the gospel narratives, it is only those of the nativity that refer to the Bethlehem in question. The key is to be sought here.

After the discourse on the living water, as we read in

[1] On this clause see MARY, § 14.

[1] [On the complication thus introduced cp NAZARETH, § 4, where the bearing of the evidence is considered, and an attempt made to go behind the existing evangelical traditions.]

Jn. 7 40 *f.*, the audience expressed themselves variously as follows: 'some said: of a truth this is the prophet. Others said: this is the Christ. But some said: Shall Christ come out of Galilee? has not the scripture said, that Christ comes of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was?' Even as early as the triumphal entry into Jerusalem we find the populace shouting their Hosannas to Jesus as the 'son of David' (Mt. 21 9, cp 21 15, Mk. 11 10, but cp HOSANNA); and the Pharisees know that the anointed of the Lord can only be a son of David (Mt. 22 42, Mk. 12 35, Lk. 20 41). From the prophecy in Mic. 5 1 [2] was drawn the further inference that the Messiah must come from the city of David, Bethlehem. The scribes whom Herod, according to Mt., calls to his aid, cannot in view of this prophecy (Mt. 2 6) for a moment be in any doubt as to the place where the newborn King of the Jews is to be sought. The narrative of Jn., where the supernatural birth is still unknown, sets the actual home of Jesus, Galilee, over against the theoretical birthplace demanded by Jewish belief, and reveals the hidden path by which Bethlehem had found its way into the gospel tradition. Even while he was yet alive, Jesus was regarded as the 'anointed of God'; Peter himself had accorded the title (Lk. 9 20, cp Mk. 8 29; in Mt. 16 16 'the Christ, the son of the living God'). The whole series of attributes which associated itself with the idea of the Messiah in the Jewish mind had necessarily to be transferred to Jesus as soon as the conception that he was the 'Christ' had come effectively into being; it is a particular case of a general law observable in the growth of legend. Above all it was necessary that Jesus should be a descendant of David, and thus of kingly origin. The genealogical lists which brought Joseph the father of Jesus into connection with David were the first literary consequence. However unobtrusive the prose in which they speak, they are nevertheless the earliest attempts at poetical invention regarding the birth of Christ. The next inevitable step was to transfer his cradle to Bethlehem. When the accounts of Mt. and Lk. were written this had already become a fixed article of faith, which, well or ill, had somehow or other to be fitted in and reconciled with the historical fact as to his actual home.

12. Why Bethlehem?

The contradictions (of the facts as made known to us by the gospel itself) prove that at the time when the narratives of the nativity and childhood were given their present place the kernel of the gospels of Mt. and Lk. was already fixed. These additions must come from quite other hands—the substance of them that is to say, not necessarily the form. For there remains the possibility—untouched by our criticism—that the present form is due to a reviser before whom the various elements already lay.

13. The narratives an addition.

This possibility does not seem to have been present to the mind of Harnack when recently (*SBAW* 27 [1900] 547 *ff.*), proceeding upon the similarity of phraseology and vocabulary, he thought it possible to prove that the first two chapters of Lk. are due to the same hand as that which wrote the whole of the rest of that gospel and Acts as well. It is utterly impossible to think even of those chapters as indubitably coming from one and the same hand. The ultimate decision of the question must be left to criticism of the facts and analysis of the composition.

Whilst in Mt. the story of the childhood allows itself to be recognised as an interpolation by the fact of its being in contradiction with the rest of the gospel, in the case of Lk. we are able to confirm the results reached by criticism by referring to the testimony of the author himself. His appeal to those who 'from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word' (1 2; cp 1 3, ἄνωθεν)—even apart from the express interpretation of what he means by the expressions 'from the beginning' (ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) and 'from the first' (ἄνωθεν) which he gives in Acts 1 22 (ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, 'beginning from the baptism'; also 10 37, 'beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached')—would leave no room for doubt that Lk. began his gospel with the baptism and preaching of John. This has in substance been correctly and conclusively shown by P. Corssen (*GGA*, 1899, pp. 315-327).

The oldest written forms of the gospel knew, and knew only, that Jesus was born at Nazareth as the son of Joseph and Mary;[1] but they also taught that he was the Messiah foretold by the prophets and expected by the Jews, and they also were able to tell how it was that Jesus himself came to be possessed with the consciousness that he was the Son of God. In these representations were contained the germs which found a fruitful soil in the receptive minds of the ancient Christian churches and were destined to develop comparatively soon into the dogma of the divinity of Christ and even into that of the pre-existence of the Son of God.

14. Earlier baptism narratives.

As regards the Messiah, Jewish faith did not look for any supernatural birth; he had only to be a descendant of David and the chosen one of God (cp Hillmann, *JPT* 17 [1891] 233 *ff.*). From this, by and by, followed, as a first and unquestioned consequence, that the father of Jesus had to be a descendant of David, and that Jesus must have been born in Bethlehem. It became further necessary, in the second place, that the chosen one of God should be brought into closer relation with God. He who had been born and brought up as man required a divine consecration to his office. Hence the baptism in Jordan.

The appearance of John the Baptist, his preaching and baptism, occupied the first place in the oldest written gospels (see JOHN THE BAPTIST). The example of the Baptist was the means of awakening Jesus to a perception of his own great task; the depth of the impression made upon him by John is shown by the elevation of the witness which he bears to him (Mt. 11 7 *ff.* Lk. 7 24-35, cp Mt. 21 32). It was not till the coming of the tidings that the activity of John had been brought to an untimely end by his imprisonment at Herod's command that Jesus emerged from the obscurity in which he had hitherto lived (Mt. 4 12 Mk. 1 14). Thus there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that Jesus also was among the multitude of those who thronged to the preaching of John to be baptised, and this fact was stated from the first in the gospels.

This baptism at the same time furnished the occasion on which Jesus the man became also the anointed of the Lord. There are two accounts of the manner in which this came about.

1. According to Mk. 1 10 *f.* Jesus as he comes up from Jordan sees the heaven opened and the Holy Ghost descending upon him, and hears a voice from heaven saying 'Thou art my beloved son in whom I am well pleased.'

These words, taken from the Hebrew text (not 𝔊) of Is. 42 1 and repeated also on the mount of transfiguration, are employed to convey the testimony that God himself has chosen Jesus as the Messiah, and the spirit of God enters into him in order to bring to their fulfilment the words of Is. 42 1 11 2.

2. The procedure of the unknown hand by which the short account of the baptism of Jesus in Jordan was introduced into the Third Gospel (Lk. 3 21 *f.*) was bolder. He was not satisfied with ascribing the divine vocation to the Messiahship; he wished also to give an immediate divine testimony to the divine sonship of Jesus.

For this end he made use of the words of the Psalmist (Ps. 2 7; cp Acts 13 33), and introduced these words as spoken by God: 'Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee.' Thus the passage in Lk. was read, in the Greek Church down to about 300 A.D. and in the Latin West down to and beyond 360 A.D.

The picture it conveyed led to the incarnation being connected with the baptism in such manner that the feast of the Epiphany—the manifestation of God upon

[1] [See NAZARETH, § 4, and cp GALILEE, § 5.]

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earth—came to be at once the festival of the baptism and of the birth of Christ until the Christmas festival began to come into vogue. At the same time, concurrently with this more highly pitched account, the older version of the miracle at Jordan was amplified in Mt. and in the Gospel of the Hebrews with new wonders; the Fourth Gospel also goes far beyond the original story.

The mythical pictures thus produced could not permanently satisfy believing hearts. The conception of the divinity of Jesus which was gaining ever more and more ground found it increasingly impossible to postpone to his thirtieth year the consecration of Jesus as the Messiah or his adoption as the son of God. It was felt that he must have been God's chosen instrument from his very birth. Thus arose the story of the nativity. It arose and took shape at a time when the consecration of Jesus to the Messiahship had already become firmly associated with the baptism in Jordan. If the two had arisen at the same time, or if the story of the nativity had been the earlier to come into currency, the miracle at the baptism could not have received the shape which it now has, or could not have arisen at all; the one excludes the other.

15. Course of development.

Here, also, there was a choice of paths. Just as in the description of the baptism we have the divine attestation on the one hand and the divine generation on the other, so also here alongside of the miraculous conception there was possible a mode of representation more in harmony with Jewish modes of thought in which divine revelations at his conception and birth attested to the human son of Joseph and Mary his election to be the Messiah.

Such a representation in point of fact lies before us in Lk. If we bear in mind what we were able to observe at Bethlehem we can become free of the fetters laid upon us by long habituation to a sacred tradition. To Joh. Hillmann (*ZPT* 17 221 *ff.*) belongs the merit of having conclusively shown that the two verses in Lk. (1 34 *f.*), the only verses in the Third Gospel in which the supernatural birth of Jesus of the Virgin Mary is stated, are incompatible with the entire representation of the rest of chaps. 1 and 2, and thus must have been interpolated by a redactor. These two verses once removed, what remains is a purely Jewish-Christian account of the birth of the Messiah, still resting upon the foundation of the old and genuine tradition that Jesus was the offspring—the firstborn offspring—of the marriage of Joseph and Mary, and no word is to be found in it which does not admit of full explanation from Jewish ideas concerning the coming Messiah.

16. Lk.: divine attestation.

The angel Gabriel, sent by God, comes to Nazareth to a virgin named Mary who is betrothed to Joseph, a descendant of David (*ἐξ οἴκου Δαυειδ*, 1 27); after words of salutation he tells her that she is destined to conceive and bear a son who shall be called the son of the Most High and shall sit upon the throne of his (fore-) father David (and so forth, 1 31-33), and then concludes by telling her of what has happened to Elizabeth her kinswoman (1 36 *f.*). The events in the house of Elizabeth (1 39-56) and the psalm of Zacharias (1 68 *ff.*) only serve to glorify the Messiah even in the womb of his mother, and to prepare the way for his future relations with John. Shortly before Mary's time has come the journey to Bethlehem—explained, not well, as we have seen (§ 10), by the census—is interposed; Joseph must betake himself to the city of David in order to be entered on the register there because he is 'of the house of David' (2 4), and this, too, along with Mary his wife.

σὺν Μαριαμ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, 2 5, is the reading of the Syrian palimpsest of Sinai discovered by Mrs. Agnes Lewis Smith, and *cum Maria uxore sua pregnante* is also attested by the pre-Hieronymian texts of Verona and Vercelli, as also the Colbertinus—a reading which speaks for itself, even apart from the weight of the testimony by which it is supported. In place of it was afterwards substituted the reading *σὺν M. τῃ ἐμνηστευμένῃ αὐτῷ* (so ℵB and the Lat. vers. of Brescia), and, as we so frequently find happening, in due course the two readings came to be combined by contamination so that the *σὺν M. τῇ ἐμνηστευμένῃ αὐτῷ γυναικί* of A, the Lat. vers. of Corbei, of Eusebius and Cyril, *Catech.* 12, 31, arose. That we have here a case of real contamination is seen very plainly in the old Freising MS in which the ancient variants *τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ* and *τῇ ἐμνηστευμένῃ αὐτῷ* still stand together in immediate juxtaposition.

Since, then, at the beginning of the story (1 27) there is twice prominently made, in accordance with unanimous tradition, the statement that Mary at the time of the Annunciation, although betrothed to Joseph, was still a virgin, we are in a position to infer with certainty from 2 5 that in the original form of the narrative after 1 38 stood the further statement, hardly to be dispensed with (even though judged inadmissible by the redactor who interpolated 1 34 *f.*), that Mary was then taken to wife by Joseph, and that she conceived by him; with this best agrees the reminiscence in 2 21 that the name of Jesus had been given by the angel 'before he was conceived in the womb.' That Jesus was the first child of this legitimate marriage is expressly stated (2 7),—'and she brought forth her firstborn son'; *τὸν πρωτότοκον* is the word, not such an expression as *μονογενῆ*, and tradition took no exception to the phrase, which has even been interpolated in Mt. 1 25. Jesus is thus recognised to have been the eldest of the sons and daughters of Joseph, who are referred to in this very gospel itself. In accordance with the Jewish ceremonial law the circumcision and naming of the child follows on the eighth day (2 21), and after forty days comes the dedication of the firstborn and the offering in the temple at Jerusalem (2 22 *ff.*); the whole procedure presupposes a normal birth from a legitimate marriage, and in 2 27 are the express words, 'When the parents brought in the child Jesus.' The salutations of the aged Symeon (2 29-35) and Anna the prophetess (2 36-38) are entirely in the spirit of the promise of the Messiah as given in the words of the angel, alike to Mary (1 31-33) and to the shepherds (2 11, cp 2 14). Finally, the incident between the parents and their son, now twelve years of age, in the temple (2 41 *ff.*), which has already been spoken of, stands upon the same footing.

We discern accordingly in Lk.'s account a Jewish-Christian endeavour to invest the birth and childhood of Jesus with the miraculous halo that seemed to be demanded by his call to Messiahship. The miracles, however, are limited to miracles of divine revelation brought by angels or inspired by the Holy Ghost. The historical tradition which lay at the heart of the gospel—that Jesus was born as the eldest child of Joseph and Mary of Nazareth—is still faithfully preserved. Only, the demand that Jesus should through his father belong to the house of David and be born in David's city of Bethlehem had already become the indispensable presupposition for the whole narrative, completely dominated as it was by Messianic ideas. The redactor, while effecting a compromise with the legend as set forth in Mt. by his interpolation of 1 34 *f.*, at the same time introduced an alien and irreconcilable trait into Lk.'s work if it is to be regarded as an artistic unity.

17. Mt.: virgin birth.

The narrative of Mt., on the other hand, is entirely dominated by the presupposition that Jesus was conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin Mary. Joseph receives the revelation, 'that which is begotten in her is of the Holy Ghost,' and following the divine direction, 'knew her not till she had brought forth a son.' It is possible to regard the divine begetting as a carrying back, in point of time, of the view of the baptism-miracle which we find in Lk. There is something entirely new, however, in addition—that he was conceived and born of a virgin. Here we unquestionably enter the circle of pagan ideas. Even the Church fathers were unable to shut their eyes to this. The idea is quite foreign to Judaism, whilst for Græco-Roman antiquity it continued in full activity till

after the Augustan age. The present writer has already (see below, § 21) given the evidence for this, and he could make it still stronger now. The expression in Is. 7 14 could not possibly have given occasion for the shaping of this birth-story. The context of the passage says nothing about an expected Messiah, and speaks merely of a young woman, not of a 'virgin' as the word is in 𝔊 (see IMMANUEL). The efforts which have been made to disprove the unwelcome intrusion of heathen mythology into the substance of the gospels have been ineffectual. It is dangerous to cite evidence that proves the opposite of what it is asked to establish.

In a remarkable passage (*De cherub.* 13; 1 180 *f.*) Philo, while pressing the actual language of the OT, seeks to show that it was God who had made Sarah, Leah, Rebekah, and Zipporah to be fruitful. Though this does not teach virgin birth it certainly teaches divine generation. It ought not, however, to be overlooked that Philo designates this doctrine a mystery, a sacred revelation, in other words something quite new; the new knowledge first dawned upon him in the Hellenistic atmosphere of Alexandria, at the fountainhead of all those ideas with which he was able to give a new depth to the traditions of his people.

The embroidery comes from the same source as the warp and the woof. The appearance of a new star in the sky heralding the birth had been prepared for by the popular faith of antiquity.

18. The star, etc.

By astrologers it was even taught that a new star rises at the birth of every man (see Julianus Halic. in *Rhein. Mus.* 55 328, *l.* 11; cp Frazer, *GB*(2), 2 22 *ff.*). With an event so late even as the birth of Alexander Severus was associated the legend that the future world-empire of the child was foretold by the sudden appearance of a star of the first magnitude (Lampridius, ch. 13); the story may be of Semitic origin. Also the recognition and proclamation of the birth of a new king of the Jews by the magi learned in star-lore finds its parallel in a legend concerning Alexander recorded in Cicero (*de Divin.* i. 23 47; cp 41 90). That the magi should have come in person to do homage to the new-born lord may perhaps, as has been pointed out to the present writer by A. Dieterich, have originated in the journey of homage made by the Parthian king Tiridates to Nero in Rome, an expedition which attracted very great attention (see Cassius Dio, 63 2 *f.*), especially in the provinces, such as Asia, which actually witnessed the progress of the king with his royal train, and had to entertain him in a manner suitable to his rank. Pliny, who alludes to this event (*NH* 30 16), actually calls Tiridates *magus*, and mentions that he had magi in his suite (*magos secum adduxerat*), from whom the emperor hoped to learn the secrets of magic. The reign of Nero may have been exactly the period at which the legends of the divine birth of Jesus began to take shape in the Christian world, and it is very possible that tidings of the Neronic persecutions spread from Rome may have had their share in bringing about the introduction of the picture of a bloodthirsty tyrant into the story of the childhood. A massacre of innocents and, as the motive for it, fear of the threatened advent of a new ruler, were already current material for legend, as is shown by the romantic story of Marathus concerning the birth of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 94).

The flight into Egypt, or, to speak more accurately, the return from Egypt, is ill-explained.

19. The Egypt incident.

An angel of the Lord admonishes Joseph to return—as formerly he had warned him to flee—'for they are dead which sought the young child's life' (Mt. 2 20); but 'when he heard that Archelaus was reigning in Judæa . . . he was afraid to go there,' and 'being warned of God in a dream, he turned aside into the parts of Galilee' (Mt. 2 22). It is not easy to understand why the command to return should not in the story have been postponed till after the deposition of Archelaus (6 A.D.) if it were not for the reason that, in that case, there would be no motive left for the selection of Nazareth as a home. Yet to explain the selection, there is introduced, awkwardly enough, a double revelation to Joseph.

Why is it Egypt that is selected as the place of refuge? We may reply that in the first century, when Jews had long been gathered together in great numbers in Alexandria, it was natural to think of this neighbouring land. Mythological ideas also, however, may have had their unconscious influence; it is to Egypt that, when attacked by the giant Typhon, the Olympian gods take their flight.

Thus for the whole birth- and childhood-story of Mt. in its every detail it is possible to trace a pagan substratum.

20. The result.

It must have arisen in Gentile-Christian circles, probably in those of the province of Asia, and then was to some extent legitimated by its narrator, in accordance with the tendency manifested throughout the whole of the First Gospel (see Resch, *Kindheitsevang.* 19 *ff.*), by citation of prophetic 'words' in its support.

Thus did the divine birth and nature of Christ receive the stamp of authority for all time, and the Jewish-Christian representation of Lk., which knew the Messiah only as a son of man, had to be heightened by the introduction of the angelic messages and so brought into conformity with the demands of faith.

The divine birth and nature of Christ thus became gospel. To theosophic speculation the task which now presented itself was that of bringing this dogma into reconcilability with the fact of the humanity of Jesus. It was only after a struggle lasting for centuries that the church succeeded in setting up a unanimous doctrine upon the subject. The struggle indeed would still have arisen even if the gospel of the virgin-birth had not lain before it in writing. Even before the gospel had been written and attained currency the docetic doctrine that the son of God had been sent down from heaven and had lived only seemingly the life of a man in the world, as also the Johannine conception of the pre-existence of the divine logos, had already been formulated.

21. Literature.

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H. U.

NATURE-WORSHIP. In the article IDOLATRY (§ 2 *f.*) the development of the ideas about nature which become a factor in religion has been outlined, from the earliest stage, in which man conceives natural objects as animated by a demonic life, through one in which these objects and localities are permanently inhabited by a numen or frequented by it,

1. Nature-worship in the progress of religion.

to that in which they are the visible symbols wherein the presence of a god is graciously manifested, and, finally, to the rejection of the symbol as incompatible with the conception of a god whose invisible presence fills earth and heaven. The first of these stages had been left behind by the religion of Israel long before our knowledge of it begins; but innumerable customs of social life and ritual observance that had their root and reason in animistic beliefs survived even to the latest times, and doubtless the beliefs themselves lingered as more or less obscure superstitions among certain classes of the people, as they do to the present day among the peasantry in Christian Europe.

It is obvious that the nature of the object itself determined how far it could be carried along by the advancing religious conceptions. A holy mountain, for example, most easily became the abode of a god, whose power was manifested in storm and lightning, or in the beneficent rain-clouds which gathered around its top; a cave near the summit might be in a special sense his dwelling-place.[1] A natural rock which had

[1] So perhaps at Horeb, 1 K. 19 9.

been revered as the seat of a *numen* might become a rock-altar or a *maṣṣēbāh*, in which a deity no longer bound to the spot received the sacrifices of his worshippers and answered their requests;[1] and might even finally be understood by higher spirits as only the symbol of the divine presence. On the other hand, the sacred tree was not so easily dissociated from its own life; its spirit might be very potent in its sphere, but it was to the end a tree-spirit, even if some greater name was given it. Consequently, the beliefs and customs connected with trees and with vegetation generally have been left behind in the progress of religion and often put under its ban, though nowhere extirpated by it.

2. In Israel: holy trees.

We find this true in the OT. The mountains and the sacred wells and springs which once had, as in some instances we can still perceive, their own numina, have been taken possession of by Yahwè, and become his holy places, seats of his worship; no traces of a distinctive cultus have been preserved;[2] the rocks, so far as they have a religious association at all, are his altars or memorial stones.[3]

Sacred trees, too, are found at the sanctuaries of Yahwè;[4] at Beersheba, by the holy wells, was a tamarisk which Abraham planted with religious rites (Gen. 21 33);[5] at Hebron Abraham built an altar at the *'ēlōn Mamrē* (13 18),[6] where he dwelt (14 13); beneath the tree Yahwè appeared to him in theophany (18 1 *ff.*). At the *'ēlōn mōrè* at Shechem Yahwè appeared to Abraham (Gen. 12 6 *f.*); under the *'ēlāh* at the same place Jacob buried the idols and amulets of his Aramæan household (Gen. 35 4); there Joshua erected a *maṣṣēbāh* beneath the *'ēlāh* which is in the sanctuary of Yahwè (Josh. 24 26); by the same tree Abimelech was made king (Judg. 9 6); near Shechem stood also an *'ēlōn mĕ'ōnĕnīm* (Judg. 9 37); the tomb of Deborah was under a tree near Bethel named *'allōn bakkūth* (Gen. 35 8); beneath the *'ēlāh* at Ophrah the angel of Yahwè appeared to Gideon, who built an altar on the spot (Judg. 6 11 19 24). Compare also the place-names, Elim (Ex. 16 1), Elath (2 K. 14 22), Elon (Judg. 12 11); see also Judg. 4 5 1 S. 14 2 22 6 31 13 (1 Ch. 10 12). The words איל, אלה (*'ēlāh, 'allāh*), אלון (*'ēlōn, 'allōn*),[7] ordinarily mean 'holy tree' (cp Is. 1 29); the substitutions made in the Targums and by Jerome (*i.e.*, Jerome's Jewish teachers) show how keenly this was felt at a late time. The etymological connection of the word with אל (*'ēl*), 'numen, god,' is very probable.[8] The names *'ēlōn mōrè*, *'ēlōn mĕ'ōnĕnīm*, point to tree oracles; and though these names, like many of the others, are probably of Canaanite origin, we may observe that David takes an omen from the sound of a marching in the tops of the *bākā* trees (2 S. 5 24).

3. Survivals in cult and custom.

Of an actual tree cult we have no evidence in the OT, the prophetic irony directed against the veneration of stocks (עץ) and stones more probably referring to *'ăšērāhs* or wooden idols. But the places of worship 'under every luxuriant tree'[9] had at least originally a deeper reason than that 'the shade was good' (Hos. 4 13); and we shall probably not err if we see in beliefs

[1] See Idolatry, § 4; Massebah, § 6.
[2] This is far from saying that no such rites were practised.
[3] See Massebah, §§ 5, 7.
[4] For references to the literature see col. 2153, n. 9.
[5] Stade and v. Gall (*Kultstätten*, 47) would read, instead of *'ēšel* 'tamarisk,' *'ăšērāh*, connecting the verse with 26 25 (Isaac).
[6] 𝔊, δρῦς; the plur. in MT is an alteration with a purpose like that of Tg. Vg. 'plain.' The holy *tree* sounded heathenish. Abraham's oak (or terebinth) was an object of veneration in the time of Constantine, who had the altars beneath it destroyed (see Rel. *Pal.*, p. 711 *ff.*). An Abraham's oak is still shown (see *Jewish Encyclopædia*, 1 93).
[7] The diversity of pronunciation in MT is not a consistent discrimination of 'oak' and 'terebinth.' See Moore, *Judges* (*Int. Comm.*), 121 *f.*, and v. Gall, *Kultstätten*, 24 *ff.*
[8] Levy, *Phön. Stud.* 1 19 *f.* (1856); and many.
[9] See Jer. 2 20 3 6 13 17 2 Ezek. 6 13 20 28, etc.

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which in many other parts of the world have been associated with the powers of tree-spirits and the life of vegetation at least one root of the sexual licence which at these sanctuaries was indulged in in the name of religion.[1] Doubtless the custom existed, which still prevails in Syria as in many other countries, of hanging upon the trees bits of clothing, ornaments, and other things which keep up the connection between the man to whom they belonged and the spirit of the tree.[2] At least one law—the three years *'orlāh* of fruit-trees when they begin to bear (Lev. 19 23-25)—perpetuates a parallel between the life of tree and man which was once more than an analogy.[3] The prohibition of mixed plantations (*kil'ayim*, Dt. 22 9) is probably another instance of the same kind. The prohibition of reaping the corner of a field (Lev. 19 9 23 22),[4] though now a charitable motive is attached to it, had primitively a very different reason: the corner was left to the grain-spirit.[5] That the first sheaf of the harvest, the first cakes made of the new grain, were originally not an offering to the God of the land, but a sacrament of the corn-spirit, is shown by similar evidence.[6]

If all this belongs to an age which to the Israelites was prehistoric, the gardens of Adonis (Is. 17 10, see Adonis) and the women's mourning for Tammuz (Ezek. 8 14, see Tammuz)[7] show that in mythologised, and doubtless foreign, forms, the great drama of plant life—the blooming spring, the untimely death under the fierce midsummer sun, and the resurrection of the new year, maintained its power over the Israelites as well as their neighbours.

4. Water libation.

The holy wells and springs in Palestine,[8] like the mountains, were taken possession of by Yahwè when he supplanted the baals in their old haunts. No trace remains in the OT of distinctive rites or restrictions connected with sacred waters such as we know in abundance among the neighbours of the Israelites. But one ceremony was observed annually in the temple, at the Feast of Tabernacles, which must be briefly mentioned here.[9] At this season water was drawn from Siloam, carried, amid the blare of trumpets, into the temple precincts through a gate called for this reason the water-gate, and poured upon the altar,[10] running down through a drain into the subterranean receptacle. The reason for the rite is given in another place: 'The Holy One, Blessed is he! said, Pour out water before me at the Feast, in order that the rains of the year may be blessed to you.'[11] The libation was thus an old rain charm, a piece of mimetic magic.[12] A very similar ceremony at Hierapolis is described by Lucian.[13]

On sacred animals and supposed survivals of totem cults and superstitions see Clean and Unclean.

5. The heavenly bodies.[14]

The heavenly bodies, especially the sun, moon, and (five) planets, appeared to the ancients to be living beings and since their influence on human welfare was manifest and great they were adored as deities (see Wisd. 13 2 *ff.*). The relative prominence of these gods in religion and mythology differs widely among peoples upon the same

[1] See, *e.g.*, Hos. 4 13-15, etc.; cp Harlot. On the subject in general see Frazer, *GB*(2) 2 204 *ff.* Cp 1 192 *ff.*
[2] See Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*(3) 2 223 *ff.*; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 185 *f.* 195; Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 449 *f.*; cp Dress, § 8.
[3] Incidentally it makes it probable that among the Canaanites—from whom the custom is doubtless derived—circumcision was originally performed at puberty (cp Circumcision, § 6).
[4] Perhaps the law which forbids the gathering of a forgotten sheaf should be included (Dt. 24 19).
[5] See Frazer, *GB*(2) 2 222 *ff.*, especially 236 n.
[6] Frazer, *l.c.*, 319 *ff.* 329.
[7] See Frazer, *l.c.*, 115 *ff.*
[8] See Idolatry, § 2.
[9] See Sacrifice, § 36; Tabernacles, § 7.
[10] *M. Succa*, 4 9; *Bab. Succa*, 48 *a*, *ff.*
[11] *Rōsh ha-shānāh*, 16 *a*, bottom; cp *Ta'ănīth*, 2 *a*.
[12] On 'making rain' see Frazer, *GB*(2) 1 81 *ff.* 2 121 *ff.*
[13] *De Dea Syria*, chap. 13, cp 48; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 231 *f.*
[14] See Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*(3) 2 285 *ff.*; Scholz, *Götzendienst*, 412 *ff.*

plane of culture and even of the same stock; they had a different significance to the settled population of Babylonia from that which they had for the Arab nomad,[1] and besides this economic reason there are doubtless historical causes for the diversity which are in great part concealed from us.

That the Israelite nomads showed in some way their veneration of the sun is most probable; but there is no reason to believe that sun-worship was an important part of their religion. In Palestine the names of several cities bear witness to the fact that they were seats of the worship of the sun (Shemesh; see BETH-SHEMESH, EN-SHEMESH; also KIR-HERES, TIMNATH-HERES). The best known of these is Beth-shemesh—now ʿAin Shems—in the Judæan lowland, just across the valley from Zorah, the home of Samson, whose own name shows that Israelites participated in the cult of their Canaanite neighbours, and perhaps appropriated elements of a solar myth.[2] It may be questioned whether the worship of the sun at these places was of native Canaanite origin, or is to be ascribed to Babylonian influence, such as we recognise in the case of the names Beth-anath[3] and, probably, Beth-dagon. If we may judge from the evidence of Phœnician names, the worship of the sun had no such place in the religion of Canaan as Shamash had in that of the Babylonians and Assyrians,[4] and it seems more likely that the god whose cult gives a distinctive name to certain places was a foreign deity. These considerations lend some additional probability to Budde's surmise that the southern Beth-shemesh is the place designated in the Amarna Tablets, no. 183, *l.* 14 *f.*, as Bît-Ninib in the district of Jerusalem.[5] The name of the city of Jericho—the most natural etymology of which derives it from יָרֵחַ, moon[6]—may indicate that it was a seat of moon-worship; but we have no other evidence of the fact. The names of the Desert of Sin and the holy mountain SINAI (*q.v.*) bear witness to the fact that the region was a centre of the cult of the moon-god Sin, who was zealously worshipped in Syria (Harran), Babylonia, and southern Arabia; in later times Greek and Latin writers as well as Nabatæan inscriptions attest the worship of the moon by the population of Arabia Petræa; the appearance of the new moon is still greeted by the Bedouins,[7] as it was by Canaanites and Israelites in OT times. The religious observance of the new moon with festal rejoicings and sacrifices belongs originally to a lunar cult;[8] but, as in many other cases, this festival and its rites were taken up into the religion of Yahwè—the national religion absorbing the nature religion. Whether the Canaanite Astarte-worship was associated with the planet Venus we do not certainly know; the worship of the QUEEN OF HEAVEN [*q.v.*] in the seventh century was evidently regarded as a new and foreign cult. Cp MOON.

The opinion, formerly widely entertained and not yet everywhere abandoned, that the Canaanite worship of Baal and Astarte was primitive sun- and moon-worship, is without foundation; the identification—so far as it took place in the sphere of religion at all—is late and influenced by foreign philosophy (see BAAL, § 2 *f.*, ASHTORETH, § 4).

If the evidence of the worship of the heavenly bodies in Israel in older times is thus scanty and indirect, the case is otherwise in the seventh and sixth centuries.[9]

[1] In southern Arabia the worship of the sun and moon is strikingly prevalent.

[2] See Moore, *Judges* (*Int. Comm.*), 325 *f.* 364 *f.*; and cp SAMSON.

[3] Notice the proximity of Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath in Galilee, Judg. 1 33.

[4] See Baeth. *Beitr.* 61.

[5] See HERES, MOUNT.

[6] The form, shortened from ירחון, is related to ירח precisely as שמשון to שמש. Cp JERICHO.

[7] Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 366.

[8] See Spencer, *De leg. rit.*, lib. 3 diss. 4, and Chrysost. *Hom.* 6 *in Matt.*

[9] Am. 5 26 cannot be taken as evidence that these cults were already established in the eighth century; see AMOS, § 13, CHIUN. Nor, in view of the silence of the eighth-century prophets, is 2 K. 17 16 sufficient proof that this worship was one of the sins which brought destruction on Israel.

Jeremiah predicts that the bones of all classes in Jerusalem shall be exhumed and spread out before 'the sun and the moon and the whole host of heaven whom they have loved and served and followed and consulted and prostrated themselves to' (Jer. 8 2). The deuteronomic law pronounces the penalty of death against the man or woman who worships the sun or the moon or the host of heaven (17 3); cp also Dt. 4 15 19. The introduction of this cult in Jerusalem is ascribed to Manasseh, who built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the temple (2 K. 21 3 5); the apparatus of this worship, with other heathenish paraphernalia, was destroyed by Josiah in his reformation (621 B.C.) and the priests put out of the way (2 K. 23 4 *f.*). The altars of the astral cults were under the open sky, frequently upon the flat roofs of houses (Jer. 19 13 Zeph. 1 5);[1] probably the altars on the roof—the 'upper story' of Ahaz—(2 K. 23 12),[2] apparently an addition to the temple, were of this sort. Sacrifices were burnt upon them (2 K. 23 5). The heavenly bodies needed no idol, they were visible gods;[3] and although various symbols of the sun are found in Assyria as well as Egypt, it is not certain that there were such in Jerusalem. Horses dedicated to the sun (cp NATHAN-MELECH) were stabled at one of the entrances to the temple, apparently in an annex on the western side (2 K. 23 11), and with them chariots of the sun. The horses, animals sacred to the sun (Bochart, 1 141 *ff.*, ed. Rosenm.), were not kept for sacrifice but, harnessed to the chariots, were driven in procession; according to the Jewish commentators, driven out (toward the E.) to meet the sun at his rising. These horses were probably, as elsewhere, white.[4] The rite, one of those imitative acts of cultus which have their ultimate origin in mimetic magic, probably came to the Jews from Assyria,[5] though the special sacredness of the horse to the sun seems rather to be of Iranian origin.[6] Another rite is described by Ezekiel (8 16): in the inner court of the temple, at the very door of the ναός, between the prostyle and the great altar, men were standing with their backs to the sanctuary of Yahwè and their faces to the E., prostrating themselves eastward to the sun. The words in the next verse, translated in RV 'they put the branch to their nose,' have been thought to refer to another feature of the ritual, similar to the use of the bunch of twigs called *baresma*, held by the Persians before the mouth when at prayer; not only this interpretation, however, but the connection of the words with the sun-worship of *v.* 16, is uncertain.[7] The throwing of kisses to the sun and moon is alluded to in Job (31 26-28) as a superstitious custom;[8] it corresponds to the actual kissing of an idol (1 K. 19 18 Hos. 13 2).

In the references to this worship, beside sun and moon, two other names appear which require a word of comment. One of these, *ṣĕbā hăš-šāmáim* (צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם), 'the host of heaven' (𝔊 in Dt. ὁ κόσμος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, elsewhere δύναμις, στρατιά; Vg. *militia*), is a collective term, sometimes apparently including the sun and moon, sometimes designating the other heavenly bodies; see Dt. 4 19, 'the sun and moon and stars—all the host of heaven.' The word 'host' (*ṣābā*) is the common Hebrew word for army; the stars, conceived as living beings, not only by their number (Jer. 33 22), but also by their orderly movement as though under command,

[1] Cp Strabo, xvi. 4 26 (p. 784), Nabatæans, to the sun; Isaac of Antioch, ed. Bickell, 2 210; *Tos. Zĕbāchīm*, 13 15.

[2] The words עלית אחז seem to be a gloss.

[3] Lucian, *Dea Syria*, 34; Julian, *Orat.* 4; Wisd. 13 2 *f.*, cp 10 *ff.*

[4] See HORSE, § 4.

[5] See Jensen, *Kosmol.* 108 *ff.*; cp Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. Ass.* 176 *f.*

[6] See Hehn. *Kulturpflanzen u. Hausthiere*(6), 42 *ff.*

[7] See Toy, 'Ezek.' (*SBOT*); Kraetzschmar, 'Ezech.' (*HK*).

[8] Lucian, *De saltatione*, chap. 17; Tertull. *Apol.* chap. 16 etc.; Scholz, *Götzendienst*, 55.

resembled an army in the field.[1] In at least one old passage, the phrase 'the host of heaven' designates the beings (cp 'a certain spirit,' *v.* 21) who form Yahwè's court and execute his will (1 K. 22 19 *ff.*, Micaiah's vision; cp also Josh. 5 13 *f.*).[2] It is unnecessary to suppose that the author's conception here is essentially different from that implied in the more common use of the phrase, as though in the latter the stars were meant as merely astronomical bodies and in the former 'angels'; unnecessary, therefore, to seek a remote connection between senses which only our modern ideas have separated.[3] The 'host of heaven' are the ministers of Yahwè.[4]

The other word, *mazzālōth*, occurs only in 2 K. 23 5 (מַזָּלוֹת, 𝔊 *μαζουρωθ*, Vg. *duodecim signa*, Pesh. *mauzlāthā*, Tg. מַזָּלָתָא), and—if the words are rightly identified—in Job 38 32 (מַזָּרוֹת), and is variously understood of the signs of the zodiac (so Jerome above), or the planets. It appears to be a loan-word from Assyr. *manzaltu*, 'station, abode,' and points to the origin of the religion.[5] For another cult of this class see QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

We have seen that the worship of the 'sun and moon and the whole host of heaven' came in under Assyrian influence in the seventh century; it flourished under Manasseh; was temporarily suppressed, with other foreign religions, by Josiah in 621; but sprang up again after his death, and continued in full vigour down to the fall of the kingdom of Judah in 586; nor did that catastrophe extinguish it (see QUEEN OF HEAVEN, § 1). We cannot doubt that astrological divination, if not the worship of the heavenly bodies, was one of the strongest temptations of heathenism to the Jews in Babylonia (see Is. 47 13, cp Dan. 2 2 etc.).

6. History.

The development of theological monotheism involved the assertion of Yahwè's supremacy over the heavenly bodies: he created them, he leads out their host in its full number, calls them all by name, so great is his power not one of them dares be missing (Is. 40 26, cp 45 12 Gen. 1 14 *ff.* Neh. 9 6). They are not mere luminaries set in the sky, but superhuman beings; it is by Yahwè's ordinance that the nations worship them (Dt. 4 19 *f.*, cp 32 8 𝔊, Jubilees, 15 31 *f.*); the final judgment falls no less upon the high host on high, who guide and govern the nations in history, than on the kings of the earth on earth; they shall together be shut up in prison (Is. 24 21-23, Enoch 18 13-16 21 1-6, Rev. 9 1 *f.* 11; cp Dan. 8 10 *f.*).[6]

Philo is therefore in accord not only with Greek thinkers but with the OT in representing the stars as intelligent living beings; they are of a 'divine and happy and blessed nature,' nay, 'manifest and perceptible gods'—expressions which, as he means them, are not incompatible with his monotheism.[7] The Essenes are said to have observed certain religious customs which imply peculiar veneration for the sun;[8] but whatever may have been the origin of the practices, it may be assumed that they had found in them some symbolical meaning in harmony with the fundamental dogma of their Judaism.

G. F. M.

NAUM (ΝΑΟΥΜ [Ti. WH]), Lk. 3 25 AV, RV NAHUM (*q.v.*).

NAVE. 1. גַּב, *gab*; ΝΩΤΟΝ, ΝΩΤΟϹ; 1 K. 7 33 AV, RV 'felloe.' See WHEEL, 1 *a*.

2. חִשֻּׁר, *ḥiššūr*, 1 K. 7 33 RV, AV 'spoke.' See WHEEL, 1 *c*.

NAVE (נוּן; ΝΑΥΗ [BℵAC]; *nave*), Ecclus. 46 1, AV, RV NUN (*q.v.*).

1 See STARS, § 4.
2 See ANGELS, § 2.
3 So, *e.g.*, Driver in Hastings' *BD* 2 430.
4 On later passages of similar tenor, see below, § 6.
5 Del. *Prol.* 142; *Ass. HWB* 457; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 348; cp MAZZALOTH, STARS, § 3, *d*.
6 See Baudissin, *Stud.* 1 118 *ff.*; Smend, *ZATW* 4 200 (1884); Duhm, *Jesaia*, *loc.* etc.
7 Drummond, *Philo*, 1 283; see also Baudissin, *Stud.* 1 116 *ff.*
8 Jos. *BJ* ii. 8 5; see ESSENES, § 5.

NAVY. 1. אֳנִי, ΝΑΥϹ, *classis*, 1 K. 9 26 (EV 'navy of ships'), 27, 10 11 22. See SHIP.

2. *στόλος*, 1 Macc. 1 17 (Vg. *navium multitudo*, RVmg. 'armament'), 2 Macc. 12 9 (Vg. *naves*, RV 'fleet') 14 1 (Vg. *naves*, RV 'fleet'). See SHIP.

NAZARENES (ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΙ [Ti. WH]), the 'sect' (*αἵρεσις*) whose 'ringleader' (*πρωτοστάτης*), according to the orator TERTULLUS (*q.v.*), was Paul (Acts 24 5). 'Nazarenes' at once suggests 'Nazareth'; Blass thinks that there is an implication of contempt. But was 'Jesus of Nazareth' a contemptuous title? All that we can say is that 'Nazarenes' is specifically Jewish, as 'Christians' or 'Chrestians' (see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, § 1) is specifically Gentile. It seems originally to have meant 'Galilæans,' and to have expressed the same historical fact as the accusation formulated in Lk. 23 5 (cp Acts 10 37), 'He stirs up the people, teaching throughout all Judæa, and beginning from Galilee unto this place.' A Jewish-Christian sect afterwards appropriated the term.

At the time of Epiphanius the sect was to be found in Coele-Syria, Decapolis (Pella), and Basanitis (Cocabe). According to that authority (*Pan.* 29 7) they were Jews pure and simple, but recognised the new covenant as well as the old, and believed in the resurrection, and in the one God and his Son Jesus Christ. Tertullus, however, is made to use the term Nazarenes in the broad sense of 'followers of Jesus'; it is associated no doubt with disparaging terms, but is not in itself disparaging.

NAZARETH (ΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ and ΝΑΖΑΡΕΤ are best attested; **Ναζαρα** [Ti. WH] is found in Mt. 4 13 [ℵbB* 33], *-αθ* [Δ], *-ετ* [B2], *-εθ* [ℵ*D] and in Lk. 4 16 *-α* [ℵB* 33], *-αθ* [Δ], *-ατ* [A], *-εδ* [D]; Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, 1 319 2 421 3 670 argues strongly for Ναζαρα), whence **Nazarene** (*Ναζαρηνός* [Ti. WH], Mk. 1 24 10 47 [BLΔ], *-ορηνος* [D], *-ωραιος* [ℵAC]; 14 67 *-αρηνος* [BCL], *-ορηνος* [D], *-ωραιος* [Δ]; 16 6 *-αρηνος* [ℵ, etc.], *-ωραιος* [LΔ]; Lk. 4 34 *-ορηνος* [D*] 24 19 [ℵBL], *-ωραιος* [AD]. *Ναζωραῖος* [Ti. WH], Mt. 2 23 26 71 Lk. 18 37, *-αρηνος* [D, etc.]; Jn. 18 5, *-αρηνος* [D, etc.]; 7; 19 19; also seven or, including Acts 9 5, eight times in Acts)

A 'city of Galilee,' the residence of Joseph and Mary; known as Jesus' 'own country' (*πατρίς*), because till his baptism he resided there with his family (Mt. 4 13 21 11 Mk. 1 9 Lk. 1 26 2 4 39 51 4 16 Jn. 1 46 *f.* [45 *f.*] Acts 10 38). From Nazareth Jesus derived his Talmudic name of 'Jesus the Nazarene' (יֵשׁוּ הַנּוֹצְרִי *Sanh.* 43 *a* 107 *b*, *Sōṭ.* 47 *a*), and his disciples the name 'Nazarenes' (נוֹצְרִים *Taʿăn.* 27 *b*). In the Gospels, too, and in Acts Jesus is constantly called 'Jesus of Nazareth,' and in Acts 24 5 Tertullus calls the Christians 'Nazarenes' (cp Mt. 2 23, on which see below).[1] Nazareth being thus closely identified with Jesus, it is strange to find that until the reign of Constantine (Epiph. *adv. Hær.* 1 136) it had none but Jewish inhabitants—a fact which is obviously fatal to the so-called traditional sites in the present town. In the time of Epiphanius there were certainly Christians at Nazareth; but it was not yet much visited by pilgrims,[2] for Jerome in the same century speaks of Paula as passing with all speed through Nazareth 'the Lord's nursing-mother' (*Ep.* 86).

1. Associations and history.

In the sixth century, however, a large basilica stood there (Antoninus), and in the fifth a church over the house of Mary (Arculf). The place suffered severely from the Moslem conquest; but the Crusaders honoured it, not only by erecting churches there, but by transferring thither the see of Scythopolis. The expulsion of the Franks again reduced Nazareth to insignificance; but since the eighteenth century it has gradually grown in importance, and now numbers about 10,000 souls. Its secluded position, however, and the want of springs (there is only one), render this prosperity, which seems to have temporary causes, rather precarious.

The modern *en-Nāṣira* (as it is called by the natives) is situated in Lower Galilee, N. of the great plain of Esdraelon, and nearly midway between the Lake of Gennesaret and the Mediterranean. It runs up the sides of a hill

2. Modern sites.

1 The Oriental Christians, however, call themselves *naṣāra* (sing. *naṣrāni*).
2 Was this due to indignation at the obstinate unbelief of the people of Nazareth, and their reported attempt on the life of their Prophet (Lk. 4 28-30)?

facing the E. and SE., in a basin entirely shut in by hills, except on the S., where a narrow rocky gorge leads to the great plain. Whether the earlier city occupied the same site, is doubtful; there are said to be traces of buildings just above. The monks of Nazareth assert that in Christ's time the city extended as far as the foot of the Jebel Kafsy (or if not, that it was entirely situated there), a mountain with a precipice overhanging the plain of Esdraelon, nearly 2 m. S. by E. of the present Nazareth. This is connected with the latest and clumsiest of all the Christian legends of Nazareth, and such a devout Roman Catholic as Guérin, though he treats the legend of the 'Mount of Precipitation' with respect, rejects without hesitation the theory on which it has come to be based.[1]

As Guérin and Robinson agree, there is no reason whatever why some precipice of the north-western hill (the *Jebel es-Sīḥ*) should not have been the scene of the 'precipitation' (κατακρημνίσαι 'to hurl headlong down') intended by the writer of Lk. 4 29. There is a place by the Maronite church where the hill 'breaks off in a perpendicular wall 40 or 50 ft. in height'; this, Robinson thinks, may well have been the spot whither the Jews led Jesus. The difficulty is that in Mt. 13 54-58 and Mk. 6 1-6 we have a form of the tradition which is strictly inconsistent with that in Lk. 4 16-31. There are indeed some features in Lk.'s version which have illustrative value for the ministry of Jesus (viz. *a*, his choice of Is. 61 1 2*a* as a lesson in the synagogue; *b*, the use which he makes of the proverb, 'Physician, heal thyself,[2] and *c*, his striking applications of details in the lives of Elijah and Elisha); but two even of these appear to be inconsistent with the version in Mt. and Mk., and to have been misplaced; and most certainly the story of the frenzied Nazarenes dragging their victim to a precipice cannot be reconciled with the natural and probable tradition in the two other Gospels. It is best not to foster historical illusions; a true life of Jesus can well afford to spare the improbable story of the dishonour put upon him by his own townsmen.

If sites consecrated by the presence of Jesus ***must*** be had, the two spots which have most claim to be so regarded are: (1) the spring known variously as 'Mary's Spring,' 'Jesus' Spring,' and 'Gabriel's Spring,' and (2) the summit of the mountain above Nazareth. (1) Of the spring, Socin remarks that 'as this is the only spring which the town possesses, it is all but certain that the child Jesus and his mother were once among its regular frequenters.'[3] (2) Anyone oppressed by the limited life of a village would naturally climb the *Jebel es-Sīḥ* (1602 ft. above the sea), and he would be amply rewarded for his pains. Far and near, spots famous in Israelitish history, as well as fair to look upon, are spread out before the eye. Mt. Tabor, much of the Great Plain, Mt. Carmel and the Bay of Acre, the fine plain of el-Baṭṭōf with Ṣefūriyeh (Sepphoris) at its S. end, Ṣafed on its hill, and the distant snows of Hermon —such is the noble panorama of the Nazareth mountain. Most important is it, however, to remember that in the time of Jesus, there were places not far off, throbbing with the tumultuous industrial life of the present. If

[1] Guérin (*Galilée*, 1 97) suggests that 'the mountain' (τοῦ ὄρους) in Lk. 4 29 may mean all the heights around Nazareth collectively! The truth is, however, that the precipice was selected solely on the ground of its prominence, when seen from Esdraelon. The legend is of very late origin.

[2] The natural interpretation of 'Ye will surely say to me,' etc. (Lk. 4 23), is that, according to the Nazarenes, their gifted townsman ought to have proved his supernatural capacities by doing something to raise himself in the social scale. Poverty was no better than a disease. 'Thou clever physician, who canst cast out demons from others, produce gold and silver and fine clothes for thyself, and we will believe thee. Make thyself fit for the highest society, and cease to consort with the meanest and vilest. Then we will give up calling thee "the carpenter," and if thou shouldest aim even at the Messianic crown, the Galileans shall be at thy side.' The evangelist himself seems to have misunderstood this traditional saying of Christ.

[3] Baed. *Pal.*(3), 282.

the Nazareth which we know to-day is on the site of the Nazareth of Jesus, we can understand, as we gaze from that lofty observatory, the combination of sympathy with reserve or detachment which characterised Jesus. Retired, but not shut off from the world—haunted, but not disturbed, by a sense of adjacent populousness—Jesus would have found leisure in such a nook as this to brood over spiritual problems and the true wants of his people. Dean Farrar has given eloquent expression to the longing of the Christian heart to feel that here at least are 'holy fields' which the feet of Jesus have trodden.[1]

At this point, however, the warning of Dean Stanley not to build our faith on symbols and sacred sites may well be referred to. It is very doubtful whether the beautiful mountain village of Nazareth was really the dwelling-place of Jesus. No such town as Nazareth is mentioned in the OT, in Josephus, or in the Talmud.

3. The name doubtful.

It has been suggested indeed that Nazareth may be a corruption of En Sārīd—*i.e.*, 'the fountain of Sarid'; Sārīd is the name of a place on the S. border of Zebulun in the MT of Josh. 19 10 12.[2] Unfortunately, the name is most probably incorrectly read (see SARID), and the supposed corruption is difficult to comprehend. As to the Talmud; it is supposed by some that Nazareth is the 'white house on the mountain'[3] (בית לבן בהר), which was one of the places that supplied wine for the drink-offerings; and this has been illustrated by the statement of Quaresmius that Nazareth was formerly called *Medina abiat*—*i.e.*, 'civitas alba' (?). Quaresmius, however, is no older than the sixteenth century, and the 'white house' of the Mishna is probably to be identified with LEBONAH (*q.v.*). The earliest mention of the name Nazareth (נצרת) is thought to be in an elegy of Kalir for the ninth day of Ab, where 'משכרת נ is the designation of a 'course' of priests settled at Nazareth. Kalir's date is perhaps 900 A.D., but the elegy is based on an ancient Midrash now lost.[4] This, however, is rather vague; and the question would still remain, What is meant by Nazareth?

Was Nazareth originally the name of a town (or village) at all? There are two NT passages which may well suggest a doubt. One is Mt. 2 23, 'And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene.' The passage has been much discussed, but without sure result. Most commentators have seen in it an allusion to the prophecy of the 'shoot' נֵצֶר, *nēṣer*) in Is. 11 1*b*; so already *eruditi Hebræi* in Jerome's time. It is hardly conceivable, however, that the synonymous word *ṣémaḥ* (צֶמַח), which had long been in possession of the field as a Messianic title, should have been displaced among the Christians by *nēṣer* (נֵצֶר). It is rather an allusion to Is. 9 1*f.*, 'the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, . . . Galilee of the Gentiles,' which is quoted in Mt. 4 13-16 with reference to Jesus' dwelling in Capernaum, but which was surely applied by the first Christians to his early ministry by the Sea of Galilee—not to his residence at Capernaum, nor to his earlier dwelling at Nazareth, but to his Galilæan ministry as a whole. In a word, Nazareth ought to mean 'Galilee,' and Nazarene ought to mean 'Galilæan.'

The other passage is Jn. 1 45*f.*, where Philip tells Nathanael that he and others have found the Great One spoken of in the scriptures, and Nathanael returns answer, 'Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?' In passing, we cannot avoid correcting the text of *v.* 46. It is plain, both from the context and from the parallel passage Jn. 7 41, that Nathanael means, not to put a slight on the moral character of the Nazarenes, but to affirm as the result of his study of the scriptures, that the Messiah cannot proceed from Galilee. Therefore, τι ἀγαθόν must have taken the place of some title of the Messiah. The right reading must be ὁ ἅγιος, 'the Holy One,' which is a title of the Messiah in Acts 3 14 Rev. 3 7 (cp John 6 69, reading ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ, with WH and RV, Mk. 1 24 Lk. 4 34).

[1] *Life of Christ*, 78.

[2] Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 1 146.

[3] Mishna, *Mĕnāḥōth*, 9 7.

[4] Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, 82, 85, 190; cp 117.

τι in τι ἀγαθόν was originally ται (a dittogram); αγαθ is a corruption of αγιος (θ and σ were confounded in pronunciation); ον may perhaps come from ο, *i.e.*, ὁ, transposed).

Thus the passage becomes, ‘Can the Holy One proceed from Nazareth,’ and ‘Nazareth’ (cp Jn. 7 41, and also Mt. 26 69 with *v.* 71) means ‘Galilee.’ We cannot, indeed, prove this beyond dispute; but we can perhaps make it as good as certain from a critical point of view. The form Nazareth is probably less correct than Nazara, and Nazara implies a Hebrew form נצר, which is also required to account for נוצרי, the Talmudic word for Nazarene (see above, § 1). It is probably the same name which enters into the name Gennesar—a more correct form than GENNESARET (*q.v.*), found in 1 Macc. 11 67 [Aℵ c.a, c.b], in Mt. 14 34 (D*), and Mk. 6 53 (D), in Josephus, and in all the Jewish and Christian Aramaic versions.[1]

We can now understand an enigmatical phrase in the Talmud. According to Neubauer,[2] בית לחם צרייה (*Mĕgilla*, 70*a*) is equivalent to ב׳ ל׳ נצרייה—*i.e.*, ‘Bethlehem near Nazareth,’ or, ‘in the district of Nazareth’; it is to the Bethlehem in Zebulun that reference is made. Grätz differs slightly from this; he thinks that the northern Bethlehem was, in the post-exilic period, called Nazareth, so that צרייה, or נצרייה, somehow means Nazareth. The truth surely is that *Bethlehem nōṣĕrīyyah* means ‘the Galilæan Bethlehem.’ Just as the southern Bethlehem, however, was sometimes called ‘Bethlehem (of) Judah’ (so five times in OT, cp also Mic. 5 2), so, we need not doubt, the northern Bethlehem was called ביתלחם נצר, ‘Bethlehem (of) Nazar (or Neṣar)’—*i.e.*, Bethlehem of Galilee.

This furnishes a key to the famous problem as to the birthplace of Jesus. Why was Nazareth called the

4. The birthplace of Jesus.

πατρίς or ‘fatherland’ of Jesus if he was really born, not at Nazareth, but at Bethlehem? And how came Joseph and Mary, who apparently felt a strong attraction to Nazareth, to go to Bethlehem-Judah at all? Note, by the way, that Mt. 1 18-25 does not name the birthplace of Jesus, and that Mk. and Jn. pass over the birth of Jesus altogether, allowing us to suppose that his childhood and youth were altogether passed at Nazareth. To the question why Nazareth was called the fatherland of Jesus, no direct answer is furnished. All that Mt. can tell us is that Joseph was afraid to go into Judæa because of Archelaus, and therefore ‘turned aside into the parts of Galilee, and came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth.’ To the question why Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem-judah, Mt. virtually replies that the Christ had to be born there because of the prophecy in Mic. 5 2[1], whilst Lk.'s answer is that Joseph, who had previously dwelt at Nazareth, was obliged to go up (with his wife) to Bethlehem in Judæa, because of the census of Cyrenius. The statement of Lk. is accepted by conservative scholars on the ground that recent researches (see QUIRINIUS) have made it probable that one of several periodical censuses took place in Palestine as elsewhere in 8 B.C. or in 6 A.D. But obviously the reasoning is imperfect. If the Gospels agreed as to the main circumstances of the birth of Jesus, so that we could assume a popular tradition, then the historical plausibility of Lk.'s setting would be an argument in favour of the tradition. Such, however, is not the case. The discrepancies of the evangelists compel us to make some hypothesis, and the hypothesis which best accounts for the phenomena is, not that which is generally current among NT critics, and is vigorously maintained by Keim (*Jesus of Nazara*, 2 108)—viz. that the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem was regarded as an indispensable sign of the Messiahship, but that, in the earliest form of the evangelical tradition, Jesus was said to have been born in Bethlehem-Nazareth (= Bethlehem of Galilee). The Bethlehem of Zebulun (Josh. 19 15), about 7 m. WNW. of Nazareth and a somewhat less distance from Ṣefūrīyeh, is the city meant (see BETHLEHEM ii.). The title Bethlehem-Nazareth was misunderstood by some of the transmitters of the tradition, so that while some said, ‘Jesus was born at Bethlehem,’ others said, ‘Jesus was born at Nazareth.’ ‘Bethlehem’ without any explanatory addition was naturally supposed to be the southern Bethlehem, and the well-known narratives so poetic, so full of spiritual suggestion, in Mt. 2 and Lk. 2 1-20 (which are unsupported by the other Gospels) have arisen in consequence. To this theory it is no valid objection that it involves going behind the present evangelical narratives; that is in fact indispensable to historical criticism,—we have to do so continually in OT criticism, and no good reason has been offered for invariably acquiescing in the oldest extant forms of the evangelic traditions. We must also avoid exaggerating the influence (real as it doubtless was) of OT prophecy on the traditional narratives of the life of Jesus. It is all the more necessary to confront the complex critical problem bravely, because, in spite of the existence of rock-cut tombs up the hill, towards the W., we cannot perhaps venture to assert positively that there was a ‘city called Nazareth’ in Jesus' time.

What the meaning of Nazareth (*i.e.*, Galilee) is, can hardly be made out. The current explanations, ‘guard,’ ‘branch,’ ‘flower’ (Jerome, *Ep. xlvi. ad Marcellam*, ‘florem Galilææ’), have a very insecure basis.

The historical result relative to Jesus' birthplace here arrived at agrees with that of Grätz (*MGWJ*, 29 [1880], 481-484); it had already been hinted by Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talm.*, 1868, p. 191.

5. Literature.

Robinson, *BR*, 3 183-200; Guérin, *Galilée*, 1 (1880), 83-102; Tobler, *Nazareth in Palästina* (1868); *PEF Mem.* 1 275 *ff.* 328; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, 1 146 233; GAS, *HG*, 432-435.

T. K. C.

NAZIRITE, AV **Nazarite** (נָזִיר, or נְזִיר אֱלֹהִים, *i.e.*, ‘consecrated to God’; ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ, ΗΥΓΜΕΝΟΣ [in Nu.], ΑΓΙΑΣΜΟΣ, ΗΓΙΑΣΜΕΝΟΣ [in Am. and in Judg. [A]], ΝΑΖΕΙΡ, ΝΑΖ[Ε]ΙΡΑΙΟΣ, also ΑΓΙΟΣ [ΑΓΙΟΝ] ΘΕΟΥ[1] [in Judg.]) was the name among the Hebrews for one who had in a peculiar sense separated or devoted himself to Yahwè[2] (in Nu. 6 2 *f.*, 5 *f.*, 12 הִזִּיר ‘to take the Nazirite vow of separation or consecration’; cp the noun *nēzer* [נֵזֶר], applied in the same chapter to the consecration of the Nazirite; and cp CONSECRATE). The same word (*nĕzīr*) occurs in Syriac—not as a mere loan-word;—it is applied, *e.g.*, to maidens consecrated to the service of Belthis;[3] in Hebrew the best rendering is ‘devotee.’ Our first question, in considering the *nāzīr* or ‘devotee,’ has regard to the essential conditions of his state.

1. Regulations.

The special characteristics of a Nazirite devotee were unshorn locks and abstinence from wine (Judg. 13 5, cp Moore, *ad loc.*; 1 S. 1 11 Am. 2 11 12); full regulations for the legal observance of the Nazirite vow are given in Nu. 6, where every product of the grape vine is forbidden, and the Nazirite is further enjoined to abstain from approaching a dead body, even if it be that of his nearest relative. The law in question is not pre-exilic, and is plainly directed to the regulation of a known usage. It contemplates the assumption of the vow for a limited period, and gives particular details as to the atoning ceremonies at the sanctuary by which the vow must be recommenced if broken by accidental defilement, and

1 Cp Wellh. *IJG*(2), 255, who thinks that the form ‘Gennesaret’ arose by contamination with Kinnereth or with Nazareth. He refers to Halévy as the author of the explanation of *nesâr* in Gennesar as = Galilee, and of Nazarene as = Galilæan. According to Buhl, however (*Pal.* 113, n. 229), Halévy does not explain Nesâr as ‘Galilee,’ but as a city called, from its inhabitants, ‘city of carpenters’ נָסְרַת נַסָּר.

2 *Géogr. du Talm.* 189.

1 So Judg. 13 7 16 17 [B] (ναζ[ε]ιραῖος, AL). Nestle thinks that this use of ἅγιος (ἅγιον) may illustrate τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον in Lk. 1 35.

2 On the relation of נזר, ‘to consecrate,’ and נדר, ‘to vow,’ see We. *Heid.*(2), 143; and especially *RS*(2), 482 *f.*

3 *S. Isaac. Ant.* (Bickell), 1 212; *RS*(2), 483.

the closing sacrifice, at which the Nazirite, on the expiry of his vow, cuts off his hair and burns it on the altar, thus returning to ordinary life. Among the later Jews the Nazirite vow of course corresponded with the legal ordinance, which was further developed by the scribes in their usual manner (Mishna, *Nāzir*; cp 1 Macc. 3 49 Acts 21 23 *f.*, Jos. *Ant.* xix. 6 1, *BJ* ii. 15 1).

How far, we must now ask, does this ordinance agree with pre-exilic (*i.e.*, post-Solomonic[1]) usage? The two passages generally appealed to are Judg. 13 and 1 S. 1. An objection, however, will presently be raised to the acceptance of the second as an authority for the early Nazirite usage, and even as regards the first it is not impossible that in its present form it may have received modification. This remark applies to Judg. 13 4 7 14, where the details imposing an elaborately strict regimen may perhaps be due to an interpolator (Böhme). This at least is certain, that the only detail of the later Nazirite vow which is authenticated by references in the Samson-legends is the wearing long hair. That the hero was regarded originally as an abstainer from wine is by no means probable, and it is evident that he did not avoid impurity, for he is said to have touched the carcase of a lion, and to have been often in contact with the slain. Of Samuel too (if 1 S. 1 may here be quoted) we are only told that his mother vowed to give him to Yahwè all his days, and that no razor should come upon his head (1 S. 1 11; note the addition of 𝔊, 'wine and strong liquor he shall not drink'). It is not strictly critical, however, to refer to Samuel, for he is nowhere called a Nazirite (Sirach's description [Ecclus. 46 13*c*] 'a *nāzīr* of Yahwè in prophecy,' נזיר י' נבואה, does not count), and from Ezek. 44 20 we may probably infer that letting the hair grow was an ancient priestly custom.[2] Rightly does Wellhausen assert that according to the true text of 1 S. 1 11 Samuel was neither a *nāthin* (𝔊 δώσω δοτόν, cp Nu. 3 9 18 6) nor a *nāzīr*.

2. Pre-exilic usages.

It is plain therefore that the conditions of Naziriteship in ancient times were much less strict than afterwards; plain, too, that the framers of the legal ordinance had no comprehension of the original Nazirite vow. In the case of Samson, who is the only known example of a Nazirite in early times, the long hair is a mark of consecration to God (נזיר אלהים, Judg. 13 5) for a special service to his people. The hair being a symbol and centre of vitality (see CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 2; HAIR, § 2), to leave it uncut during an arduous undertaking in which the divine aid had been specially implored,[3] and to sacrifice it when success had been obtained, were equally natural. Examples of this primitive custom are given by Spencer, *De Legibus Heb.* 3 1, cap 6; but the most important parallels come from Arabia.

There the vow was generally one of war or revenge (*Hamāsa*, 167; 'Antara, *Mo'al.* 1 74; *Moh. in Medina*, 201), and till it was accomplished the man who vowed left his hair unshorn and unkempt, and abstained from wine, women, ointment, and perfume. Such is the figure of Shanfara as described in his *Lāmiya*. The observances of the *ihrām* belong to the same usage (see *Ency. Brit.* 15 674; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 333), and we find that at Ṭāif it was customary to shear the hair at the sanctuary after a journey (*Moh. in Medina*, ed. Wellh. 381). Cp also Schwally, *Kriegsalterthümer*, i. (1901).

The difference which may be noticed between the Arabic usage and the easy Naziriteship of Samson, need not surprise us. After all, SAMSON [*q.v.*] is not a historical character, but a product of the popular wit, which vivified dim historical traditions of a long contest with the Philistines, and refused no detail suggested by mythic or other stories of heroic men. That Nazirites in pre-exilic times abstained from wine, need not be doubted. Whether the enjoyment of every 'product of the vine' was forbidden by usage, seems more uncertain; the account of the Rechabites in Jer. hardly justifies us in asserting this.[1]

The spirit of warlike patriotism that characterised the old religion of Israel naturally produced Nazirites, and we may assume that the vow of such persons resembled Shanfara's more closely than Samson's. There is an unmistakable trace of this asceticism in parts of the life of David (see 2 S. 11 11 and perhaps 1 S. 21 4 *f.*). We need not suppose, however, that the ancient Nazirites were exclusively warriors. They were also speaking examples of the old Israelitish ideal of life, and may therefore have been drawn from different classes. From the allusions in Am. 2 11 *f.*[2] we are led to suppose that at one time they had an importance—perhaps even an organisation—parallel to that of the prophets, which the true servants of Yahwè recognised as divinely sanctioned, while, on the other hand, the Canaanised popular religion of the eighth century B.C. made light of an institution that belonged to a very different religious type from Canaanite nature-worship. The Nazirites described by Amos have also a parallel (so far as not drinking wine is concerned) in the RECHABITES [*q.v.*].

3. Later developments.

By the sixth century B.C. the Nazirite vow has lost its old simplicity and much of its old importance. The Priestly Code knows only of a temporary Naziriteship, and presupposes that the vow may be taken by women; the directions are given in full in Nu. 6 (see above, § 1).

It may be noted here that in Lam. 4 7 the rendering 'her Nazirites' (AV) is altogether opposed to the context; RV gives 'her nobles.' Whether, however, נָזִיר ought to be interpreted thus widely, may be doubted. It is possible to read רוֹנֶיהָ, 'her magnates'; the transposition of letters is very easy, and we are spared the necessity of *supposing* a rare meaning, 'noble,' for נָזִיר. In Lev. 25 5 11 it is doubtful whether נָזִיר ought to be rendered 'an unpruned vine.' Gray, indeed, would use this as a proof that the secondary sense of the word 'Nazirite' (a person with unshorn hair) had overpowered the primary sense of 'devotee.' But surely it is more natural (with Grätz) to emend נזיר into בציר (vintage), corresponding in *v.* 5 to קציר (harvest).

On this we shall not dwell (see Dillmann's commentary); we pass on at once to the NT, and notice that some commentators find the Nazirite vow referred to in Acts 21 23 *ff.* No less a person than the apostle Paul is supposed by them to have taken such a vow, but without waiting till he had fulfilled the minimum period of thirty days' residence in Palestine required by the school of Shammai[3] (cp ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, § 7). This, however, is by no means certain. Cp also Lk. 1 15 (John the Baptist), and the traditional account of James the Just (see JAMES, 3).

4. NT references.

5. Literature.

Dillmann, *Num., Deut., Jos.*; Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 152 *f.*; W. R. Smith, *RS*(2), 332 *f.*, 482; We. *Heid.*(1), 117 *ff.* 166 *f.*; Stade, *GVI*, 1 479; Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttest. Rel.-gesch.*(2), 93-96; Nowack, *Arch.* 2 133 *ff.* (with reff.); Benzinger, *Arch.* 429 *ff.*; Grill, in *Jahrbb. f. prot. Theol.*, 1880, pp. 645 *ff.*; G. B. Gray, in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1 201 *ff.*; Grüneisen, *Der Ahnencultus*, 1900, pp. 46 71 92 112 *ff.*; Schwally, *Kriegsalterthümer*, 1901 (ingenious).

W. R. S.—T. K. C.

NEAH (הַנֵּעָה; ΑΟΖΑ [B], ΝΟΥΑ [L], ΑΝΝ. [A]), in Zebulun (Josh. 19 13†), possibly a corruption of NEIEL [*q.v.*], which appears in *v.* 27, very near the valley of Iphtah-el (also mentioned in *v.* 14), in the delimitation of Asher.

1 Post-Solomonic, because the date of the documents is much later than that of the events professedly described in them.

2 *RS*(2), 483; Smend, *AT Rel. Gesch.*(2), 95, n. 2; cp HAIR, § 3.

3 See Judg. 5 2, according to WRS's interpretation. Cp, however, HAIR, § 3.

1 It may be questioned whether the Kenite kinsmen and allies of the primitive benē Israel can have been really opposed to the cultivation of the vine. The Negeb was, in parts, a vine-producing country (see NEGEB).

2 The slight doubt expressed by G. B. Gray whether the Nazirites in the time of Amos were compelled to abstain from wine, seems hardly necessary.

3 The school of Hillel, however, declared that the residence must be for the whole time to which the original vow referred.

NEAPOLIS (νεα πολις, Acts 16 11; WH, νεα-πολις), the port at which Paul landed on the second day from Troas, when he sailed thence in response to the vision calling him to Macedonia. Originally belonging, like all this coast, as far as the Strymon, to Thrace,[1] Neapolis was at this time (about 50 A.D.) in the province of Macedonia. Its name ('New Town') would indicate that it was either a recent foundation or an older and unimportant place awakened to new life by the accession of fresh colonists—perhaps from Daton, which was in the neighbourhood (Strabo, 330, frag. 36, Δατηνῶν πόλις Νεάπολις καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Δάτον), if, indeed, Daton was not the original name of Neapolis. Doubtless the growth of Neapolis was closely associated with the rise of Philippi, the centre of the mining district on the farther side of Mt. Symbolum. Neapolis was the port of Philippi, about 10 m. inland (9 R. m., Appian, *BC* 4 106; cp *Itineraries*). It lay opposite the island of Thasos (Dio Cass. 47 35, κατ' ἀντιπέρας Θάσου). These indications point to the site of the modern *Kavalla*, which is situated on the bay of the same name, on a promontory with a harbour on either side. The triremes of Brutus and Cassius lay here at the time of the battle of Philippi (44 B.C.; Appian, *l.c.*). Remains of a Roman aqueduct, etc., and many inscriptions, are found at Kavalla; but these facts do not prevent Cousinéry from placing Neapolis at *Eski-Kavalla* (Old Kavalla), a deserted harbour about 10 m. to the W. (*Voyage dans la Macédoine*, 2 119 *f.*).

Ramsay points out that the writer of the narrative in Acts (in his view, Luke) 'hardly ever omits to name the harbours which Paul sailed from or arrived at, even though little or nothing in the way of incident occurred in them' (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 21). Having once mentioned Neapolis, he omits its name on the subsequent journeys (Acts 20 1 6). Here, as in other sea-ports, Paul apparently found no opening (cp the case of Seleucia, Acts 13 4; of Attalia, Act 14 25; of Cenchrea, Acts 18 18). W. J. W.

NEARIAH (נְעַרְיָה, § 37; but is it not like PELATIAH and SHEPHATIAH a distorted form of a gentilic? Cp also NOADIAH [Che.]—νωαδ[ε]ια [BA], νεαριου, νααριας [L]).

1. A descendant of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch. 3 22 *f.*
2. A Simeonite captain, temp. Hezekiah, 1 Ch. 4 42.

NEBAI, RV NOBAI (MT נוֹבָי), Neh. 10 19 [20], called in Ezra 10 43 NEBO (*q.v.*, iii. 2, end).

NEBAIOTH or NEBAJOTH (AV in Gen.; נְבָיוֹת, נְבָיֹת; ναβαιωθ, *NABAIOTH*), b. Ishmael, Gen. 25 13 (ναιβεωρ [E]) 36 3 (ναβαιωρ [*D*]), 1 Ch. 1 29 Is. 60 7. A North Arabian nomad people, mentioned with KEDAR [*q.v.*], just as the Nabaiti are mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions with the Kidrai and the Aribi. See NABATÆANS, and cp ISHMAEL, § 4 (1), also Glaser, *Skizze*, 2 266 *f.*, Hommel, *AHT* 275 (who connects the name with Nebo, on the analogy of Ashtaroth, Anathoth).

NEBALLAT (נְבַלָּט; ναβαλλατ [ℵ c.a mg. inf.], ναβαλατ [L], Bℵ*A om.), a Benjamite town, named with HADID and LOD, Neh. 11 34. Now *Beit Nebālā*, situated on a low hill, 3½ m. NE. of Lydda, and nearly 2 m. N. of Hadid. See Rob. *BR* 3 30; Guérin, *Sam.* 2 67 *f.*; *PEFM* 2 296.

NEBAT (נְבָט, cp Sab. אלמנבט נבטאל; ναβατ, ναβαθ [BAL]), the 'father' of JEROBOAM I. [*q.v.*] (1 K. 11 26 12 2 15 etc.), but properly a clan name of the type of 'Ishmael,' 'Jezreel' (see below).

Neubauer (*Stud. Bib.* 1 221) connects it with NABOTH [*q.v.*], the confusion of ט and ת being not impossible, and suggests that Nebaṭ and Naboth may both be connected with NEBAIOTH [*q.v.*], the N. Arabian Nabaiti (= נבית) of Ašūr-bani-pal, and the נבטו of the Nabatæan inscriptions (see NABATÆANS). We might almost as well compare the Babylonian Nabatu of the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III., Sargon, and Sennacherib,[2] who are Aramæans. True, the above Sabæan parallels suggest a different explanation: '[God is] splendour'; cp Ass. *nabāṭu*, 'to shine' (Del. *Prol.* 98). But we must perhaps not be too confident of the originality of the formation with *el*, 'God.'

T. K. C.

[1] Pliny (*HN* 4 18) reckons it Thracian; but Strabo (330) and Ptol. (3 13) connect it with Macedonia.

[2] See Schr. *KAT*(2), 147; *KGF* 99 *ff.*

NEBO (נְבוֹ), a Babylonian deity (Is. 46 1, ναβω [B Theod. Aq.], νεβους [Symm.], δαγων [ℵAQ]); *Nabū*, the patron of Borsippa, is meant. The proximity of Borsippa to Babylon naturally led to the association of Nabū with the still more popular Marduk (MERODACH). In the later theological system Nabū became Marduk's son. 'Every New Year's day the son paid a visit to his father, on which occasion the statue of Nabū was carried in solemn procession from Borsippa across the river, and along the main street of Babylon leading to the temple of Marduk; and in return the father deity accompanied his son part way on the trip back to E-Zida [the name of Nabū's temple at Borsippa].'[1] With the Mandæans and Ḥarranians Nabū was the deity corresponding to Hermes or Mercury; with the Babylonians, too, he was closely connected with the planet Mercury. One of the ideograms connects his name with *nabū*, 'to call, name, proclaim.' He was reckoned the originator of the art of writing on tablets. According to Gunkel[2] the mention in Ezek. 9 2 of a supernatural being (one of six) in human form, 'with a writer's inkhorn at his side,' is suggested by the descriptions of Nabū, who is not only the god of wisdom, but the herald of the gods (hence his name Papsukal, supreme, or sacred, messenger). His consort was named Tašmitum, with whom ASHIMA [*q.v.*] is by some identified. Whether we may venture to assume that the name of this Babylonian god attached itself to the Moabite and Judahite towns called Nebo, and to the mountain known as Nebo, and also entered into some personal names such as BARNABAS (for Barnebūs?) and MACHNADEBAI, seems to the present writer doubtful. It seems more probable that mutilation has taken place in some or all of these cases, and that Nĕbo comes in the case of Mt. Nebo from Negbu (see NEBO ii., § 2), and in the case of the other names from Nadabu (an old ethnic name; see NADAB). Cp the identification of the Moabite Nebo with NADABATH. See BABYLONIA, § 26.

T. K. C.

NEBO (נְבוֹ, ναβαυ [BAFL]). Nebo in P is the name of the mountain from which Moses surveyed the promised land, and where he died (Dt. 32 49 *f.* 34 1). It is also mentioned in the itinerary (Nu. 33 47) as a place before which the Israelites encamped, in the mountains of 'the ABARIM' (*q.v.*)—a plural noun which is commonly taken to mean the NW. part of the Moabite plateau with Mt. Nebo. Among the ridges by which this great plateau descends to the Jordan valley there is one which specially draws attention by a headland, 5 m. SW. of Heshbon, and 9½ m. due E. of the NE. end of the Dead Sea, to the flat top of which, crowned by a ruined cairn, the name Nebā is attached.[3] By R (Dt. 34 1) Mt. Nebo is identified with the 'top (or, as some think, headland) of the Pisgah,' which D_2, and probably also J, regarded as the mountain of Moses' death. About a mile from Nebā are the ruins (Byzantine) of Ṣiāghah, and half a mile to the SW. the ridge ends in a projecting spur called Rās Ṣiāghah, the slopes of which fall steeply on all sides to the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea (Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 132 *f.*); it is usual to identify this headland with 'the Pisgah' (see PISGAH). The view from both points is nearly the same; but the Rās Ṣiāghah commands a fuller view of the Jordan valley beneath. It is admitted, however, by all that the

1. The old theory.

[1] Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 127.

[2] 'Der Schreiberengel Nabû im AT u. im Judenthum,' *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 1 (3) 294-300.

[3] This identification accords with the statement of Eus. (*OS* 282 93) that Mt. Nebo (ναβαυ) was 6 R. m. W. of Heshbon. Yet, until quite recent times, it has been usual, following Seetzen, to identify Nebo with the Jebel 'Attārūs, about 10 m. to the S. Against this see Tristram, *Land of Israel* (1866), p. 240.

description of Moses' survey in Dt. 34 1b-3 does not entirely fit the prospect from any of the Moabite mountains. Conder says—

If we make the simple change of reading 'towards' instead of 'unto' in the cases of Dan and the 'western sea' . . . the whole account reads as correctly as that of an eye-witness; but it is certain that Dan (if the site near Bāniās be intended), and the utmost, or 'hinder,' or most western sea, cannot be visible from Nebo to any mortal eye (*Heth and Moab*, 135).

Driver naturally enough passes over this improbable suggestion, but thinks (*Deut.* 420) that 'the terms of Dt. are hyperbolical, and must be taken as including points filled in by the imagination, as well as those actually visible to the eye,' whilst Dillmann, Wellhausen, and others regard the whole description as a later insertion which spoils the simplicity and naturalness of the original narrative. Lastly, W. F. Birch, being dissatisfied with the views of English scholars known to him, surmounts the difficulties by proposing new sites for Dan, the 'hinder sea,' and Zoar, assuring us that if we will only identify Pisgah with Ṭal'at el-Benāt, the biblical description will be found to be literally true (*PEFQ*, 1898, pp. 110 *f.*).

Certainly the last-named writer seems to be correct in requiring the description to be taken literally.[1] It is

2. A new theory.

essential that Moses should be compensated for his exclusion from the Promised Land by at least a sight of it in its full extent (cp Dt. 3 27), and we are expressly told that Yahwè showed it to him, and (Dt. 34 7) that his eye had not grown dim from age. Dillmann's suggestion may be plausible; the text, as it stands, has peculiarities, and these, to critics of the text as it stands, may seem to point to a later editor. If, however, there are traces in Ex. and Nu. of an underlying story of the Israelites' pre-Canaanitish period which differs in important respects from that which lies before us on the surface (see MOSES, § 16), we are justified in examining the text of Dt. 34 1-3 rather more closely. The result of such a searching criticism is that Moses, according to the primitive story, no more drew his last breath on the traditional Mt. Nebo than his brother Aaron did on the traditional Mt. Hor. The corruptions of the text presupposed in the following attempt to restore the original (see *Crit. Bib.*), which the late narrators transformed, may all, it is believed, be justified by parallel cases of the same kind elsewhere.

And Moses went up from Arabia of Muṣri to the top of the mountain of the Negeb of Jerahmeel [fronting Jerahmeel].[2] And Yahwè showed him Jerahmeel as far as Dan, and all Tappūḥim [the land of Jerahmeel and Muṣri], all the land of Judah as far as the Jerahmeelite sea,[3] and the Negeb of Jerahmeel [the land of Jerahmeel, the land of Muṣri].

This was, in fact, the land, the fairest part of which the spies of the Israelites (surely two, as in Josh. 2 1) had, according to primitive tradition, explored, and which Moses, according to the same tradition, surveyed before his death from a prominent mountain on the border of the Jerahmeelite Negeb. The mountain may, for shortness, have been sometimes called הַר־נֶגְבּוּ, Mt. Negbu; its full name was the Mountain of the Negeb of Jerahmeel.

There are three other passages which, when critically emended, confirm the view which is here taken. These are Nu. 21 20 23 14 28 and Dt. 32 49.

(*a*) Nu. 21 20. We can now supplement the articles BEER and NAHALIEL. The stations mentioned are, most probably, 'Beer-jerahmeel, Bamoth, the top of the Pisgah.' The third of these, however, has really a fuller title. As Grätz has seen, הַגַּיְא ('the valley') is probably miswritten for הר נבו. Following the parallel passage, when corrected as above, we should read—'and from Bamoth to the slopes of the mountain of the Negeb of Jerahmeel, which looks forth towards the highlands of Edom.' הישימן, like ישימון in Ps. 68 7 [8], is probably a corruption of שְׂדֵה אֱדֹם.

(*b*) Nu. 23 14. 'And he took him to the highlands (שְׂדֵה) of Zophim, to the top of the Pisgah.' So the text stands. 'Zophim,' however (צופים), should probably be 'Miṣṣur' (מִצּוּר), and 'the Pisgah' should be 'Jerahmeel.'

(*c*) Nu. 23 28. 'And Balak took Balaam to the top of the PEOR, that looks forth upon the desert.' So according to MT. But 'the Peor' (הַפְּעוֹר) has, most probably, been corrupted out of 'the mountain of Miṣṣur' (מִצּוּר), and 'the desert' (הישימן) should be 'the highlands of Edom' (שְׂדֵה אֱדֹם). Conder's account of the view from *his* 'cliff of Peor' (*Heth and Moab*, 142) must not tempt us to follow him. Balak was probably not a Moabite, but a Miṣrite (see ZIPPOR).

(*d*) Dt. 32 49. 'Go up to this mountain of the Abarim, to Mt. Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, which fronts Jericho.' So MT. But 'the Abarim' should probably be 'the Arabians' (עֲרָבִים); 'Moab' should be 'Miṣṣur'; 'Jericho' should be 'Jerahmeel.'

We have now to ask how the geographical requirements of all the passages referred to can be most satisfactorily met. The mountain, it appears, was in the Negeb; it was NE. of Kadesh-Jerahmeel (Kadesh-'barnea'); it 'looked forth' towards Edom (cp Nu. 20 16); it commanded a view of the Negeb of Jerahmeel as far as the *southern* Dan (*i.e.*, probably Ḥalūṣah; see SHECHEM, ZIKLAG), and of Judah (the early, diminutive land of Judah) as far east as the *Jerahmeelite* Sea (*i.e.*, the Dead Sea). Even if it be true that the Moses clan itself did not take Zarephath (*Ṣebeita*?), but left this to a kindred clan, we may still venture to place the mountain not far from Zarephath. Very possibly it is some part of the 'extensive mountain plateau called Magrāh, which, though intersected by several broad wadies, runs northward, without any break, to a point within a few miles of Wādy es-Seba', where it is divided by Wādy er-Raḥamā (cp Jeraḥme'el) from the mountains of that name' (E. H. Palmer; cp NEGEB). There are certainly different points in this great plateau from which impressive views might be obtained both towards Edom and towards the Negeb of Jerahmeel and Judah. Thus the interest of the Negeb is considerably heightened by the results of a not merely negative, but reconstructive, criticism. See PISGAH. T. K. C.

NEBO (נְבוֹ, ΝΑΒΑΥ), a hill town taken by the Reubenites with Heshbon, Elealeh, etc. (Nu. 32 3 [*v.* 38 A βαμω, F ναβω; BL om.], 33 47 1 Ch. 5 8. Omitted in the Reuben list, Josh. 13 15). Mesha (inscr. *l.* 14) boasts of having taken it from Israel and exterminated its people (for Mesha's spelling of the name [נבה], see text of inscr. [MESHA]). It remained Moabite, and is mentioned with the above places in the lament over Moab (Is. 15 2 Jer. 48 1 22). Nebo was a hill town (Is. *l.c.*), and situated, perhaps, near the mountain of the same name (but see NEBO, MOUNT), although Eus. (*OS*(2), 283 93) speaks of a ruined Nabau, 8 R. m. S. of Heshbon, 6 R. m. to the W. of which he locates the mount.[1]

2. A city of Judah, the 'sons' (citizens) of which are mentioned after the 'men' of Bethel and Ai, Ezra 2 29 (ναβου [B], -βω [A], -βαυ [L]; in 1 Esd. 5 21 𝔊 om.). In the ‖ passage, Neh. 7 33, they are called 'the men of the other Nebo' (נְבוֹ אַחֵר, ναβια ααρ [B, cp Sw.], ναβ[ε]ια εκατον [ℵA], ναβαυ [L]). Very possibly נבו is a corruption of נדבו, 'Nadabu' (cp NEBO, i.); אַחֵר, 'the other,' in Neh. 7 33, is, according to *Crit. Bib.*, a misunderstood fragment of ירחמאל 'Jerahmeel'; if so, it need not have been accidentally introduced from *v.* 34, as Meyer (*Entst.* 149) suggests; but cp L. The commune of 'Nebo' (Nadabu?) is represented in the list of

[1] He is also partly right, as will be seen, in supposing the sea to be the Dead Sea—*i.e.*, the original story meant this, though not the story as transformed in the traditional text.

[2] The words in square brackets are to be regarded as glosses. For the reading ירחמאל instead of הפסגה cp MEPHIBOSHETH, PASEAH; for תפוחים instead of נפתלי cp NAPHTUHIM; and for ירחמאל instead of ירחו see JERICHO, § 2.

[3] The true original name of the Dead Sea; see SALT SEA. For the reading הַיָּם הַיְּרַחְמְאֵלִי for הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן, cp עֵילָם אַחֵר for ירחמאל in Ezra 2 31.

[1] The notice in *OS*(2) 283 96 rests upon a confusion of Nebo with Nobah (Nu. 32 42), which goes back to 𝔊

those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end; cp ii., § 17 [*b*]), Ezra 10_{43} (*ναβου* [BℵA], *-βαυ* [L]), and appears by error in Neh. 10_{19} [20] as NEBAI, RV NOBAI (Kt. נובי; Kr. נֵיבָי). T. K. C.

NEBUCHADREZZAR (נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר, Jer. 21_{2} etc., and so Jos. and Strabo ΝΑΒΟΚΟΔΡΟϹΟΡΟϹ, Abydenus ΝΑΒΟΥΚΟΔΡΟϹΟΡΟϹ, corresponding with Bab. form [below]; incorrectly נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר, נֶצַּר—Dan. 1_{1} etc. [see BDB], and so 𝔊 ΝΑΒΟΥΧΟΔΟΝΟϹΟΡ [with various scribal corruptions], -ΝΟϹΟΡΟϹ Jos. [see Niese, *Index*]), the Babylonian monarch Nabū-kudur-uṣur, son and successor of Nabopolassar on the throne of Babylon. He was second of the name, Nabū-kudur-uṣur I. being of the Paše dynasty (about 1139-1123 B.C.). Nabopolassar had secured the throne of Babylon, during the years of weakness and dissension in Assyria which followed the death of Ašur-bāni-pal, apparently by aid of the Chaldean party in Babylon. While the power of Media was rising to the N. of Assyria, the astute founder of the neo-Babylonian Empire married his son Nebuchadrezzar to Amuhia, daughter of Cyaxares, king of Media.[1] Hence, when the crisis came and the enemy closed in upon Nineveh, Babylon was able to claim alliance with Media and at least lent a moral support to the overthrow of Assyria. After that event had destroyed the balance of power in Mesopotamia, the Medes or Manda nominally held the northern kingdom, while Babylonia retained independence. The decline of Assyrian power was always Egypt's opportunity in Syria. Necho II., perhaps as early as 608 B.C., had begun to advance along the coast; he was vainly opposed by JOSIAH [*q.v.*], and by the time that Assyrian resistance (606 B.C.?) collapsed he was probably master of all Syria. The power of Media may have been exhausted by the struggle to capture Nineveh; at any rate it was Nebuchadrezzar (Berossus-Josephus, *c. Ap.* 1_{19}) who successfully opposed the Egyptian king at Carchemish, 605 B.C.[2] How far Median troops assisted we do not know; but either the alliance of Babylonia with the detested Manda had become very strong or the Manda were otherwise engrossed by the rising Persian power. The powers in Assyria must have been either actively allied or singularly helpless for Babylonian troops to operate successfully in Syria and beyond. In all probability the remnant of the Assyrian troops took service under Nebuchadrezzar rather than with the Medes.

It was on this expedition that Nebuchadrezzar was brought into contact with the kingdom of Judah. On the difficulties in 2 K. 24_{1} *ff.* (cp 2 Ch. 36_{16}) see JEHOIAKIM. The inscriptions are unfortunately silent.

Nebuchadrezzar's succession to the throne of Babylon seems to have been accomplished without difficulty, and he entered on his long reign of forty-three years, 604 B.C. to 561 B.C. He had probably recalled the greater part of his troops from the W., leaving only garrisons and governors in the more important cities, after the Assyrian model. His absence in Babylon and the necessity of watching events in Media and Elam, where Teispis the Persian made himself independent as king of Anšan, 600 B.C., obliged Nebuchadrezzar to leave the W. alone. Relieved of the pressure, Egypt recovered, and under its new king Apries-Hophra began to adopt the usual policy of inciting the West to rebellion. How far Nebuchadrezzar had his hands tied by the troubles in Media is not clear; but, either by active assistance to Persia or by maintaining a powerful frontier guard, he was able to preserve peace in Babylonia; and when his warlike neighbours had once more quieted down he was able to reach Palestine without danger to his line of communications. A hostile power in Assyria, or a too active ruler in Elam, must have paralysed an advance to Syria.

[1] Abydenus in Eusebius, *Chron.* 1 9.

[2] Jer. 46_{2} 2 K. 23_{29}. See EGYPT, § 68. [Some doubt, however, rests upon the battle of Carchemish. See JEREMIAH (BOOK), § 14, PROPHET, § 45.]

Affairs in Judæa had been in a very unsettled state for some time. How JEHOIAKIM [*q.v.*] rebelled, and left a heritage of woe to his son and successor JEHOIACHIN [*q.v.*], who after a three months' reign surrendered to the Babylonians, is told elsewhere (cp ISRAEL, § 41). Nebuchadrezzar had then arrived in person (2 K. 24_{11}) to direct the siege of Jerusalem. He captured the city in 597 B.C. This was only an event in the general plan of reducing the W. to order; Tyre and Sidon remained. Egyptian influence was always strong there, and the traders must constantly have carried sedition into the E. unless Tyre was friendly. The traders could not be interfered with; they were too valuable. But Tyre would be a rich prize, and once in Babylonian hands the source of much mischief would be suppressed. Sidon was soon dealt with: the Assyrian kings had made that easy; but though Nebuchadrezzar prosecuted the siege of Tyre for thirteen years (under Ithobaal II., see TYRE), 585-572 B.C., he could not take it (see BABYLONIA, § 66; PHŒNICIA, § 20). This siege was the outcome of a fresh outburst of activity on the part of Egypt. Nebuchadrezzar having settled affairs in Judea had returned to Babylon with his captives and spoil. What kept him there so long, eight or nine years, we do not fully know. Troubles in Elam, the death of the king of Anšan and the division of Media between the first Cyrus, his elder son, and Ariamna the younger son, probably needed careful watching, if not diplomatic interference.[1] But when Nebuchadrezzar was again free, he seems, according to the views of some, to have met and defeated the army of Apries, 587 B.C., and proceeded to a further invasion of Egypt (see EGYPT, § 69; BABYLONIA, § 66). Like the Assyrian invasions of Egypt, this was a punitive expedition; and though fairly claiming to be a conqueror of Egypt, Nebuchadrezzar could not govern it. Zedekiah had relied on Egypt (Ezek. 17_{15}) and rebelled, only to bring on his land an invasion that culminated in a second siege and capture of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. Zedekiah fled, but was captured (Jer. 39_{5}), and, having witnessed the death of his children, was blinded and carried to Babylon. The city of Jerusalem was sacked, the temple and palaces destroyed by fire, and the walls made a heap of ruins. The country was placed under the Babylonian governor Nabū-zēr-iddin.

That Egypt was not long under Nebuchadrezzar is clear from the fact that five years later the Babylonian governor on his way to Egypt (Jos. *Ant.* x. 9_{7}) carried off more captives from Jerusalem, Jer. 52_{30}. This was in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadrezzar's reign. Almost the only historical inscription of this king[2] speaks of a further expedition to Egypt in the thirty seventh year of his reign. Amasis seems to have been able to hold the country outside the Delta. Lydia was growing in power, and Nebuchadrezzar may have influenced Media to attack Lydia; at any rate he (Labynetus? Herod. 1_{74}), with the king of Cilicia, mediated between them in 585 B.C., after the battle of the Halys (see BABYLONIA, § 66). On the theory that he may have at one time conducted operations against Kedar, to account for Jer. 49_{28} $_{33}$, see JEREMIAH (BOOK), § 20, vii.

Unfortunately, in the fragments above noted, we possess no proper history of Nebuchadrezzar. The task of reconstruction is laborious, and must remain unsatisfactory until further discovery. That his annals found a native historian is almost certain. The inscriptions which have been preserved chiefly commemorate his pious restoration of the temples and ruined cities of his land. Temple restorations in Sippar, Kutha, Erech, Larsa, Ur, and many other minor cities are recounted at a length which bears eloquent witness to

[1] Perhaps at this time Nebuchadrezzar made himself master of Susa, and restored its Ištar image carried away to Erech by Ašur-bāni-pal (?), when Susa was under Elamite supremacy.

[2] Published by Strassmaier, Nbkd. 194.

his power and the vitality of the religious feelings of his people. Babylon itself benefited above all. It became almost a new city. New streets were laid out, the Euphrates banked, new walls and an outer line of defence erected, which rendered the place impregnable. The new palace, the famous hanging gardens (if Nebuchadrezzar's work), and above all the restored temple of Bēl (see BABYLON, § 5), were his pride and his great claim to remembrance. Sir H. Rawlinson stated that he had examined the bricks of the ruins of not less than a hundred cities or temples near Bagdad, and scarcely found any that did not bear the stamp of Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar.

The references to Nebuchadrezzar in DANIEL [*q.v.*] and the later classical stories are not necessarily without foundation; but his name became the centre of much that is probably pure romance. For example, the story of his madness receives no support from the fact that lycanthropia has been attested elsewhere.[1] His own inscriptions speak only of a four-year-long suspension of interest in public affairs, which may not be a reference to his malady, though tradition of something of the kind may have lent verisimilitude to the account of it in Daniel.

The text of his inscriptions will be found in *KB* 3 2, pp. 10-70, and C. J. Ball, *PSBA* 11 124 *ff.* C. H. W. J.

NEBUSHASBAN RV **Nebushazban** (נְבוּשַׁזְבָּן), one of the officers of the king of Babylon (Jer. 39 13; om. BℵAQ, ναβουσαζαβαν [Theod. in Q^mg.]). It appears to be the Ass. *nabū-šēzib-anni*, *i.e.*, 'Nebo delivers me,' a name actually borne by the son of Necho I., king of Egypt, in token of his vassalage to the king of Assyria.

NEBUZARADAN (נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן, Bab. *Nabū-zār-iddin*; ναβουζαρδαν; but -δαρ in 2 K. 25 8 [A]; *Nabuzardan*), 'chief of the body-guard' to Nebuchadrezzar; see 2 K. 25 8 11 20 Jer. 52 30, and, on his special relations to Jeremiah, Jer. 39 11 40 2 5. The name is good Babylonian, Nabū-zār-iddin, 'Nabū has given a seed,' and occurs often. Cp ISRAEL, § 42; JEREMIAH, § 2. C. H. W. J.

NECHO (so AV in 2 Ch. 35 20 22, **Neco** RV; elsewhere PHARAOH-NECHOH, RV PHARAOH-NECOH, but PHARAOH-NECHO, RV PHARAOH-NECO in Jer. 46 2; נְכוֹ and [in 2 K. 23 29 33-35.] נְכֹה, 𝔊 [and Manetho] Νεχαώ, Vg. *Nechao* [Herod. Diodor. Νεκώς, Jos. Νεχαυς, other MSS Νεχαως;[2] on the Egyptian form and the Assyrian *Nikū*, see below]).

Son of Psametik I., second king of the 26th or Saitic dynasty (610-594).[3] His royal names are, *Nem-eb-rē*,[4] 'renewing the heart of the sun-god,' *Nk'w*[5] (phonetically something like *Ne-ko-u*, read *Nekôu*). The second or personal name was taken from his grandfather Necho (I.), known in the Assyrian inscriptions as Ni-ku-u, Nikū, of Sai and Mempi, the most powerful of the Egyptian nomarchs at the time of the Assyrian conquest (Nechao in Manetho; cp Herod. 2 152). Like Psam(m)etik, it seems to be of Libyan etymology;[6] almost all Egyptian monarchs of that period descended from officers of Libyan mercenaries.[7]

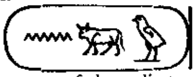
Necho II. was, evidently, one of the most active and enterprising Pharaohs; but he had too short a reign and lived under too unfavourable political constellations to accomplish much. His attempt at conquering Syria from the crumbling Assyrian empire during its last struggles is referred to in 2 K. 23 29-24 7 = 2 Ch. 35 20-36 4 (with free additions). This expedition 'against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates' (2 K. 23 29) was undertaken early in Necho's reign (609-608); as is well known, King Josiah of Judah opposed his march; he did this, not from pious rashness, but as a vassal of Assyria. On the question of the locality where he fell, see EGYPT, § 68, and JOSIAH, § 2, and cp *MVAG* 3 54. Three months after the battle of Megiddo (the name is correct) Necho performed divers authoritative acts as suzerain of Judah. Jehoahaz was carried in chains from RIBLAH,[1] and Jehoiakim had to pay a heavy fine. See JEHOAHAZ, JEHOIAKIM. The allusion in Jer. 47 1 to the time when 'Pharaoh smote Gaza' is to be referred to Necho's expedition.[2] Necho's Syrian domination (of which a stone found in Sidon or Byblus[3] is the only monument) came to an end, three or four years later (about 605), when the king of Babylonia, as successor to Assyria, reclaimed the Syrian provinces. The army of Necho suffered a complete defeat by NEBUCHADREZZAR, at that time the Babylonian crown-prince. The Jews, probably, still continued to cherish hopes of Egyptian opposition to the Babylonians, but in vain (2 K. 24 7).

On Necho's most important public work—the digging of the canal through Goshen to the Red Sea—see EGYPT, § 68. The work certainly was not abandoned,[4] otherwise Necho could not have kept a strong fleet on the Red Sea (Herod. 1 1). The inscriptions of Darius show too that the 'Suez-canal' of this king (Herod. 4 39, Strabo, 804) was only a restoration of Necho's work which the sand of the desert had filled in, as happened with various later attempts at connecting the Nile and the Red Sea.[5] The sending of an Expedition under Phœnician leaders around Africa (Herod. 4 42) confirms the fact that Necho had great plans in Africa, of which we know little.[6]

The great canal seems to have left the king little time for other constructions. Some traces of building in Memphis (where also during his lifetime an Apis-bull was buried) have been found. Necho's tomb in Sais seems to have been destroyed together with his mummy last century.[7] W. M. M.

NECKLACE. A compound term like 'necklace' is not to be expected in a version of the Bible which retains the Hebrew colouring. Still it will be convenient to bring together under this heading the different Hebrew words which are used for *ornamental* chains (see CHAINS) such as we commonly call necklaces, or for neck-ornaments in general.

1. Strings of cylinders (see RING, § 1) are represented on Assyrian sculptures.[8] Similar strings of precious stones, pearls, or beads are described in Cant. 1 10 as חֲרוּזִים *ḥărūzīm* (AV 'chains of gold'; RV 'strings of pearls,' 𝔊 ὁρμίσκοι), and תּוֹרִים (AV 'rows,' RV 'plaits,' 𝔊 τρυγόνες), Cant. 1 10. Probably[9] the 'apples of gold' (Toy, 'golden fruits') in Prov. 25 11 (a corrupt passage) should give place to 'a string of pearls, or beads,' תּוֹר חֲרוּזִים; חֲרוּזִים means properly not 'strings,' but 'beads (or the like) strung together' (cp Kön., ii. 1 136). For 'beads,' however, we may, especially in Cant. 1 10,

1 See MADNESS, and cp Wi. *AOF* 2 214.
2 Wiedemann, *Gesch. Ægypt.* 628, quotes the mutilation *Nebad*; Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* ii. 264 23, *Nechaob*; Cedren. i. 197 12, Bekk., *Necheuo* 1 1 195 9.
3 The statement of Herodotus is confirmed by Apis-stelæ. The number of years is corrupted from sixteen to six in Africanus and Eusebius, to nine in Syncellus.
4 
5 
6 It is hardly identical with a name of the earliest period *N-kw*, as Griffith has suggested (*ÄZ*, 34, 1896, 50).
7 Schäfer, *ÄZ*, 33 [1895], 116, on very inadequate grounds, assumed Ethiopian descent for that Saïtic family.

1 Cp Winckler, *AOF* 1 504.
2 See GAZA. On the statement of Herodotus (2 159), see Wiedemann, *Clio*, 566 *f.*
3 Published by Griffith, *PSBA* 16 91. On the vague possibility of finding the Egyptianised name of a king of Byblus in it, see W. M. Müller in *MVAG* 1 190.
4 On the improbability of an oracle as the reason, cp Wiedemann (*Gesch. Äg.*, 627), who, however, believed in the abandonment and ascribed it to political difficulties.
5 See W. M. Müller, *MVAG* 3 152.
6 Herodotus places the digging of the canal before the Syrian expedition. The opposite is more probable.
7 Wiedemann, 1 1.
8 As an instance of the sacredness of such ornament may be cited the verse in the Babylonian Deluge-story where the goddess Ištar swears by the necklace (lit. 'jewel of my neck') which her father had given her (Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 503, cp Jensen in *KB* 6 1, 241 *ll.* 164 *f.*).
9 For a discussion, see BASKETS, n. 1; Che. *JBL* 18 208 *f.* [1899].

substitute 'silver ornaments';[1] others (*e.g.*, Renan, Siegfr.) prefer 'strings of coral,' or (Now.) coral and metal.

2. Neck-ornaments also took the form of 'crescents' (so RV שהרנים), Is. 3 18,[2] Judg. 8 26 † (AV 'round tires [mg., ornaments] like the moon'; 𝔊 Aq. *μηνίσκοι*, but 𝔊^A *σιωνων* and 𝔊^L *ἀποσ.* in Judg.; Sym. *κοσμίων* in Judg., *μανιάκαι* in Is.; Vg. *lunulæ*; Aram. and Syr. סהרא—*i.e.*, 'moon,' like סהר in Talm.). These were, perhaps, amulets; crescent-shaped charms are still a favourite Oriental protection against the evil eye. The crescents were worn both by women (Is., *l.c.*; cp 3) and by Midianite men (Judg. 8 26 ?); also by camels (*v.* 21 ?). In fact, riding animals are still often decorated with pendent metal plates.

Budde, however, well remarks that the words, 'Gideon arose, and slew Zebah and Zalmunna, and took the crescents that were on their camels' necks,' read very strangely. His remedy is to suppose that the last clause is an addition suggested by *v.* 26*b*, in its original form (Bu. there omits all but 'beside the crescents that were about their camels' necks'). But how came this particular term שהרנים (appropriated to an ornament of the ladies of Jerusalem) to be used here? The more natural term would have been ענקות, which in fact the later editor of *v.* 26 adopts. The only course left is to emend the text. The original text of *v.* 21 must have had וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הַצְּעָדוֹת אֲשֶׁר בִּזְרֹעֵיהֶם, 'and he took the bracelets which were upon their arms' (see. *Crit. Bib.*). Gideon, in fact, took these ***royal insignia*** for himself as king. See Gideon.

3. עֲנָק, *'ănāḳ*, Cant. 4 9 (*θέμα*), Prov. 1 9 (*κλοιὸς χρύσεος*), Judg. 8 26 † (*περίθεμα* [B], *κλ. χρ.* [AL]), perhaps a neck-ornament, not always a necklace (plural in Prov. *l.c.*). In Cant. 4 9 עֲנָק is certainly a dittographed עיניך. EV's rendering, 'with one chain of thy neck' is unjustifiable. Read, 'Thou hast terrified me, my sister, with thine eyes (cp 6 5); thou hast terrified me, thou hast struck me with blindness' (בְּסַנְוֵרִים). See *Crit. Bib.*

4. כּוּמָז, *kūmāz* (*ἐμπλόκιον*), Ex. 35 22 Nu. 31 50,† perhaps a necklace constructed of little golden discs; so RVmg. (see Armlet).

5. חֲלִי, *ḥăli* Cant. 7 2 (חלאים; *ὁρμίσκος*), Prov. 25 12 (on 𝔊 see n.),[3] Hos. 2 15 [13] חֶלְיָה (*καθόρμια*), perhaps a neck-ornament. See the Lexicons.

6. רָבִיד, *rābīd*, Gen. 41 42 (*κλοιός*; Aq. Sym. *μανιάκης*), Ezek. 16 11 (*κάθεμα*), and, by emendation, 2 Ch. 3 16[4] (Bertheau, Ki.). Cp the golden collar bestowed by the sovereign as a reward, like our orders; see 7 1 and cp 1 Esd. 3 6, and Joseph, § 5, *c*.

7. המינכא (Ḳr. הַמְנִיכָא, *hamnīkā*, *μανιάκης*), Dan. 5 7 16 29 †. A Persian loan-word in Jewish Aramaic and in Syriac. Polybius (2 31) already recognised that the word was not Greek.[5] A chain of honour (cp 6).

I. A.—T. K. C.

NECODAN (νεκωδαν [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 37 = Ezra 2 60 Nekoda, 2.

NECROMANCER (דֹּרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים; Dt. 18 11 †). See Divination, § 3.

NEDABIAH (נְדַבְיָה, § 27, 'Yahwè has given or apportioned,' or an expansion of נְדָבִי, 'a Nadabite' [Che.]; cp Nadab), son of king Jeconiah; 1 Ch. 3 18 (δενεθει [B], ναβαδιας [A^a], ναδα βια [L]). For another Nedabiah see Ananias, 9.

NEEDLE, NEEDLEWORK. See Embroidery.

NEEMIAS (Ecclus. 49 13), RV Nehemiah.

[1] If we read (with Grä.) נעקות for נקדות (Cant. 1 11), *v.* 11 will repeat *v.* 10, and will explain that the תורים were of gold, the חרוזים of silver.—I. A.

[2] In Is. 3 18 we also meet with ornaments called 'little suns' (שמיסים=שביסים, see König, ii. 1 144; but 𝔊 *ἐμπλόκια* EV 'cauls,' EVmg. 'networks'; so Ges.-Bu.). These, however, can hardly have been necklets.

[3] *ἐν ὁρμίσκῳ σαρδίου* in *v.* 11 is probably the original rendering of בחלי כתם (וחלי), for which *καὶ σάρδιον πολυτελές* now appears. Compare Gold (on כתם).

[4] The lower border of the capital of a pillar is meant.

[5] *χρυσοῦν ψέλλιον ὃ φοροῦσι περὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸν τράχηλον οἱ Γαλάται.* Cp Krauss, *Griech. u. Latein. Lehnwörter in Talm.*, etc., 1 5.

NEGEB (הַנֶּגֶב and נֶגֶב [Gen. 13 3 1 S. 30 1]; EV **The South**, but rather a technical geographical term meaning 'the dry land,' see Geography, § 2; η ερημος, Gen. 12 9 13 1 3 Nu. 13 17 22 [18 23] Dt. 34 3 Josh. 12 8 [L]; λιψ, Gen. 13 14 20 1 24 62 etc.; ναγεβ, Josh. 10 40 (ναβαι, B) Jer. 32 [39] 44 33 [40] 13. 'Land of the Negeb,' Gen. 20 1 24 62 [AV 'south-country'], Josh. 15 19 [AV 'south-land']; RV in all three passages, 'the land of the south'). Perhaps intended by the phrase 'the land of Ngb' in Egyptian historical inscriptions (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 148).

1. Meaning of Negeb. Great misapprehension is inevitably caused by the above renderings of the AV and RV. This has been well shown by Wilton and E. H. Palmer, but may be pointed out once more.

Can it be really true that the 'spies' sent, as we are told, from Kadesh, went up 'by the south' in order to get to Hebron? The reader of the EV of Nu. 13 22 (cp 17) will think so until he learns the geographical fact that Hebron lay to the N. of Kadesh. He will also find the pointless phrase 'the south' (or in RV 'the South') made parallel to the hill-country and the lowland in the geographical descriptions in Dt. 1 7 and Josh. 10 40 *f.*, and will again and again miss the true geographical colouring which a well-defined geographical term would have given.

Even if a doubt be permissible about the term Shĕphēlah (RV 'lowland') for the 'sloping moorland' of Judah towards the Philistine Plain, there can be none as to the propriety of introducing the term Négeb (as Bennett has done in his *Joshua*), which is even more indispensable than the universally recognised technical term synagogue.

What, then, is the Negeb? It is the southernmost of the natural divisions of Palestine—the steppe region which forms the transition to the true desert; and apparently it derives its name from its deficiency of water, the only abundant springs being in a few of the larger wādies. There is, however, a considerable amount of moisture which has infiltrated into the soil in these larger wādies, so that here at least the camels can always find pasturage. We know, moreover, that though now so deficient in verdure from the want of irrigation, the Negeb was, as lately as in the Byzantine age, much better off. We are also assured that between this district and the edge of the Tīh plateau there is a more barren region which must anciently have borne to the then fertile region of the Negeb a relation similar to that which is at present borne to Palestine by the Negeb in its barrenness. It is plain that except where the word 'Negeb' is used laxly for the south (see Earth [Four Quarters], § 1), there is no other course open to us but to adopt the technical term 'the Negeb.'

In the following survey we are concerned almost entirely with the Negeb of pre-exilic times. The early

2. The five Negebs. post-exilic community did not occupy the Negeb any more than the Philistian Plain (cp Zech. 7 7 [𝔊 *ἡ ὀρεινή*], and the prophetic prospect in Ob. 20). We have first to consider the several names, of somewhat uncertain reference, given to different parts of the Negeb. In 1 S. 27 10 we read of the Negeb (𝔊 *νότος*) of Judah, that of the Jerahmeelite, and that of the Kenite; in 1 S. 30 14 of the Negeb (𝔊 *νότος*) of the 'Cherethite' and that of Caleb.[1] In Nu. 13 29, however, the land of the Negeb (𝔊 *νότος*) is said without qualification to belong to the 'Amalekite.' This statement is perplexing. The truth appears to be that עמלק, 'Amalek,' is really a miswritten form of ירחמאל, 'Jerahmeel.' From the probable evidence of names we learn that the Jerahmeelites at one time spread at least as far N. as the Wādy Raḥameh (cp Hormah), in which name both Wilton[2] and E. H. Palmer[3] have found an echo of the name Jerahmeel, and to Kadesh-'barnea' (Kadesh-*Jerahmeel*)—*i.e.*, 'Ain Ḳadīs, and the Judahite

[1] As H. P. Smith acutely points out, David did not raid the three Negebs spoken of on the same occasion. When Achish asked where David had been raiding, he answered, 'Against the Negeb of Judah, or against that of the Jerahmeelite, or against that of the Kenite.'

[2] *The Negeb*, 19.

[3] *The Desert of the Exodus*, 426.

Carmel (for this name too is perhaps a corruption of Jerahmeel). The Jerahmeelites of Kadesh, however, appear to have been dispossessed at an early date by the men of Judah, on whom, as Judg. 3 13 tells us, they subsequently took their revenge (cp JERICHO, § 2). Revenge indeed was a fundamental element of primitive life in these regions. Like David himself (who possibly came from 'Debir' on the border of the Negeb[1]) we find the 'Amalekites' making raids upon the neighbouring country. The narrative in 1 S. 30 14 (MT) mentions as suffering from such a raid the 'Negeb of the Cherethite' and the 'Negeb of Caleb' (otherwise called, in *v.* 16, 'the land of the Pelištim [?]' and the 'land of Judah' respectively). Thus we have five different Negebs, or districts of the Negeb, mentioned. It is our next duty to define, so far as the historical notices permit, the geographical content of these several phrases. The kinship between the populations no doubt places some difficulty in our way.

(*a*) The country of the Amalekites (Jerahmeelites) whom Saul is said to have overcome was between the Wādy of Beersheba and the Wādy of Miṣrīm—*i.e.*, the Wādy el-'Arīš (see EGYPT, RIVER OF)—not including, however, the Negeb of the 'Cherethite.'[2] It is consistent with this that in 1 Ch. 4 39 *f.* (see JERAHMEEL, § 4) the Jerahmeelites are said to have dwelt in Gerar (the Wādy Jerūr). Their centre may be presumed to have been the sacred well commonly but incorrectly called BEER-LAHAI-ROI[3] (*q.v.*, and cp ISAAC, JEHOVAH-JIREH), which may have been 'Ain Muweileḥ.[4] At one time, however, they must have spread farther N. (see above), and in the time of David we find 'cities of the Jerahmeelite' in the occupation of Judahites (1 S. 30 29). Doubtless they had various sacred meeting-places, such as the 'Ain Raḥameh and especially the 'Ain Ḳadīs (both visited by Rowlands). 'Ain Ḳadīs is the En-mishpat (Gen. 14 7) at KADESH-BARNEA (Jerahmeel), unless indeed En-mishpat is an early corruption of En Ṣarephath; at any rate Ḳadis is the famous Kadesh.

(*b*) The Kenites, whose Negeb is spoken of, came originally from Midian (Ex. 2 15 *f.* MT), or rather perhaps Muṣri (see KENITES); they were allied to the Edomite tribe of the Kenizzites. Indeed, in 1 S. 27 10 30 29 𝔊^BL actually reads 'Kenizzite' where MT and 𝔊^A have 'Kenite.' We may assume the 'Negeb of the Kenite (or Kenizzite)' to have lain to the S. of the Negeb of Caleb (see *d*). This view accords with the statement in Judg. 1 16 that the Kenites joined the Judahites in a migration to 'the wilderness of Arad in the Negeb of Jerahmeel' (critically emended text; see *Crit. Bib.*, and cp KENITES). As the result we learn that the cities of the Jerahmeelite Negeb fell into the hands of the Israelites (Nu. 21 3*a*), more especially HORMAH (*q.v.*), or rather Raḥamah, a name which seems to have suggested the thought of the mercifulness (רחם) of Yahwè to Israel. Here, therefore, the Kenites, or Kenizzites, being friendly to Israel, could safely dwell, and hence in 1 S. 30 29 the 'cities of the Kenites' are mentioned between the 'cities of the Jerahmeelites' and the city miscalled in MT Hormah, but marked out by its true name as of Jerahmeelite origin.

1 See § 3.

2 This appears from the emended text of 1 S. 15 7 (see TELEM).

3 The geographical definitions in Gen. 16 7 14 point away from the En-mishpat-ṣephāthīm? at Kadesh-'barnea.' 'Beer-lahai-roi' has to be 'between Kadesh and Bered'; Bered probably comes from 'Midbar Shur'—*i.e.*, the desert of Shur (but cp Niebuhr, *Gesch.* 1 259). The site there is plainly marked.

4 'About 10 hrs.' beyond Rohébeh (Ruḥaibeh), on our road (*i.e.*, 10 hrs. camel's pace), is a place called Moilahi (or Moilâhhi), a grand resting-place of the caravans, there being water here, as the name implies (?). . . . Shall I not please you when I tell you that we found here Bir Lahai-roi?' Rowlands, in Williams, *Holy City*, 1 465. A writer in *PEFQu.*, 1884, p. 177 offers an impossible etymological theory for this Moilāhhi. Rowlands further states that the Arabs from near Gaza called the well Moilāhhi Kadésah, but that those of the country called it Moilāhhi Hadjar (Hagar). It is not often that local traditions are so well founded! Here, too, is the 'site of a large and populous city' (Palmer, 356).

One of the 'cities' referred to—it is only a short distance on the way from Tell 'Arād to the Wādy Raḥameh—has still a record of its existence in the suggestive name Tell Milḥ (*l* and *r* interchange), with which it is fair to identify the 'Ir ham-melaḥ ('Ir Jerahmeel) mentioned in Josh. 15 62 (see SALT, CITY OF). Strictly, indeed, the Negeb of the Kenites was also the Negeb of the Jerahmeelites; see again Judg. 1 16 (where עם, 'people,' should be עמלק, 'Amalek'='Jerahmeel'). The Kenites appear also to have occupied Beersheba.[1]

(*c*) The 'Negeb of the Cherethite' is usually explained as='Negeb of the Philistine,' and this is plausibly supported by the apparent equivalence of 'Cherethites' and 'Philistines' in 1 S. 30 14 16. It is no doubt hard to understand how the Philistines came to be found in the Negeb; but Matthew Poole's *Synopsis* has an answer ready—'the place pertained to the satrapy of Gaza (!).' The truth is, however, that just as כרית (Cherith) has been regarded (see CHERITH) as a corruption of רחבת (REHOBOTH), so כרתי (Cherethite) may be a corruption of רחבתי (Rehobothite). The centre of the Negeb of the Rehobothites was no doubt the Wādy er-Ruḥaibeh[2] (see REHOBOTH). But this section of the Negeb also included ZIKLAG (1 S. 30 14) or rather Ḥalūṣah[3] on the site still known as el-Ḫalaṣa, west of the Wādy er-Ruḥaibeh, in a wādy the upper part of which is called 'Aslūj[4] and the lower Ḫalaṣa, and the not less historic Zephath or ZAREPHATH [*q.v.*]—*i.e.*, Ṣebaita or Eṣbaita, S. of el-Ḫalaṣa, in the Wādy el-Abyaḍ. From Zephath it received the second title ארץ צרפתים, 'land of the Zarephathites,' though in the text of 1 S. 30 16, by transposition and corruption of letters, צרפתים has become פלשתים, Pĕlištim—*i.e.*, 'Philistines.'

(*d*) The 'Negeb of Caleb' was of course S. of Hebron, and included the sites of Tell Zīf, Ma'īn, and Kurmul; Nabal, who is connected with Maon and Carmel, was a Calebite (1 S. 25 3), and the name el-Kulāb is still attached to a wādy 10 m. SW. of Hebron. Other names may be added to the list from 1 S. 30 27-31, for David's 'friends,' the 'elders of Judah,' were of course his tribal kinsmen; David's connection with the Calebites is so close that, in spite of tradition, we cannot help regarding him as a Calebite (see DAVID, § 1, n. 2).

(*e*) The Negeb of Judah was probably identical with that of Caleb; the hills around Zīf, Ma'īn, and Kurmul are in fact the outposts of the hills of Judah. In 1 S. 30 16 the phrase 'the land of Judah' is an alternative for 'the Negeb of Caleb' in *v.* 14, just as 'the land of the Zarephathite' [see *c*] in the same clause is equivalent to 'the Negeb of the Rehobothite' in *v.* 14. In 2 S. 24 7, however, the 'Negeb of Judah' must be understood in a large sense for the Negeb belonging politically to Judah, which, for the writer, extends to Beersheba. It should be remembered that David's bodyguard was (in our view) composed of Rehobothites and Zarephathites (in MT 'Cherethites and Pelethites'). See REHOBOTH, PELETHITES. This implies that the Negeb from which David's warriors came was thoroughly absorbed into Judah. The list of places in the Negeb of Judah in Josh. 15 21-32 (P) may require a similar explanation. This need not prevent us from admitting that a larger section of the Negeb belonged, in post-Solomonic times, not to Judah but to Israel (see PROPHET, § 6). The sanctuaries of the Negeb were largely resorted to by the N. Israelites, and Jeroboam II. seems to have recovered

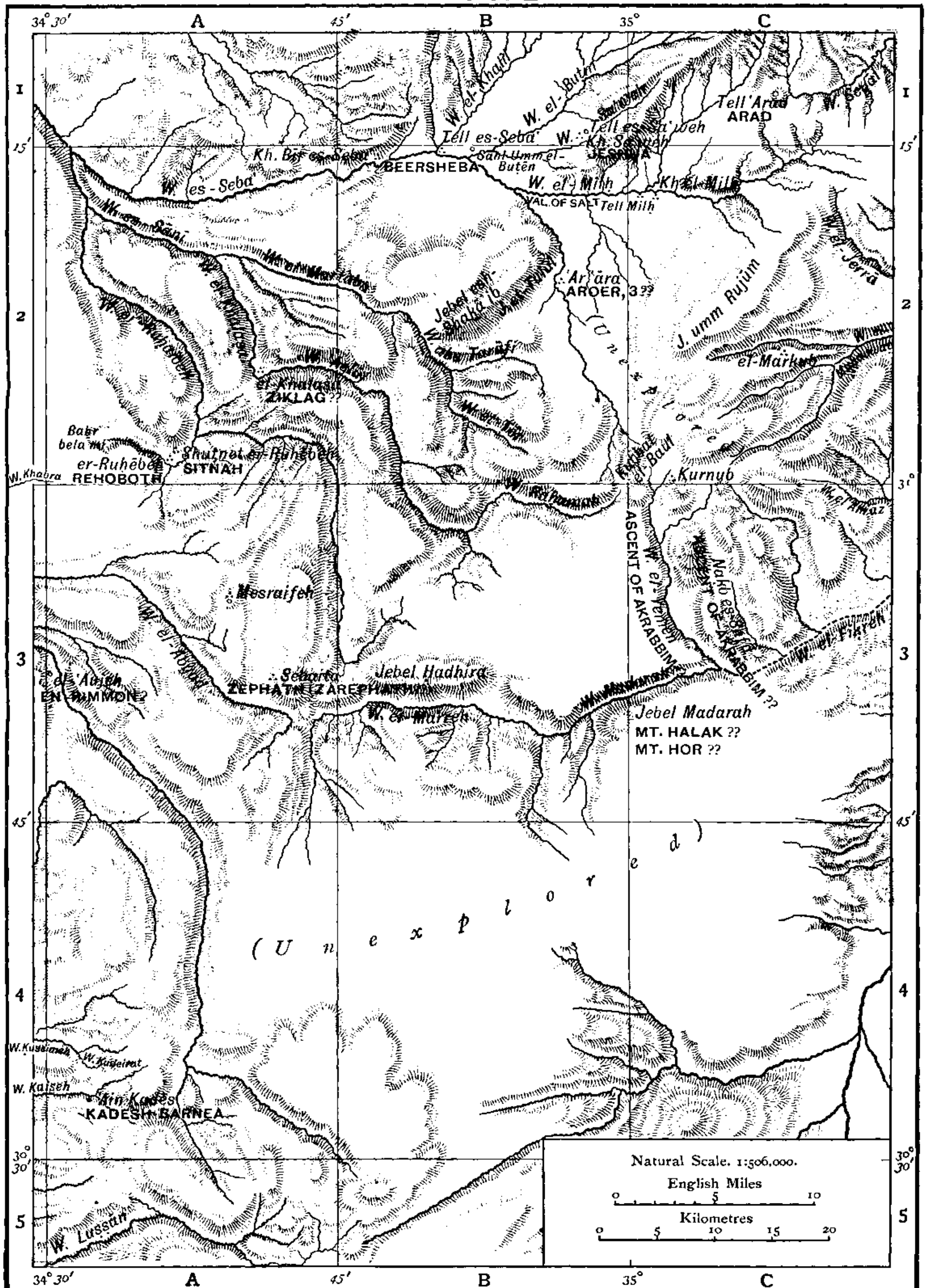
1 See 1 Ch. 4 11 *f.*, where TEHINNAH (*q.v.*) is probably a corruption of Kinah (Kenite?) and IR-NAHASH (*q.v.*) of 'Beer-sheba.' The alliance of the Kenites with Caleb (Chelub) is also attested. ESHTON (*q.v.*) comes probably from 'Eshtemoh.'

2 Wilton (*The Negeb*, 21) deserves credit for connecting the Cherethite Negeb with the Wādy er-Ruḥaibeh, though he had nothing but geographical probability to guide him.

3 Targ. Jer.'s equivalent for Bered, but rather the true form for 'Ziklag,' the current identification of which (see ZIKLAG) shows anew how greatly geography has suffered from an uncritical view of the Hebrew text. Rowlands writes thus, '*Khalasa* (ancient Chesil I think) must have been a large city—the remains are very extensive—heaps of stones and portions of houses, etc.' (Williams, 464).

4 'Aslūj is connected by Rowlands (Williams, 465) with the name Ziklag.

NEGEB.



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the Negeb for Israel (2 K. 14 28; for an emended text, see PROPHET, § 7).

3. Boundaries of the Negeb.

It is generally held that the NW. limit of the Negeb was a point S. of the present eḍ-Ḍahariyeh, a large village between es-Semū' on the E. and 'Anāb on the W., which is probably to be identified with Debir, or rather (in our view) Beth-zur (one of several places bearing the name; see KIRJATH-SEPHER). This is a reasonable view, but must not be either supported or illustrated by the passage (Judg. 1 15) rendered in RV 'for that thou hast set me in the land of the south, give me also springs of water,' because this passage is corrupt. The Debir or perhaps Beth-zur there referred to is not the 'Kirjath-sannah, that is, Debir' mentioned in Josh. 15 49, but the well-known BETH-ZUR (*q.v.*) near Ḥalḥūl, N. of Hebron, and the 'springs of water' which have played such a large part in the question as to the identification of the Debir of Josh. 15 49 are non-existent in a sound text. The only right basis of the perfectly legitimate assertion that eḍ-Ḍahariyeh is 'the frontier town between the hill-country and the Negeb,'[1] is the observation of a physical fact. It is characteristic of the Negeb that the vegetation, meagre at the best, becomes almost completely dried up in the heats of summer, and that the deterioration of verdure begins to be visible S. of eḍ-Ḍahariyeh. As Conder says, 'the district of Debir is [at the present day] just the limit of the settled population and of cultivation.'[2] It was probably either here or at Carmel that Jesse lived and David passed his early youth;[3] here, too, that Saul mustered his forces to go to war with 'Amalek' (1 S. 15 4; see KIRJATH-SEPHER, TELAIM).

The Israelites themselves, however, did not place the N. boundary at eḍ-Dāharīyeh (=MT's Debir) but at En-rimmon, otherwise designated Rimmon ('from Geba to Rimmon,' Zech. 14 10) and probably called also Baalath-beer-rimmon, which is to be identified with *Umm er-Rammāmīn*, about 9 m. N. of Beersheba, on a geographically important site (as Solomon, who appears to have fortified it, recognised) near the boundary line which separates the Terabīn and Tiyāhah territories on the S. from the Henādy Arabs and the hill-country on the N.[4]

On the reading BAALATH-BEER-RIMMON, probably to be restored in Josh. 19 8 and in 1 K. 9 18, see RAMATH OF THE SOUTH. This is, we think, the full name of the place otherwise called EN-RIMMON and (perhaps) AZMON.[5] 'Rimmon' may be a popular corruption of 'Jerahmeel.'

On the S. and SW. the boundary line of the Negeb went by 'Kadesh-barnea' (Kadesh-Jerahmeel) and 'Hazar-addar' (Hazar-Jerahmeel)—*i.e.*, 'Ain Ḳadīs and (probably) 'Ain Muweileḥ respectively. The authority[6] from which we obtain this information adds that the southern boundary line of the land of Israel passed on to 'Azmon—*i.e.* (as we have just seen), Hazar-rimmon, which is *Umm er-Rammāmīm*—and went round to the torrent course of Miṣrim, which is the well-known Wādy el-'Ariš. There is also a passage—of very late date, it is true, and often greatly misunderstood—in which the southern limit of the Negeb is fixed at a more northerly point than Kadesh—viz., at Zarephath or *Ṣebaita* (Ob. 20, critically emended text), which appears to have been regarded sometimes as the most northerly city of Muṣri[7] (in N. Arabia; see MIZRAIM), sometimes as the most southerly city of the Negeb of Palestine.

This way of regarding Zarephath agrees with the specification in Josh. 11 17 of the southern boundary of the land conquered by Joshua as 'the bare mountain (EV, the Mt. Halak) that goes up to Seir,' which Trumbull identifies with the 'bare and bald rampart of rock' which forms the northern wall of the Wādy el-Fiḳreh (*Kadesh-barnea*, 1895).

Summing up, we may say that the Negeb is an irregularly shaped tract extending from the hill-country of Judah on the N. to the wilderness of Zin[1] (*i.e.*, the 'Azāzimeh mountains) on the S., and from near the Dead Sea and the southern Ghōr on the E. to the Mediterranean on the W., and that in the character of its soil it forms a transition from the rich fertility of Canaan to the wasteness of the desert.

4. Goshen or Geshur?

We must, however, bear in mind the limitations stated in Nu. 34 4 *f.* (see § 3), and we must allow room (*a*) for the tract of land in SW. Palestine, between the Negeb and the Shĕphēlah, called 'the land of Goshen' (Josh. 10 41 11 16), and (*b*) for a district between the Negeb proper and the edge of the Tīh plateau which was less favoured by nature than the Negeb. As to (*a*), to supplement what is said elsewhere (see GOSHEN, 2), it may be suggested here, not as an assured result, but as a probability, that גשן (Goshen) is miswritten for גשר (Geshur?).

In 1 S. 27 8 we find 'the Geshurites and the Girzites' (where one of the two names is obviously a doublet) mentioned beside the Amalekites—*i.e.*, the Jerahmeelites—and in Josh. 13 2 the Geshurites beside the Philistines. It is difficult to find room both for Goshen and for the Geshurites or Girzites (Girshites?), and it is a simple expedient to identify them. The name 'Girshites' is probably a better form than either 'Geshurites' or 'Goshen.'

5. The Negeb of Muṣri.

As to (*b*), we may safely assume that this district belonged, as Kadesh and Zarephath may once have belonged, to the kingdom of Muṣri in N. Arabia, and the still existing traces of the careful agriculture of its ancient inhabitants seem to show that it was not an unvalued possession. The Wādy Māyin and the Wādy Luṣṣān (cp the name of the Roman station of Lysa in the Peutinger Table) were apparently the most thriving parts of this district, owing to the excellent wells in the former Wādy and the admirably constructed dams in the latter. The Wādy Luṣṣān, it should be noted, is a little to the S. of the Wādy Jerūr, the Gerar of Gen. 20 1 26 1, where Isaac had such large flocks and herds. We must not speak too positively, however, of the times of the Israelites; but it is at least reasonable to suppose that this district was not worse off for vegetation then than the Negeb is at the present day.[2]

6. Wealth of the Negeb.

It is at any rate plain that in David's time the Negeb was in its way a comparatively rich country (see the notices in 1 S. 15 9 27 9 30 16), and for the Greek period we may perhaps claim the witness of the Chronicler (2 Ch. 14 14 *f.*). These passages agree in speaking of the abundance of sheep, oxen, asses, and camels—the wealth of a pastoral people. No doubt the palmiest days of the Negeb were in the Byzantine period. We have not the means of contrasting the Byzantine cities with those of the pre-Roman age, though where the dwellings consist of rock-hewn caves, these are doubtless older than the masonry of the buildings. The *nawāmīs*, or beehive huts of stone, with which every hill-side is covered (cp KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH, TENT) are assigned by Palmer to pre-historic peoples;[3] the *duwārs* or stone-enclosures he compares with the חצרות or 'nomad villages' of early Israelite times, which are distinguished in Josh. 19 8 from ערים or 'cities.'[4]

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1 So GAS *HG* 279.

2 *PEFQ*, 1875, p. 51.

3 Beth-zur, in our view, the true name of 'Debir,' was perhaps also called Beth-el (צור, *ṣūr*, and אֵל, *'ēl*, being synonyms for 'God'), and 'Beth-el' mistaken for 'Beth-lehem.' It is, however, simpler to suppose that 'Bethlehem' in 1 S. 17 12 15 as well as in Mic. 5 2 [1] (see MICAH [BOOK], § 4 [*e*]) is a corruption of 'Beth-jerahmeel.' Some place in the Negeb, perhaps Carmel (=Jerahmeel), may be meant.

4 Wilton, 20.

5 𝔊 apparently had ασελμωνα, (so FL in Nu. 34 4 *f.*) where the final α may be disregarded. λ represents ר; the second ר dropped out.

6 Nu. 34 4 *f.*; cp Josh. 15 3 *f.* In spite of Wetzstein's geographical learning, his explanation of the southern boundary-line of Judah (Del. *Gen.*(4), 586 *ff.*) is very improbable. Without textual criticism no progress could be made. Cp KARKAA.

7 On the traditional error respecting this place-name see OBADIAH, ZAREPHATH. Note, too, in this connection that צידון, 'Zidon,' in 1 K. 17 9 should probably rather be כְּמִצּוּר, Miṣṣur—*i.e.*, Muṣri in N. Arabia (see MIZRAIM). Zarephath was probably the first town in the Negeb entered by a traveller from 'Beersheba which belongs to Judah' (1 K. 19 3), which was reckoned to the land of Muṣri.

1 On the use of the terms 'wilderness of Zin,' 'wilderness of Paran,' see ZIN, PARAN.

2 Palmer, *ibid.* 345 347.

3 *Ibid.* 392.

4 *Ibid.* 316 *ff.* 321; cp Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea*, 280 *ff.*

The same explorer gives us a vivid picture of the vanished prosperity of the Negeb (see *Desert of the Exodus*, pt. ii., chap. 5). His descriptions of the ruins of cities and of the remains of terraces, etc., justify us in inferring that the later condition of this region was far from contemptible. There are, indeed, no grand remains at Kadesh (*'Ain Ḳadīs*), and Beer-sheba is absolutely destitute of ruins; but Rehoboth (*Ruḥaibeh*), Zarephath or Zephath (*Ṣebaita*), and Ziklag (*Ḥalaṣa*) are still represented by the remains of fine cities of a post-biblical age. Of Solomon's 'Tamar,' or perhaps (see § 3) Baalath-beer-Rimmon we have nothing but the probable site to point to; the latter name may suggest that even in the relatively unfertile Negeb pomegranates (*rimmōn*), may have flourished, unless indeed Rimmon is a popular corruption of Jerahmeel. That many of the strongly-embanked terraces at el-'Aujeh and elsewhere were once planted with fruit-trees, there can be no doubt.

Such a name as 'Anab—*i.e.*, 'grape-cluster'—is also thoroughly justified. The towers so frequent in the Negeb are evidently vineyard-towers (Is. 5 2), and Arabic phraseology still gives the name Tuleilat el-'anab, 'grape-mounds,' to the small stone-heaps covering the hill-sides and valleys for miles, along which, anciently, vines were trained.

The fact just mentioned throws considerable doubt on the common theory (see ESHCOL) that the Eshcol of

7. Eshcol. Nu. 13 23 *f.* was at Hebron. The original tradition surely did not mean that Caleb brought the huge cluster of grapes, the pomegranates, and the figs all the way from Hebron. It was, probably, a journey of exploration in the Negeb that was originally meant, and the spies brought the fruit from the orchards and vineyards nearest to the camp.

'If Eshcol be at Hebron, we must either suppose that they brought the grapes through a grape-bearing country, or that they brought them to a Kadesh N. of Ain Gadis ['Ain Ḳadīs] and situate at the present border of Palestine' (Palmer, *op. cit.* 353). The latter hypothesis is clearly unsuitable, as Palmer well points out. It is also not improbable that 'Nahum the Elḳoshite' was really 'Nahum the Eshcolite,' the Negeb being a veritable nursery of prophets (see PROPHET, § 6 *ff.*).

Fully to understand the tradition of the 'spies' we must distinguish between its present and its original form. As it now stands, it seems to represent Eshcol as near Hebron. It is shown elsewhere (MAMRE, REHOBOTH), however, that 'Eshcol' may be a distortion of 'Ḥalaṣah,' and 'Hebron' in the original story relative to 'Eshcol' and the spies a corruption of 'Reḥoboth.'

The narrative in Nu. 13 21-26 is composite, and *vv.* 21 25 26*a* are assigned to P, who apparently found 'Rehob,' not 'Hebron,' in his authority, and misunderstood it as meaning a northern Rehob (see REHOB), so that he had to allow 'forty days' (= a long but indeterminate period) for the search of the spies. Rehoboth and Ḥalaṣah naturally go together, and coming from the desert the spies might quite naturally be supposed to have called this region 'a land flowing with milk and honey.' [Wi. (*Gesch.* 2 40 *f.*), however, maintains that the primitive tradition mentioned not Hebron but Kirjath-arba, which (cp MAMRE), like Rehob in *v.* 21, he places in the N., at or near Dan.]

We have done our best to explain the geography of the Negeb, mainly from a historical point of view. The task has been very difficult owing to the corruption from which (we believe) the place-names have so frequently suffered. The reader will bear in mind that one object of the present work is to contribute in some degree to the rectification of the details of biblical geography. Nowhere perhaps is so much rectification needed as in the case of the geography of the Negeb. The current identifications (*e.g.*, those of Ziklag, Brook Besor, Telaim, Bealoth, Hazazon-Tamar, Tamar, Ramath of the South, Hormah, Azmon, Karkaa, Madmannah, En-gedi [in Samuel], Ir-ham-melaḥ) cannot be accepted. They are based on what we believe to be textual errors. Not only the geography but also the historical notices themselves relative to the Negeb need to be brought nearer to their original form. Some of these have already been considered here; two more may be mentioned in conclusion. (*a*) 2 Ch. 20, the account of the victory of Jehoshaphat over the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Meunim. A plausible view of the main geographical points has been given by Conder (*PEFQ*, 1875, p. 70 *f.*) and Buhl (*Pal.* 97); it may be added here that in *v.* 16 the Chronicler perhaps wrote, 'the wilderness of Jezreel'; if we should not rather emend 'Jeruel' into 'Jerahmeel,' and suppose the re-casting of an older narrative in which various place-names were different—*e.g.*, 'Jerahmeel' for 'Jeruel,' 'Kadesh' for 'Hazziz,' and 'Kadesh-jerahmeel' for 'Hazezon-tamar' (see TAMAR). It should be noticed that in *v.* 2 En-kadesh is misread by the Chronicler as En-gedi.[1] See ZIZ, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

(*b*) 2 K. 14 7, Amaziah's victory over the Edomites. Here JOKTHEEL [*q.v.*] should be read 'Jeraḥmeel.' It seems that in spite of the favourite legend connecting the name 'Jerahmeel' with the story of Hagar (see ISAAC), narrators went on devising fresh explanations of the name. One such is found in Nu. 21 3; another in 2 K. 14 7. So inextricably are legendary narrative and geographical fact interwoven; so impossible is it to study geography without a critical view of the Hebrew documents and their contents!

8. Literature. See especially Wilton, *The Negeb or 'South Country' of Scripture* (1863); E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, Pt. II. (1871): Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea* (1884); G. Williams, *The Holy City* (1849), 463-468 (Note on Southern Border of Palestine, with letter from J. Rowlands on his exploration of Kadesh and the surrounding country). T. K. C.

NEGINAH, UPON (עַל־נְגִינַת), Ps. 61, tit. AV, but RV 'on a stringed instrument.' The Massoretes, however, took נגינת (*nĕghīnath*) to be in *stat. constr.*; they connected it by the accents with לְדָוִד, as if the phrase meant 'accompanied with David's playing on stringed instruments.' 𝔊, Sym., Jer., Tg., render as if they read בִּנְגִינוֹת. These views are all impossible; the text needs careful emendation; see NEGINOTH. T. K. C.

NEGINOTH, ON (בִּנְגִינוֹת; ΕΝ ΥΜΝΟΙϹ [𝔊, Theod.]; ΕΝ ΨΑΛΜΟΙϹ [Aq.]; ΔΙΑ ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΩΝ [Sym.]; *in psalmis*), Pss. 4 (ΕΝ ΨΑΛΜΟΙϹ) 6 (om. A) 54 55 61 (?) 67 76; (titles), AV; but RV 'on stringed instruments.' But נגינה does not mean 'a stringed instrument,' nor is it used in the plural (in Ps. 69 13 [12] ונגינות should be יְשַׂמְּנוּנִי).[2] נגינות (Neginoth) is corrupted from שמינית (Sheminith; see PSALMS, § 26, 26), and this from אֵתָנִים (Ethanites). Thus in Ps. 6 1 (tit.) there is dittography. The prefixed preposition was evidently altered as a consequence of the faulty reading נגינות. Observe that the psalm in Hab. 3 is inconsistent. It gives על־שגינות in *v.* 1, but [י] בנגינות in *v.* 19 (the title has by accident been divided); see HABAKKUK [BOOK], § 8. על־השמינית (or rather, עַל־יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת 'for the Sabbath-day') should be substituted. 𝔊 in Hab. has ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ αὐτοῦ. See SHEMINITH, UPON; and cp MUSIC, § 6. T. K. C.

NEHELAMITE (Jer. 29 24 etc.). See SHEMAIAH (2).

NEHEMIAH (נְחֶמְיָה, §§ 30, 62, 'Yahwè is consolation [or, a consoler],' but originally no doubt an ethnic name, cp NAHAM, NAHAMANI, and see note 3. Cl.-Ganneau reports a late Jewish name נחמיהו [*Sceaux et cachets israelites*, 1883]; BℵAL ΝΕΕΜΙΑϹ [genit. ΝΕΕΜΙΑ; but in Neh. 1 1, B[c. mg. sup.] L, and in Neh. 12 47 ℵ[c.a] L, ΝΕΕΜΙΟΥ]; ΝΕΕΜΙΟϹ [B in Ezra 2 2], ΝΑΙΜΙΑϹ [1 Esd. 5 40 B], ΝΕΜΙΑϹ [2 Macc. 1 36 V*]).

1. B. Hachaliah,[3] a leader in the reorganisation of

1. Occasion of his enterprise. the land of Judah. We are in a favourable position for studying his career, because a large portion of the book which bears his name (Neh. 1 1-7 5 11 12 27-13 31) comes

[1] 'En-kadesh' is misread in the same way in 1 S. 23 29 24 1.

[2] ישם fell out owing to שותי (corrupted from [שפתי [שקר) which follows.

[3] [The form is doubtful. See HACHALIAH. At any rate it springs from an ethnic name, and, if identical with Hilkiah, from one of the ethnics connected with the Negeb. Nehemiah, if=Naham, has a similar origin.]

from a work of his own composition [which, however, we must not read with a blind belief in Nehemiah's infallibility]. He was one of the cupbearers of King Artaxerxes, *i.e.*, of the first king of that name[1] (465-425 B.C.)—[an important office—see CUPBEARER—which gave him great influence with the king]. It so fell out that while attending to his duties at the royal winter palace at Shushan or Susa, in the month of Kisleu or December, 445 B.C., he received a visit from a party of Jews from Judæa, led by a kinsman of his own named Hanani, who told him of the sad condition of the Jews in 'the province' (Judah or Judæa), and of the defenceless state of Jerusalem. Greatly troubled by this news, he betook himself to prayer and fasting [and from the words of his prayer it appears, according to Kosters, that it was not to any recent calamity that Hanani referred, but to the old devastation by Nebuchadrezzar].

[This view of Kosters is rejected by We. (*GGN*, 1895, p. 170) and by Meyer (*Entst.* 56). With most recent critics they are of opinion that the wall and gates of Jerusalem were rebuilt by Ezra, and that their destruction (Neh. 1 3) was the work of the Samaritans (cp Ezra 4, Neh. 4 7) acting with the sanction of Artaxerxes I. It has also been held (Nöld. *Aufsätze zur pers. Gesch.* 56; Che. *OPs.* 71), that it stood in some connection with the revolt of the satrap Megabyzos (448 B.C.), with which the Jews may, rightly or wrongly, have been suspected of complicity.

The latter theory, however, is too hazardous. If the Jews of Judæa had been regarded as mixed up with this revolt, Artaxerxes would not have been so ready to accede to the wishes of Nehemiah; indeed, Neh. 2 19 implies that up to Nehemiah's time the Jews had not committed any overt act of rebellion,[2] and we may venture to suppose that the great king wished, through his Jewish courtier Nehemiah, to reward the Jews of Judæa for not having been drawn away from their allegiance by Megabyzos. As for the former theory, we cannot safely base anything on the narrative and official documents in Ezra 4, both of which are most probably fictitious (see EZRA-NEH.), though Meyer and Sellin have vigorously defended their genuineness; see also Winckler, *AOF* 2 210 *ff.*

The prevalent opinion, which assumes that Ezra came to Jerusalem before Nehemiah, rests on an imperfect criticism of the compilation of the Chronicler, and has been rightly rejected by Marquart (*Fund.* 58) and Winckler (*AOF* 2 216 *f.*). To this it must be added (1) that after Ezra's failure in respect of the mixed marriages we cannot understand how he should have succeeded in stirring up the people to restore the wall, and put an impediment in the way of fraternising with the Samaritans, and how, when Nehemiah takes up and not without difficulty, carries through the work of restoration, no mention should be made of Ezra (Neh. 12 36 has been tampered with, see § 5); and (2) that the conversation between Nehemiah and the king in Neh. 2 makes no reference to a removal of a royal prohibition to restore the walls. It is no answer to this that Artaxerxes was good-natured but weak. There is no evidence for this; the manner in which he

1 [The king under whom Nehemiah and Ezra lived must have been the first Artaxerxes; otherwise the growth of the Pentateuch and of the Psalter is scarcely explicable. It is true, Marquart (*Fund.* 31) objects that if a son of Joiada was already married in 433 (Neh. 13 28), Joiada's grandson Jaddua could not possibly have been high priest a century later under Darius III. But why need we take 'Darius the Persian' (Neh. 12 22) to be Darius III.? It is not to the Chronicler that Neh. 12 1-26 is to be assigned, but to an earlier writer. 'Jaddua' may be an error for 'Joiada' (emend *v.* 11 *f.* accordingly). Joiada, son of Eliashib, was apparently high priest in 433 (Neh. 13 28, where 'high priest' refers to 'Joiada'); his son 'Johanan' may well have been high priest in 424. Thus 'the reign of Darius the Persian' (12 22), corresponds to 'the days of Johanan b. Eliashib' (*v.* 23). In Neh. 12 11 'Jonathan' should of course be 'Johanan' ('Jaddua' goes out). 'Johanan' in Ezra 10 6, if correct, must be a brother of Joiada; but the name may be a mistake (due to the redactor of Ezra's memoir) for 'Joiada.']

2 [The expression is designed. Tattenai may have given reason for suspecting the Jews of a disloyal temper, which may, indeed, account for the sudden disappearance of ZERUBBABEL (*q.v.*). More than this we cannot suppose, and persistent loyalty during the revolt of Megabyzos would wipe out previous suspicions.]

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reached the throne certainly does not favour this view; but cp ARTAXERXES, *ad fin.* (3) The language of the Samaritans in Neh. 2 19 *f.* 3 33 [4 1] seems to imply that no previous attempt like that of Nehemiah had been made.

Not less untenable is the theory which has lately been revived by Sellin (*Serubbabel*, 51 *f.*; cp 197), viz., that the wall and gates had been restored by Zerubbabel under Darius I., but had shortly afterwards been destroyed, when the royalistic movement centering in this prince collapsed (to this he finds an allusion in Ps. 89 40). Long ago (1854) Ewald (*GVI*(3) 4 156) proposed the same view, which he supported by the very same psalms as are appealed to by Sellin, viz., 44 60 74 79 80 89 (Ewald adds 85, Sellin 83 102)—psalms which he had previously (with more plausibility) referred to 'the destruction under Bagōsēs related in Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7 1.' This, however, is connected with a historical theory respecting the career of ZERUBBABEL [*q.v.*], which has no evidence in its favour, and the view about the destruction of the walls is inconsistent with Zech. 2 4 *f.* Cp PSALMS (BOOK), §§ 28, 32. We are now (1901) able to add that the author himself has withdrawn this theory (*Studien zur Entstehungsgesch.* etc., 2 181 186). His present view is that the walls were being rebuilt under Cambyses (or Cyrus) when they were destroyed by the Samaritans (p. 182). Against this see (3) in the preceding paragraph.

Nothing therefore remains but to consider the claims of the theory of Kosters.

(1) That no recent destruction is referred to is plain from the prayer of Nehemiah. The great object before the mind of the suppliant is the return of the exiles to Jerusalem. Until the wall had been restored, and the community had adopted the same view of religious purity as was current among the Jews of the Dispersion, such a return was impossible. The first thing, therefore, was to get the wall restored. Had this been done earlier, a large body of exiles would have migrated before the time of Ezra. They did not so migrate, for Nehemiah evidently found no considerable Babylonian element at Jerusalem; therefore the wall cannot have been rebuilt before the time of Nehemiah.

(2) The same result follows from the language of Hanani in Neh. 1 2 *f.* He does not indeed underrate the miserable condition of Jerusalem; but the main point with him is the affliction and the insults suffered by its inhabitants. That is the novel element in the tidings which he brings. Shortly before Nehemiah's governorship the relations between the Jews and the Samaritans were becoming more and more strained. There was as yet no regular feud; but the tendency to a feud was not wanting. There was an active, though not as yet a predominant, orthodox party at Jerusalem, and Sanballat and Tobiah 'had come to feel that the differences which parted them were greater than the resemblances which united them.'[1] They did not withhold taunts and insults, which were returned in good measure to them and to their Jewish sympathisers by Jewish prophetic writers (Is. 57 3 65 1-5 66 3). Hanani, doubtless, feared that worse things would follow, and attributed this to the want of a material barrier to intercourse between the unorthodox party in Jerusalem and the Samaritans outside. Hence, probably, the stress which he laid, when visiting Nehemiah, on the destruction of the wall (Neh. 1 3).

Both in *Serubbabel* and recently in *Studien* ii. Sellin controverts Kosters' interpretation of Neh. 1 3, where the Jews of Judæa are called 'the remnant that are left of the captivity (הנשארים אשר נשארו מן השבי).' *Šebi* (שְׁבִי), according to Sellin, means the same as *gōlāh* (גּוֹלָה), 'those who had been carried away.' Kosters, however (and so Marq. *Fund.* 35), takes the phrase to mean 'those who have escaped the deportation in the time of Nebuchadrezzar.' According to Sellin, Hanani implies that a considerable number of Babylonian Jews—Jewish captives (שְׁבִי)—had returned to Palestine, but (so at least in *Serubbabel*) that many of these had lost their lives in the troublous times of Zerubbabel—a very forced explanation. The true sense is shown by Ezra 9 7, 'we have been given up . . . to the sword, to captivity, and to spoiling' (RV), where 'to captivity' clearly means 'to be carried captive.' Kosters' view is perfectly correct, and indeed is required by the preceding word *pelēṭāh* (פְּלֵיטָה), 'those who have escaped.']

1 *Jew. Rel. Life*, 45.

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For three months Nehemiah remained a prey to his own sad thoughts, and then his opportunity came. Artaxerxes one day questioned him about his depression, and Nehemiah, after secret prayer to God for help, laid his case before the king. Artaxerxes and his consort (who also was present) were favourable to the request, but desired that Nehemiah's leave of absence should be as brief as possible. It would seem, however, that he left Susa invested with the governorship of Judah for an indefinite period; [though the text of 5 14 may perhaps require a closer inspection; see § 5]. Provided with letters to the governors of the region to be traversed, and with a military escort, Nehemiah in due course reached Jerusalem.

2. Restoring walls.

Within three days from his arrival he addressed himself to his work. After making a nocturnal survey of the walls, secretly and almost unaccompanied, he began to stir up both rulers and people to take in hand the work of restoration.[1] This they declared themselves ready to do (2 11-18). Prompt action was taken, and not only Jerusalem, but also other places, such as Jericho, Tekoa, Gibeon, Mizpah, joined in the work; high priest, priests and Levites, civil administrators, and heads of guilds, and even women, became each responsible for some part of the building (3 1-32).

[This passage, as well as the brief account of Nehemiah's secret visit of inspection, deserves careful study from a topographical point of view. Some of the proper names, too, are most interesting; *e.g.*, BESODEIAH, COL-HOZEH, HALLOHESH, HARHAIAH, HASSENAAH.]

3. Opposition from without.

The difficulties, however, with which the governor had to contend were still great. Influential persons of non-Israelite descent—'Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the Ammonite servant [EV 'the servant, the Ammonite'], Geshem, or Gashmu, the Arabian,' of whom at least the first two had intermarried with leading Israelite families—had regarded the coming of Nehemiah 'to seek the welfare of the Israelites' (2 10) with no favour. They vied with one another in ridiculing Nehemiah's undertaking (2 19 *f.* 3 33-35 [4 1-3]). Then, waxing bolder, they planned a sudden attack on the builders of the wall (4 7 *f.* 11 [1 *f.* 5]). Nehemiah, however, was warned in time by Jewish friends on the frontier. At once he suspended building operations, and posted his people behind the walls with arms, so that the enemy was overawed and had to abandon his plan. Henceforward Nehemiah was continually on his guard. Of his people one-half were in constant readiness to repel any onslaught. The builders themselves had their weapons by their side, and all the workers passed the night within the walls, a precaution that had not previously been thought necessary (4 15-23 [9-17]). The enemy's next resort [as Nehemiah represents] was to cunning (6 1-14). Over and over again they invited the governor to conference. On one occasion they pretend that their object was to counteract certain evil rumours which had been circulated against him; on another they feed a Jewish prophet to induce Nehemiah to seek refuge in a part of the temple that was forbidden to the laity, so that he might lose influence with the people. Nehemiah saw through them, however, and did not fall into their traps.

[The section of Nehemiah's memoir on which the above sketch is based needs a very thorough criticism. It is no doubt plausible to assume that Sanballat and Tobiah were a Moabite and an Ammonite respectively, and to illustrate the intermarriage of Jewish families with them by Neh. 13 1. It would seem, however, that Sanballat and Tobiah were worshippers of Yahwè, and from Neh. 4 2 [3 34] that Sanballat was a kinsman of the Samaritans. These considerations throw some doubt on Kosters' view.

The most critical course is to emend the text of the passage referred to (3 34 [4 2]), which is admittedly in some disorder, and to read, 'And he said before the Jerahmeelites and Misrites, What are the Jews doing?' See *Crit. Bib.*; the proof of this emendation lies in the interpolated אמללים explained as corrupted ירחמאלים (dittographed). Sanballat (if the name may pass) was a Misrite of N. Arabia; Tobiah (or rather Rehobothi?) was probably called a Jerahmeelite, not an Ammonite. 'The servant' (cp RV) is a corruption of 'the Arabian,' which is itself a misreading. See SANBALLAT, TOBIAH.

Whether Sanballat really believed that Nehemiah was about to rebel against Persia (2 19 6 6) is uncertain; but it was, at any rate, a colourable pretext for his opposition. The sudden disappearance of ZERUBBABEL [*q.v.*] seems to have been caused by just suspicions of his untrustworthiness, and some Jewish prophets may possibly have represented Nehemiah as the destined Messiah.[1] That Sanballat was unconciliatory cannot fairly be said. Undeterred by a first rebuff, he made four more attempts to bring about a conference with the governor (6 2-5). Nehemiah's cause was better than that of Sanballat; but Nehemiah carried his suspiciousness to an extreme. He was the man for the time; but historical students will seek to do justice not only to him but also to his opponents.]

4. Difficulties within.

Nehemiah had to contend with pusillanimity within, as well as with hostility without. He had to listen to complaints of the difficulty of the work (4 10 [4]) and to grievances of the poor against the rich (5 1 *ff.*); nor could he by any means certainly reckon on the fidelity of the Jewish relatives of his enemies (6 17-19). But these obstacles also he was able to overcome. By his vigorous measures of defence, by the firmness of his faith in his own vocation and in the help of God, he inspired the timid with courage, and all with a spirit of respect and reverence. Above all was he strong by his generous disinterestedness; thus, himself renouncing all claim upon his debtors, he induced the rich Jews to engage themselves to restore the possessions of their poorer compatriots which they had received in pawn, and not to exact payment of their debts; the dues which as governor he was legally entitled to exact for his own use, he refrained from collecting; he gave up his personal servants that they might labour at the building of the wall; daily he received at his table Jews from outside the city who came to Jerusalem partly to hold council with him, and partly for the purpose of sacrificing (chap. 5). In this way he was able to make head against all difficulties and at last bring his great work to a conclusion. On the 25th of Elul, after fifty-two days' labour, the restoration of the wall was completed (6 15).

5. Dedication.

A solemn dedication ceremony ensued. Two choirs of priests and singers, followed by the rulers and the people, and headed, the one by Hoshaiah and the other by Nehemiah, marched from one fixed point in opposite directions, with music and song, along the walls, and rejoined one another for the solemn festival in the temple (12 27-43).

[It is stated in Neh. 5 14 that Nehemiah acted as governor of Judah 'from the 20th to the 32nd year of Artaxerxes the king, that is, 12 years.' This must surely be due to a later hand. Nehemiah's leave was only for a set time, and the king evidently expected him to return soon. The restoration of the wall was taken in hand promptly, and was effected in fifty-two days (Neh. 6 15). It is true Nehemiah had ulterior objects. But apparently he had not communicated these to

1 [According to Wi. (*AOF* 2 234 *ff.*), the object of Nehemiah's mission was to introduce an important modification into the purely hierarchical system of government lately introduced by Ezra in the priestly code, the high priest Eliashib having shown himself untrustworthy. Once more the land was placed under a secular official—a *peḥāh* (פֶּחָה), or 'governor,' appointed by the court. When Nehemiah returned to Susa, Eliashib, who coveted the support of other noble but non-Israelitish families, renewed his intercourse with Tobiah the Ammonite; and Nehemiah, on his second arrival at Jerusalem, punished this by banishing certain members of the high-priestly family on a legal pretext. But Nehemiah's mission can be accounted for without this hypothesis.]

1 *Jew. Rel. Life*, 46 *f.*

Artaxerxes. If Josephus's date (see n. 1) be correct, Nehemiah's governorship lasted only seven years. The context of Neh. 5 14, however, suggests that the memoir was written soon after the completion of the wall (see *v.* 16). Not improbably we should read in *v.* 14, for 'thirty-second,' 'twenty-second,' thus allowing *two years* for the governorship. This amply suffices for the works ascribed to Nehemiah. The mistake 'thirty-second' would be caused by the fact that Nehemiah's second brief governorship is placed in the 32nd year of Artaxerxes (Neh. 13 6).]

The walls and gates once set in order, Nehemiah's next care was for their being properly guarded, and for the due opening and closing of the gates; he also saw to the government of the city, devised means for augmenting its population by immigration (7 1-5*a* 11 1 *f.*), and successfully induced many Levites, who still remained in other cities and villages, to transfer their residence to Jerusalem (cp 13 10 *f.*).

[Between Nehemiah's first and second visits Marq. and Che. place Ezra's attempt at reorganisation. Nehemiah is nowhere mentioned as present in Jerusalem in the records of Ezra; Ezra nowhere in those of Nehemiah. The reference to Ezra in Neh. 12 36 is an interpolation of the redactor; in Neh. 12 33, Ezra (=Azariah, 10 2) is a gentilic name. On the supposed references to Nehemiah in the memoirs of Ezra, see TIRSHATHA. That Nehemiah found no Babylonian element in the population of Judah worth reckoning with, appears from his own record. The only difficulty is in the date in Ezra 7 7 (cp Neh. 1 1). Perhaps we should read, for 'in the seventh year,' 'in the twenty-seventh year' (בִּשְׁנַת עֶשְׂרִים וְשֶׁבַע); similarly in *v.* 8. It is true that Ezra 7 1-10 comes to us in a revised form; but we need not assume that the date is the insertion of the reviser. Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 14.]

After a visit to Artaxerxes (Neh. 13 6) in the 32nd [or possibly 22nd] year of his reign, 433 B.C. [or 443?], Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem. He now appeared more than formerly as a religious reformer.

6. Second visit: religious reform.

The holders of the higher offices of the priesthood learned what stuff he was made of. 'The priest Eliashib' had given the use of one of the chambers belonging to the temple to Tobiah. Nehemiah indignantly cast out Tobiah's household utensils (13 4-9). Worse still, a grandson of Eliashib[1] the high priest had married a daughter of Sanballat. Him Nehemiah expelled from the sacred city (13 28). In the same section (*v.* 29) the governor makes reference to a number of priests who had desecrated their office; we may assume therefore that this was not the only drastic measure carried out by Nehemiah in the temple. Certainly it is presupposed in Ezra 9 *f.* Neh. 9 *f.* that shortly afterwards the priesthood which served in the temple was of the right sort. It is not impossible that Nehemiah even deposed the high priest in favour of his son Jehohanan, the ally of Ezra (Ezra 10 6). His next measures of reform were directed against those who had married foreign wives; he made them swear that they would not suffer their children to intermarry with foreigners, and did not hesitate physically to assault the recalcitrant (13 23-27). He took measures to prevent traders with their wares from entering the city on the sabbath day (13 19-22); secured that the Levites, who during his absence had again left the city, should thenceforward no longer be kept out of their dues (13 10-14); and made certain regulations with reference to the temple service, the wood-offering, and the first-fruits (13 30 *f.*).

Nehemiah's activity in Jerusalem after his return having thus been so different from that of his earlier period, and so much more decidedly ecclesiastical, it becomes a question whether during his second period he still continued to hold the dignity of governor.

7. Office.

There is some reason for doubting whether he did. He himself expressly says [in the difficult passage, 5 14, on which see above, § 5] that he was 'governor in the land of Judah' for only twelve years, down to the 32nd year of Artaxerxes; and in the parts of the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah which relate to the time of his second visit, he is called [if we may trust the text] the Tirshatha and no longer *peḥā* or governor. See TIRSHATHA.

It seems probable, therefore, that on the occasion of his journey to court, Nehemiah had asked and obtained a change of position. Why he desired this we are not told; but we are able to guess. From the outset Nehemiah's programme had been the restoration of Israel, to which the restoration of the walls was only subsidiary. To this restoration the most serious obstacle was the conduct of Nehemiah's non-Jewish adversaries. Their efforts to frustrate the restoration were indeed in vain; still, their influence at Jerusalem continued to be very great, because of their alliance with the ruling families among the Jews, and even with that of the high priest. Their Jewish relatives who had supported Nehemiah in his rebuilding of the wall seemed disinclined to assist him in counteracting the foreign influences, on behalf of which indeed they openly took sides against him[1] (6 17-19). Nehemiah saw clearly, however, that, if Israel was to be restored, the high-priesthood must not be allowed to remain in the hands of Sanballat's and Tobiah's relations, and that a religious reformation had to be brought about. This he desired to accomplish; but for the purpose he needed to have a position that would enable him to come forward in another capacity than that of governor of Judæa. It was with reference to this that he made his journey up to court, and we find him returning apparently with permission to come forward as a reformer of the religious condition of Judæa, not as Peḥāh, but as Tirshatha. It is not inconceivable that, in connection with his plans for reformation of the priesthood, Nehemiah had asked the king to hand over to the high priest some of those functions of governor which, in point of fact, we find him exercising at a later period.

[This hypothesis depends to some extent on the correctness of a very strange-looking word (*hat-tirshāthā*), which in every passage where it occurs may be corrupt, and in some of the passages may have been inserted by a glossator. This at least, however, it is safe to assume, when drawn a second time by patriotic anxiety from Susa, Nehemiah came rather as special high commissioner than as governor. See *Jew. Rel. Life*, 64.]

The conjecture that Nehemiah's journey to court was the occasion of the return of Ezra and his band of exiles to Jerusalem is natural. By what means could Nehemiah better bring about the accomplishment of his aims than by such a strengthening of the Jewish element in Judæa? That at all events he gave his powerful aid to Ezra, co-operated with him in the formation of the congregation, and also took part with him in introducing the new law, we have endeavoured to show elsewhere (EZRA, §§ 6-8).

Nehemiah was a strong man; he achieved great things, and conquered difficulties that were well-nigh insuperable. It was faith that made him strong; though he is himself the chronicler of his own good deeds (5 19 13 14 22 31), we cannot doubt either the genuineness of his piety or the purity of his patriotism; he sacrificed much for the restoration of Israel, the object of his faith and prayers. No wonder that this man was affectionately remembered by posterity. Ecclus. extols him (49 13; see, however, Swete's text) as the restorer of the city walls; and in one of the two letters with which 2 Macc. opens (1 1-2 18) he is even celebrated as the man that rebuilt the temple and discovered the altar-fire which, at the destruction of the temple, had, at God's command, been hidden by the priests. Moreover, in 2 Macc. 2 13, where it is said that he commenced a library of accounts of the kings and the prophets, and

1 [No doubt the Manasseh, of whom Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8 2-4 tells us.

1 [All that Nehemiah says, however, is that the nobles of Judah kept up a correspondence with Tobiah (Neh. 6 17). What follows in *v.* 19 is incorrectly read. טוֹבֹתָיו can hardly mean 'his good deeds.' Read 'Moreover Rehobothites (רחובתים) were (continually) speaking before me, and reporting my words to him.' In justification of this, see TOBIAH.]

writings of David, and letters of kings concerning temple-offerings, he is honoured as collector of part of Israel's sacred literature. Thus he was regarded in later times as the restorer, not only of Jerusalem and its walls, but also of the temple and its services; and also as the man who rendered important service towards the formation of the sacred canon of Israel.

2. B. Azbuk, chief of half the district of Beth-zur, mentioned in list of wall-builders (Neh. 3 16). See above, § 1 *f.*; also EZRA ii., §§ 16 [i.], 15 *d.*

3. One of the leaders (see EZRA ii., § 8*e*) of the Jews in the great post-exilic list (Ezra 2 2 Neh. 7 7 = 1 Esd. 5 8 **Nehemias**). See EZRA ii., § 9, and GOVERNMENT. W. H. K.—T. K. C.

NEHEMIAH (BOOK). See EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

NEHILOTH, 'with the' [RV], or, 'upon' [AV], (עַל־הַנְּחִילוֹת; υπερ της κληρονομογςης; απο κληροδοςιων [Aq.], υπερ κληρογχιων [Sym.], *pro hæreditatibus* [Jer.]), Ps. 5 (title). Interpreters differ precisely as in the case of MAHALATH [*q.v.*]. But we may be sure that '(the) Nehiloth' is not the first word ('heritages'?) of a well-known song, nor a synonym for *ḥălīlîm*, 'flutes' (see, however, RV^mg.), nor miswritten for *mĕḥōlōth*, 'dances' (so apparently Tg. reads). As Grätz has pointed out, it is simply a corruption of (הָ)עֲלָמוֹת. The versions all agree in disallowing the י in הנחילות; it is true, they also disallow the ו, which, however, is of no significance. Tg.'s reading suggests that between על־העלמות and על־הנחילות there was a transitional reading על־המחלת; *i.e.*, Alamoth first became M-ḥ-l-th and then N-ḥ-l-th. See further PSALMS (BOOK), § 26 [1]. T. K. C.

NEHUM (נחום), Neh. 7 7 = Ezra 2 2, REHUM.

NEHUSHTA (נְחֻשְׁתָּא, § 68), the mother of king JEHOIACHIN (2 K. 24 8, νεεθα [B], ναισθα [A], νεεσθαν [L]). The readings quoted approximate curiously to the name NEHUSHTAN [*q.v.*], and are on this account strongly suggestive of corruption. Comparing חושם (which we take to be from כושם) and נחשון (from כושן), we may suppose נחשתא to be a corruption of כֻּשִׁית. The queen-mother then was Cushith—*i.e.*, a N. Arabian. Her father was 'Elnathan of Jerusalem.' Elnathan, however, is probably an expansion of Ethan (cp NETHANIAH), and the very unlikely 'Jerusalem' (like 'Abishalom' in 1 K. 15 2 10) is a corruption of Jerahmeel. Cp MAACHAH. T. K. C.

NEHUSHTAN (נְחֻשְׁתָּן; νεσθαλει [B], νεσθαν [A], νεεσθαν [L]; *Nohestan*, *Naasthan*).

2 K. 18 4*b* is rendered thus in EV, 'and he brake in pieces . . . Nehushtan' (with two marg. rends., 'Or, it was called,' and 'That is, a piece of brass'). The implication is that when HEZEKIAH [*q.v.*] destroyed this idolatrous object, he called it 'a mere piece of brass (bronze).' It cannot be denied that this view of ויקרא לו is plausible; it is also favoured by 𝔊^BA (*καὶ ἐκάλεσεν*). To suppose that those who offered sacrifices (קִטֵּר; see INCENSE, § 1) to the brazen serpent called it 'Piece of Brass,' is surely absurd. Still, the grammatical structure of the sentence favours the view that a statement respecting the name given by the worshippers *is* intended (Klost. reads וַיִּקְרָא or וַיִּקְרְאוּ; cp L *καὶ ἐκάλεσαν*), and the question arises whether נחשתן represents correctly the name given by the worshippers to this sacred object. The theory which is archæologically the most defensible as to the religious significance of the brazen serpent has suggested to the present writer that the original word may have been לִוְיָתָן, Leviathan, and that the deuteronomist, who (probably) adopted 2 K. 18 4-5*a* from the royal annals, out of a religious scruple changed לויתן into נחשתן, which of course involved interpreting ויקרא־לו, 'and he (Hezekiah) called it.'[1]

1. Name.

The early writer from whom the deuteronomist draws in 2 K. 18 4 brings Nehushtan (?) into connection with the brazen serpent (נְחַשׁ נְחשֶׁת, ὄφιν χαλκοῦν [BAFL]) mentioned in Nu. 21 9. Combining these two passages we are justified in supposing that in the regal period the superstitious Israelites sacrificed to the idol to obtain the recovery of their sick (cp SERPENT). It would not, however, follow that a healing virtue had always been supposed to be inherent in this sacred object. The fact (as we may venture to regard it) that the brazen oxen in 1 K. 7 25 were really copies of the oxen which symbolised Marduk in Babylonian temples (from which the brazen 'sea,' also symbolic, was probably derived) suggests that for an explanation of Nehushtan we should look to Babylonia (see CREATION, §§ 13, 19, 22). Now, it is certain from very early inscriptions (*KB* 3 1, p. 143; 3 2, pp. 21, 35, 73) that Babylonian temples contained, not only brazen oxen, but also brazen serpents. Some of these (see *e.g.*, *KB* 2 2, p. 35) may have been protective serpents, such as were worshipped in the larger Egyptian temples; but when, as in Solomon's temple, only a single one is mentioned, it is reasonable to suppose that it is the 'raging serpent' (*i.e.*, Tiāmat) that is meant, as in the inscription of king Agum-kakrimi (*KB* 3 1, p. 143). If so, the brazen serpent (more properly called LEVIATHAN, see above, § 1), which Solomon adopted with the brazen 'sea,' and the brazen oxen from Babylonia, was originally a trophy of the Creator's victory over the serpent of chaos.

2. Origin and meaning.

In later times it is very probable that the true meaning was forgotten; it appears from Am. 9 3 (see SERPENT, § 3 *f.*) that the prophet Amos had heard only an echo of the old dragon-myth. A new meaning would therefore naturally become attached to the venerated symbol—the meaning suggested above, which is supported by the etiological story[1] in Nu. 21 (cp Baudissin, *Stud. Sem. Rel.* 1 288).

A less probable theory of the brazen serpent must not be unrecorded. W. R. Smith thought (*J. of Phil.* 9 99) that 'Nehushtan' represented the totem of the family of David, and was worshipped by members of that stock in the manner described in Ezek. 8 8. This theory, however, is based on the traditional text of 2 S. 17 25 (see NAHASH), so that the totem-theory needs some modification in order to become plausible. Hence Benzinger has suggested that there may have been a serpent-clan among the tribes which united to form the Israelitish people, cp Gen. 49 17, of which Nehushtan may have been the sacred symbol just as the ARK [*q.v.*] may have been that of the tribe of Joseph. It is very doubtful, however, whether the so-called 'serpent-names,' NAHASH, NAHSHON, NUN, and NEHUSHTA are textually sound; all are in various degrees suspicious.

Was the brazen serpent in the temple really of primitive origin? We may well doubt it. The presumption is that it was neither more nor less ancient than the other sacred objects of Babylonian affinities in the temple of Solomon (cp CREATION, § 19).[2] T. K. C.

NEIEL (נְעִיאֵל, on the first part of the name see ZALMUNNA; ιναηλ [B], ανιηλ [A], ναειηλ [L]), mentioned with Beth-emek in the delimitation of Asher; Josh. 19 27†. See BETH-EMEK and cp NEAH. Conder finds Neiel at *Kh. Ya'nīn*, 9 m. E. of *'Akka*, and Robinson at the village *Mi'ar* 2 m. E. of *Ya'nīn*. Both are no doubt ancient sites (see Guérin, *Gal.* 1 434 436).

NEIGHBOUR (ο πλησιον) answers in the LXX to אָח *'āḥ*, עָמִית *'āmīth*, רֵעַ *rēă'*, קָרוֹב אֶל בַּיִת *ḳārōbh 'el báyith*.

[1] Or else לו in לויתן fell out owing to the preceding לו, and נחש was inserted by conjecture for the missing letters. This approaches Nöldeke's suggestion, נָחָשׁ תַּנִּין (*ZDMG*, 1888, p. 482, n. 1). But the combination of these two terms for 'serpent' could not have been original. Klost. is also at any rate on the right track; he explains (נחש יתן), 'ancient serpent.' See SERPENT.

[1] The view here taken of Nu. 21 5-9 is not disproved by W. H. Ward's discovery of a 'Hittite' cylinder on which worship is apparently represented as offered to a serpent on a pole. Indeed, such a representation helps us to understand how the story came to arise (cp SERPENT).

[2] The writer has maintained these theories for several years, nor is he under obligations to other critics. Only after writing the above did he observe Stade's combination of suggestions in *GVI* 1 467, one of which is that the idol Nehushtan might be connected with the cultus of the sky-serpent.

Three points in the teaching of Jesus connected with this word deserve special attention.

1. In Mt. 5 43 *f.*, Jesus contrasts the precept given to the ancients, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy,' with his own rule, 'Love your enemies.' The former part of the old principle is a verbal quotation from Lev. 19 18 𝔊, and, as the parallelism clearly proves, 'neighbour' was there synonymous with compatriot. The Jew was not at liberty to hate his personal enemies (see, on the contrary, Ex. 23 4 *f.*; Lev. 19 13; Prov. 20 22 24 17 29 25 21 *f.*; Job 31 29; Ps. 7 4 [5]), nor is he anywhere required in express terms to hate the heathen. The scribes, however, may very well have thought such feelings justified from the ban under which Canaanite cities were to be put (Dt. 7 2), and from the language used in Dt. 15 2 *f.* 20 13-18 25 17-19 Mal. 1 2 *f.*, and especially Ps. 139 21 *f.* All the more natural and indeed inevitable was such an inference in the strong reaction against the heathen power which held the chosen people in its grip. Jesus, then, taking 'neighbour' in its accepted sense, pronounces the former half of the Jewish maxim insufficient and sweeps the latter half of it away. His disciples are to love not only their countrymen, not only even their private foes; their love is to reach even those who hate them as members of the Kingdom of God. Christianity is to overcome the very opposition which it creates. The author of Lk. 6 27, as is his wont, omits the reference to the Jewish law and sets the maxim at the head of the discourse immediately after the introductory beatitudes and woes.

The words 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' occur in the summary of the law which Jesus gave the rich young man, as reported in Mt. 19 16-30. They are absent, however, in the parallel account in Mk. 10 17-31 (cp Lk. 18 18-30) and the fact that this is just the point in which the young man fails when Jesus puts him to the proof, shows that the words in question do not belong to the original tradition but have been added from 22 39. In any case they throw no light on the term 'neighbour,' as Jesus understood it.

2. In Mt. 22 34-40 (= Mk. 12 28-34) Jesus, when questioned as to the kind of commandment which is greatest, quotes as the great commandment Dt. 6 4 'Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord and thou shalt love the Lord thy God,' etc., connects with it another commandment from another book, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lev. 19 18), and declares that the second is 'like'—*i.e.*, in importance—to the first. All the law and the prophets, he says, hang on those two commandments,—*i.e.*, proceed from them—so that multiplicity of enactment disappears in unity of spirit. Here Jesus accepts the love of our neighbour as sufficient, though to him, no doubt, the word had a wider sense than it bore in the Hebrew Code.

3. Once, however, Jesus took occasion to develop this wider meaning. Asked 'Who is my neighbour?' he replied by the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10 29-37) and then himself asked the questioner, 'Which of these three thinkest thou proved neighbour to him that fell among the robbers?' The object of Jesus was apparently to show that one of the heretic and hated Samaritans could prove himself a better neighbour to a Jew than a priest or a Levite, and that it is therefore wrong to refuse them the title of neighbour. If this interpretation be correct,[1] Jesus extends the term 'neighbour' in the command 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' till it is co-extensive with mankind.

This wider sense belongs to ὁ πλησίον in the rest of the NT. According to Paul (Rom. 13 9) all the law is summed up in the command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' and this, according to James (2 8), is the royal or principal law. W. E. A.

NEKEB (הַנֶּקֶב), Josh. 19 33 AV†, RV ADAMI-NEKEB.

NEKODA (נְקוֹדָא, a kind of bird? § 83; νεκωδα [BℵAL]).

[1] It is the simplest, though not the commonest interpretation of the passage. See B. Weiss, *ad loc.*

1. The family name of a company of post-exilic Nethinim: Ezra 2 48 (νεχ. [B], νεκωδαν [A]) = Neh. 7 50 (νεκωδαμ [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 5 31 (νοεβα [BA], EV NOEBA).

2. One of the three families from Tel-melah, Tel-harsha, Cherub, Addon and Immer, that were unable to produce written evidence of their Israelite descent: Ezra 2 60 = Neh. 7 62 = 1 Esd. 5 37 AV NECODAN, RV **Nekodan** (νεκωδαν [BA]).

NEMUEL (נְמוּאֵל, § 4; ναμουηλ). 1. One of the sons of Simeon; Nu. 26 12 1 Ch. 4 24. If these clan-names are traditional records of ethnic affinities, a better reading would be JEMUEL (יְמוּאֵל; ιεμουηλ; ιεμιηλ [B], in Ex.) as in Gen. 46 10 Ex. 6 15—*i.e.*, Jerahme'el. This is confirmed by the circumstance that a Reubenite bears the same name ('Reuben' probably is a Jerahmeelite name; Reuben seems to have been originally a southern tribe). Further evidence might be produced. The patronymic **Nemuelite** (ναμουηλ[ε]ι) occurs in Nu. 26 12.

2. A Reubenite, brother of Dathan and Abiram (Nu. 26 9). T. K. C.

NEOCOROS (νεωκορος, Acts 19 35, 'a worshipper,' AVmg. 'the temple keeper,' RV 'temple-keeper'). The word Neocoros is an old religious term in Asia Minor, adopted and developed in the imperial cultus which was so important in the organisation of the empire. Originally expressing the devotion of the city to the particular deity whose worship was most zealously cultivated, the term 'Neocoros,' or 'Neocoros of the Emperors,' came to be connected with the politico-religious imperial cultus almost entirely, and when the title appears on coins and inscriptions under the empire it signifies 'Warden of a temple dedicated to the imperial worship.' The temple had to be dedicated by the Provincial Synod, whose president was (in Asia) the Asiarch. It had also to be dedicated to the emperor alone; it was not sufficient if a particular city dedicated a temple, apart from the Provincial Synod, nor if the emperor was merely received as partner into the temple of an older deity. Coincident with the dedication of the temple and the appointment of the necessary priests and other officials, was the establishment of games in honour of the emperor. The title and permission to erect the temple was granted by decree of the senate in Rome. When by similar decree permission was granted for the erection of a temple and the establishment of games in honour of a later emperor, the city received the title δὶς Νεωκόρος; and τρὶς Νεωκόρος when a third foundation was made. Apparently no city received more than the triple Neocorate, which was granted first to Pergamos (according to the boast on its coins, which may not be true). Ephesus alone boasts a fourth Neocorate; but the fourth refers to the worship of Artemis, which was officially recognised by Hadrian.[1] It is with reference to this worship that the title is used of Ephesus in the 'town clerk's' speech—for, of course, the old signification of the word, in which sense it could be used by any city that wished to express its devotion to a particular deity, still continued even after it gained the special meaning above explained (cp Wood, *App. Inscr.* vi. 6, p. 50). It is, in fact, doubtful whether so early as about 56 A.D. Ephesus could claim the title in its imperial sense.

Of the Asiatic cities mentioned in the NT, the title was possessed by Pergamus, Ephesus, Laodiceia, Hierapolis, Philadelphia, Smyrna.

See Büchner, *De Neocoria*; Monceaux, *De communi Asiæ Provinciæ*, 1886; Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 1 58. W. J. W.

NEPHEG (נֶפֶג). 1. A Kohathite Levite, Ex. 6 21 (ναφεκ [BAL], ναφεγ [F]).

2. A son of David, 2 S. 5 15 1 Ch. 3 7 14 6 (ναφεκ, ναφαθ [*bis*] [B]; ναφεκ, ναφεγ, ναφαγ [A]; ναφατ [ℵ, 1 Ch. 14 6]; ναφεθ, νεεγ, ναφεκ [L]). See DAVID, § 11 n., NOGAH.

NEPHI (2 Macc. 1 36), RV NEPHTHAI; see NAPHTHA.

[1] Cp imperial silver coins of Ephesus bearing the type of Artemis and the legend DIANA EPHESIA. See Rams. *Church in Rom. Emp.* 143.

NEPHILIM (נְפִ(י)לִים, ΓΙΓΑΝΤΕϹ [BADEFL]; cp נפילא = Kĕsil or ORION [*q.v.*] in Tg.).

1. Biblical references. (*a*) Gen. 6 4: 'The Nephilim arose in the land (or, on the earth) in those days (namely) when the divine ones had intercourse with human maidens; those are the heroes, the famous ones.' (The words וגם אחרי־כן and אשר מעולם are here untranslated; see *c* and § 3.) The passage to which Gen. 6 4 belongs, comes in its present form from J_1,[1] whose account of the early men apparently did not refer to a deluge (see DELUGE, § 14). J availed himself of an old mythological story, which, however, did not in all respects please him, and from which he therefore only took very small portions, such as were in themselves unobjectionable and appeared consistent with the other stories which he had to weave together into a history of the early men.

The text must first of all be critically emended: even Kosters (*Th. T* 10 42) infers from בְּשַׁגַּם, 'for their sin' (?), an early tradition of the *sin* of the b'ne Elohim (on בְּשַׁגַּם, see n. 2). Knowing what we do of the early Hebrew and (still more) of the Babylonian myths, we can attempt to reproduce the outlines of the old story, assuming the most reasonable corrections of an imperfect text.

'And so it fell out, that when men began to multiply on the earth, and daughters were born to them, the divine ones (*b'nē hā-'ĕlōhīm*) saw that the human maidens were fair, and took as wives any that they preferred. [And they taught mankind how to clothe themselves and how to forge brass and iron. And their sons in after-time became heroes, and men prospered under their rule. Now the cause wherefore the divine ones had come down to earth was this. There had been dissension among the divine ones, some being friendly to men, some unfriendly. And those that were friendly came down to visit men upon earth. But the lord of the divine ones doubted in his heart whereunto the prosperity of men would grow.] And Yahwè said, The spirit of the glorious gods shall not tarry longer in habitations of flesh.[2] [I will sweep them from the earth, lest they become too strong. But the divine ones spoke soft words and counselled their lord to wait.]

According to this view of the story, the parents of those primeval heroes, including 'Nimrod,' whom J_1 identifies with the 'Nephilim,' are the founders of civilisation (see CAINITES), and their sons carry on the arduous work. The supposed dissension among the divine ones is in accordance with the Deluge story and other Babylonian myths. The hesitation of the supreme God Yahwè (who was portrayed as no better than Bel) is in harmony with the survivals of primitive theology in Gen. 3 22 11 6 (also J_1). A later editor is the author of 6 3*b*, where 'his days' presupposes that אדם, 'man,' precedes—*i.e.*, that *v.* 3*a* has already become corrupted. Verse 4 belongs to J_1, except the words 'and after that,' to which we shall return (§ 3, ii.).

Then, most probably, in this writer's narrative followed the story in Gen. 11 1 *ff.* which originally began thus, 'And the whole earth was a single family in the wilderness of Jerahmeel,' and ends with 'and they left off building the city' (see PARADISE, § 7), after which may have come the account of the true Noah (Gen. 9 20-27), and of Cush and (especially) Nimrod (Gen. 10 8-12) who was regarded as one of the 'famous men,' the heroes of Jerahmeel. See NIMROD, NOAH.

(*b*) Nu. 13 33 (E). The account of the episode of the Spies also mentions the 'Nephilim.' 'And there we saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak, who come of the Nephilim.' Here 'the Nephilim' is original; 'the sons of Anak,' etc., is a (correct) gloss. According to this passage the 'Nephilim' were still to be found when the Israelites entered Canaan (or the Negeb).

(*c*) Ezek. 32 27: 'And they lie not with the heroes that are fallen of the uncircumcised, who went down to Shĕōl with their warlike equipment.' Cornill plausibly reads מעולם for מערלים (with 𝔊), and also נְפִלִים for נֹפְלִים. מעולם at once reminds one of Gen. 6 4, where the same word occurs; but it is nevertheless wrong in both passages: something much more definite is required (see § 3). נפלים (נְפִלִים?) must be right. Ezekiel, if this view be accepted, does not regard the Nephilim as lying under the curse of God. He also tells us who they were (see § 3, end).

(*d*) Later writers, however, thought very differently. In Ecclus. 16 7, Wisd. 14 6, Judith 16 7, Bar. 3 26 *ff.*, 3 Macc. 2 4, we find allusions to the 'giants' and their fate. The author of Enoch 9 *f.* has much more to say. He supplements Gen. 6 1-4 by the statement that the giants at length turned against mankind to devour them. Upon this the Lord himself interposed. The chief fallen angel and his companions he punished in the way described elsewhere (see AZAZEL); their sons, the giants, he caused to perish in internecine warfare.

This account is closely followed in the Book of Jubilees (chap. 5). Both Jubilees, however, and the fragments of the Greek Enoch differ from the Ethiopic Enoch in one respect—they mention three classes of giants—viz., the Great Giants, the Nephilim, and the Eliud (or, in *Jub.* 7, Giants, Naphīl, and Eljō).[1]

2. Origin of myth. We must at once dismiss all theories of the existence of an early myth of a 'sin' of the b'ne Ĕlōhīm. Neither those supernatural beings nor their offspring were originally regarded as having 'sinned.' There is not even any trace in Gen. 6 1 *f.* of 'war in heaven'; any such myth which there may once have been has perished. We cannot, therefore, follow either Lenormant,[2] who compares the Greek myths of the Gigantomachia and the Titanomachia, or Sayce,[3] who suspects a connection between the 'Nephilim' and the terrible beings described in the so-called 'Cuthæan' creation-story,[4] which, however, is no creation-story at all. These terrible beings are the brood of Tiāmat the chaos-monster, and are represented (the narrator has lost hold on the early myth, in which the bird-like, raven-faced beings are, no doubt, storm demons)[5] as oppressing a certain (Babylonian?) king till they are cursed and destroyed. They are, in short, the destroyers, not (like the heroes of the Hebrew legend) the founders, of civilisation. The true parallels to Gen. 6 1 *f.* lie close at hand; the sexual intercourse of gods and men is a constant feature of ancient mythologies (cp Plat. *Cratylus*, 33), including the Babylonian (see CAINITES, § 5 *f.*). The later Jews (as the NT shows us) naturally took offence[6] at Gen. 6 2. The first Yahwist (J_1), however, hands on this part of the old tradition in perfect simplicity.

It still remains (i.) to explain the name 'Nĕphīlīm,' and (ii.) to account for the troublesome phrases אשר מעולם and וְגַם אַחֲרֵי־כֵן in Gen. 6 4; cp also Ezek. 32 27.

3. Origin of 'Nephilim. i. It is not a matter of merely linguistic interest to explain נפ(י)לים; the race so designated, though mentioned under this name only twice or thrice in the OT, evidently filled a large place in Israelitish tradition. It is a mistake to regard the name as a mere appellative; from Nu.

[1] According to Olshausen the whole of *v.* 4 consists of glosses (*Monatsber. der Berl. Akad.*, June 1878). Budde, Wellhausen, Kautzsch-Socin, Holzinger, Ball are content with assuming that וגם אחרי כ׳ is a gloss. This is only a step in the right direction (see § 3), nor may we follow Budde (*Bibl. Urgesch.* 30 *ff.*) in reconstructing the old tradition so as to include a part of *v.* 4. The early pre-Yahwistic tradition may be gathered from *vv.* 1-3*a*. J_1 adopted the tradition, and connected with it the origin of the heroes called Nephilim (?).

[2] The present text contains two untranslatable words (ידון and בשגם). There has been some disarrangement, and, consequently, some confusion of letters. Read לֹא יַאֲרִיךְ רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים אַדִּירִים בְּמִשְׁכְּנוֹת בָּשָׂר. For יאריך, cp Nu. 9 19 22; for אל׳ אד׳, 1 S. 4 8; for משכ׳ ב׳, Job 4 18 10 4. For other emendations of ידון and בשגם see Di.'s notes. None of them are satisfactory; the corruption is more extensive than has been suspected. Yet the *material* handed down is not irremediably corrupt. The student should notice that בְּשַׁגַּם, not בְּשַׁגָּם, is the best Massoretic reading (Geiger, *Jüd. Zt.* 3 155, Ginsburg). Even that, however, will not produce a good sense.

[1] See Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 62 *ff.*; *JQR* 6 (1894) 195 *f.* 202 (Jubilees), also *Jubilees* (about to appear).

[2] *Origines de l'histoire*, 1 360 *ff.*

[3] *Crit. and Mon.* 91.

[4] See CREATION, § 16; Zimmern, *ZA* 12 317 *ff.*

[5] Cp R. Brown, *Primitive Constellations*, 1 108.

[6] [See Jude 6 *f.* 2 Pet. 2 4, and especially Enoch 15 4, 'Whilst you were still spiritual, holy, in the enjoyment of eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with women . . . and produced flesh and blood.']

13 28 33 it is plain that 'Nĕphilim' (if the reading is correct) has as definite a reference as the parallel phrase, b'nē 'Ănāḳ,[1] which, as Dt. 2 11 shows, was the name of a branch of the REPHAIM [*q.v.*]. It is therefore enough simply to mention the supposed connection with √נפל, 'to fall' (as if 'those who fall on the weak,' or 'those who have fallen from heaven,' or 'those who had been born contrary to nature'),[2] with √פלא (as if 'extraordinary ones'),[3] and with √נפל (=נבל=Ass. *nabālu*, 'to destroy'). The name has, very possibly, been distorted through corruption of the text either of Gen. 6 4 or, more probably, of Nu. 13 33 (an editor adjusted the reading of the other passage or passages accordingly). What then are the best authenticated names of the pre-Israelitish peoples of Canaan, and more especially of that part of Canaan which was referred to in the original story which probably underlies Nu. 13 17-33? They are Amorites and Jerahmeelites, and it so happens that the city with which originally the b'nē 'Anaḳ were connected was the Jerahmeelite city of REHOBOTH [*q.v.*]. Among the many distortions of the name Jeraḥme'el or Jeraḥme'elim which the OT contains, it is very credible that רפלים was one,[4] and from רפלים to נפלים the step is easy. This, consequently, was what E said in Nu. 13 33, 'And there we saw the Jerahmeelites' [gloss, 'the sons of Anak, who belong to the Jerahmeelites']; and the true words of J_1 in Gen. 6 4 are these, 'The Jerahmeelites arose in the land in those days.' Cp JERAHMEEL, § 4.

ii. It is now very easy to explain אשר מעולם and וגם אחרי־כן. The former phrase comes from הירחמאלים, 'the Jerahmeelites,' and the latter is simply an editor's endeavour to make sense of מאחרילם, the disarranged letters of ירחמאלם, 'Jerahmeelites,' inserted as the earliest editor's correction of נפלים. In Ezek. 32 27 a similar correction is necessary. מערלים (like ערלים in Judg. 14 3 etc.) is a corruption of ירחמאלים.

Thus the origin of the Jerahmeelites is traced by an early Hebrew writer and also by Ezekiel to the semi-divine heroes of primitive culture, such as NIMROD [*q.v.*], the 'beginning of whose kingdom was Jerahmeel.' The idea that these heroes and their divine fathers are leaders in sin is late. T. K. C.

NEPHIS (νειφεις [B]), 1 Esd. 5 21 AV=Ezra 2 30, MAGBISH, *q.v.*

NEPHISH (1 Ch. 5 19), RV NAPHISH.

NEPHISIM (נפיסים; Ḳri נְפוּסִים; on name, see below), the name of one of the families of NETHINIM (*q.v.*), Ezra 2 50 (ναφειϲωΝ [B], νεφουϲειμ [AL]), miswritten **Nephishesim** or **Nephushesim** in ‖ Neh. 7 52 (נפישסים, Ḳrē; נפושסים, Kt.; νεφωϲαϲει [B], -ειμ [א], νεφωϲαειμ [A], νεφουϲειμ [L]; one of the sibilants is clearly superfluous) = 1 Esd. 5 31 **Naphisi** (*ναφεισει* [B], *ναφισι* [A], *νεφωσειμ* [L]). Guthe compares the name *Nefīsī* or *Nefūsī* on an ancient seal in the Brit. Mus. (*Rev. Arch.*, 1891, p. 109). Since Meunim precedes, Nephisim will probably be a tribal name; cp NAPHISH, a tribe of Ishmaelites. T. K. C.

NEPHTHAI (νεφθαι), 2 Macc. 1 36. See NAPHTHA.

NEPHTHALI (νεφθαλειμ, Tob. 1 1). See NAPHTALI. In Tob. 1 2 'the city which is called properly Nephthali' [AV] rests upon the false reading *κυρίως τῆς νεφθαλειμ* for *κυδιως τῆς νεφθαλειμ* [Bא], or *κυδιων τ.ν.* [A]; RV has KEDESH NAPHTALI; see KEDESH, § 1.

1 The conjunction of בני ענק and עמלק in Nu. 13 28 *f.* suggests that ענק is really a corruption of עמלק (Amalek)—*i.e.*, ירחמאל (Jerahmeel).

2 Views successively maintained by Del., the first in ed. 4, the second in ed. 3, the third in ed. 5 (the 'new edition') of his *Genesis*. For the derivation from √נפל, see Aq., Sym., and cp the *τῶν πεπτωκότων* following *τῶν γιγάντων* in Ezek. 32 27 (𝔊), *ἐμπίπτοντα* in Gk. Enoch [Charles, 84, 350].

3 Tuch, Knobel, Lenormant.

4 פ corrupted from כ, as in פיכל, Gen. 21 22 etc. (see PHICOL).

NEPHTHALIM (νεφθαλειμ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 4 13 AV, RV NAPHTALI.

NEPHTHAR (νεφθαρ [AV]), 2 Macc. 1 36 RV, AV NAPHTHAR (*q.v.*).

NEPHTOAH (נֶפְתּוֹחַ), only in the phrase 'the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah' (מַעְיַן מֵי נ׳, πηγη υδατος ναφθω [BAL], μαφθω [B in 15 *a*]), a locality on the border of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15 9 18 15†), generally identified with *Liftā*, a village with a large fountain, the waters of which are collected in a great walled reservoir of very early origin, and situated about 2 m. NW. of Jerusalem on the slope of a hill on the E. side of the Wādy Bēt Ḥaninā. The locality is undoubtedly ancient, and its situation may be consistent with the description in the book of Joshua. The equation, Nephtoaḥ=Liftā, however, is rather difficult, and the frequency of corruption in the name-lists suggests caution. Certainly the name Nephtoaḥ ('an opened place'?) is improbable, and the phrase 'the fountain of the waters of N.' is tautological.

מינ in מינפתוח probably comes from a dittographed מעינ (the final forms of letters very slowly became prevalent). In the list of the towns of Judah we find (Josh. 15 34) a place called Tappuah Enam,[1] which is grouped with Zanoah and En-gannim, and must have lain somewhere near Timnah (Josh. 15 10); the same place is also probably meant in Gen. 38 14,[2] as the place visited by Judah's daughter-in-law Tamar. Most probably for אל מעין פתוח in Josh. *ll.c.* we should read (by transposition) אֶל־תַּפּוּחַ עֵינָם 'to Tappuah (of) Enam.' This may perhaps throw fresh light on the boundary of Judah and Benjamin. Cp TAPPUAH.

Conder has already noticed that *Petaḥ 'Enayim* in Gen. 38 14 should be the name of a town, and be identified with Tappuah Enam in Josh. 15 34 (*PEFQ*, 1876, p. 66). Nephtoah he identified with Etam or *'Ain 'Aṭān*, close to the Pools of Solomon, SW. of Bethlehem, following *Yoma* 31 *a* (*PEFQ*, 1879, p. 95). But the Talmudic traditions are often untrustworthy. T. K. C.

NEPHUSHESIM (נְפוּשְׁסִים [Kt.]), Neh. 7 52 RV= Ezra 2 50 AV **Nephusim**. See NEPHISIM.

NER (נֵר, νηρ [BAL], νηρει [B in 1 S. 14 50]), the father of Abner (1 S. 14 50 *f.* 26 5 14 2 S. 2 8 12 3 23 25 28 37 1 K. 2 5 32 1 Ch. 8 33 9 36 39 26 28†).

For two competing explanations of 1 Ch. 8 33 9 36 39 ('Ner begat Kish'), see ABNER, n. 1, KISH, 1. It seems to the present writer extremely probable that the true name of Abner's father was Nadab or Abinadab. It will be noticed that in 1 Ch. 8 30 'Ner' is not mentioned, but that 'Nadab' is, while in 9 36 we read 'and Ner and Nadab'; 'Nadab' in the latter passage is a *correction* of Ner. Both in 8 30 and in 9 36 we meet with עבדון (Abdon?); this is a corruption of אבי־נדב (Abinadab). 'Baal' which comes between 'Kish' and 'Ner' or 'Nadab' is a fragment of 'Abibaal,' one of the two competing names of the grandfather of Saul and Abner, and to be explained like Meri(b)baal; see MEPHIBOSHETH. Similarly 'Nadab' (of which 'Ner' is a corruption) might be a fragment of Abinadab (from Nedabi 'one of the Nadab-clan'?). Both names were probably written in the margin of some (late) document used by the Chronicler as corrections of עבדון. Cp KISH, 1, 2. T. K. C.

NEREUS (νηρευς [Ti. WH]) and his (unnamed) sister are saluted by Paul in Rom. 16 15; cp ROMANS, EPISTLE TO.

Νηρεύς and *Νηρεΐς* occur pretty often as names of slaves; *e.g.*, Domitia Nereis, wife of an imperial freedman and secretary (*CIL* vi. 8598). Lightfoot (*Philippians*(3), 174) cites from *Acc. di Archeol.* 11 376 a Claudia Aug. L. Nereïs, related to a mother and daughter Tryphæna (*ibid.* 11 375).

According to the (apocryphal) *Acts of Nereus and Achilleus*, Nereus was a house-slave of the Christian

1 For תפוח והעינם, 'Tappuah and (the) Enam' read ותפוח העינם 'and Tappuah of (the) Enam.' See TAPPUAH, 1.

2 For בפתח עינם, 'in the gate of Enaim' read בְּתַפֻּחַ ע׳, 'at Tappuah (of) Enaim.' Gen. 38 16 'and he *turned aside* to her' does not favour the reading בְּפֶתַח, 'in the gate.'

princess Domitilla. A Nereus occurs in the *Acta Philippi* of which the scene is laid in Asia Minor. His ashes were believed to have been deposited in the Church of SS. Nereus and Achilles at Rome. For other legends cp the Bollandist, *Acta Sanctorum*, May 12.

NERGAL (נֵרְגַל; ΤΗΝΕΡΓΕΛ [B], Swete, ΤΗΝ ΕΡΓΕΛ, A om., ΤΟΝ ΝΙΡΙΓΕΛ [L]), the patron deity of CUTHA (*q.v.*), still worshipped by the Cuthæans whom 'the King of Assyria' transplanted to the cities of Samaria (2 K. 17 30†). Cp NERGAL-SHAREZER. The planet sacred to Nergal was Mars, which, like its god, was called Ḳarradu, 'warrior.' He was the god of war; but earlier he was the god of the heat of summer or midday. Fundamentally he was identical with Gibil the fire-god, and a title by which (apparently) he was known in Palestine was Sarrapu 'burner' (perhaps connected with שְׂרָפִים; see SERAPHIM). He was also the god of pestilence, and as such, otherwise called Dibbarra (cp דֶּבֶר), the god of Deathland. Jensen (*Kosmol.* 476) thinks that Ner-unu-gal (of which נרגל is a shortened form) was interpreted by the Babylonians 'the mighty one of the great dwelling [of the dead].' His symbol, like that of Dibbarra,[1] was the lion. The month sacred to him was Kisilimu (Kislev)—*i.e.*, the middle of November to the middle of December—possibly as containing the days when the sun appears to die (*Kosmol.* 486). G. Hoffmann ingeniously traces the divine name Nergal in the corrupt personal ABED-NEGO, which should, according to him, be read Abed-nergo (-nergal). Cp Uzza, rather Ezra (*ZA* 11 237 *f.*).

NERGAL-SHAREZER, or, rather, Nergal-śarezer (נֵרְגַל שַׂרְאֶצֶר. So Bä., Ginsb.; ΝΗΡΓΕΛ ϹΑΡΑϹΑΡ [ℵAQ]; Jer. 39 3*a*, ΜΑΡΓΑΝΑϹΑΡ [B], ΜΑΡΓΑΝΝΑϹΑΡ [ℵ*], ΝΗΡΓΕϹ ϹΑΡ. [Q]; Jer. 39 3*b*, ΝΑΓΑΡΓΑϹΝΑϹΕΡ [B], ΝΑϹΕΡ [ℵAQ], ΝΗΡΕΛ ϹΑΡϹΑΡ [Q^mg.]; *Neregel, Sereser*).

1. Hommel's theory. The name looks like a Hebraised form of Nērgal-šar-uṣur ('Nergal, protect the king'), which is the name of Evil-merodach's successor, better known as Neriglissar.[2] According to Hommel (in Hastings' *DB* 1 229*a*) and Kent (*Hist. of the Jewish People*, 3 67), this prince may be identified with the officer mentioned in Jer. 39 3 13. The theory is tempting, because it vivifies the somewhat dry account of the captains of the king of Babylon in the Hebrew narrative (but see § 3).

He was raised, to the throne by the priestly party, and Nabu-na'id[3] (Stele, col. v.) recognised him as a true and faithful friend of his country.

2. Neriglissar. Neriglissar (559-555) reigned four years all but four months. He was, like Nebuchadrezzar and Nabu-na'id, a great builder of temples, and evidently bent on consolidating his kingdom rather than on foreign conquests or alliances. See his cylinder, *KB* iii. 2 71 *ff.* But there was also a Nērgal-šar-uṣur, son of Bēl-šum-iškin, who plays an important part in the private contracts of Amêl-Marduk's reign. Cp also SHAREZER.

The objection to the ordinary theory is, not that in *v.* 13 Nergal-śarezer is called RAB-MAG (*q.v.*), a title of obscure signification which is unlikely to have been assigned by a Hebrew writer to so important a person, but

3. Underlying narrative. that the text of *vv.* 1 3 5 13 has almost certainly undergone both corruption and editorial manipulation. That some of the names in *vv.* 3 13 are corrupt, is indeed generally admitted; but it is almost certain that a bolder theory is necessary. It has been maintained elsewhere (*e.g.*, OBADIAH [BOOK], § 7) that the Edomites and Arabians took part in the capture of Jerusalem and the carrying away of a part of its inhabitants as captives.

[1] Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 529.

[2] See Berossus, Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 20; Eus. *Chron.* 49 22 *ff.* 50 22 *ff.*; and Abydenus, Eus. *Chron.* 41 28-32 42 28-30.

[3] See Messerschmidt, *Die Inschr. der Stele Nabunaids*, p. 21.

This gives us the key to the problems of several sections of Jeremiah (cp PROPHET), and in particular to 39 1 3 5 13. The results of our criticism of these passages can now lay claim to a high degree of solidity. We should probably read nearly as follows:—

'Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon and the king of Jerahmeel came to Jerusalem and besieged it' (*v.* 1*b*). '(It came to pass that) all the princes of the king of Babylon and all the princes of the king of Jerahmeel came in, and sat in the middle gate,—the prince of Jerahmeel, the prince of Miṣṣur, the prince of Nodab, the prince of Cushim, and the prince of the Arabians' (*v.* 3). 'And the Jerahmeelites and the Chaldæans (Cushites?) pursued them' (*v.* 5*a*). 'Then sent Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard, and the prince of Nodab, and the prince of Cushan, and the prince of the Arabians, and the prince of Jerahmeel, and the prince of Miṣṣur' (*v.* 13).

With this we may compare the equally necessary reconstruction of 34 1.

'The word which came to Jeremiah from Yahwè, when Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, and the king of Jerahmeel, and Miṣṣur, and the Ishmaelites, and the Edomites fought against Jerusalem.'

For parallels to some of these corruptions, see JERAHMEEL, MIZRAIM. Nergal-śarezer appears to be a very early emendation of a corrupt reading מרגלשראצר (cp Bℵ*), which proceeded from [שַׂר]יְרַחְמְאֵל שַׂר מִצְּר. The editor, in fact, did his best to give a Babylonian colouring to the passages, but had imperfect success.

T. K. C., §§ 1, 3; C. H. W. J., § 2.

NERI (ΝΗΡΕΙ [Ti. WH]), a name in the genealogy of Jesus (Lk. 3 27). See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

NERIAH (נֵרִיָּה, as if 'Yahwè is light,' §§ 35, 44; cp Abner; but both names may be altered from the ethnic Nadab, Nĕdābi, 'Baruch' too being a Jerahmeelite name; ΝΗΡ[Ε]ΙΟΥ, [BℵAQ]), the father of Baruch (Jer. 32 12, etc.). In Bar. 1 1 **Nerias** (Νηρίου [BAQ]).

NET. Nets of various kinds were used in ancient Palestine in fishing, fowling, and hunting.

1. רֶשֶׁת, *rěšeth*, any kind of net (LXX gen. *δίκτυον*); also used of the brazen network in the altar (Ex. 27 4 *f.* 38 4; 𝔊 *ἔργον δικτυωτόν*; EV 'net-work').

2. חֵרֶם, *ḥērem* (something perforated), according to some scholars a hand-net, but note 𝔊's renderings (Ezek. 26 5 14 Eccl. 7 26, *σαγήνη*; Hab. 1 15, *ἀμφίβληστρον*); see FISH, § 3.

3. מִכְמָר, *mikmār*, Is. 51 20 (*ἀμφ.* [Symm. in Q^mg.]) and מַכְמֹר, *makmōr* (something twisted?[1]) Ps. 141 10 (*ἀμφ.*), as well as the feminine forms מִכְמֶרֶת, Hab. 1 15 *f.* (EV 'drag'; AV^mg. 'flue-net'; *σαγ.*) and מִכְמֹרֶת, Is. 19 8 (*σαγ.* and *αμφ. ἄγκιστρον*; see Swete *ad loc.*) perhaps a drag-net; in Is. 51 20, where apparently it means a net large enough to catch an antelope; but כתוא מכמר is impossible (see 'Isaiah,' Heb. *SBOT* 148, 201).

4. מָצוֹד, *māṣōd* (from צוד, 'to hunt') is rendered 'net' by EV in Job 19 6 (*ὀχύρωμα*) and Prov. 12 12 (AV^mg. 'fortress'; RV^mg. 'prey'; the text is unsatisfactory: see Toy). The pl. מְצוֹדִים (*θηρεύμα[τα]*) is rendered SNARES (*q.v.*) in Eccl. 7 26 (EV). From the same root are derived; מְצוֹדָה, specially used of fish in Eccl. 9 12 (*ἀμφ.*), and מְצוּדָה, rendered 'net' in Ps. 66 11 (*παγίς*); but the text of the whole verse is unsatisfactory,[2] and in Ezek. 12 13 17 20 'snare' (*περιοχή*).

5. שְׂבָכִים, *śěbākīm*, is applied in an architectural sense to the ornamentation about the top of a pillar, 1 K. 7 17† (שׂ' מַעֲשֵׂה שְׂבָכָה, 'nets of checker work,' cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 3 4, *δίκτυον ἐλάτῃ χαλκέᾳ περιπεπλεγμένον*). The text here has to be corrected; see Klo. *ad loc.* 'שׂ is properly some kind of lattice-work; cp שְׂבָכָה, 'net-work' (1 K. 7 18 20 41) and 'lattice' (2 K. 1 2); used also of the meshes of a net, in Job 18 8 (AV 'snare,' RV 'toils').[3]

In the NT fishing-nets are denoted by the following:—(1) *δίκτυον*, Mt. 4 20 Lk. 5 5 Jn. 21 6; (2) *ἀμφίβληστρον*, Mt. 4 18 Mk. 1 16 (not Ti. WH); and (3) *σαγήνη*, Mt. 13 47, for all of which see FISH, § 3. See also FOWLING, § 8.

NETAIM (נְטָעִים), 1 Ch. 4 23 RV. See GEDERAH, 2.

[1] כבר=כמר, 'to twist.' Del., however (and so Ges.-Bu.), compares Ass. *kamāru*, 'to overpower' (*Heb. Lang.* 40 *ff.*).

[2] מְצוּדָה should certainly be מְצוּלָה ('abyss'); *v.* 11*b* can then be quite regularly emended (Che.).

[3] Cp Ar. *šabakatun*, 'net,' and MH סבכה, 'a hair-net.'

NETHANEEL, RV **Nathanel** (נְתַנְאֵל ; cp נְתַנְיָהוּ, and see NAMES, § 27 ; ΝΑΘΑΝΑΗΛ [BℵAL] ; only in P and in post-exilic literature, possibly, like Ammiel, etc., based on an early tribal name ; cp אֵיתָן, Ethan, יַתְנִיאֵל, Jathniel, and יִתְנָן, Jithnan ; ל may be an afformative ; so, too, NETHANIAH [*q.v.*] may = Ethāni, as Pelaṭiah = Pelēthi or Pelāthi [Che.]).

1. b. Zuar, a prince of Issachar (Nu. 1 8 2 5 7 18 10 15 [P]).

2. Brother of David and fourth son of Jesse (1 Ch. 2 14). See DAVID, § 1, col. 1020, n. 3.

3. A priest of the time of David (1 Ch. 15 24).

4. Father of Shemaiah, a Levite scribe (1 Ch. 24 6).

5. b. Obed-edom (1 Ch. 26 4, *ναας ιειηλ* [B]).

6. One of Jehoshaphat's commissioners for teaching the Law (2 Ch. 17 7). He is mentioned with BEN-HAIL and MICAIAH, both names indicative of Jerahmeelite affinities (Che.)

7. A 'chief of the Levites,' temp. Josiah (2 Ch. 35 9); in 1 Esd. 1 9, a 'captain over thousands,' NATHANAEL.

8. A priest of the b'nē Pashhur in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5 end), Ezra 10 22 = 1 Esd. 9 22, NATHANAEL (*ναθαναηλος* [B]).

9. Priest temp. Joiakim (see EZRA ii., § 6 *b*, § 11), Neh. 12 21 (ℵc.a mg. inf. ; om. Bℵ*A).

10. A Levite musician in procession at dedication of wall [see EZRA ii., § 13 *g*] Neh. 12 36 (om. Bℵ*A, *μαθαναηλ* [ℵc.a mg. inf.]).

NETHANIAH (נְתַנְיָה and נְתַנְיָהוּ, ΝΑΘΑΝΙΑϹ [BAL], see NETHANEEL).

1. The father of ISHMAEL (2), 2 K. 25 23 (*μαθθανιας* [A]) 25 : Jer. 40 8-41 18).

2. An Asaphite musician, 1 Ch. 25 2 (*ναθαλιας* [B]; *v.* 12 *ναθαν* [B]).

3. A Levite priest sent by Jehoshaphat to teach in the cities of Judah (cp NETHANEEL, 7), 2 Ch. 17 8 (*μανθανιας* [B]).

4. The father of JEHUDI (*q.v.*), Jer. 36 14.

NETHINIM (נְתִינִים ; ΟΙ ΝΑΘΙΝΑΙΟΙ [Aℵc.aL], in 1 Esd. ΟΙ ΙΕΡΟΔΟΥΛΟΙ [BAL]; cp נְתוּנִים, Nu. 8 19 RVmg. **Nethunim**). The members of the clerical order who returned from the exile, according to the lists in Ezra-Nehemiah, belonged to five categories—priests, Levites, singers, porters, and Nĕthīnim (temple-servants). In one respect the *usus loquendi* varies somewhat : in Ezra 2 55 = Neh. 7 57 the 'children of Solomon's servants' are distinguished from the Nĕthīnim and are separately enumerated according to their 'families'; but elsewhere they are included under the designation Nĕthīnīm (*e.g.*, in the subscription [Ezra 2 70, *θανιειμ* (B), *ναθινειμ* (A)] to the list already cited). A similar variation is seen between Neh. 11 3 (𝔊Bℵ* om.) and 11 21 (𝔊Bℵ*A om.), the fact being that the 'children of Solomon's servants' belong to the class of inferior temple-servants called Nethinim in any case, but are only sometimes singled out as a separate group within it.

These Nethinim constituted a regularly organised class of temple-servants—organised, that is to say, in

1. Organisation. the manner in which all such classes were organised in those days, in the form of 'families' under family 'heads.' Their family registers are kept with the same care as those of the other servants of the temple (Ezra 8 20, *ναθ[ε]ινειμ* [BA ; *ναθειν* Bb vid. once]). The list given in Ezra 2 43 *ff.* (*v.* 43 *ναθεινιμ* [B] ; *v.* 58 *ναθεινιν* [B], *ναθινειμ* [A] ; *v.* 70 *θανιειμ* [B], *ναθινειμ* [A]) enumerates 35 such families, or subdivisions, of the Nethinim and 10 families of the 'servants of Solomon.' The second recension of this list in Neh. 7 46 *ff.* (*ναθ[ε]ινειμ* [BA] ; *v.* 60 *ναθεινεινειμ* [B*], *ναθει* (vel potius *νλθει*)*νεινειμ* [Bb], *ναθινινειμ* [ℵ], *ναθανειμ* [A]) makes out only 32 families. Unfortunately we are not informed whether the 220 Nethinim who returned with Ezra are included in these figures or whether there were other subdivisions besides those named in the list. In Neh. 11 21 it is stated that the entire body was under two chiefs named Ziha and Gishpa. The first of these two names is given in the Ezra list (2 43) as that of the head of the first of the subdivisions enumerated ; whether GISHPA (*q.v.*) is to be identified with Hasupha the head of the second subdivision is very doubtful.

That the Nethinim were really regarded as forming part of the privileged *personnel* attached to the temple-worship is shown not only by the manner in which they are constantly named in conjunction with the other classes, but also by the fact that they shared with the priests and Levites immunity from taxation (Ezra 7 24). On the other hand, neither the heads of the Nethinim nor those of the singers and doorkeepers figure as signatories to the covenant, though they joined in the oath that was taken (Neh. 10 30).

In Jerusalem, Ophel—*i.e.*, the southern and eastern slope of the temple hill—is assigned to the Nethinim as their habitation (Neh. 3 26, *καθεινειμ* [B], *ναθ[ε]ιν[ε]ιμ* [ℵA] ; 11 21). More precisely, they inhabit that part of Ophel which extends to the Watergate in the E. and to the tower projecting from the royal palace (Neh. 3 26 ; see JERUSALEM, § 24). A 'house of the Nethinim' is mentioned in Neh. 3 31 (*βηθαναθειμ* [B], *βηθαναθιω* [ℵ* vid.], *τοῦ βηθαναθι* [ℵc.a], *βηθανναθινιμ* [A]), farther to the N., near the city wall to the E. of the temple (a little to the S. of the Sheep Gate) ; by this only some sort of official or service house can be meant. A different representation is made in Ezra 2 70 (= Neh. 7 73 = 1 Esd. 5 ; cp 1 Ch. 9 2, *οἱ δεδομενοι* [BA]) where only a portion of the Nethinim, as also of the priests and Levites, dwells in Jerusalem, the others being distributed throughout the 'cities'—doubtless the Levitical cities—in the country. This would assume that, like the priests and Levites, they were not on duty all the year round, but rendered their services at the temple in regular rotation. As to that, however, we have no further details.

The Nethinim who returned from the Exile regarded themselves (and were generally regarded) as descendants

2. Origin. of the temple slaves who had in ancient times been given 'by David and his princes' for the service of the Levites (Ezra 8 20) ; a small proportion of them, as already indicated, were thought to be descended from slaves given by Solomon (Ezra 2 55). [For an attempt to solve the problem of the origin of the Nethinim and the 'children of Solomon's servants,' from a new point of view, see SOLOMON'S SERVANTS, CHILDREN OF, and cp *Amer. J. of Theol.*, July 1901.] As to this, nothing is reported in the historical books ; but it is to be taken for granted that from very early times there must have been an inferior grade of servants at all the greater sanctuaries, and above all at the temple in Jerusalem. These were, of course, not free labourers working for hire—a class of person unknown to Hebrew antiquity—but slaves in the strict sense of the word, the property of the sanctuary. Even the child Samuel was given to the sanctuary by his mother (1 S. 1 28 *ff.*). It is manifest, however, that this form of *hierodulia* was not common among the Hebrews. The OT offers us no other concrete example of it, and the later accounts make even Samuel to be something quite different,—a Nazirite, to wit. On the other hand, another form of *hierodulia* was common enough : foreign captives taken in war were given to the temple as slaves —as was customary also with other nations. In JE (Josh. 9 23) we are told even of Joshua that he handed over the Gibeonites to the sanctuary as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Whatever the actual facts may have been in this particular instance, we may be sure that incidents of the kind were frequent, not merely under David and Solomon, from the moment that there was a great royal sanctuary in Jerusalem. In all such instances these temple-slaves were invariably of heathen nationality, not Israelites. The older age found nothing to object to in this ; and, later, such a writer as Ezekiel, by his rebuke of the practice, bears witness to the fact that even in his day foreigners rendered service of this kind at the sanctuary without challenge. He brings it against the Israelites as a particularly shocking charge that they did not themselves take in hand the care of the sanctuary but delegated the duty to others, 'foreigners uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in body,' whereby Yahwè's sanctuary

was profaned (44 7 [cp Che.'s reconsideration of the passage in *Amer. J. of Theol.*, July 1901]). The precept of the law (Nu. 31 28 30) according to which a definite proportion of the captives taken in war is to be given to the priest as Yahwè's heave-offering is perhaps also to be connected with this ancient usage, although it is equally possible that the law may have had reference only to the priests' and Levites' private property in slaves.

In post-exilic times the practice which had given offence to Ezekiel was, as was to be expected, abolished; plainly, however, not in such a sense as to banish those foreigners altogether from the temple, but only in the sense that they were admitted into the fellowship of Judaism by receiving the rite of circumcision. At all events, the names of the subdivisions preserved to us in the lists in many cases betray quite unmistakably their non-Israelite origin—such, for example, as the MEUNIM and NEPHISIM (*qq.v.*; Ezra 2 50). That the Nethinim enumerated in Ezra and Nehemiah were reckoned as members of the community is a necessary inference from the fact that they came up with the others to Jerusalem at all. Perhaps it comes to this, that reception into the community, which also carried with it promotion to the position of free temple-servants (see below, § 3), was the reward for the return. In Neh. 10 29 (*ναθινειμ* [BA], *ναθεινιμ* [א]) the Nethinim are expressly reckoned as belonging to the community and held bound to observance of the precepts of Yahwè. Indeed, at a period when circumcision was required by the law even in the case of private slaves (see SLAVERY) such a demand in the case of temple-slaves became a matter of course.

Their social position was, as already indicated, at the same time necessarily raised. They no longer appear as slaves in the strict meaning of that word, but as free men of the commonwealth of Israel. It is of their own free choice that they accompany the others to Palestine (Ezra 8 17 *ff.*, *v.* 17 *τῶν αθανειμ* [BA], *v.* 20 *ναθεινειμ*[BA]). As free men they pledge themselves to keep the precepts of Yahwè (Neh. 10 29). Such accession on their part to the community was not, indeed, in every case wholly spontaneous. In many instances special persuasion was required to induce them to accompany Ezra (Ezra 8 17 *ff.*). Nevertheless, their number is very considerable; in the first list, in addition to 74 Levites, 128 singers, and 139 doorkeepers, we have 392 Nethinim and 'servants of Solomon,' and with Ezra there came only 38 Levites but 220 temple servants (Ezra 8 18 *ff.*).

3. Change in their position.

The distinction of rank between the Levites and the inferior grades of temple servants diminished more and more as time went on. On the one hand, even in P, the Levites figure merely as a special kind of Nethinim, a gift made by the people to God and by God in turn handed on to the priests for their service; and their actual position is not in fact different from that of temple servants (cp 1 Ch. 23 28); all the characteristic functions of worship are assigned to the priesthood (see LEVITES). On the other hand, we find singers and doorkeepers, who in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah were still sharply distinguished from the Levites (cp Ezra 2 40 *ff.*, 7 24, and often), soon gaining admission to the ranks of the Levites (1 Ch. 15 16 26 1 *ff.*, and elsewhere). It is, therefore, not impossible that in the end the Nethinim too became Levites. It is at least very noticeable that the Chronicler (who also edited Ezra and Nehemiah), in those parts of his work where he is narrating in his own person and not simply reproducing his sources, mentions the Nethinim only once (1 Ch. 9 2)—not even when relating the assignment of the Levites, singers, and porters to their several duties in the sanctuary by David, although this is precisely the place at which some allusion to their having been given by David to the temple might have been expected. In the Greek Ezra, finally, even the Levites are spoken of as *ἱερόδουλοι* (1 Esd. 1 2 *f.*) as well as the Nethinim (8 22 48); this last word, moreover, is also rendered *Ναθιναῖοι* (𝔊[L] in 5 29 8 5 49). It would seem as if the author made no longer any such sharp distinctions as had formerly been drawn between the two, but regarded the Nethinim as a mere family (subdivision) of the temple-servants as a whole, that is to say, of the Levites (cp Wellh. *Prol.* 145).

The Mishna (*Yĕbānôth*, 2 4; *Kidd.* 4 1) oddly enough still regards the Nethinim as pure heathen and prohibits intermarriage between them and Israelites. This wholly unhistorical theory rests probably on the view that the Nethinim were of Gibeonite origin (see above, § 2). How different was the view of the post-exilic age is proved by Neh. 10 29 *ff.*, where the Nethinim are represented as uniting with the rest of the Jews on this very point, recording their solemn vow never in time to come to allow their sons and daughters to marry any but Israelites.
I. B.

NETOPHAH (נְטֹפָה; ΝΕΤΩΦΑ [Bא], ΝΕΦΩΤΑ [A in Ezra 2 22], *αvετ.* [A in Neh. 7 26; om. B], *νετωφατι* [L]), whence **Netophathite** (נְטֹפָתִי; usually *νετωφαθ(ε)ι* or *νετωφατ(ε)ι*, but in 2 S. 23 28 *εντωφατειτης* [B], *νεπωφαθειτης* [A], *ο τοῦ φελτια* [L], in 2 S. 23 29 *νετουφαθει* [BA om.], in 2 K. 25 23 *νεφφαθιειτης* [B], *νεθωφαθειτης* [A], *νετωφαθιτης* [L], in 1 Ch. 2 54 *μετωφαθει* [B], 1 Ch. 9 16 *νωτεφατει* [B], *νετοφατι* [L], in 1 Ch. 11 30 *νεθωφατει* [B once], *νοτωφαθει* [א once], in 1 Ch. 27 13 *νετουφατ* [BA], in Jer. 40 8 *νεωφατι* [א]; in Neh. 12 28 Bא*A om.). In 1 Esd. 5 18 *νετεβας* [B], *νετωφαε* [A].

A place or district mentioned with Bethlehem, Anathoth, Beth-gilgal, and Gibeah (combining 2 S. 23 29 Ezra 2 22 Neh. 7 26 1 Esd. 5 18 [RV **Netophas**], Neh. 12 28), the 'villages' of which were inhabited by Levites after the Exile (1 Ch. 9 16 Neh. 12 28). Men of Netophah rallied round Gedaliah (Jer. 40 8 2 K. 25 23). Netophah was also the birthplace of David's warriors MAHARAI and HELEB (2 S. 23 28 *f.* 1 Ch. 11 30 27 13 15). The site is uncertain. It is plausible to identify Netophah with Nephtoaḥ, which was a place on the border of Judah and Benjamin (perhaps Tappuah; see NEPHTOAH). This appears to suit the mention of Anathoth and Gibeah as if not very far from Netophah, but would require us to take Bethlehem in Ezra 2 21, etc., as a Benjamite town of that name, which is otherwise unknown, unless, perhaps, it represents the Beth-jerahmeel which may have been the name of the centre of the clan to which king Saul belonged (see SAUL, § 1); indeed, the 'Beth-gilgal' of Neh. 12 29 (mentioned there after 'the Netophathite') may also have come out of 'Beth-jerahmeel.'[1] Conder, however, identifies Netophah with Umm Ṭoba, NE. of Bethlehem (*PEFMem.* 3 52). Bēt Nettif, a village in the Wādy es-Sanṭ, nearly opposite esh-Shuweikeh (see SOCOH), has also been thought to preserve the name Netophah. This may very possibly be the Beth Netophah of the Mishna (*Sheb.* 9 5; cp Neub. *Géogr.* 128), but is surely too far to the W. to be the Netophah of the OT.

Schürer (*GVI*[(3)] 2 184) reminds us of the toparchy of Betbleptenpha (*τὴν Βεθλεπτηνφῶν τοπαρχίαν*, Niese: Jos. *BJ* iv. 8 1, § 445) or Betolethephenen or Betolethenepenen (Plin. v. 14 70), a name which (with Schlatter, *Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. Pal.* 1893, p. 354; and Furrer) he identifies with the Neṭophah or Beth-neṭophah of the Mishna. He also identifies both with Bēt Nettif, but does not meet the objection just now mentioned. A confusion between Neṭophah and Nephtoaḥ was natural.
T. K. C.

NETTLES, in EV the rendering of two different words.

1. חָרוּל, *ḥārūl* (Job 30 7 Prov. 24 31 Zeph. 2 9†[2]) is rendered in RVmg. 'wild vetches.' 𝔊 has *φρύγανα ἄγρια*, 'wild brushwood,' in Job; but in Prov. and Zeph. they seem to have misread it as connected with חרל. Vg. has 'thorns' (*spinæ* and *sentes*), as also Pesh. in Job. *Ḥārūl* would appear to be the same as Aram. ܚܘܪܠܐ, and Ar. *ḫullar* is probably akin. As *spinæ* is used to render *λάθυρος* in *Geop.* 186, and the Arab. word denotes a vetch, it is now generally held

[1] Both 'Lehem' and 'Gilgal' are possible distortions of 'Jerahmeel.'

[2] [Grä., Du. read חרול for חרון in Ps. 58 9 (10).]

that *ḥārūl* means some luxuriantly growing plant of the vetch kind. For a list of the Palestinian species see *FFP* 290 *f.*; see also Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* 55, and Schwally in *ZATW* 10 189.

To the view that *ḥārūl* is a vetch it is objected that (1) in Job 30 7 a shrub or small tree must be meant, and (2) in Zeph. 2 9 the plant is associated with 'saltpits,' which would imply some salsolaceous shrub—such as *Anabasis articulata*, Forsk.—whereas vetches like a good soil to grow on. Possibly, therefore, the Heb. word was applied somewhat differently from its Aramaic equivalent.

2. קִמּוֹשׂ,[1] *ḳimmōš* (Is. 34 13 Hos. 9 6), and pl. קִמְּשֹׂנִים (Prov. 24 31†, where EV has 'thorns'), may be a general word for weeds of the thistle or nettle kind. Barth (*Nominalb.*, § 45) compares Arab. *ḳumāš*, which denotes useless material or rubbish. If, however, the meaning is to be specialised, the most probable view is that of Tristram (*NHB* 474) that *ḳimmōš* is a species of *Urtica*, the most common in Palestine being *U. pilulifera*, which is peculiarly addicted to deserted and ruinous buildings. It appears from Is. 34 13 that the plant meant by *ḳimmōš* is at least distinct from thorns.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

NETWORKS.

1. שְׁבִיסִים, *šebīsim*, Is. 3 18 EVmg.; see CAUL.

2. כְּבִיר, *kebīr*, 1 S. 19 13 16, RVmg.; see BED, § 3 *f.*

3. חוֹרָי, *ḥōray*, Is. 19 9 AV; see LINEN, 8.

4. שְׂבָכָה, *śebākāh*, in 1 K. 7 18 Jer. 52 22 *f.* EV, and 2 Ch. 4 12 RV (AV 'wreaths'), used of the ornamentation on the capitals of the pillars JACHIN AND BOAZ [*q.v.*]. On 1 K. 7 17, and the further usages of this word see NET (5). The particular kind of decoration intended is quite obscure; for a purely conjectural restoration see de Vogüé's, reproduced by Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Judæa*, 1 251 *f.* (fig. 164).

5. מִכְבַּר מַעֲשֵׂה רֶשֶׁת, *mikbār ma'ăseh rěšeth*, 'a grate (RV grating) of network,' Ex. 27 4 38 4; *mikbār* alone Ex. 35 16 38 5 30 39 39 (𝔊 ἐσχάρα, but παράθεμα 38 4 *f.*, and om. in 35 16 38 30 39 39). What is meant by this appendage to the altar is uncertain; see Di., *ad loc.*, and cp ALTAR, § 9. *Mikbār* may be connected with *makbēr* 2 K. 8 15 (cp BED, § 3), or, more probably, with *mikmār* (מכמר), for which see NET (3). The incense-altar (see ALTAR, § 11), also, according to Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 6 8), had a 'brazen grating' (ἐσχάρα χρυσεία)—a detail unmentioned in Ex. 30 1.

NEW MOON (חֹדֶשׁ; see below, § 1, small type). The appearance of the new moon signified (see MONTH) for the Hebrews from a very early period the beginning of a new division of time—a new month. The festal observance of the day on which this happened is also a very ancient custom, certainly going back to a date earlier than the settlement in Canaan, this festival along with the passover being indeed the only one which in its origin and meaning has absolutely nothing to do with agriculture (see FEASTS, § 2). Lunar feasts, it would seem, are common to the whole of antiquity, and among them that of the new moon is the most frequently attested (cp the evidence in Dillmann, *Ex.-Lev.*(3) 633). The high antiquity of the new-moon festival in particular is shown by its diffusion throughout the Semitic peoples.

1. Lunar feasts.

Lagarde (*Oriental.* 2 13 *f.*) connected the Heb. הִלֵּל 'to begin the festal-celebration' with the Ar. *hilāl* 'new moon,' a derivation which would certainly require us to assume the new moon to have been *the* festival *par excellence* (cp on the other side, Wellh. *Skizzen*, 3 107 *ff.*). Heb. does not now designate the new moon by a name cognate with *hilāl*; it calls it חֹדֶשׁ *ḥōdeš*, the 'New' [Moon], twice (in the plural) *rāšē ḥodšēkém*, 'your month-heads' (Nu. 10 10 28 11; νουμηνία, νεομ.; *calendæ*, Vg. sometimes *neomenia*).

Still another circumstance speaks for the high antiquity of the feast: its connection with the clan-sacrifices (1 S. 20 6; see below).

At all events, the New Moon, according to all our sources, figures also in the historical period as a very important festival, still ranking above the Sabbath. At new moon Saul was wont to gather round him his whole court for a common sacrificial meal (1 S. 20 4 *f.*). At a new moon the clans also were accustomed to hold their yearly family sacrifices; so, for example, the Bethlehemite clan to which David belonged (1 S. 20 6). The second day of the new moon seems also to have been solemnly observed (1 S. 20 27 34). The story related in 1 S. 20 shows us clearly what importance was attached to the feast; it was permissible to no one to absent himself from court on this occasion without adequate reason. Further, we see that in the life of the people the new moon in one respect stood on the same plane with the Sabbath; on both days it was the practice to suspend work-day labour, and thus time was made available for other things, such as a visit to a prophet, for which servants were not available on other days (cp 2 K. 4 23). In the earlier of the literary prophets we still find the new moon not only placed on a level with the Sabbath as regards rest from labour and business, but also ranked with the three pilgrimage feasts in general as a religious festival; as part of the heavy punishment of Israel it is said that in exile the new-moon celebration also will come to an end along with the other feasts (Hos. 2 13 Is. 1 13).

The great actual importance of the new-moon festival for the religious and secular life of the ancient Israelites being thus so abundantly evident, it becomes all the more surprising that the new moon is nowhere mentioned either in the Book of the Covenant or in the Deuteronomic law. Dillmann's explanation (*Ex.-Lev.*(3) 635) is that both those bodies of laws are incomplete, and above all that 'in the new-moon festival a widespread pre-Mosaic custom persisted with great tenacity, the regulation of which by positive law was not held to be necessary.' This cannot, however, be regarded as a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, for similar ancient customs, deeply rooted in popular usage, are frequently enough dealt with in the law. In fact, the Book of the Covenant is nothing else than a codification of customs established in actual practice and of prevailing usages, religious, legal, and other. We shall be nearer the truth if we regard as applicable also to the earlier codes what Dillmann says (*loc. cit.*) with reference to the depreciation of the new-moon festival in P—namely, that the increasing importance of the Sabbath and the preponderance it ultimately obtained, forced the new-moon festival into the background. As soon as the Sabbath came to be observed as an independent festival every seventh day without reference to the new moon, its celebration collided with that of the new moon, which fell to be held every 29th or 30th day (see MONTH). Yet even this reason is not quite sufficient by itself, and we are compelled to fall in with the conjecture of Wellhausen (*Prol.*(2) 118) that the ignoring of the new moon in the law is deliberate and intentional, being too conspicuous to be due merely to chance. To understand the motive of this silence it has only to be remembered that it was precisely with the lunar festivals—and more particularly with that of the new moon, which dated from the very remotest antiquity—that, among the Israelites as among the Canaanites and kindred peoples, all sorts of superstitions could most readily be connected. Reference has already been made to the connection between this festival and the clan-worships, which in fact strictly speaking were in competition with Yahwè-worship.

2. Ignored in earlier laws.

If in this ignoring of the new moon and its celebration the intention of the legislation actually was to depreciate it, or perhaps even to abolish it, the plan did not succeed. The new moon continued to maintain its old importance in the religious and secular life of the Israelites until long after the exile. If we find the later prophets so often dating their utterances precisely by reference to the new moon (Ezek. 26 1 29 17 31 1 32 1 Hag. 1 1), the fact is indirect but conclusive evidence of the popular observance of the day. The prophets assume the continuance of new-moon observance even in the Messianic

3. Importance maintained.

[1] This—not קָמוֹשׁ or קִמוֹשׁ—appears to be the proper spelling (Bä., Gi.). On the form of noun see Lag. *Uebers.* 117 *f.*, 181 *f.*

time (Ezek. 46 1 *ff.*, Is. 66 23). For how long a time importance continued to be attached to it is shown by such passages as Judith 8 6 Col. 2 16.

The legislation (1) of Ezekiel and (2) of P at last takes up this festival. (1) According to the sacrificial ritual of the day in Ezekiel (46 1 *ff.*), it would even seem as if the prophet ranked the new moon above the Sabbath. The offering he enjoins consists of a young bullock, six lambs, and a ram; the accompanying meal-offering is one ephah for the bullock, an ephah for the ram, and for the lambs 'according to his ability,' and moreover a hin of oil for every ephah. This is more than the Sabbath offering by one bullock and the corresponding meal-offering. (2) In like manner P (Nu. 28 11-15) enjoins for the new moon a larger offering than for the Sabbath; namely, two young bullocks, a ram, seven yearling lambs with corresponding meal- and drink-offerings, besides a he-goat for a sin-offering, and of course the regular daily burnt-offering besides. These offerings are the same as those prescribed for the seven days of the Passover feast and of the feast of weeks. When the offering is made the silver trumpets (TRUMPET-BLOWING) are to be blown on new moon as on the other high feast-days (Nu. 10 10).

With this we must compare the notices of the same offering to be found in the Chronicler (1 Ch. 23 31 2 Ch. 2 3 8 13 31 3; Ezra 3 5 Neh. 10 34). On the other side, it has to be conceded that in one point the new moon comes short of the Sabbath and the great feasts: it is not marked by a great festal gathering (מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ) and abstention from labour. But ought we not to regard this as indicating an essential lowering of the new-moon festival? A festival of this kind is differentiated by purely practical considerations. By the method of determining the time of new moon (see below, § 4) it is often impossible to tell at the beginning of the very day whether it is the festival day or not, and so to sanctify it wholly by rest from labour. The appropriate offering, on the other hand, could at all times be held in readiness for the declaration of new moon. By thus taking up the new-moon festival and giving it a place among the other feasts the law may here, as in so many other points, have been accommodating itself to an already established custom that refused to be repressed. We shall probably, however, find a better conjectural explanation of the difference between the attitude of the old law and that of the new to this feast in the consideration that the new moon now possessed for the regulation of the worship a greater importance than formerly: when all the other festivals had come to be definitely attached to fixed days of the month and so to be regulated by new moons, the observance of this becomes of fundamental importance for all the rest of the cultus.

We do not know how the day of new moon was determined in primitive times. As the length of the lunar month varies from twenty-nine to thirty days (see MONTH), we must suppose that, in the earliest days as well as in those of later Judaism, the punctual celebration of the day depended on direct observation of the moon itself. In later Judaism great care was expended in ascertaining with precision the first visibility of the new moon (cp *M. Rōsh ha-Shānā*, 1 5 *ff.* 2). The synedrium assembled in the early morning of the thirtieth day of each month and continued sitting, if necessary, till the time of evening sacrifice. Whoever first saw the crescent moon was bound to let the synedrium know of it at once. As soon as the fact was established by witnesses, the word 'let it be sanctified' was pronounced, and the day was forthwith observed as new-moon day. By fire-signals from the Mount of Olives, and afterwards by couriers, the tidings were sent all over the country. If, however, direct observation of the moon was rendered impossible by cloudy weather, this thirtieth day was forthwith reckoned as the last of the old month, and the new-moon observances were held on the following day.

4. Details of practice.

It was not till some two centuries after the destruction of the temple that the Jews began to reckon the new moon by astronomy. The Karaites, however, continued to follow the old method.

For the literature of the subject see FEASTS, § 15.

I. B.

NEW YEAR (רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה, on which see below, n. 2). On the civil and ecclesiastical year and the dates on which they were held to begin at various periods in the history of Israel, see YEAR, §§ 6 *ff.* The present article will deal with the New Year only as an ecclesiastical festival. As is shown elsewhere (YEAR, § 6), the year of the ancient Israelites began in autumn; it was not until the exile that there came in the custom of placing its commencement in spring. The ecclesiastical festival is even after that still held in the autumn. The practice of celebrating the beginning of the year with special offerings and the like may have been ancient; it is, however, a striking fact that no mention of any such celebration is found (in the writings that have come down to us) till Ezekiel and Leviticus (25 9).[1] The passage from Leviticus shows that once, at some time or other, probably during the exile, the beginning of the year was ecclesiastically observed on the tenth day of the seventh month, for the tenth is, according to the law just cited, the first day of the year of Jubilee. The blowing of trumpets which is enjoined is characteristic also of the later festival of the New Year (see below, § 2).

1. No early law.

The same day, the tenth of the seventh month, is also to be understood in Ezek. 40 1, although there the month is not specified.[2] The day is designated as ראש השנה, which cannot mean anything but 'New Year's day.' It is certainly also not accidental that Ezekiel has his vision of the new Jerusalem and the new temple on a New Year's day. This New Year's day in Ezekiel is preceded by an atonement solemnity and expiatory offerings on the first day of the seventh month (in other words, at the seventh New Moon), exactly as on the first day of the first month (Ezek. 45 20;[3] cp ATONEMENT, DAY OF).

In the further development of the post-exilic worship, the two seventh-month festivals of Ezekiel by and by simply exchanged places. The tenth day became the great day of Atonement, the first day the festival of the New Year. How it was that this so fell out we do not precisely know. Perhaps the change is connected with the fact that it was on the first of the seventh month that the returned exiles for the first time resumed the regular religious services which had been so long suspended. It is natural to assume that a day of such momentous importance was commemorated yearly. A day of penitence had little appropriateness to so joyful an anniversary, and doubtless, on the other hand, a

1 Verse 9*b* is, according to Wellh. (*Jahrbb. f. d. Theol.* 21 437), a later interpolation, because the blowing of trumpets seemed incompatible with the character of a day of atonement. The addition comes from the time when the great festival of the atonement was held on the tenth day of the seventh month.

2 A different view is taken by, *e.g.*, Siegfried in Kautzsch's translation, which here understands the tenth of the first month. On this view, however, it is not easy to see how this day could be designated as New Year's day. If the year began with the first day of the first month, the tenth day of the same month could not very well be observed as the ecclesiastical New Year. If New Year was actually observed on the tenth day of a month, this will betoken that the civil and ecclesiastical New Year fell quite apart, and in that case all that we know compels us to find here the ecclesiastical New Year in the seventh month, in harvest. The civil New Year began on the first day of the first month. The translation of בְּרֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה by 'in the beginning of the year,' as in Kautzsch, is hardly possible. What is of importance in this passage of the prophet is precise dating; this being so, the phrase 'In the twenty-fifth year, in the beginning of the year, namely on the tenth day of the month,' instead of the simple 'In the twenty-fifth year on the tenth day of the month,' sounds strangely. Cp Smend and Bertholet, *ad loc.*

3 The MT is here corrupt; read with 𝔊 בַּשְּׁבִיעִי בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ; cp Smend, Cornill, Bertholet, *ad loc.*

day of such associations as these was marked out, as no other could be, as an appropriate beginning for the ecclesiastical year. That somehow or other it came at a comparatively early date to be thus observed may be inferred also from Neh. 8 1 *ff.*; that it was exactly on this day that in 444 A.D. the first solemn reading of the new law took place, hardly seems to be a mere coincidence.

However that may be, at any rate the law of P sets apart the day in question—the first of the seventh month

2. In P. —as a joyful festival. It prescribes, in the first place, that in addition to the ordinary new moon offerings and the daily burnt offering there be presented, a young bullock, a ram, and seven yearling lambs without blemish, along with the appropriate meal offering; also a he-goat as sin offering. Further, the day is to be sanctified by Sabbath rest and by a great festal assembly at the sanctuary (Nu. 29 1-6 Lev. 26 23-25). The day receives a quite peculiar distinction from the fact that on it the trumpets are to be blown (Lev. 23 24). From this it derives its special designation as *yōm tĕrū'āh* (Nu. 29 1; cp TRUMPET-BLOWING). By this, therefore, must be meant something different from the blowing of the silver trumpets that marked every new moon (see NEW MOON, § 3) and all the great feasts (Nu. 10 10); doubtless, to judge by the analogy of the trumpet-blowing at the beginning of the year of jubilee, mentioned above (§ 1), what is meant is a blowing on the *šōphār* (שֹׁפָר) as distinguished from blowing on the *ḥăṣōṣĕrāh* (חֲצֹצְרָה). Cp MUSIC, § 5.

In the law the first day is never designated 'New Year.' We know, however, that it was observed as such amongst the Jews, at any rate from the Seleucidan era, and Jewish tradition has always regarded it in this light. Dillmann (*SBA W*, 1881, p. 919) has disputed this interpretation of it, pointing out that the economical year began later, and that the calendar year could have begun regularly with the seventh new moon only if the year were lunar, an assumption which cannot be made. The seventh new moon, he argues, comes into account in the law only because the autumn New Year did not begin with the new moon. If, however, as has been indicated above, the civil and the ecclesiastical New Year were at that time separate, it was quite possible that even in a solar year the beginning of the ecclesiastical year should be fixed for the seventh new moon. I. B.

NEZIAH (נְצִיחַ, 'excellent,' § 67), a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra 2 54 (*νασους* [B], *νεθιε* [A], *μεσεια* [L]) = Neh. 7 56 (*ασεια* [Bא], *νεισεια* [A], *νεσια* [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 32 (*νασει* [B], *νασιθ* [A], *νεσια* [L]; AV NASITH, RV NASI).

NEZIB (נְצִיב, probably 'sacred pillar' or 'prefect,' see SAUL, § 2, on 1 S. 10 5), situated, according to Josh. 15 43, in the lowland of Judah (ΝΕϹ[Ε]ΙΒ [AL], ΝΑϹΕΙΒ [B]). The Onomastica mention a place Nesib, Nasib, 7 m. from Eleutheropolis, on the way to Hebron (*OS*(2), 142 18; 283 8), and the ruins of *Bēt Naṣīb* have been found on the E. of *Bēt Jibrīn* (cp Guér. *Jud.* 111 343 *f.*; Buhl, *Pal.* 193), near Kh. Ḳīlā (see KEILAH). In the list of Thotmes III. we find a place Ḳerti-naṣena, and in one of the Amarna tablets (Wi. 263) Na-ṣi-ma, probably meaning the same place, but hardly a town so far S. as the Nezib of Joshua. In the Egyptian list the name has a determinative, showing that the word means 'stake.' נציב, then, was at one time a synonym for אשרה Asherah.[1]

NIBHAZ (נִבְחַז with large ז in MT; ΤΗΝ ΕΒΛΑΖΕΡ [B], ΤΗΝ ΑΒΑΑΖΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΝΑΙΒΑϹ [A], ΤΗΝ ΕΒΛΑΙΕΖΕΡ [L]), or **Nibhan** (נבחן, *Sanhedrīn*, 63*b*; MSS, according to D. Ḳimḥi), apparently an Avvite deity (see AVVA), 2 K. 17 31†. The Greek forms are hardly more original than the Hebrew. 𝔊L's form seems remodelled after the type of Eliezer. The opening letter N (in all but 𝔊A's second form) fell out through the preceding *ν*. The second *α* in 𝔊A represents ח. The Talmud (*Sanh. l.c.*) connects Nibhan (final *n*) with נבח, 'to bark,' the idol being supposed to have had the form of a dog! Norberg (*Onom.* 99) has referred to the obscure Mandæan Nebaz, an evil demon. But of course it is only Assyriology that can help us, and there being no Assyrian or Babylonian divine name which approaches Nibhaz or Nibhan (perhaps the better form), we must make a closer study of the phenomena of the text. Probably Nibhaz is a corrupt reading for TARTAK (*q.v.*). T. K. C.

NIBSHAN (הַנִּבְשָׁן; ΝΑΦΛΑΖΩΝ [B], ΝΕΒϹᾹ [A], ΝΕΒϹΑΝ [L]), the fourth in order of the six cities 'in the wilderness' of Judah (Josh. 15 62). For the ordinary view of the site, see BETH-ARABAH; but note the caution given below.

The name does not look right. Hitzig (*Ps.* 2 65) and Wellhausen (*Prol.*(2), 344) read הַכִּבְשָׁן—*i.e.*, strictly, the 'furnace' (see Gen. 19 24 28 Wisd. 10 7; and cp DEAD SEA, § 4, end). In this case, the sites occupied by *ez-Zuweiret el-fōkā* and *ez-Zuweiret et-taḥtā* would be not unsuitable (see Baed. *Pal.* 144). The ordinary view of the site, however, can hardly perhaps be maintained (cp MIDDIN, end). It is probable that P has led subsequent ages into a great misunderstanding by putting 'Engedi' for 'En-kadesh.' 'Nibshan' (Kibshan) and 'Secacah' (the preceding name) may possibly be corruptions, the one of ḲABZEEL, the other of Ḥaluṣah (see ZIKLAG). In reality, the same place may be intended—viz., Ḥaluṣah. P, as elsewhere, treats variants as names of distinct places. T. K. C.

NICANOR (ΝΙΚΑΝΩΡ). 1. Son of Patroclus, a Syrian general, who was sent by LYSIAS, together with Ptolemy and Gorgias, against Judas the Maccabee, B.C. 166 (1 Macc. 3 38, cp 2 Macc. 8 8). He was again sent in the reign of Demetrius (B.C. 161), and under the pretence of friendship endeavoured to bring about the fall of Judas. In this he was discovered and defeated at CAPHARSALAMA (1 Macc. 7 26-32). He met with his death at the battle of Adasa, on the 13th of Adar (March, 161 B.C.), a day which was afterwards kept as 'Nicanor's day' (1 Macc. 7 49 2 Macc. 15 36, and cp Mĕg. Ta'ănīth, § 30; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10 5). The account in 2 Macc. differs from the above in several essential particulars. In his first commission, Nicanor—not Gorgias—is the chief general; and in the second, no mention is made of the battle at Capharsalama. Nicanor's friendship with Judas was free from deceit, and it was against his will that he was obliged to resume hostilities with him.

2. One of the seven deacons (Acts 6 5). His name is mentioned in the lists of the 'seventy' given by Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus; according to the former he was martyred at the same time as Stephen.

NICODEMUS (ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟϹ [Ti. WH]) occurs in the NT only in Jn. 3 1 *ff* 7 50 19 39. The name is sometimes said to have been 'not uncommon among the Jews'; but the only evidence alleged is Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 3 2—the only instance recognised in Niese's Index to Josephus. *Ta'ănīth* (*Hor. Hebr. ad loc.*) derives the name of Nicodemon b. Gorion from a story of divine answer to his prayer, interpreting the name as a contraction of 'because there shone out for him the sun (שנקדה לו נקדימון).' Would such a legend have arisen if the name had been 'not uncommon'?

Wetstein, who mentions several Greek instances of the use of the name, gives none from Jewish history

1. Who is meant? except Nicodemon b. Gorion. These facts indicate that the name was uncommon among the Jews, but that it belonged, a little before the siege of Jerusalem, to a 'son of Gorion,' a man of extraordinary wealth and high position, frequently mentioned by the Talmudists.[1]

[1] WMM, *OLZ*, May 1899, p. 137 *f.* Robertson Smith takes the same view of נציב as a place-name; cp Nisibis, 'the pillars' (*RS*(2), 204, n. 1).

[1] Smith's *DB* (1863) says 'Some would derive it from נקי, innocent, דם, blood (*i.e.* "sceleris purus"); Wetstein, *NT* 1 150'; but there is no mention of Nicodemus in Wetst. 1 150, and no mention of this derivation in Wetst. 1 850.

Nicodemon the son of Gorion (*Hor. Hebr.* and Wetst. *ad loc.*) was one of three (or four)[1] sometimes called 'Bouleutai'—*i.e.*, counsellors—sometimes 'rich men,' sometimes 'great men of the city,' the wealthiest in Jerusalem. His special duty was to provide water for the pilgrims that came up for the feasts.

2. Nicodemon b. Gorion in Jewish tradition.

Besides the legend above quoted concerning the origin of his name, another was that 'As the sun stood still for Joshua, so did it for Moses and Nicodemon b. Gorion.' On the other hand, his daughter, at whose marriage vast sums were spent, became so impoverished, she and her whole family, that she was seen gathering barleycorns out of the dung of the Arabs' cattle. The preservation of this story would harmonise with a Jewish belief that some sin of Nicodemus (who would seem to have been dead at the time) was visited on his children. *Ta'ănith*, after explaining, as above, the origin of 'Nicodemon,' says that his real name was Buni (בוני). Now, according to *Sanhedrim* (Schöttg. 2 703), a Buni was one of five disciples of Jesus,[2] put to death by the Jews. These statements, and the story about the daughter, favour the belief that the Talmudic Nicodemon was regarded by the Jews as a disciple of Jesus. It is, at all events, probable that Jn. identified him with the man whom he calls (3 1) 'a ruler of the Jews,' and describes as present at a council of the (7 45) 'chief priests and Pharisees' (*i.e.*, the Sanhedrin) under the name of 'Nicodemus.'

With the aid of Josephus and the LXX it is possible to indicate the way in which Nicodemon b. Gorion might pass into the Fourth Gospel as Nicodemus, under the shadow, as it were, of Joseph of Arimathæa, with whom, in Jn. alone, he shares the honour of burying Jesus (see JOSEPH [in NT], § 4).

3. Origin of Johannine tradition: Arimathæa.

Joseph is called by Mk.-Lk. (Mk. 15 43) 'an honourable councillor,' (Lk. 23 50) 'councillor,' (Mk. 15 43 Lk. 23 51) 'waiting for the kingdom of God,' (Mt. 27 57) 'rich' and 'made a disciple of Jesus.' 'Arimathæa,' in 1 S. 1 1, represents a Hebrew '(Ha)ramathaim-zophim,' supposed to be 4 m. NW. of Jerusalem. The Targum of Jonathan renders this 'Ramatha *of the scholars of the prophets*,'[3] taking 'Zophim' as 'place of *watching*,' and apparently identifying it with 'Mizpeh,' from the root *ṣph* (צפה) which means 'watch,' 'wait,' 'hope for.' So here, Mk.-Lk. appear to have taken מצופים, 'm-zophim' as '*waiting for* (the kingdom of God),' while Mt. paraphrased it as implying discipleship to Jesus.

As regards the statement made by Mk.-Lk. (but not by Mt. Jn.) that Joseph was a 'councillor,' if it is not historical, it may have arisen from a metaphorical explanation of Zophim as 'watchers,' 'rulers,' 'counsellors.' Cp the explanation of 1 S. 1 1 (Levy 4 210*a*) 'one of two hundred *seers* (Zophim) who arose for Israel' (and Heb. 13 17). Or it may have sprung from a gloss on 'Haramah,' *i.e.*, 'the Ramah,' or 'the eminence.' The root of Ramah, in New Hebrew, is sometimes applied to 'eminent' *people* (cp 'your Eminence') and once, at least, with a special reference to taking counsel.[4]

Finding one, Joseph, described as an 'honourable councillor,' and 'rich,' evangelists familiar with Josephus' history might naturally identify the man with the famous Joseph, son of Gorion, mentioned by that historian as one of two appointed to rule and repair the city just before the siege.[1]

4. Jn.'s inferences.

Thus 'son of Gorion' might be inserted in the margin. But Josephus himself is supposed to confuse Joseph son of Gorion with Gorion son of Joseph.[2] We have also seen that one of the Jewish traditions about the 'counsellors' converted the son of Gorion into two persons, calling one the son of Gorion and the other the son of Nicodemon. Much more easily may we suppose that Christian evangelists, finding 'Joseph' in the text and 'son of Gorion' in the margin, might explain the words as 'Joseph *and* the son of Gorion.' Then they might take this son of Gorion to be *the wealthy* son of Gorion, the celebrated Nicodemon (or, as they began to call him, Nicodemus).

There appears no authority for the derivation, given above, 'innocent from blood,' for the name of Nicodemus; but it is not at all unlikely that, during the plastic period of interpolation, Lk. confused the name with 'Nakemidam,' 'innocent from blood' (נקי מדם)—the words used by Delitzsch to translate Pilate's protest, Mt. 27 24 (*innocent from the blood* of this just man'—and paraphrased it accordingly (Lk. 23 51, 'this man had not consented, etc.').

Jn.'s statement that Joseph was a 'concealed' disciple of Jesus can be explained as one of the many conflations of the above-mentioned *Zophim*, the root of which (צפי) closely resembles, and is actually confused with (Levy, 4 211) 'conceal (צפן).' Moreover, when Jn. developed Joseph into two persons, Joseph and Nicodemus, he may have conflated two statements, (1) that Joseph, *a concealed disciple*, came to seek the body of Jesus, (2) that Nicodemus came to Jesus *under the concealment of night*. The latter he may have supposed to refer to a previous occasion.

i. Nicodemus, being the official provider of water for the purposes of purification in Jerusalem, was a very appropriate character in a dialogue setting forth the doctrine of regeneration through something more than water.

5. Nicodemus in Jn.

He is introduced as 'a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews,' who 'came to Jesus by night,' and showed such incapacity to understand the doctrine of regeneration from above that he was rebuked by Jesus in the phrase usually addressed by the common people to incompetent teachers. In view of the fact that the doctrine of a 'new birth' was familiar to the Jews, Nicodemus's apparent want of intelligence has caused difficulty to commentators, who have explained it (*Hor. Hebr.*) on the ground that the Rabbis applied the doctrine only to proselytes, or (Schöttg.) on the ground of 'troubled times' resulting in ignorance of tradition. The former view is the more probable. But Jn. may also be using hyperbole in order to bring home to readers the perverse and wilful stupidity (as he conceives it) of the Pharisees, by representing the best among them, a man half convinced of the justice of Christ's claims, as ignoring everything that is 'from

[1] The 'four,' mentioned in only one of several traditions, were made up by reading 'Ben Gorion *and* Ben Nicodemon.'

[2] Another of the five was named (Schöttg. 2 703) Nakai (נקי)—*i.e.*, 'innocent'—which (see note above) has been suggested by some as an explanation of the first two syllables of 'Nicodemus.' The name Bunni (BUNNI) בני and בוני is given to Levites in Neh. and Ezra and is sometimes translated υἱός, being naturally confused with *Ben*, 'son of.' See also BANI and BINNUI, with which it is often confused. It betokens post-exilic and Levitical connection.

[3] [גברא חד מרמתא מתלמידי נביאיא. Note, too, that Ḳimḥi interprets צופים as נביאים, comparing Ezek. 3 17 etc.]

[4] See Levy, 4 453*a* where רם frequently = 'eminent,' and especially 'führe dein Nasiat *unter den Grossen* (ברמים) um dich mit ihnen zu *berathen*.' For LXX corruptions in connection with 'counsellor,' cp 2 S. 8 18 'Benaiah the son of *Jehoiada* (יהוידע),' 𝔊 'Banai son of *Janak* (A, *Jodæ*, L, *Joad*) *counsellor* (σύμβουλος),' apparently conflating. On the other hand, 1 Ch. 26 14 '*a counsellor* (יועץ) in wisdom (בשכל)' is in 𝔊 changed into a name, '*Soaz* (A, *Joias*) to Melcheias,' where L conflates, '*Joad a counsellor* in wisdom.' (If 'counsellor' was part of the original, it may have referred to the local council of Arimathæa; but it probably sprang from a gloss.) 'Ram(ah),' being conflated as 'eminent,' might give rise to Hebrew glosses which would explain Mt.'s 'rich' (see the present writer's *Diatess.* 518-19).

[1] *BJ* ii. 20 3. If this son of Gorion was called 'Buni,' as a nickname, it is worth noting that the word may mean 'builder.' It is applied to the Sanhedrin (Levy, 1 241*b*) as '*Builders* (spiritually) of Jerusalem.'

[2] Schür. i. 2 228. 'Gorion the son of Joseph,' mentioned in Jos. *BJ* iv. 3 9 'is probably identical with Joseph son of Gorion mentioned above'—*i.e.*, *BJ* ii. 20 3. 'Gorion' was killed by the zealots (*BJ* iv. 6 1); at least if Schürer (i. 2 230) is right—as he probably is—in tacitly assuming that the Gorion (Niese, Γουριων, Huds. Γοριων) mentioned in *BJ* iv. 6 1 is the same as that (Niese and Huds. Γωριων, Big. Γορρίων) mentioned in *BJ* iv. 3 9. Concerning the murdered man it is said that he was 'eminent in birth and reputation, but democratic,' and that 'his freedom of speech' (cp Jn. 7 50) 'was his ruin.' Of course, all these traditions could only be applied to the Johannine Nicodemus by anachronism; but in a gospel of spiritual types and tendencies, anachronisms are to be expected.

above'[1] and bound up in the grossest materialism. See (ii.) below.

ii. Nothing comes of the Pharisee's interview, in which he declared—apparently describing the secret conviction of the ruling class to which he belonged—'We *know* that thou art a teacher sent from God.' On the next appearance of Nicodemus, he is sitting in council when his fellow-councillors thus address the officers who have failed to bring Jesus (Jn. 7 48), 'Have any of *the rulers or the Pharisees* believed on him?' Nicodemus, a 'ruler' and a 'Pharisee,' if he 'believed,' did not at least respond to this indirect appeal. The Laodicean state of his mind is perhaps hinted at by the words 'he came to Jesus' (but he was) 'one of them,' that is, still a Pharisee. But he pleads—though not for one whom they 'knew to be a teacher sent from God'—at all events for justice. The reply is that, since he will not side with his party, right or wrong, he must be 'on the side of Galilee.' Then comes the astonishing saying, 'out of Galilee ariseth no prophet.' If the text is correct, the whole narrative is stamped as unhistorical; for it is impossible that the Sanhedrin could use such language in the face of the Galilean origin of Jonah and Hosea, and possibly also Elijah, Elisha, Amos, and Nahum.[2]

iii. No mention is made of Nicodemus as protesting against the resolution of the council (Jn. 11 47-53) to put Jesus to death. He is perhaps alluded to in the words (12 42), 'Even of the rulers many believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess [it], lest they should be put out of the synagogue: for they loved the glory of men more than the glory of God;' but his name is not mentioned till the burial of Jesus. Here he is subordinate to Joseph (see JOSEPH [IN NT] i.), who alone 'took away his body'; Nicodemus does not come till afterwards. Apparently he is represented as afraid to go to Pilate with Joseph.[3] Characteristically Jn. repeats here the words expressive of the Pharisee's timidity —which he dropped when he described the protest of Nicodemus (7 50 'he that came to him *before*') in behalf of justice—'he who at the first came to Jesus *by night*.' Nicodemus, however, tries to compensate for want of courage by the excessive costliness of his offering to the dead body of Jesus, '*one hundred pounds* weight of myrrh and aloes'—a hundred times as much (measured by mere weight) as the single 'pound' (Jn. 12 3) of Mary, and yet the latter was valued at 'three hundred denarii'! Probably the ointment was more expensive than the same weight of 'myrrh and aloes'; but still the suggestion is unquestionably that Nicodemus the son of Gorion, who spent 'twelve thousand denarii' on his daughter's wedding,[1] spent a great deal more on the dead body of 'the teacher sent from God.' Only it was 'by night.' It is implied that Mary's affectionate gift of a single 'pound' of ointment, given to Jesus openly while he lived, outweighed the 'hundred pounds of spices' offered by the millionaire who gave him scarcely anything in the way of support, and nothing in the way of public confession, while he lived, but (Jn. 12 7) kept his gift 'against the day of his burial,' ending, as he began, a Laodicean.[2] He is a Johannine conception, representing the liberal, moderate, and well-meaning Pharisee, whose fate it was to be crushed out of existence in the conflict between Judaism and its Roman and Christian adversaries. E. A. A.

1 'From above.' Ἄνωθεν may in certain contexts, mean 'over again'; but (Field's *Otium Norv., ad loc.*) 'St. John's writings furnish no example of this use of the word, and . . . the Heb. מכעל is always *local*.' Cp Jn. 3 31 19 11 and 23, and NT *passim*; also Philo 1 482, ὁ καταπνευσθεὶς ἄνωθεν (and Phil. 1 263 and 498 2 442). Menander (Eus. *HE* 3 26) connects baptism with his own mission ἄνωθεν, and see Hippol. 6 18 quoting Simon Magus. Schöttg. 2 632 quotes *Zohar* commenting on 'the new spirit,' and on purification 'aquis mundis *supernis*.' Against such evidence, Artemid. *Oneirocr.* 1 13 (where the context *demands* the sense 'from the beginning') is futile. As to the argument from Justin, see GOSPELS, § 101 (2). As regards the rebuke, see the boy's answer to R. Jeshua, *Hor. Hebr.* (on Jn. 3 10) אתה הוא חכם של ישראל, translated by Lightfoot, 'Art thou *a* wise man in Israel?' (not, as Jn., '*the* teacher').

2 If we were to suppose an ο dropped after the final ς in Γαλιλαίας, the meaning would be '*the* prophet is not to arise out of Galilee.' The omission of ο after ς (written C in uncial MSS) is frequent in codex B, but not in Jn. In view of the hyperdramatic hyperbole sometimes found in Jn. it is impossible to deny that the text may be genuine. The actual order of the words is uncertain, many MSS, *e.g.* אD, putting προφ. before ἐκ. According to Tisch. the Sahidic version read ὁ προφήτης.

3 Cp *Acta Pil.* (B), § 11. 'I am afraid,' said Nicodemus [to Joseph], 'lest Pilate should be enraged. . . . But if thou wilt go alone . . . then will I also go with thee and help thee to do everything necessary for the burial.' It is only a conjecture, but a reasonable one, that, if Nicodemus was the employer of the water-carriers in Jerusalem during the Passover, the 'man bearing a pitcher of water' (Mk. 14 13 Lk. 22 10) was regarded as his emissary.

1 Wetst., *ad loc.*, 'lectus erat stratus XII. M. denariis'; *Hor. Hebr.* 'the furniture of whose bed was twelve thousand denars.' Another tradition mentions (*Hor. Hebr.* 2 449) 'a daughter of Nicodemus b. Gorion to whom the wise men appointed four hundred crowns of gold for a chest of spices for one day.'

2 If the obscure and probably corrupt Jn. 12 7 could be interpreted 'Let her alone. Ought she to keep it (or, would you keep it) till the day of my burial?'—this would bring out the contrast between the gift of Mary and the gift of Nicodemus.

NICODEMUS, THE GOSPEL OF, printed in Greek and Latin from various MSS by Tischendorf (*Evang. Apocr.* 1853, 1876[(2)]) is a true apocryphon, in the sense that it does not come within the category of Old-Christian Literature in the stricter meaning of that expression (see OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE). The book professes to have been originally written by Nicodemus, in Hebrew, from which language it was translated by a certain Ananias about 425 A.D. It consists of three parts, the first and second of which are entitled ὑπομνήματα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου; the third relates to Christ's *Descensus ad inferos*. Chaps. 1-13 describe the trial of Jesus before Pilate, his condemnation, crucifixion, and resurrection, substantially in agreement with the canonical gospels. Chaps. 14-16, originally by another hand, give a copious report of the debate held by the Jewish authorities upon the resurrection of Jesus and the liberation of Joseph of Arimathea from prison. Chaps. 17-27, by yet another hand, is a lively description of the brief stay of Jesus in Hades (cp 1 Pet. 3 18-20). All three pieces, originally written in Greek, are generally held to be not earlier than the fourth century, and when they were brought together to have been placed under the name of Nicodemus which occurred frequently in them and sounded well. Cp, however, APOCRYPHA, § 27 (1).

In the Middle Ages this Gospel was widely read, as is shown by the many still extant MSS both of the original text and of translations, by the traces found in literature of acquaintance with the work, and by widely diffused poetical adaptations. Cp Tischendorf, *Ev. Apoc.*, Prolegomena; Wülcker, *Das Ev. Nicodemi in der abendländischen Literatur*, 1872; Gaston Paris and Alphonse Bros, *Trois Versions rimées de l'Évangile de Nicodème*, 1885.

The value of this writing for our knowledge of Old-Christian literature lies in the fact of its containing some traits relating to the gospel history of which we learn nothing, or very little, from the NT. W. C. V. M.

NICOLAITANS, AV **NICOLAITANES** (ΝΙΚΟΛΑΙΤΑΙ [Ti. WH]), are mentioned in NT only in Rev. 2 6 15, and in other old Christian writers—Irenæus, Tertullian, and others—only in connection with these two passages. We may safely identify them with the followers of Balaam and Jezebel referred to in 2 14 20 (cp BALAAM, col. 464; JEZEBEL, col. 2457).

1. Character. The persons aimed at are apostates who, according to the author of the Apocalypse, had been troubling and leading astray the churches of Asia Minor and especially the seven addressed in chaps. 2 *f.* It has been commonly, but erroneously, thought that such a description must be intended for persons who were in principle more pagan than Christian, and might therefore be regarded as mere libertines in the

ordinary sense of that word. What the writer actually says of them—and there is no other authority to whom we can turn—shows them to be Pauline Christians, in other words, believers after the type with which we become best acquainted through the Epistles that bear the name of Paul. Like these, they too had arisen after the churches had already subsisted for some considerable time, a time long enough to make it possible to point with thankful recognition to the good work the churches had done in the past, their patience and fidelity under poverty, oppression, and persecution—in a word, to their 'first works,' to their love and faith which, alas, are now threatened with extinction (2 2 *f.* 5 9 10 13 19 3 3 *f.* 8 10 3 2; cp PAUL, §§ 35, 40). Their leaders called 'themselves apostles,' but in the estimation of those who opposed them were not such, but were liars (2 2). This same consideration it was that led 'Paul' to lay such emphasis upon his own apostleship and that of those who wrought with him, and to defend it so persistently (Rom. 1 1 5 11 13 1 Cor. 1 1 9 1-18 2 Cor. 1 1 11 5 *f.* 12 11-12 Gal. 1 1 28 Eph. 1 1 Col. 1 1 1 Tim. 1 1 2 7 2 Tim. 1 1 11 Tit. 1 1). In Rev. 2 20 it is brought as a charge against Jezebel that she calls 'herself a prophetess'; with no less distinctness does 'Paul' claim for himself and his followers the gift of prophecy (Rom. 12 6 1 Cor. 11 4 *f.* 12 10 28 *f.* 13 2 9 14 1-6 14 24 31 39). The Smyrnæans and Philadelphians are warned in Rev. 2 9 3 9 against those who say that they are Jews although they are not, but lie and are a synagogue of Satan; precisely so does 'Paul' designate his spiritual allies irrespective of descent or birth as the true Jews, the seed of Abraham, and the rightful Israel (Rom. 2 28 *f.* 4 9 6 *f.* 11 17 1 Cor. 10 18 Gal. 3 7-9 3 29 4 22 28 31 6 16 Eph. 2 12), though very far from wishing to have it forgotten that he himself is an Israelite according to the flesh and full of tenderness for his people (Rom. 9 1-5 10 11 1 2 Cor. 11 22 Gal. 2 15 Phil. 3 4 *f.*).

The Nicolaitans had their own particular doctrine (διδαχή; Rev. 2 15 24), just as 'Paul' had his (Rom. 6 17 16 17 1 Cor. 4 17 7 17). Their gnosis, their sounding of the deep things of God (Rom. 10 33 1 Cor. 2 10), could easily lead to the designation of those who were opposed to it and to the new revelation altogether as being those 'who know not the deep things of Satan' (οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰ βαθέα τοῦ σατανᾶ: Rev. 2 24). The stumbling-block which the apostates cast before the Israelites is stated to be 'eating things sacrificed to idols and committing fornication' (φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι: 2 14 20), not because they made a mock of all that is holy and trampled honour underfoot, but because they, like 'Paul,' had set aside the Jewish laws regarding foods and marriage, freely using food that had been set before heathen deities (Rom. 14 2 6 14 20 1 Cor. 8 1 4 10 19 25-27), and contracting marriages within the prohibited degrees which in the eyes of the author of the Apocalypse were unchaste unions, just as in the eyes of the writer of 1 Cor. 5 1 the marriage of the Christian who had freed himself from scruples with his deceased father's wife (not his own mother) was so, or as in the eyes of so many Englishmen the marriage with a deceased wife's sister is at the present day. For the expressions, see Acts 15 20 29 21 25 (cp also COUNCIL, § 11).

2. Doctrine.

The reason why the identity of the Nicolaitans and their allies in Rev. 2 *f.*, with the followers of Paul has not sooner found general recognition, although many scholars since Baur have considered that Paul himself was aimed at in the passage, is not far to seek. Paul's name is not mentioned, and his personality not brought before the reader's attention, so that it was natural to see in the allusions a reference to later developments. No one thought of suggesting Paulinism such as is seen in the Epistles and must be dissociated from the person and period of the historical Paul.

3. Identification, etc.

Why the Nicolaitans were called so is unknown. Probably the name was given by opponents, and, like 'Balaam' and 'Jezebel,' was intended to express censure and reproach. Perhaps it was originally bestowed by some one before the time of the writer of the Apocalypse who had in view some well-known though now forgotten personality of evil repute. We may be sure that it does not come, as Irenæus and Tertullian will have it, from the deacon Nicolas of Acts 6 5, nor yet, as many moderns have conjectured, from Νικόλαος (νικᾶν and λάος) as a rendering of Balaam = βαλαάμ = בָּלַע עָם or בַּעַל עָם. This, however ingenious, is a mere guess.

In the middle ages we meet with 'Nicolaitans' who seek to release the clergy from enforced celibacy; in the fifteenth century, in Bohemia, 'Nicolaitans' anticipated the Quakers in their repudiation of outward ordinances and in finding a place for special revelations by the side of the written word. They do not stand, however, in any real connection with the Nicolaitans of the Apocalypse.

See for these *PRE*(1), *s.v.* 'Nikolaiten'; for the first, W. C. van Manen, *Paulus*, ii., 1891, pp. 244-251; for another view, W. Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, 1896, 238-241. 278 *f.*

W. C. v. M.

NICOLAS (ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟϹ), a proselyte, of Antioch, one of the 'seven' named in Acts 6 5 (see DEACONS, § 5). His name—but only the name—occurs also in more than one of the lists of the 'seventy' (see Lipsius, *Apocr. Ap.-gesch.* 1 205; Ergänzungsheft, 2), and a large body of tradition has been connected with it under the supposition that he was the founder of the heresy of the NICOLAITANS [*q.v.*].

NICOPOLIS (ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙϹ [Ti. WH]). Paul, according to the traditional view,[1] writing to Titus expresses his intention of spending the approaching winter at Nicopolis (Tit. 3 12), and desires Titus to 'be diligent' to come to him thither. There were many towns called Nicopolis.

1. Identification.

(1) One founded in Armenia by Pompeius on the field of his victory over Mithridates (65 B.C.), a great military and civil post and centre of the road system under the Empire (mod. *Purkh.* Strabo, 555; Ptol. viii. 17 40. Cp Murray *Handbook to AM* 48). (2) In Egypt, near Alexandria (Strabo, 795 800, Jos. *BJ* iv. 11 5). (3) On Mt. Amanus, in Cilicia (Strabo, 676, Ptol. v. 8 7). (4) In Bithynia, on the Bosporus (Plin. *HN* 5 32). (5) On the upper Nestus, in Thrace (Ptol. iii. 11 13). (6) The town still called Nicopolis (*Nikup*) near the Danube;[2] (7) Nicopolis in Epirus. This enumeration is necessary, as there is no direct evidence as to the identity of the town mentioned in Titus. The subscription to the Epistle to Titus, according to which the letter was written 'from Nicopolis of Macedonia,' is of no authority.

Considerations as to the date of foundation or name, or as to the situation, of most of the towns above enumerated, are fatal to their claims; and there is a general agreement that the place meant was Nicopolis in Epirus, for this agrees best with the meagre data as to Paul's last years derivable from the Pastoral Epistles on the assumption of their genuineness.

Nicopolis (the 'city of victory') in Epirus was founded by Augustus in commemoration of his victory over Antonius and Cleopatra (Sept. 31 B.C., Suet. *Aug.* 18; Strabo, 325). The site chosen was that on which his land forces had their camp before the battle, on the northern promontory at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf (mod. Gulf of Atba). The whole surrounding territory—southern Epirus, the opposite region of Acarnania with Leucas, and even part of Ætolia—was united in a single urban domain, and the inhabitants of the dwindling townships were transferred to the new city (Strabo, *l.c.*, Dio Cass. 51 1, Paus. v. 23 3 vii. 18 8 x. 38 4, *Anthol. Gr.* 9 553). Nicopolis was made a 'free city' (like Athens and Sparta),[3] and it possessed six out of the thirty votes

2. Environment.

1 [However impossible, on critical grounds, the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to Titus may be, many critics now hold that Tit. 3 12 *f.* is a genuine fragment of the work of Paul, written shortly before 2 Cor., when Paul (in Ephesus?), unable to count on the loyalty of Corinth, was planning to await the outcome in Macedonia and Epirus (Bacon, *Intr. to the NT* 136; cp v. Soden, *HC* iii. 181 221 *c*). Cp Rom. 15 19.—ED.]

2 Other places called Nicopolis will be found mentioned by Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of AM*—Palæapolis in the valley of the Cayster (105); in Pisidia (=Metropolis, 403); Emmaus [mod. 'Amwās] in Palestine was known as Nicopolis in the third century. Naturally these do not enter into the question.

3 Tac. *Ann.* 5 10, Arrian, *Epict. Diss.* iv. 1 14 νὴ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ἐλεύθεροί ἐσμέν.

in the Amphictyonic Council representing all Greece (Paus. x. 8 2 *f.*). Furthermore, the old festival to the Actian Apollo on the opposite promontory was magnificently renewed and enlarged, a quinquennial festival (τὰ Ἄκτια), with musical and athletic competitions, and chariot races and other contests, being instituted and placed on the same level as the four great Games of Greece (Strabo, *l.c.*). Herod the Great contributed to the adornment of the city (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 5 3). The result of this imperial and other patronage was that Nicopolis became the greatest city on the W. coast of Greece, far exceeding in importance all other cities of the same name (cp Strabo, 325).

3. Paul's visit. Nicopolis was therefore admirably adapted to be a centre of missionary work in western Greece—a region as yet untouched. An additional reason for the decision attributed to Paul would be found if it were certain that Epirus and Acarnania had at this date been severed from Achaia and constituted as a separate province.[1] The despatch of Titus northwards into Illyricum[2] (cp 2 Tim. 4 10, and see DALMATIA) seems to indicate a reasoned plan of far-reaching operations in this quarter. The above remark assumes both that Paul himself reached Nicopolis, and that Titus was able to go to him before the expiration of the winter (probably that of 65-6 A.D., or perhaps a year later); but of this there is no proof. Paul was certainly not at Nicopolis at the time of writing Tit. 3 12[3] (see § 1, n. 1 above); probably Miletus and Corinth (2 Tim. 4 20) were stages on the journey thither. It would seem most probable that Nicopolis was the scene of his arrest, in the course of the winter.

Nicopolis fell into decay, and, having been destroyed by the Goths, was restored by Justinian (Procop. *de Æd.* 4 2). During the Middle Ages the site was deserted for one about 5 m. farther S. on the end of the promontory, and thus the modern town of Prevesa (πρέβεζα) originated. There are many remains of the ancient city.

See *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* 3 89, Leake, *Travels in N. Gr.* 1 178 3 491, Murray's *Handbook to Greece*. For the foundation of Nicopolis, consult Kuhn, *Entstehung der Städte der Alten*.

W. J. W.

NIGER. See SIMEON NIGER.

NIGHT (לַיְלָה), Gen. 1 5 etc. See DAY.

NIGHT-HAWK (תַּחְמָס, *taḥmās*; γλαῦξ; *noctua*), one of the unclean birds (Lev. 11 16 Dt. 14 15†). The true meaning of the Hebrew word is unknown. Tristram thinks that AV meant by 'night-hawk' the night-jar[4] (*Caprimulgus*), a bird of nocturnal habits, of which three species are recorded from Palestine; but 𝔊 and Vg. suggest a reference to some species of OWL (*q.v.*). Among the moderns, Bochart and Gesenius favour the male ostrich (root-meaning, 'to treat violently'), whilst others, led by the same root-meaning, prefer the cuckoo. Finally, others have thought of the swallow (so possibly Targ. Jon. חַטַּפְתָּא, and Saad.); Niebuhr the traveller states that the Jews in Mōṣul still call the swallow *taḥmās*.

A. E. S.

NIGHT-MONSTER (לִילִית), Is. 34 14 RV, RVmg. LILITH.

NIGHT-WATCHES (אַשְׁמֻרוֹת), Ps. 63 6 [7] 119 148. See DAY.

[1] See Marq.-Momms., *Staatsverw.*(2), 131. Tac. *Ann.* 2 53 (= 17 A.D.) calls Nicopolis an *urbs Achaiæ*, but *Epict. Diss.* iii. 4 1, speaks of it as the headquarters of an ἐπίτροπος Ἠπείρου: cp Zahn, *Einl.* 1 435.

[2] [2 Tim. 4 6 (9)-22 may plausibly be regarded as a Pauline fragment, though 1 and 2 Tim., as wholes, cannot be the work of Paul. See Bacon, *Introd. to the NT*, 135; v. Soden, *HC*, 3 181. ED.]

[3] Note the use of ἐκεῖ, 'there,' and the tense κέκρικα, 'I have determined'—not the epistolary past, but expressing the mental state at the moment of writing.

[4] From the time of Aristotle, peculiar attributes have been ascribed to the night-hawk or goat-sucker, and it was supposed to come at night-time and tear and eat the flesh off young children's faces.

NILE. The present name of the great river of Egypt comes from the Greek (ὁ Νεῖλος). This is found as

1. Names. early as Hesiod; Homer, however, *Od.* 4 477, calls it Ægyptus (ὁ Αἴγυπτος in distinction from ἡ Αἴγυπτος, the country), indicating, correctly, by this name that Egypt is only the Nile valley. No derivation from the Egyptian is possible for the name Nile.[1] Whether, according to a hypothesis of Movers, Νεῖλος comes from a supposed Phœnician **neḥel* = Hebrew *nāḥal* ('brook, stream') must remain doubtful; neither does a hypothetical Egyptian mutilation of *nāhār* 'river' (Lepsius, *Chronologie*, 275) present more probability. If the Arabic name of the canal Shaṭṭ-en-Nīl in Central Babylonia has any connection with the Egyptian river, it would be due to a comparison by the Arabs. The Egyptians call their river *Ḥ'p* (something like *חעף) or *Ḥ'pi* (earliest orthography in the pyramid-texts *Ḥp*), which, if we may judge from Herodotus' Κρωφι and Μωφι, was probably vocalised *Ḥo'p(i)*.[2] Although the latest theology tried to explain the Apis-bull (Eg. *Ḥp*) as a personification of the Nile, the two names are totally different (cp NOPH).[3] The river's sacred name *ḥ'p* began at an early period to be used less than the simple designation 'river' *yetor*, later pronounced *ye'or*, *yo'or* (earliest orthography *ytrw*, the addition of *w* being meant to express the fact that *w* had taken the place of the lost *t*; later spelling *ywr*), whence Coptic ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ 'branch of the river,' distinguished from ⲓⲁⲣⲟ, S. Egyptian ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ 'the Nile'; originally *y(e)tar-'o(')* 'the great river.' This last expression is rendered by the Assyrians *iaru'û* (Ašur-bani-pal, 41 32; cp Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 312)[4]—*i.e.*, N. Egyptian ⲓⲁⲣⲟ or ⲓⲁⲣⲱ—whilst the other expression has become very familiar through the Hebrews as יְאֹר יְאוֹר (in Am. 8 8 mutilated into אֹר).

יְאוֹר is used exclusively of the Nile (Gen. 41 1 Ex. 1 22 2 3 etc., Ezek. 29 3 9 Am. 8 8 9 5; in the last two passages with the addition 'of Egypt,' which is frequent with the plural), in the plural of the Nile branches in the Delta (Ezek. 29 3, 30 12 Ps. 78 44 Is. 7 18 19 6 37 25), only in Is. 33 21 of ideal rivers (‖ נְהָרִים), and in as late passages as Dan. 12 5 6 7 of the Tigris (in Job 28 10, where the sense 'shafts of mines' is forced on it by the commentaries, the text is hardly correct). That 𝔊 mostly renders ποταμός may be noted. On the name SHIHOR, see the article on that word.

Naturally, the name Gihon of Gen. 2 13 does not refer to the Nile, although already Ecclus. 24 27 and Josephus know that application. Christian writers, of course, called the Nile *Geon* after the LXX, in order to show their knowledge of the Bible; but this is not to be considered as a tradition of any weight. The question where that second river of Paradise is really to be sought for, does not belong here. See GIHON, and PARADISE, § 5.

2. Beliefs and ceremonies. Personified, the Nile is frequently figured as a fat, androgynous deity,[5] with skin painted blue (like water; sometimes green), wearing a bunch of aquatic plants on his head and the girdle of a fisherman around his loins, and presenting fresh water (in vases), lotus flowers, fish, and fowl. Such representations are found as early as on statues of dyn. 12. One of the classic school-books, dating from the middle empire, contains a hymn to the good god Nile,[6] 'the creator of all good things'; but he received less regular worship than the local gods presiding over the watercourse of some districts (*Saṯet* near

[1] W. Groff's *ne-il-u* 'the rivers' (*Bull. Inst. Eg.* 1892, p.165) would, in correct pronunciation, be *n-ierou*, which has no resemblance to Nile.

[2] No etymology is possible. Paronomasias with the root *ḥ'p.* (something like *חאף) 'to hide,' are, of course, not to be taken seriously.

[3] Wiedemann, *Herodot's zweites Buch*, 93, enumerates various rare Greek designations for the river (Ōkeanē, Ætos, Neileus, Triton), and some ridiculous etymologies from the Greek for the usual name Neilos.

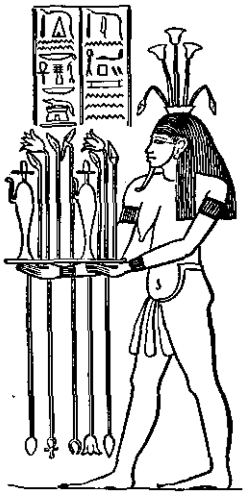
[4] Delitzsch's statement that a word *ia-u-ri* 'rivers' (?) occurs already in an inscription of Adad-nirari I. (about 1325 B.C.) is retracted in *Assyr. Handwörterb.* 203 303.

[5] Mostly differentiated into the two Nile gods of Upper and Lower Egypt.

[6] Papyrus Sallier II. and Anastasi VII.; cp Maspero, *Hymne au Nil*, 1868 (see also *Records of the Past*(1), 4 105).

the first cataract, for example). Temples are mentioned at Memphis, Heliopolis, and Nilopolis.

At Silseleh (between Aṣuān and Edfu), where the sandstone range, in prehistoric times, had separated Egypt and Nubia, certain ceremonies and sacrifices from time immemorial welcomed the Nile at the yearly commencement of his rise—*i.e.*, at the entering of the inundation into Egypt proper. The 'Nile-festivals' (Νειλῷα)[1] were celebrated through the whole country at that time.



Nile Deity.

Some of the religious rites have survived to the present day in Christian or Muhammedan disguise, such as the celebration of the 'night of the drop' (falling now on the 17th of June), originally the night in which tears of Isis weeping over Osiris cause the Nile to rise.[2] Also the 'feast of cutting the dam' in August must date from pagan times.[3]

The true causes of the yearly rise of the Nile were, of course, not known to the ancient Egyptians; for this their geographical horizon was too narrow.

3. Sources and yearly rise.

(In dynasties eighteen to twenty-one, the pharaohs had a certain rule over the valley as far S. as the sixth cataract, and even before that time [EGYPT, § 47] commercial expeditions may have penetrated farther S., but neither into the highlands of Abyssinia nor to the equatorial lake-regions.) The ancient Greeks discussed the mystery with special interest (Strabo, 1 36; Herod. 2 19 *ff.*, etc.); the correct explanation (the tropical winter-rains)[4] is found first in Aristotle (*Meteor.* i. 12 19). Herodotus (2 19) wonders at the lack of interest in the problem which he found among the Egyptian priests; they were, indeed, perfectly satisfied with the old mythological explanations, exactly as they taught to the last days of paganism the childish geography inherited from the most primitive period: the Nile has his source or sources at the seat of Osiris, in the realm of the dead, which is both in the Lower World and in heaven;[5] it comes to light at the first cataract, flowing in two whirlpools from two 'fountain-holes' (*Kerti*); one river runs N., the other S.; as the northern branch empties into the Mediterranean, so the southern river ends in the Indian ocean.[6] We see here the tendency to confine the name Nile to the part flowing through Egypt N. and S. of Elephantine and Philæ. The endless course of the river is alluded

1 Described by Heliodorus, 9 9. Cp Wiedemann, *Herodot's zweites Buch*, 365.

2 Isis' tears drop, according to this myth, from heaven, in the 'night of weeping.' According to another version, she mourns in the lower world where her dead husband lies. A variant makes the river come out of Osiris' body itself. Thus the statement of Greek times, identifying Osiris and the Nile, is intelligible, as well as the importance of Isis in the preservation of all organic life, due, in Egypt, entirely to the irrigation. See below on the earliest form of these myths combining Osiris and the invisible source. [Cp G. Margoliouth, *Liturgy of the Nile*.]

3 A strange tale of the Talmud to the effect that Joseph's coffin rested in the depths of the Nile, has no parallel in Egyptian customs. The sacred river seems to have been kept from defilement by corpses, in great contrast to the negligence of the modern Egyptians.

4 Half correctly Anaxagoras: the melting of snow in the Ethiopian mountains.

5 Cp *Odyss.* 4 477 διιπετής ποταμός?

6 This view is found in Greek writers, and already in the Petersburg tale, written about 1900 B.C.

to frequently,[1] so that the proverbial idea about its real source[2] may be older than Greek times.

The true beginning of the White Nile (cp EGYPT, § 6) is now sought in the Kagera river, 3° S. of the equator, so that the total length of the Nile is about 4000 miles. Its six cataracts are all situated N. of Kharṭūm. Whilst it has many affluents S. of the 10th degree, N. of this it receives only the 'Aṭbara and the Blue (better Black—*i.e.*, turbid) Nile, the rivers Astaboras and Astapus of the Ancients. The yearly inundation is chiefly due to the Blue Nile, which brings the water of the Abyssinian winter-rains. The swelling of the river is noticed in Kharṭūm in the first days of May, near the first cataract about June 1st, at Cairo at the end of that month. The maximum is there reached in October (EGYPT, § 7). The classical writers are approximately correct in speaking of 100 days of swelling. The water becomes turbid and red (for some days it is coloured green by parts of rotten water-plants); it turns clear again when the river begins to sink. With the exception of the time of the 'green Nile,' the water is pleasant and wholesome.

The great importance of the yearly inundation, which alone makes agriculture possible in Egypt, was well known to the Greeks; less generally known was the necessity of artificial assistance by dykes, canals, and machines for lifting the water, which makes the life of the Egyptian peasant so hard. In antiquity, the inundation seems to have been somewhat more abundant, as old water-marks show,[3] but hardly more regular. Too high inundation causes great ravages, especially in the lowlands of the Delta; an insufficient rise, on the other hand, brings a failure of the crops and famine. The most desirable rise was considered to be 16 Egyptian cubits.[4] Bad years in consequence of a 'small Nile'[5] are mentioned frequently from the time of the middle empire (see EGYPT, § 7, n. 2, on a legend of seven years of famine). The rising of the floods was accordingly observed with great anxiety by means of official Nilometers—*i.e.*, graduated wells (most famous are the ancient one of Elephantinè and that from Arabian times on the island of Rōḍa at Cairo). Religious services for the purpose of imploring the granting of 'a great Nile' are known from all ages, from pagan down to Muhammedan times. Whether the annual sacrifice (to the Nile) of a virgin at Memphis is historical may be doubted—at least for the Christian age of Egypt, to which Arab writers wish to attribute it. Cp for all the preceding remarks, EGYPT, § 6 *f.*

W. M. M.

NIMRAH (נִמְרָה), Nu. 32 3. See BETH-NIMRAH.

NIMRIM, WATERS OF (מֵי נִמְרִים, 'leopard waters'; cp BETH-NIMRAH; much less probably 'limpid waters'), a stream in the land of Moab (Is. 15 6, νεμηρειμ [BQ^mg.], νεβριμ [א], νεμρειμ [AQ*], νεβηρειμ [Γ]; Jer. 48 34, νεβρειν [B], -μ [א], νεμρειμ [Q], εβριμ [A]). The elegy on Moab (see ISAIAH ii., § 9) complains that 'the waters of Nimrim are becoming a desolation; withered is the grass, gone is the herbage,

1 'The circle of gods does not know whence thou art,' *ÄZ*, 1873, p. 129; only the souls of the dead will see Isis 'revealing the Nile in his secrecy,' *Book of the Dead*, 146.

2 Knütgen, *Die Ansichten der Alten über die Nilquellen*, 1876 (Wiedemann, *l.c.* 113).

3 Cp especially those at Thebes, *ÄZ* 34, 1896, 111 and 95. The strange water-marks at Semneh in Nubia (*LD* ii. 139), which would show that, in dynasty 12, the Nile rose there (above the second cataract, where the river may not yet have broken through) 25 ft. higher than nowadays, are best left aside (cp col. 1208, n. 2, end). In Egypt proper the (very slow) raising of the ground by the alluvium may have changed the conditions somewhat. The frequent assumption that the fields are raised faster than the bed of the river is, however, disputed.

4 Cp the sixteen children playing round the famous statue of the Nile in the Vatican. The height varies, however, considerably according to the locality. Does sixteen apply to Memphis? (Plut. *Is.* 43, Arist. 2 361, give fourteen cubits for M.)

5 Decree of Canopus, *l.* 7, Greek text, *l.* 16. The Greek text translates by ἀβροχία.

verdure there is none.' It is not a prophecy of what God will bring about; the picture is not merely anticipative; the barbarity of foemen is to blame (2 K. 3 19 25). The picture is completed in Is. 15 9 (emended text), which states that 'the waters of Nimrim (see DIMON) are full of blood'; the warriors of Moab have been cut down on its banks, and the stream is reddened with gore (cp Jer. 48 2, where MADMEN [*q.v.*] should be Nimrim). This apparently explains the cry of woe (*v.* 8) which echoes from the S. to the N. of the land (see EGLAIM). Presumably Nimrim itself is in the S. of Moab. It is therefore not the same as BETH-NIMRAH (*q.v.*) or Nimrah—*i.e.*, Tell Nimrīn—at the foot of the mountains opposite Jericho, though apart from its situation the Wādy Nimrīn, as the lower part of the W. Šo'aib (cp HOBAB) is called, answers to the description of the former state of Nimrim.[1] We must look for a trace of a Nimrim farther S.; in fact, it seems doubtful whether Beth-Nimrah is not too far N. to have been reckoned as Moabitish.

According to Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*(2), 284 32; 143 11) the place intended is one which was known in their day as *βηνναμαρειμ*, *bennamerium*, and lay to the N. of Zoar (at the extreme S. end of the Dead Sea; see ZOAR). Either the reference is to the Wādy en-Numēra, which traverses a region now waste and stony, but perhaps not so in early times, or, if not, the name which was once applied more widely has lingered here by the caprice of fortune.[2]

Tristram speaks of the 'plenteous brooks gushing from the lofty hills into the Ghōr en-Numeira' (*Land of Moab*, 46 *f.*). The name, which may possibly contain a relic of totemism (cp LEOPARD), was apparently not very uncommon. See *OS*(2), 284 22, 142 32, for another evidence of this (it is the great Wādy Nimreh in Ḥaurān, E. of Shubha, that is meant). T. K. C.

NIMROD (נִמְרֹד, נִמְרוֹד [1 Ch. 1 10 Mic. 5 5]; ΝΕΒΡΩΔ, ΝΕΒΡΩΝ [E and *D* in Gen. 10 9]; ΝΑΒΡΩΔΗΣ [*v.l.* ΝΕΒΡ.], Jos.).

1. Biblical references. A son of Cush, and one of the primitive heroes (Gen. 10 8 *ff.* [J2], 1 Ch. 1 10†). There is much that is singular and exciting to the curiosity in the account of Nimrod. The sons of Cush in Gen. 10 7 (P) are the representatives of peoples; but here is a son of Cush who, however legendary, is no mere genealogical fiction, but apparently the first of the imperial despots known to the Israelites. His name was evidently as familiar to those from whom the tradition in Gen. 10 8 *ff.* is derived as it was to the people of his own country; and if we could only understand what is said about him, we ought to be able to restore the name which underlies the form Nimrod. It is stated in the tradition (*vv.* 10-12) that his rule began in Babylon, and then extended to Erech, Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar, from which country he went to Assyria, and founded Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah, and Resen. Several of these names, however, are obscure. Even SHINAR and ACCAD have not been explained beyond question, whilst CALNEH, REHOBOTH-IR, and especially RESEN still remain in a high degree doubtful. The description of Nimrod in *v.* 8 *f.* is also somewhat puzzling. 'He began to be a mighty one (גִּבֹּר, γίγας, see GIANTS) in the earth. He was a mighty one in hunting (גִּבֹּר צַיִד) before Yahwè; therefore, it is said, like Nimrod a mighty one in hunting before Yahwè.' We also meet with the phrase 'the land of Nimrod,' parallel to Assyria, in Mic. 5 6 [5]. This too has not been adequately explained (see § 2, end).

Bruston s supposition that Nimrod ben Cush is the name symbolised by the mystic number in Rev. 13 18 is, we may fear, only a curiosity.

That the name 'Nimrod' must have suggested to the Hebrews the idea of 'rebellion' (√מרד) is obvious.

2. Earlier theories of name. The connection of the hero who bore it with foreign cities, however, shows that it is merely a Hebraised form of a foreign name. Sayce formerly (*TSBA* 2 243 *ff.*), Grivel (*ib.* 3 136 *ff.*), and Wellhausen (*CH* 309 *f.*) have combined Nimrod with Merodach (Marduk), who was originally the local god of Babylon, and is said to have had four dogs (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 131). Apart, however, from the reference to Nimrod's hunting (if ציד is correct), there is no parallelism between the two, and it was therefore a more plausible idea of G. Smith the Assyriologist (*TSBA* 1 205 and elsewhere), Maspero (*Dawn of Civ.*, 1899, p. 573), P. Haupt (*Nimrod-epos*), and A. Jeremias (*Izdubar-Nimrod*) to identify Nimrod with the legendary hunter king of Erech, whose name is now read as Gilgameš (see CAINITES, ENOCH), and with whom one of the cities (Erech) mentioned in the traditional text of Gen. 10 10 is closely connected. Even this parallelism, however, is incomplete, and the name remains unexplained.[1] Haupt and Hilprecht have, therefore, looked out for a historical personage whose name might conceivably be worn down into Nimrod. The hero selected is Nazimarattaš[2] (14th cent. B.C.), one of those warlike Kaššite kings of Babylonia (see CUSH, 2) who were constantly invading Palestine, and continued their intrigues in that country to the very end of the Egyptian rule.

The contract tablets of the Kaššite period are said to abound in such abbreviations as that of נִמְרֹד for Nazimarattaš. The theory is well thought out. This Kaššite king might conceivably have been remembered as a representative of the Kaššite kings, and have been credited with the conquests of other Kaššites. It should be noticed, however, that the synchronous history of Assyria and Babylonia states that Nazimarattaš was defeated at Kar-Ištar-akarsal by Adad-nirāri I., king of Assyria, which was followed by an extension of the Assyrian frontier (*KB* 1 197; *RP*(1), 3 30; cp BABYLONIA, § 47).

This identification of Nimrod, however, is not free from objection.

3. Probable key to legend. If Nimrod had been represented solely as a conqueror, it would be adequate on the grounds mentioned above. He is more especially represented, however, as a great founder or fortifier of cities, and Haupt's theory does not throw any light on this representation. Moreover, the difficulties connected with the names of the cities and with the phrase *gibbōr ṣáyid*, גִּבֹּר צַיִד, remain, and as a point of method we ought first of all to seek to clear up these names in the light of probable conclusions attained elsewhere in the criticism of traditional names (see, *e.g.*, SODOM).

The least serious difficulty is that connected with גִּבֹּר צַיִד (EV a mighty hunter) in Gen. 10 9*a*. This phrase can hardly be right. Esau was surely the great mythical hunter of the Israelites. If Gilgameš, the hunting king of Erech, is to be identified with Enoch (see CAINITES, § 6, ENOCH), we must suppose that he was despoiled of his reputation as a hunter to please Israelitish taste. For גִּבֹּר צַיִד there are plausible alternatives—to read גִּבֹּר בָּאָרֶץ, as in *v.* 8*b*, or to regard ציד as a corrupt fragment of some word meaning 'ruler' or 'leader (most probably קָצִין, 'judge, general, prince'). The second alternative is preferable: it was as an able ruler and general, not as a hunter, that 'Nimrod' made his reputation, and was remembered in a popular song.

The key to the names will be found by recognising the Arabian Cush not only in Gen. 10 6 *f.*, but also in *v.* 8. It follows from this that, as in Gen. 14 and elsewhere, the editors of the traditional text have made a huge mistake, through starting with a wrong theory. The following restoration may not be in all points correct; but it probably approaches the truth. For וַיִּבֶן we should almost certainly read וַיַּךְ, 'and he smote' (to suit קָצִין).

The suggested restoration of the text makes the passage read as follows:—'And the beginning of his kingdom was Jerahmeel in the land of Seir. From that land he went forth into Geshur,

[1] This is the view of Ges., Hi., Del., Che. [formerly], Bäd.-Socin ('probably'), and especially Wetzstein (see Del. *Gen.*(4), 572).

[2] Buhl (*Pal.* 272), Di. This view suits the identification of Horonaim with the ruins near the Wādy ed-Derā'a (Buhl, 272). Horonaim is mentioned in the elegy just before Nimrim.

[1] No one would now explain 'Nimrod' as Namra-uddu, 'the brightly shining,' or Namra-zit, 'the brightly rising.'

[2] See Haupt, *Andover Review*, July 1884 ('The Language of Nimrod the Cushite'), and cp *University Circulars* (Baltimore), vol. xi. no. 98 (May 1892), and Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*. This view was accepted as probable by Sayce (*Acad.* March 2, 1895; cp *Pat. Pal.* 269; *Exp.T* 8 180) and Cheyne (*Acad.* March 9 and May 11, 1895). Marattaš is stated to be the Kaššite god of hunting.

and smote Hebron, Rehoboth, Jerahmeel, and Beersheba, which is between Hebron and Jerahmeel.'[1]

On the possible or probable connection of the Nimrod passage with Gen. 6 1-4 and 11 1-8 see NEPHILIM, and on the Jerahmeelite origin of early Hebrew stories see PARADISE.

Now as to the name of the conqueror. 𝔊^AD gives it as Nebrod, which is almost certainly right. It is probably a condensed form of Bir-dadda, which is given elsewhere (see BEDAD) as the probable original of Bedad. Considering that the conqueror spoken of must have been prominent in Hebrew tradition, we may without undue boldness assume that the Husham ben Zerah and the Hadad ben Bedad in the list of Edomite kings (Gen. 36 34 *f.*) have been rolled into one by Hebrew legend. Husham is probably the original of the CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM [*q.v.*] of Judg. 3 7-11, whose name should be read 'Cushan from the land of the Temanites.' That this oppressor was traditionally king of Edom, not Mesopotamia, is probable from the Kenizzite origin of Othniel. His real name may have been Bir-dadda; 'Cushan' is a term descriptive of his origin, not his name. So Hadad b. Bedad would be really the son of the so-called Cushan-rishathaim, and his conquests[2] may have been added to those of his father to complete the legendary picture. The main point, however, is that 'Nimrod' led the Jerahmeelite migration from Edom into S. Canaan; this may well be a historical fact. We now understand the parallelism of 'land of Nimrod' and 'Assyria' in Mic. 5 6 [5]. אשור (Asshur) is constantly used in lieu of גשור (Geshur), and refers to a district on the border of S. Canaan. Cp MICAH [BOOK], § 4, MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*.

The theories considered above differ radically from one which had considerable vogue formerly, and was

4. Nimrod not a myth. accepted by Hitzig (*BL* 4 332 *ff.*), Tuch (*Genesis*[(2)], 183), and Finzi (*Ricerche*, 542) —viz., that Nimrod was originally, not the legendary first king of Babylon (?), but the constellation of Orion. The *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. Dindorf, 64) says that the Persians assert of Nimrod that he became a god, and was identical with the constellation of Orion; cp the Arabic name of Orion *jabbār* = Heb. *gibbōr*, גִּבּוֹר, the title given to 'Nimrod' in Gen. 10 8 *f.* (see ORION). It is just as plausible, however, to make 'Nimrod' into a solar hero (so Goldziher in 1876) on the deceptive ground that it is said in a Midrash that 365 kings (equal to the days of the solar year) ministered to him. Cp ENOCH, § 2.

5. Jewish Aggada. Jewish Aggada made Nimrod the founder of the Tower of Babel (Jos. *Ant.* i. 4 2 *f.*), and, by a still further licence, imagined him to have persecuted Abraham, because the patriarch would not worship his false gods (cp Josh. 24 2). The latter legend migrated to the Arabs (cp *Koran*, Sur. 21 52-69), and several mounds of ruins even now bear Nimrod's name, especially the well-known Birs Nimrūd (see BABEL, TOWER OF).

On the name and application of 'Nimrod' cp also Lagarde, 'Armenische Studien' in *Abh. Ges. Gött.* 22 77 and Nöld. *ZDMG* 28 279 (Persia called 'house of Nimrod' in an old Syrian book); and on earlier explanations of the name, cp Dr. in *Guardian*, May 20, 1896. T. K. C.

NIMSHI (נִמְשִׁי, ΝΑΜΕ[Σ]Σ[Ε]Ι [BAL]), ancestor of JEHU (*q.v.*); cp ISSACHAR, § 4; 1 K. 19 16 (ΝΑΜΕΣΘΕΙ [B, om. A]) 2 K. 9 2 (ΑΜΕΣΕΙ [A]) 14 (ΝΑΜΕΣΣΑ [A^a]) 20 (ΝΑΜΕ[Σ]Σ[Ε]ΙΟΥ [BA]) 2 Ch. 22 7. The name should probably be Amashai (a more plausible form than Amasai).[3] Jehu was ben Jehoshaphat = ben Ṣephathi, 'son of a Zephathite'; also ben Amashai = ben Yishmaeli, 'son of an Ishmaelite.' Elijah and Elisha, who, according to different versions of the tradition, promoted Jehu's accession, were both, it has been suggested elsewhere (PROPHET, § 7), Zarephathites. Now Zephath and Zarephath are designations of the same famous place on the border of N. Arabia. See SHAPHAT, TISHBITE, ZAREPHATH. Jehu (whose name perhaps = Jehoel = Elijah = Jerahmeel) may therefore have been an adventurer from the far south. T. K. C.

[1] There is much dittography, as often (*e.g.*, 1 S. 1 1) where the name 'Jerahmeel' is concerned. See *Crit. Bib.*

[2] On these see Winckler, *GI* 1 192.

[3] The initial *n* comes from dittography (accidental repetition of a letter).

NINEVEH (נִינְוֵה, ΝΙΝΕΥΗ [ΝΗΝΕΥΗ, ΝΗΝΕΥΙ], *Ninive*; classical Η ΝΙΝΟΣ, Ass. Ninaa, Ninua; Lk.

1. The name. 11 32, 'men of **Nineve**,' ΑΝΔΡΕΣ ΝΙΝΕΥΕΙΤΑΙ [Ti.WH], Lk. 11 30 **Ninevites**; and so ΝΙΝΕΥΙΤΗΣ [A Tob. 1 12], ΝΙΝΕΥΗΤΗΣ [ℵ Tob. 2 2]. No satisfactory derivation of the name has been given; nor can be till the question has been settled whether the city was originally peopled by a non-Semitic race. The ideogram seems composed of those for 'house' and 'fish' (cp JONAH [BOOK], § 4). This has suggested to some (Tiele, *BAG* 84, 90) the connection of Ištar, the city goddess, with a fish-goddess, daughter of the god Ea. A non-Semitic derivation of Ni-na-a has been attempted. So far as -na is concerned, Delitzsch was of opinion that it means 'resting-place' (*Par.* 260). We might also explain Nin-ia, 'my lady,' comparing the many by-names of Ištar as 'the lady'; if it could be shown that Nin, 'lady,' had ever passed into Semitic.

Nineveh is said (Gen. 10 11) to have been founded by Nimrod in Assyria. This may be taken to assume the previous existence of the old capital Ašur. The mention with it and Calah of Rehoboth-Ir and Resen as forming the Assyrian 'Tetrapolis,' may be due to a desire to balance the Babylonian Tetrapolis (in Gen. 10 10). At any rate, there is no reason to suppose that in early times these four formed a continuous city. [For the bearing of this remark and for criticism of the traditional text of Gen. 10 10-12, see NIMROD.] In later times with such historians as Ctesias and Diodorus the name Nineveh may simply have denoted a province, the Assyria proper between the four rivers. There is, however, no proof that, in the Sargonide period up to the fall of Nineveh, Calah was subordinate. Each city retained its separate *šaknu* or prefect, and in the official lists Nineveh stands below Calah. Great emphasis has been laid on the approximate correspondence of a tetrapolis formed by Nineveh, Calah, Khorsabad, and Keramlis with the dimensions of Nineveh given by Diodorus, and with a forced interpretation of the vague phrase in Jonah (3 3), 'an exceeding great city, of three days' journey.'[1] Against this must be set the results of Jones' survey of the ruins and district (*JRAS* 15 297 *ff.*). There is no trace of a common wall. Moreover, the separate cities of Nineveh, Calah, and Khorsabad are fortified as strongly towards the interior of the assumed city as on the exterior. In sales of land in Nineveh itself, the road to Calah is as frequently named as the 'king's highway' to Arbela.

Nineveh was situated at the NW. angle of an irregular trapezium of land which lay between the rivers Ḫusur

2. Situation. (*Khausar*) on the NW., Gomel on the NE. and E., Upper Zāb on the SE. and S., and Tigris on the S. and W. In extent this plain is 25 m. by 15 m., and contains the ruins of Nineveh at Ḳuyunjiḳ and Nebi Yūnus, of Dūr-Sargon at Khorsabad to the NE., and of Calah to the S. of Nimrūd. The whole plain has a gradual slope from the low range of Jebel Maḳlūb and the hill of 'Ain-eṣ-ṣafrā to the Tigris on the W. This plain was for those days amply protected on three sides by the two rapid broad currents of the Tigris and the Zāb, the hills on the NE. and the river Gomel at their base. The weak NW. side was partly protected by the Ḫusur, in winter impassable but in summer easily fordable. The floods caused by the Ḫusur were frequent and destructive; on one occasion sweeping away part of the palace and exposing the coffins of the kings. A series of dams was therefore constructed (mapped and described in 'Topography of Nineveh,' *JRAS* 3 18 *ff.*) which controlled the floods and filled the ditches and moats of

[1] [For the probable origin of the very strange topographical note in Jon. 3 3*b*, see PROPHET.]

Nineveh. One of these ditches runs over 2 m. with a breadth of 200 ft. and was lined with a rampart on the city-side. To these dams there may be a reference in Nah. 2 6 [7], 'The gates of the rivers are opened.'

The city on the river-side of the Tigris extended about 2½ m., its N. wall measured 7000 ft., the eastern wall was nearly 3 m. long, and the southern about 1000 ft. The city thus formed a narrow long strip against the Tigris, pierced at right angles by the Ḫusur, the waters of which could, by closing the great dam, be sent round the moats instead. The actual extent of Nineveh proper is about 1800 acres or about two-thirds the size of Rome within Aurelian's Wall. It would contain a population of 175,000 on the allowance of 50 sq. yds. to a person. Outside this citadel city lay the 'outskirts' (*kablu*), which seem to have had an independent municipal existence under their own *šaknu* (or *šakintu* = lady-governor). Farther afield and apparently close to Khorsabad lay Rēbit Ninûa, or the piazza (see REHOBOTH-IR). In the case of a siege, doubtless the whole population of this outlying neighbourhood would take refuge within the city moats and walls.

Nineveh was first localised in modern times by Rich, Resident at Bagdād for the East India Company about 1820. Sir H. Layard by his explorations definitely fixed it at *Kuyunjik* (1845-47 and 1849-51).

3. Modern explorations.

The excavations were continued by H. Rassam (1854), G. Smith (1873-76), and again Rassam up to 1882. The enormous mound of Ḳuyunjiḳ, separated from that of Nebi Yūnis by the Khausar, marks the site of Sennacherib's palace, covering quite 100 acres. It has been explored to the extent of about 60 rooms (5 are 150 ft. square), all panelled with sculptured slabs of alabaster. The entrances to the palace and to the principal halls were flanked with colossal winged bulls and human-headed lions some 20 ft. high. Close beside this palace was one built by Esarhaddon where the sculpture was of the finest character; but the entire building has not been explored. The mound of Nebi Yūnis, surmounted by the 'tomb of Jonah,' is a sacred spot to the Mohammedans and could not be explored properly. By sinking a shaft within the walls of a private house, however, some sculptured slabs were recovered and the Turkish government opened out, later, part of a palace of Esarhaddon. Outside these mounds excavations were made at two of the great city-gates and showed them to have been built by Sennacherib.

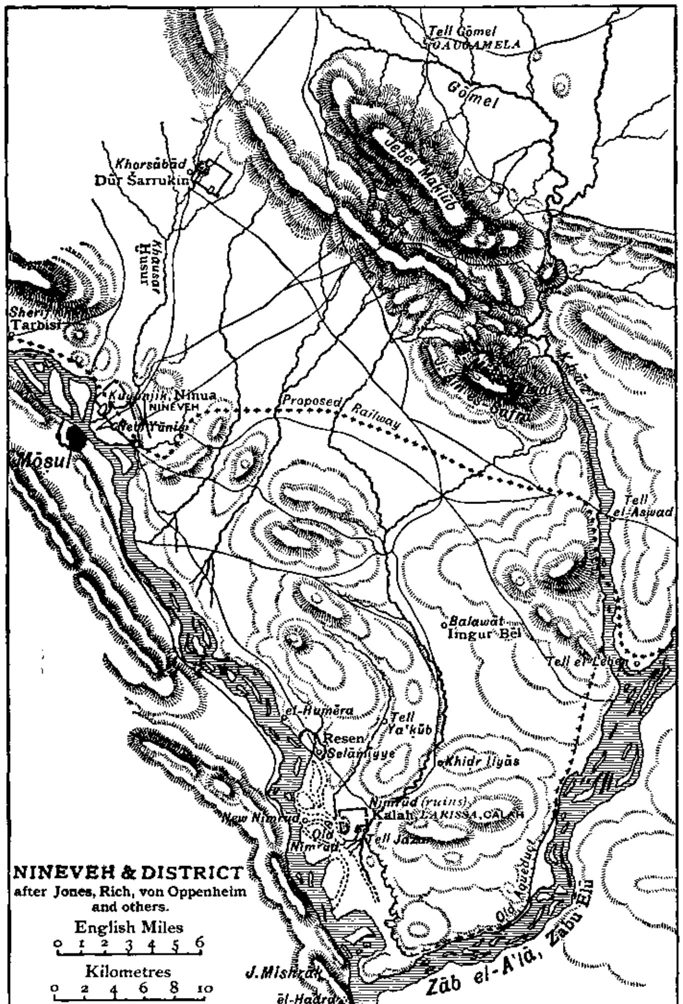
The architecture of these palaces is exhaustively dealt with in Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored* (see also Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*). It should be noted that each palace was in itself a fort, and would require a separate attack. The mounds formed a sort of Acropolis to the town which was walled, moated, and protected by outlying forts.

Within this enclosure and surrounding the palaces were extensive orchards and gardens. It is not possible to decide from the superficial appearance of the ruins whether any part was densely populated by dwellers in streets of houses. The houses unless all built of sun-dried brick without stone must have left more evident remains. The inscriptions, however, imply streets, as well as orchards in Nineveh, so that a house abutted on three sides against other houses.

The history of Nineveh is of course that of Assyria; but as most of the Assyrian documents known to us come from Ašur-bāni-pal's palace in Nineveh (cp

AŠUR-BANI-PAL, § 11), and the Ḳuyunjiḳ collections of tablets in the British Museum include many commercial documents, there are materials from native sources for its municipal history and topography. Till these are published and understood it would be rash to dogmatise on conjectural grounds. Gudea, king of Lagaš (about 2800 B.C.), records having built (or rebuilt) a temple of Ištar at Nineveh (*KB* 3 5). Dungi, king of Ur (about 2700

4. History.



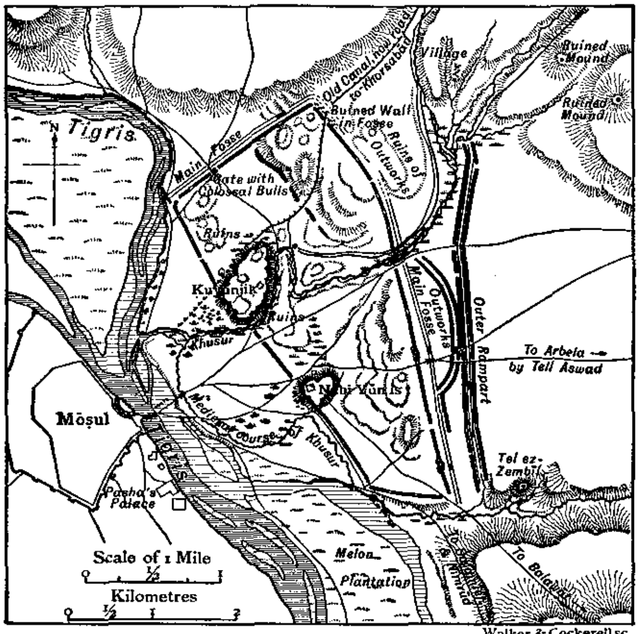
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Map of Nineveh.

B.C.), left an inscription in Nineveh, unless indeed this was carried there by some Assyrian royal antiquary. The Amarna tablets (1500 B.C.) name Nineveh twice (*KB* 5; see under 'Nina'), each time in connection with Ištar. The earliest native notices are on the votive bowls of Shalmaneser I. (about 1300 B.C.). These short notices (*KB* 1 9; 3 *R*, pl. 5, no. 3-5) are to be read in the light of Tiglath-pileser's reminiscences of Shalmaneser (G. Smith, *Ass. Disc.* 248). Shalmaneser claims to have renewed the temple of Ištar (3 *R* 5, no. 4).

From later notices we gather that Samsi-Adad (about 1821 B.C.) built a temple of Ištar, Ê-Maš-maš and may have renewed Gudea's. Shalmaneser I. (3 *R* 3, no. 12) relates that his father Adad-nirari (about 1845 B.C.), after an expedition into Babylon, brought back

the gods of Babylon, Merodach and Nebo, and built them temples. He also built a palace in Nineveh as well as at Ašur and Calah. Mutakkil-Nusku and Ašur-reš-iši (1150 B.C.) continued to build at Nineveh. Sennacherib, however, found Nineveh still a 'wretched poor place,' and to him its chief development is due. There were already a factory, an arsenal, a temple, and some fortifications. The place was short of water in summer and flooded in winter. The waters of the Tigris and the Ḫusur (*Khausar*) were unpalatable, being full of salts, and the inhabitants depended on 'the rains of heaven for drink'; Sennacherib, therefore, brought an aqueduct from the hills (*KB* 2 117) right into the city. He raised both the wall and the rampart 'mountain high.' He erected there an 'unrivalled' palace (Meissner-Rost, *Bau-inschr. Sanh.*), built in two portions, one in the Hittite style, the other in the native Assyrian. This is now buried beneath the Nebi Yūnis mound. He laid out a paradise with all sorts of exotic plants, and



Plan of Nineveh.

established a kind of zoological garden. Stables for the royal stud, magazines for war-material, extensive offices for all departments of state were closely attached to the palace. At the same time he repaired the king's highway and made a new channel for the Ḫusur. As a consequence Nineveh became and remained the capital and centre of Assyrian empire and culture, soon rivalling in wealth and importance Babylon itself. Here this same king, Sennacherib, brought the chief spoils of his capture and ruthless spoliation of Babylon and other Babylonian cities. Here also he was murdered (681 B.C.). In what sense the word 'capital' could be applied to Nineveh before Sennacherib's time, it is hard to see. It was 'the court-residence' under Ašur-bēl-kala (about 1050 B.C.), who has left an inscription upon a statue found at Ḳuyunjiḳ, probably that of a captured goddess. Ašur-naṣir-pal (about 880 B.C.) also made it his chief seat during the completion of his great works at Calah. To Sennacherib is due its position as capital without rival till its fall. Esarhaddon and Ašur-bāni-pal maintained this position. Under the last kings Ašur-edil-ilāni and Sin-šar-iškun, sons of Ašur-bāni-pal, the history of Nineveh becomes very obscure. The relations of classical authors are to be received with great caution till the data of the inscriptions have been worked out.

5. Its fall. The date of the fall of Nineveh has been placed in 608-7 B.C. It was due to the overwhelming onslaught of the Manda hordes. Whether the Babylonians took any active part in its capture awaits decision. Nabonidus in his recently discovered stele (Scheil, *Receuil de Travaux*, 18 15 *ff.*, and Messerschmidt, *Mitt. der Vorderas. Ges.*, no. 1) gives us the first published inscriptional reference to the fall of Nineveh. The pious king regards it as a retribution from the gods for the desecration and spoliation of their temples by Sennacherib. He does not attribute any share in its destruction to the Babylonians, but claims the invader as an ally of Babylon, and emissary of Marduk.

Actual details as to the fall of Nineveh are scarcely to be expected from its own inscriptions. The contribution made to the question by the state of the ruins is small, but definite as far as it goes. Most of the buildings laid bare in Ḳuyunjiḳ had suffered from fire; but no portion of the walls seems to have been washed away by water. The dykes and dams on the Ḫusur seem to have been the vulnerable part, and once these were broken by an unusual flood or the hostile efforts of the invader the city must have lain open to assault. A full discussion of the fall of Nineveh cannot be given here. For this and for other important archæological and historical details the reader should consult Billerbeck and Jeremias in the work referred to below, on which, in its relation to the prophecy of Nahum, see NAHUM.

For maps and illustrations (profuse), see Billerbeck and Jeremias's 'Der Untergang Ninives' in vol. 3 of Haupt's *Beitr. z. Ass.*

See now T. Friedrich's exhaustive art. 'Nineve's Ende' in *Festgaben* for Budinger.

H. C. W. J.

NIPHIS (νειφεις [B]), 1 Esd. 5 21 RV = Ezra 2 30, MAGBISH (*q.v.*), or possibly Nebo.

NISAN (נִיסָן), Neh. 2 1. See MONTH.

NISROCH (נִסְרֹךְ; in 2 K., εσδραχ [B]; εσθρ. [A]; ασρ. [L]; in Is. νασαραχ [B], ασαρ. [AOQ], ασαρακ [ℵ]; Jos. αρασκη [*Ant.* x. 1 5]). An Assyrian god, in whose temple SENNACHERIB (*q.v.*) was worshipping when he was slain (2 K. 19 37 Is. 37 38). The two most prominent explanations are: (1) to omit *n* and *ch* as, possibly, accretions, and restore סר[א]—*i.e.*, Ašur, to whom Sennacherib in his inscriptions repeatedly refers as 'my lord' (so Schr. *KAT*(2), 329); or (2) to read נסוּךְ, the 'constr. state' of Nusku, a god connected with Nabū, and also identified with Gibil, the fire-god (so in the main Sayce, *Theol. Rev.* 1873, p. 27; Hal. *REJ*, Oct.-Dec., 1881, p. 183; Del. *Calwer Bib.-Lex.*, 1893, p. 630). On Nusku, see Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.*; G. Hoffm. *ZA* 11 260 *ff.* But to ignore *n* and *ch* altogether is hazardous. On the other hand, it is not likely that one of the less-known deities should be specified as Sennacherib's god. 'We must wait for further light,' remarks Kittel (Dillm. *Jes.* 329). Light on the name Nisroch, however, can hardly be expected, the presumption being that, like other names of Assyrian and Babylonian deities in the later narratives, it is corrupt. We may suppose it to be miswritten either (1) for ענ[ו]מלך, 'Anumelech' (the 'Anammelech' of MT, 2 K. 17 31; see SHAREZER), or (2), more probably, for מרדך, Marduk (the 'Merodach' of MT). The pointing reminds us of נִמְרֹד, which has also been lately identified with מרדך.

It may be pointed out here that the name 'Adrammelech,' given to one of Sennacherib's murderers, is almost certainly, like 'Nisroch,' a corruption of מרדך Marduk. Probably it stood originally in the margin as a variant to נסרך, and made its way into the text at the wrong point. Cp Che. *Exp.T* 9 429 (1898).

Meinhold (*Jesajaerzählungen*, 1898, p. 72 *f.*) thinks *ach* in 𝔊's form of Nisroch may represent *aku*, the Sumerian name of the moon-god. The view is as improbable as a similar explanation of MESHACH and SHADRACH (*qq.v.*). T. K. C.

NITRE (נֶתֶר, *néther:* Prov. 25 20 [RVmg. SODA]; Jer. 2 22 † [RV LYE]), as now used, denotes potassium nitrate, which is often found as an efflorescence on the soil in dry hot districts. The ancients, however, certainly meant by *νίτρον* or *nitrum* a carbonate of soda (*natron*). This salt occurs native in W. Europe, Egypt, India, etc.; the natron lakes in Egypt, dreary as the country is, are visited for the sake of the famous Christian monasteries. The best natron is that taken from the low ground surrounding the lakes, which is not covered by water. נֶתֶר, *néther*, as representing a mineral alkali, is opposed to בֹּרִית, *bōrīth*, which represents a vegetable alkali (see LYE and SOAP). Mixed with oil, it was apparently used for washing clothes (see Jer. 2 22).

What 'vinegar on nitre' (or 'soda') in the received text of Prov. 25 20 can mean, is not obvious. 'The effect of the acid vinegar on the alkali natron would be to destroy the efficiency of the latter,' an idea quite unsuitable to the context. 𝔊 has 'as vinegar for a wound.' See Toy, *ad loc.*

NO. See NO-AMON.

NOADIAH (נוֹעַדְיָה, as if 'Yahwè promises,' § 33; probably an ethnic, cp Moadiah, Maadiah, Neariah).

1. b. Binnui, a Levite, temp. Ezra, Ezra 8 33 (*νοαδει* [BA[1]], *νωαδα* [A*], *ιωαδδεια* [L]) = MOETH son of Sabban [RV SABANNUS] 1 Esd. 8 63 (*μωεθ σαβαννου* [BA], *ιωιαδεια* [L]).

2. A prophetess or (𝔊) prophet, an opponent of Nehemiah, Neh. 6 14 ([*τῷ*] *νοαδια τῷ προφήτῃ* [Bא], [*τῷ*] *νω.*] *τῷ πρ.* [A], [*τῇ*] *ωδη τῇ προφήτιδι* [L]).

NOAH (נֹחַ; ΝΩΕ [BAL, occasionally ΝΟΑΙ]), son of Lamech in the Sethite genealogy, chief survivor from the Deluge, and second father of mankind,

1. Name.

Gen. 5 28-32 (P, but in *v.* 29 J_1), 6 8-9 17 28 (P, J, R), 1 Ch. 1 4; also the first husbandman to plant vines, Gen. 9 20-27 (J_1). Hommel has lately derived 'Noah' from *Nuḫ-napišti*, which he prefers to *Ṣit-napišti*[1] as the name of the hero of the Babylonian Deluge-story.

The ideogram (UD) before *napišti* may in fact mean 'to pacify, or quiet,' *puššuḫu*; and *nūḫu* is a synonym for *puššuḫu*. In usage, however, *nuḫu* is found only with *libbi* (heart) and *kabitti* (liver), not with *napišti* (which, moreover, generally means 'life,' not 'mind').

It is a more important objection that the hero of the Deluge-story cannot have been the Noah of Gen. 9 20-27. Either there were two Noahs—a most improbable view—or Noah in the Deluge-story is incorrect (see below). Ball's ingenious argument in favour of Nuḫ-napišti (*Teacher's Bible*, 1898) is therefore unavailing. This scholar (in *SBOT*, *Gen.*) would correct ינחמנו in Gen. 5 29 into יְנִחֵנוּ (*διαναπαύσει ἡμᾶς*), whilst Wellhausen retaining the text imagines a second form of the name, Noḥam 'comforter.'[2] Wellhausen's view is the more plausible. It is, however, not impossible to suppose that Lamech merely plays on the name Noah (cp Gen. 17 5). He may be pointing prophetically to some refreshment which man, wearied by his labour on the ungrateful soil, will receive through Noah. Almost certainly his speech alludes to the discovery of the properties of the vine (cp the use of 'comfort' in Jer. 16 7). It is true, such a reference does not at all suit the rôle played by Noah

[1] Ṣit-napišti should mean 'rescue of life'; the phrases *uṣī napišti* and *ana napšati uṣu* occur. But if Scheil's reading of a fragment of a new Deluge-story is correct the name is Pir-napišti. See DELUGE, § 2, n. 2, and § 22.

[2] We. *De gentibus*, 38, n. 3; cp *Ber. rabba*, § 25 (on Gen. 5 29) 'According to R. Johanan, name and explanation do not tally. Either he named him Noah, or he named him Naḥman.' See further, § 3.

in the Deluge-story of J_2. However, most probably the original name of the hero of this narrative was not Noah, but Enoch; the final ך in חנך became effaced, ח and נ were transposed, and, other editorial reasons probably facilitating this, the hero of the Deluge and the inventor of wine (who belongs to a narrative of human *origines* which had no Deluge) were, infelicitously enough, combined (see DELUGE). It is worth noticing that according to P the Deluge lasted 365 days—*i.e.*, a solar year—whilst 365 years are stated in Gen. 5 23 to have been the duration of Enoch's life. The coincidence is hardly accidental (cp also DELUGE, § 16, n.).

Noah, however (*i.e.*, the true Noah mentioned by J_1), was more than the inventor of wine; he represents the first halt, or rather the starting-point, in the migration of the group of peoples, with which J_1 connects the Israelites, from

2. Place in legends.

their earlier home in Babylonia, or rather (see PARADISE) in N. Arabia. He was, therefore, not a divine hero (like other mythical inventors of wine) but personifies the starting-point of the migrating Hebrews[1] which may in the original story have been placed in the Jerahmeelite Rehoboth, so that Noah would correspond to TERAH in the document on which J_2 appears to be based, just as SHEM (*q.v.*) corresponds to Abraham. There—in a soil suitable for the culture of the vine (cp NEGEB, § 7), Noah 'began to till[2] the ground' (Gen. 9 20)—*i.e.*, according to this early fragment he was the first nomad who became a systematic agriculturist (a duplicate therefore of Jabal). His name agrees with this. It describes him as no longer a wanderer (נָד; cp Gen. 4 12), but 'settled' (נָח); נַח 'rest' (= נוֹחַ; cp Driver, *Sam.* xxxii.) might refer to the dispersion referred to in 11 9. His special service to civilisation was that he 'planted a vineyard.' The consequences are described in Gen. 9 21-23, and, naturally enough, are not referred to by later writers. It was enough for them that Noah was 'a righteous and a blameless man,' and, like Enoch, 'walked with God' (Gen. 6 9 P). As such he is well-known to Ezekiel (who doubtless had a fuller JE than we have); see Ezek. 14 14 20, and cp ENOCH. He is also one of the heroes praised by Sirach (Ecclus. 44 17 *f.*), who says that, 'in a time of extermination he became a representative' or 'successor' (תחליף, *ἀντάλλαγμα*), and that 'for his sake there was a remnant.' The second Isaiah, or his continuator, mentions him as the hero of the Deluge (Is. 54 9), and several didactic references are made to Noah in the New Testament.

We can now arrive at a more definite conclusion as to the name of this personage which was originally, not Noah, but Naham. The clans called NAHAM and NAHAMANI probably

3. As eponym.

revered this hero of legend as specially their *heros eponymos*, and it may perhaps be more than a mere chance that the prophet Nahum (whose name probably sprang out of a clan-name) is called האלקשי, which (see ELKOSHITE) admits of no certain explanation, and may plausibly be corrected into האשכלי *hā-eškoli*—*i.e.*, the Eshcolite. Cp PROPHET, § 39.

Fragments of a lost Apocalypse of Noah (mentioned in Jubilees 10 21) are to be found in the Book of Enoch; cp APOCRYPHA, § 17; APOCALYPTIC, §§ 24, 57. In one of these (ch. 106) the birth of Noah is described, and the description suggests that in the Aggada of the time Noah had become assimilated to some extent to Enoch. He appears, in fact, just like a solar hero or even like the 'Ancient of days' himself (see Dan. 7 9; cp 10 6). See DELUGE; ENOCH; SHEM; HAM; JAPHETH. T. K. C.

[1] The suggestion of this theory is due to Budde, *Urgesch.* 446 *ff.* The whole chapter deserves a careful perusal; cp Kue. *Th.T*, 1884, pp. 126 *ff.* But the hypothesis that the earlier tradition connected the ancestor of the Israelites, not with SHINAR, UR OF THE CHALDEES, and HARAN, but with Geshur, 'Ir Kadesh, and Rehoboth (also with Hauran) necessitates a change in the geographical setting of Budde's theory.

[2] For איש which cannot follow וַיָּחֶל, read לַחֲרשׁ but render this, not 'to plough,' but 'to cultivate.' The same meaning is required in Job 4 8, Hos. 10 13. Cp Ass. *erešu*, 'to plant, sow, cultivate'; *ereši* (*iriši*) 'tillage' (*Am. Tab.* 55 1).

NOAH (נֹעָה; ΝΟΥΑ [so too in L for Neah Josh. 19 13], a daughter of Zelophehad (Nu. 26 33 [37], ΝΟΥϹΑ [F]; 27 1 36 11 Josh. 17 3). Probably the name of a town or district; cp NEAH, which, however, was in Zebulun. See HOGLAH, MENUHAH.

NO or **NO-AMON** ([אָמוֹן] נֹא) is the name of a large Egyptian town. 𝔊 in Nah. has 'part of Ammon' [μερὶς[1] Αμμων]; elsewhere Διὸς πόλις, Vg. *Alexandria* (rendering Amon by 'populorum'; so also AV with 'populous No').

1. Name.

The passages are: Nah. 3 8, where the past power and the recent downfall of No-Amon are held up as parallel to the future destruction of Nineveh. Jer. 46 25 threatens with future punishment 'Amon from No (מִנֹּא, 𝔊 erroneously, τὸν Αμμων (τὸν) υἱὸν αὐτῆς = בְּנָהּ, Vg. *tumultum Alexandriæ*), and Pharaoh and Egypt.' Ezek. 30 14-16 mentions No (Nώ, *Hex.* in various forms) three times, once parallel with Zoan-Tanis,[2] twice with SIN [*q.v.*]. [On the possibility of going behind the present text, and recovering an older form of these prophecies, see PATHROS, § 2, PROPHET, § 39, etc., and *Crit. Bib.*—T. K. C.]

The tradition given by 𝔊—Diospolis (*i.e.*, Thebæ, Thebes in Upper Egypt)—is doubtless correct, as the combination of No with Am(m)on the local god of Thebes sufficiently shows. Nahum, too, distinctly indicates that the great capital city of Upper Egypt is meant ('Ethiopia was her strength and Egyptians innumerable'). Less favourable to the identification is the description (*v.* 8) 'situated among the rivers (or Nile-branches?), that had the waters round about her, whose rampart was the sea, (and) her wall was of the sea' (better read: whose strength was the sea—or waters?[3]—and [𝔊] water her walls). Here the prophet seems to represent Thebes after the model of most Delta-cities—*i.e.*, situated on the plain on an artificial mound, surrounded by canals.

It would be difficult to use the term יָם strictly in connection with Thebes, which had the Nile only on one (the W.) side. Thebes may indeed have had moats with water on two other sides, but scarcely to the E. Evidently the prophet was not acquainted with the locality of the remote city. (Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.* 291, insisting on the encircling waters, identified No with a city in the NE. of the Delta in which he tried to find Rameses; but his only reason was that Amon once had a temple there.)

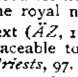
The Hebrew name No (cp the Hexaplaric form Noïs) is best elucidated by the Assyrian form Ni-' (+vowel?) in Ašur-bani-pal's reports (see Del. *Par.* 318, etc.).

The Assyrian Ni is clearly identical with the Egyptian expression *Nt*,[4] 'the city,'—*i.e.*, 'the metropolis'—which is actually found on the monuments.[5] Probably we should vocalise *Ne'e(t)*.[6]

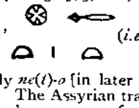
[1] Transposing and taking מִנֹּא as = מְנָה. The Hexaplaric versions have ὑπὲρ (= מִן) Αμων.

[2] Cornill reads with 𝔊 Noph = Moph = Memphis in *v.* 15 instead of No. Certainly the threefold repetition of the name without apparent reason is strange and unpoetical.

[3] This connection with the 'sea' led to an absurd identification with Alexandria—'per anticipationem' Jerome said. יָם, 'sea,' however, can be used of large rivers such as the Nile (Is. 19 5); or we may emend into מַיִם, 'water.'

[4] 

[5] The earliest passage seems to be in the Golenischeff papyrus of the twenty-first dynasty (*Rec. Trav.* 21, 99); Spiegelberg (*op. cit.* 53) has furnished an example from about the same time. As for the pronunciation, the sign 'city' stood for *nwt*, *nwyt*; the word itself is written *ny*, *n*, etc. In the royal name ψουσέννης it appears as *nē*, in a Protocoptic text (*ÄZ*, 1883, p. 103) as ΝЄ. On the demotic form which is traceable to Roman times, cp Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, 97. Evidently the Assyrian and Hebrew orthography represents an earlier form. Cp Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.* 316.

[6] Brugsch (*G. Äg.* 373, etc.) supposed as the Egyptian prototype '*Nit-aa*'  (*i.e.*, the consonants *nt-'(')t*; vocalise approximately *ne(t)-o* [in later pronunciation]), 'the great city, the capital.' The Assyrian transcription would permit also the reading '*u* for '*u*, necessary for this etymology. The Egyptian group of signs, however, is not found for Thebes in the inscriptions, and the Hebrew orthography, by its close identity with the Assyrian form, makes it clear that we have no 'Ain at the end.

As capital of the fourth nome of Upper Egypt, we may assign to Thebes a very high antiquity, though before the eleventh dynasty, which was of Theban origin and resided there, it was nothing more than a mediocre country town. Its greatness begins with the rise of the New Empire. After the expulsion of the Hyksos the eighteenth dynasty adorned it with temples and palaces which found no equal in antiquity and, even in ruins, claim our highest admiration. The nineteenth and twentieth dynasties added to its splendour, though some kings now began to reside in the N. of Egypt. The succeeding dynasties neglected Thebes; but it was still the largest city of Upper Egypt, and the high priests of Amon, residing there, were unrivalled in wealth, even after the failure of their attempt (in 21st dyn.) to rule the whole country as Pharaohs. Homer's glowing description of 'hundred-gated Thebes' (*Il.* 9 382) may date from a much later time. The repeated sieges in the wars between the Ethiopians and the Assyrians seem to have largely diminished its population. It is not certain to which of these conquests by the Assyrians Nahum's oracle refers. The first—by Esarhaddon in 670—seems to have been rather a peaceful occupation; the second by Ašur-bani-pal (667) and the third (663?)[1] were accompanied by a plundering of the city, and might have impressed themselves more deeply on the prophet's mind, cp *v.* 10. Cp NAHUM, § 2; PROPHET, § 39.

2. History.

There is no evidence or probability that Cambyses exhibited himself at Thebes in that character of senseless destroyer in which he was represented to the Greeks. The Ptolemies still did some building and repairing at Thebes; but their foundation, Ptolemais (or Psois, el-Menshiyeh), which became the most populous city of Upper Egypt, seems to have contributed much to the decay of the old metropolis. The various great revolts against the Ptolemies, especially those under Ptolemy V. Epiphanes and under Ptolemy X. Soter II. (who is reported to have besieged Thebes for 3 [?] years), finally, a siege and storming by Cornelius Gallus (29 B.C.), also an earthquake in 27 B.C., did much to bring ruin to the great temples; the immense population of former times seems to have dwindled down to some scattered villages from 200 B.C. onwards. To Strabo (24 B.C.) Thebes was only a city of ruins, exactly as now. The modern ruins of Luxor, Karnak, and Medamut mark the extension of the city proper from S. to N. The suburbs on the western bank of the river may, at certain times, have been considerable; Rameses III. even seems to have built his residence at the S. end of this part (at Medînet Habu); but, in general, the W. side of Thebes (called the Memnonia by classical writers) belonged only to the dead and their worship. The long row of temples, skirting the edge of the arable land like a selvedge, from Medînet Habu to Ḳurnah, served only for the worship and memory of defunct kings. Behind them, thousands of tombs were hewn in the rocks of Drah abu-l-Negga, Shêkh 'abd-el-Ḳurnah, Ḳurnet-Murrai, etc. The kings had their tombs in more remote valleys (at Bîbān el-Mulūk) which could easily be shut off by walls. The frequent attempt to explain Nahum's description of No (as surrounded by the Nile), by the situation of Thebes *on both sides*, is, consequently, very weak. The ancient name[2] is of uncertain pronunciation, probably to be read *Wēse(t)*. Why the Greeks called the city Thebes is uncertain; Lepsius's explanation by the name of the quarter of Karnak, Ōpe(t), with the article t-ōpe, is highly improbable.

The local divinities of Thebes were the triad Amon (Ammon of the Greeks, ΑΜΟΥΝ in later pronunciation),[3] Mut (or Maut), and Khonsu. Many other divinities also had temples there. In earlier times the divinity of

[1] See Winckler, *AOF* 1 480.

[2]

[3] .

the neighbouring Hermonthis, Montu, held the first place also in Thebes; later, Amon[1] obtained pre-eminence and, with the rise of Thebes, became the official chief god of Egypt, a function which he kept till after the time of Alexander. Thus he was adopted as chief deity even by the Libyan neighbours of Egypt, and the Ethiopians paid him a fanatical worship as their national god. The Greeks accordingly identified him with their supreme god Zeus, and called his city Diospolis magna (in distinction from Diospolis parva in Middle Egypt; mod. Hū). Amon has, when represented in human form, a blue skin, and bears two immense feathers on his head, evidently in imitation of the earlier god Minu of Koptos. In animal form he is represented as a ram, mostly distinguished by the sun-disk on his head, thus indicating his solar nature (which, of course, is secondary). On the vehement persecution of Amon by Amenḥotep IV., who even tried to erase the name Amon on all earlier monuments, see EGYPT, § 56.

3. Divinities.

A description of the remarkable ruins of Thebes, among which the great temple of Karnak (chiefly the work of Thotmes III.), that of Luxor (built by Rameses II.), and that of Medînet-Habu (Rameses III.) are the most remarkable, cannot be given here.

W. M. M.

NOB (נֹב; ΝΟΜΒΑ [BL], ΝΟΒΑ [A]; but in 1 S. 22 11 ΝΟΜΜΑ [B], ΝΟΒΑΘ [A]). The name occurs in the story of David's wanderings (1 S. 21 1 [2], 22 9 11 19), also in a vivid prophecy commonly assigned to Isaiah (Is. 10 32), and in a list of Benjamite cities (Neh. 11 32). There is also probable evidence of the existence of such a name elsewhere than in Benjamin (cp Guérin, *Judée*, 3 349).

1. Name.

We find a *Nāb*, NE of Fīk in Jaulān, on the road to Damascus, and a *Bēt Nūba*, a little to the right of *Yālō* (Aijalon), which Robinson identifies with the βετοαννaβ or Bethannaba of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*(2), 218, 46; 90, 27), four (or, as most said eight) R. m. E. of Lydda (*BR* 364); Eusebius and Jerome themselves, indeed, connect this name with the Anab of Josh. 11 21 15 50, but are in error (see ANAB). Jerome elsewhere mentions a place called Nobe (cp MT in 1 S. 21 1 נֹבֶה), near Lydda, which he identifies with Nob the city of the priests (see *BR*, *l.c.*; Buhl, 198, and cp ISHBI-BENOB, NEBO).

If the name Nob (hitherto unexplained) is really a mutilation of 'Anab, 'grape-town,' as suggested elsewhere (see ATHACH), we cannot be surprised at finding the name in different parts of the country.

The rather difficult task remains, however, of identifying the Nob mentioned in 1 S., Is., and Neh. It may be plausibly inferred from Is. 10 32 (𝔊 ἐν [τῇ] ὁδῷ) [corrupt]) and Neh. 11 32 (νοβ [ℵ c.a mg. inf. L] Bℵ*A om.) that Nob must have lain a little to the N. of Jerusalem, between '*Anātā* (Anathoth) on the E. and *Bēt Ḥanīnā* (Hananiah) on the W. We require some high point from which Jerusalem shall be visible; *el-'Īsāwīyeh*, which has been proposed by Kiepert and others (cp Baed.(2) 117 *f.*), will therefore not do—indeed, this place corresponds rather to LAISHAH (*q.v.*).

2. Identification.

The favourite sites are (1) on the ridge on the N. side of the upper Kidron valley (SW of el-'Īsāwīyeh), called by the Arabs *ṣadr*, 'breast' (see Valentiner, *ZDMG* 12 169 *ff.*; Mühlau in Riehm, *HWB*): (2) the hill of Scopus (or σαφειν = צֹפִים) from which Titus and his legions looked down on the Holy City (Wilson, *PEFQ*, 1875, p. 95; Buhl); and (3) the village of *Sha'fāt*, on the hill to the left of Scopus, where Guérin placed the ancient Mizpah (Grove in Smith, *DB*; Conder, *PEFQ*, 1875, p. 183).

There has, however, perhaps been a fault of method in the investigation as hitherto pursued, and the fact that there is no trace of the name Nob either in the lists of priestly cities, or (except in a passage which must refer to the NE. of Palestine) in the Talmud,[2] or in the modern Palestinian topography, ought to have awakened the suspicions of critics. In the present state of criticism we cannot make any use of Neh. 11 32, for the list in which Nob occurs is too probably the composition of the Chronicler, and in *v.* 32 the mention of Nob (omitted in Bℵ*A of 𝔊) is evidently suggested by Is. 10 32.

[1] The etymology of the name ('the hidden one') which the priests of the latest time assumed, certainly does not give the original meaning. Perhaps, like the representation (see above, § 3), the name has some connection with the god Minu of Coptos. Unaccented, it becomes Amĕn. The Amarna tablets write Amanu.

[2] See Neub. *Géogr.* 23; Buhl, 96.

We have to ask, therefore, Does the name Nob really occur in Is. 10 32? The answer must be in the negative. In both parts of *v.* 32 there are clear indications of corruption. The text should run בְּגִבְעַת אֱלֹהִים יַעֲמֹד 'on the hill of God he takes his stand,' and at the end of the verse the inappropriate and superfluous phrase גבעת ירושלם is a corruption of גבעת אלהים 'hill of God,' which was originally a marginal correction of the faulty reading which opens *v.* 32. Was there any specially sacred hill in the line of march between Geba (now *Jeba'*) and Jerusalem? Of course, it has to be very near the city. There is one—the northern summit of the Mt. of Olives, identified elsewhere (see DESTRUCTION, MOUNT OF) as 'the summit where one worships God' (2 S. 15 32) and 'the mountain of those who worship' (2 K. 23 13 emended text). It is noteworthy that Dean Stanley (*Sin. and Pal.* 187) had already proposed this summit as the site of the city of Nob. Probably there were houses near the sanctuary; but there is no evidence of the existence of a town there.

3. Criticism of Is. 10 32.

Nob is also said to be referred to in 1 S. 21 1 22 9 19. In the first two passages, however, the Hebrew text has נבה, which it is arbitrary to explain as meaning 'to Nob' (with the locative ending), because not only here, but also in 22 11 19 𝔊 recognises a dissyllabic name. One is at first inclined to read the name Nubbah and to identify the place with Bēt Nūba (see above); but the situation of Bēt Nūba is unsuitable; the 'priests' city' (1 S. 22 19) cannot have been very far from Gibeah of Saul (1 S. 22 9). Poels (see reference below) thinks that Nob was the name of the summit, on which the sanctuary of Yahwè stood, and that towns (viz., Gibeon and Kirjath-jearim) stood on either side of this hill. This is too bold, but points in the right direction. Plainly Gibeon is meant.

4. Nob in 1 S.

נבה is a corruption of גבעה or גבעון; from 2 S. 21 6 (We., Dr., Bu., Löhr, also H. P. Sm., read בגבעון בהר יהוה) we learn that Gibeon stood on or near 'a mountain of Yahwè.' Poels acutely points out that the dread act of vengeance in 2 S. 21, which was too important an event to have escaped record in the life of Saul, must have been the massacre related in 1 S. 22. 'In Gibeon, on the mountain of Yahwè,' the offence of Saul was expiated by his children.

Nob, therefore, the 'city of the priests,' where Ahimelech of the house of Eli ministered (1 S. 21 1 cp 14 3), and where David deposited the sword of Goliath (in 1 S. 17 54[1] 'in his tent' should be 'in the tent of Yahwè' (באהל י׳), was Gibeon, where, according to tradition, was 'the greatest high place' (1 K. 3 4). No inferior sanctuary can be intended; no other name than Gibeon (or Gibeah) can be the original of the mutilated and corrupted form Nob. This view will be confirmed if the view presented elsewhere respecting the Shiloh where Eli ministered be accepted. See GOB, SHILOH.

Besides the usual helps, cp H. A. Poels, *Le sanctuaire de Kirjath-jearim: étude sur le lieu de culte*, etc. (Louvain, 1894).

NOBAH (נֹבַח; Judg., ΝΑΒΑΙ [B], -ΕΘ [A], -ΒΕ [L]; Nu., -ΒΑΥ, -ΒΩΘ [BAL], NOB [Vg.]).

1. A (Manassite?) clan which conquered KENATH, and gave it the name of Nobah (Nu. 32 42). Cp MANASSEH, § 9.

2. A place on Gideon's route in his pursuit of the Manassite kings (Judg. 8 11). Though it is mentioned together with Jogbehah, this does not prove that the two places were near each other. See GIDEON, § 2, where reason is given for accepting the view that Nobah is the mod. *Kanawāt*, in Ḥaurān, NW. of Ṣalḥad (see KENATH); old names have a tendency to reappear.

T. K. C.

[1] 'To Jerusalem' should be 'to Saul' (לשאול).

NOBAI (נוֹבַי, Kt., or **Nebai**, נֵיבַי, Kr.; Βωναι [Bℵ], νωβαι [AL], one of the signatories of the covenant (Neh. 10 19). He corresponds to the fifty-two 'men of the other Nebo' (Neh. 7 33), or 'of the other Nob' (Meyer). 'Nobai' should either be 'Gibeon' (גִּבְעוֹן), or better—see NEBO—'Nedabi' (נְדָבִי). T. K. C.

NOBLES. The rendering of :—

1. חֹרִים, *ḥōrim* (lit. 'free,' an Aramaism). The 'elders and nobles' of Jezreel are twice referred to in the story of Naboth's judicial murder (1 K. 21 8 11, where Ki. regards הַחֹרִים as a late post-exilic gloss, but cp Dr. *Intr.*(6) 188); and the 'nobles and rulers' of Jerusalem are frequently conjoined in the narrative of Nehemiah (Neh. 2 16 4 8 13 [14 19] 5 7 7 5). As Wellhausen (*IJG*(3), 190) and Meyer (*Ent.* 132) have pointed out, *ḥōrim* and *sᵉgānim* (סגנים) seem to be used as convertible terms (Neh. 6 17 compared with 12 40, 13 11 with 13 17). In Is. 34 12 (400 B.C. or later) reference is made to the *ḥōrim* of Edom, and in Eccles. 10 17 the land is said to be happy whose king is 'the son of nobles,' RVmg. 'a free man.' (𝔊 renders ἔντιμοι, except in 1 K. 21 8 11 [A; om. B], Neh. 13 17 Eccles. 10 17 ἐλεύθεροι, and Is. 34 12.) See further, GOVERNMENT, § 26.

2. אַדִּירִים, *addīrim* (√אדר, 'to be wide, great'), are referred to in Nah. 2 6 (EV 'worthies,' AVmg. 'gallants') 3 18 (RV 'worthies,' AVmg. 'gallant ones') Jer. 14 3 (Judah and Jerusalem) Jer. 25 34 36 (figurative) 30 21 (RV 'prince') Zech. 11 2 Neh. 3 5 (of Tekoa) 10 30. The nobles of Judah took part with the 'captains of hundreds' and the 'governors' at the coronation of Joash (2 Ch. 23 20). 𝔊 has μεγιστᾶνες thrice, ἰσχυρότεροι once, δυνατοί (2 Ch.), δυνάσται (Nah. 3 18), and αδωρηεμ [Bℵ], -ρην [A] (Neh. 3 5).

3. פַּרְתְּמִים, *partᵉmīm* (cp Pers. *fratama*, 'first'; but Sym. and Pesh. translate 'Parthians,' and the originality of the reading 'פ is strongly questioned in *Crit. Bib.*), Dan. 1 3 (AV 'princes') Esth. 1 3 6 9. (𝔊 has ἔνδοξοι in Esth.; in Dan. ἐπίλεκτοι [cod. 87], φορθομμ[ε]ιν, πορ. [BQΓ, A Theod.].)

4, 5. נָגִיד, *nāgīd* (Job 29 10), נדיב, *nādib* (Nu. 21 18, etc.). See PRINCE.

6, 7, 8. אֲצִילִים, *ăṣīlim* (Ex. 24 11, 'the chosen ones'? but see BDB, *s.v.*), גָּדוֹל, *gādōl*, lit. 'great one' (Jon. 3 7), נִכְבָּד, *nikbād*, lit. 'honoured one' (Ps. 149 8, cp Is. 23 8 *f.*).

9. בָּרִיחַ, *bārīăḥ*, Is. 43 14. See *SBOT*, 'Is.', Heb. ed., *ad loc.*

10. נָזִיר, *nāzir*, Lam. 4 7, RV; see NAZIRITE, § 3.

The NT terms are :

11. βασιλικός, Jn. 4 46, lit. 'king's officer,' so RVmg., and

12. εὐγενής, Lk. 19 12, EV **nobleman** (in Job 1 3, 𝔊 for no. 7).

NOD (נוֹד), Gen. 4 16. See CAIN.

NODAB (נוֹדָב; ναδαβαιων [BA], νηδαβ. και ναδιβαιων [L]), the name of a tribe which adjoined the trans-Jordanic Israelites, 1 Ch. 5 19 (see HAGRITES). It is mentioned together with Jetur and Naphish, who in Gen. 25 15 [P] and 1 Ch. 1 31, are two of the last three sons of Ishmael, the last-named son being Kedemah (*q.v.*). Very possibly נודב, Nodab, is equivalent to נדב, Nadab, a Jerahmeelite name. Kedemah, being doubtless a corruption of Jerahmeel (see KADMONITES, REKEM), is a fitting alternative for Nodab.[1] Blau ventures to find an echo of Nodab in the village *Nudēbe*, SE. of the Boṣra in Ḥaurān. T. K. C.

NOE (νωε [Ti.WH]), Lk. 3 36, etc., RV NOAH (*q.v.*).

NOEBA (νοεβα [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 48, NEKODA, 1.

NOGAH (נֹגַהּ, as if 'sunrise,' § 72), a son of David, 1 Ch. 3 7 14 6 (ναγαι, -γεθ [B], ναγε, -θ [A], -τ [14 6 (ℵ)]; νεεμ, ναγε [L]). In the parallel list 2 S. 5 the name is omitted in MT (similarly 𝔊BA), it is supplied in L (ναγεθ) and in B's second list (ναγεδ); cp ELIPHELET, 1, and see DAVID, § 11 n.

NOHAH (נוֹחָה, 'rest'; ιωα [B], νωα [A], νουαα [L]), a name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 2; perhaps corrupted from Naaman (cp *JQR* 11 109). Cp MENUHAH.

NON (נוֹן), 1 Ch. 7 27. See NUN.

NOOMA (νοομα [A]), 1 Esd. 9 35 RV = Ezra 10 43, NEBO, iv.

NOPH (נֹף) occurs frequently in the prophets as one of the principal cities of Egypt. Thus in Is. 19 13 it is parallel with Zoan-Tanis, in Jer. 2 16 with Tahpanhes, which proves that it must have belonged to northern Egypt. Jer. 44 1, enumerating the places where colonies of fugitive Jews had been formed in Egypt, proceeds from N. to S. (Migdol, Tahpanhes, Noph, Pathros); Ezek. 30 16 (Sin [read Syene?], No, Noph) seems to arrange from S. to N.

1. Name.

Hitzig, Smend, and Cornill try, however, to correct the name here. 𝔊 reads its consonants but does not recognise the name; Memphis, however, in Qmg. (see Swete) Sym. Vg. Syr. On the other hand, Cornill wishes with 𝔊 to read Noph, *v.* 15, instead of No, so that Noph would stand parallel with Sin.

Jer. 46 14 (Migdol, Noph, Tahpanhes) does not seem to be arranged in strict geographical order; but the repetition of the statement that Noph belonged to those cities in which the exiled Jews settled is important, confirming the position near the Eastern frontier of Egypt. Ezek. 30 13 mentions it, evidently, as the most important city where 'the princes of Egypt' reside. All this points to Memphis, which the versions read for Noph throughout. Strangely, the correct orthography is found in MT only in one passage, Hos. 9 6, where Moph (מֹף—only here—AV MEMPHIS, following the versions) is the principal city or, perhaps, the political capital of Egypt to which the Jews shall be led back. [On the (possible) underlying text see PATHROS, § 2, PROPHET, and *Crit. Bib.*—T. K. C.]

The consonants Noph of MT were defended by de Rougé (*Rev. Archéol.* New Ser. viii. 127; Lenormant, 1 1 22 215; E. Meyer, *GÄ*, § 350), who tried to explain Noph as Napata. This ought, however, to have the ending *-t*, *-th*; moreover, Noph is a city of Egypt, not of Ethiopia; no Jews would flee to Napata, etc.

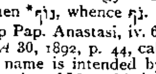
The name of the city[1] is written in Egyptian *Mn-nfr*,[2] vocalise *Men-nōfer*, later *Men-nufe* or shortened *Mennefe*, *Menfe*. This abbreviation was borrowed by other nations as Μέμφις (Μενφις on coins; cp Targumic *Mēphīs*), Assyrian *Mempi*, *Mimpi*. The Copts wrote *Menbe*, *Membe*, *Memⁱ*, *Mefe*, whence Arabic *Manf* (sometimes Munf?) and later *Māphe*.[3] Thus we should expect the pronunciation *Mēph* in Hebrew; the present punctuation Mōph, Nōph needs explanation.[4] On the etymology in Egyptian, see below (§ 2).

Memphis is one of the most ancient cities of Egypt—that is to say, a small city, called 'the White Wall' (cp Herod. 3 91, Thuc. 1 104), stood there in the earliest times as the capital of the first nomos of Lower Egypt. In it stood the temple of Ptaḥ which gave the city (and later Memphis) the sacred name *Ḥa(t)-ka-ptah*, 'temple of Ptaḥ's likeness,' whence the name 'Egypt' seems to be derived (cp EGYPT, § 1). The antiquity of the temple and of the quarter of Memphis in which it stood was proverbial.[5] The later Egyptians used to call king Menes the founder (Herod. 2 99), and that claim is observable already on inscriptions of the nineteenth dynasty.[6] Whether it is historical truth may remain an open question; Herodotus' report of Menes' making a large dyke, 100 stadia S. of Memphis, is certainly erroneous. It is questionable whether any kings resided in the vicinity before the third dynasty. Manĕtho calls the third dynasty Memphitic, and, to judge from the pyramid of king Zoser at Saḳḳārah, its kings built very near Memphis. We can then, with the following 'Memphitic' dynasties of Manĕtho, notice a continual shifting of the royal palaces and court-cities (traceable now only by the pyramids which were built W. of those residences) in that region

2. Origin.

1 Precisely so the improbable ענות in Ps. 22 25 [24] may be an error for עַ[צ]ְתָּ.

1 Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.* 259.

2 

3 See L. Stern, *ZÄ*, 1885, p. 148.

4 After the analogy of No? מֹף may also have become *נֵיף and then *נוֹף, whence נֹף.

5 Cp Pap. Anastasi, iv. 6 3.

6 *ZÄ* 30, 1892, p. 44, calling the god 'the Ptaḥ of Men-na.' What name is intended by the Uchoreus whom Diodorus calls the founder of Memphis is uncertain.

from Mēdūm in the S. to Abu-Roāsh in the N. Finally, the great king Pepy (Apopy?) I. of the sixth dynasty built his tomb and city directly W. of the 'White Wall'; and this city lasted and imparted its name to the resulting complex of earlier and later settlements. From that time dates the history of Memphis, under the classical name—*i.e.*, from the time when the pyramid *Men-nôfer*, 'good-resting,'[1] was erected. Although the old temple of Ptaḥ-Hephæstus and the surrounding quarter, forming a kind of citadel by its separate wall, was always recognised as the city proper and furnished the religious name (see above), the new name *Men-nefe(r)*, even in the latest time, always written with the sign of the pyramid, prevailed.

Memphis was situated some 10 m. S. of modern Cairo, W. of the Nile. By position, between northern and southern Egypt, near the S. end of the Delta, it was well suited for being the capital. The mounds at the modern villages of Mīt-Rahīneh[2] and el-Bedrashēn mark the principal part of Memphis; that it really ran 150 stadia from N. to S. (Diodorus) is doubtful. The mounds of Abadiyeh and En-Nagīzīyeh seem to mark the N. end of the city proper. Besides the quarter mentioned above, we read of those of 'the Southern wall,' of 'the balance of both countries,' of 'the life of both countries.' 'The life of both countries,' situated on the bank of the river, contained, around the temple of Ptaḥ Nefer-ḥo (*i.e.*, 'fair of face'), a Phœnician settlement, with a temple of the 'foreign Aphrodite' (= Astarte?). The description in Herod. 2 112 does not enable us to determine whether this 'camp of the Tyrians' was a bazaar of the foreign traders or a colony of deported captives given to the temple as serfs. The many divinities and sanctuaries to which the inscriptions and the classical writers refer cannot be enumerated completely here. They include the local divinity Ptaḥ (figured in human form, usually standing, and explained as the 'divine workmaster,' and creator of the world as demiurgos), who had three different forms and three large temples here. Sokaris was the local god of the western part, therefore of the necropolis (near the modern Saḳḳārah, which name is, possibly, the same as Sokaris; cp ISSACHAR, § 6). The latest theology tried to find the emanation of the combined Ptaḥ-Sokaris-Osiris in the famous Apis (*ḥap*) bull. Originally, this black bull with various mysterious marks, after whose death a search for a successor was held throughout all Egypt, sometimes for a long time, must have been a separate local divinity.[3]

Memphis was the most important city of Egypt and the principal royal residence until the rise of the eighteenth (Theban) dynasty.

3. History. The kings of the eighteenth dynasty began to neglect Memphis; but they still resided there occasionally, and the second place among all Egyptian cities remained undisputed to it. It does not seem that the storming by the Ethiopian P[i]'ankhy, by the Assyrians, by Cambyses, etc., depopulated it very much. It outlived Thebes and Saïs, and continued to be populous among the Ptolemies, who treated it as a kind of second capital, although Alexandria drew off all wealth from it. They even were crowned there (cp Rosetta Inscription, *l.* 7, etc.) as pharaohs. Sinking very slowly in population, Memphis survived as a city until the Arab conquerors built a new capital very near it, on the opposite bank of the Nile, as Fosṭāṭ or Old Cairo.

This completed the depopulation of Memphis. The stones of its old palaces and temples were conveyed to the new capital; modern Cairo, too, has been very largely built with such material. Thus the ruins of Memphis, still described by 'Abd el-laṭīf (about 1200 A.D.) and Abulfeda as very remarkable, have disappeared almost entirely. Of the city itself nothing of general interest remains but two large fallen monolithic statues of Rameses II., probably identical with the statues described by Herodotus and Strabo as flanking the entrance to the great temple of Ptaḥ. The immense necropolis, on the border of the desert, has been better preserved, containing the three great pyramids and smaller remnants of some forty others, the mysterious, gigantic sphinx of Gīzeh, and thousands of tombs (although the earliest and most remarkable of these monuments did not belong to Memphis proper; see above).

W. M. M.

1 Also the etymology *mnw-nfr*, 'good monument,' occurs (Petrie, *Dendereh*, vii. 13 1). Later etymologies like ὅρμος (= *m'n*, Coptic *mone*) ἀγαθῶν (*nfrw*) or τάφος Ὀσίριδος (as 'the good god'), given by Plutarch (*de Iside*, 20), are worthless.

2 From an Egyptian name meaning 'alley of sphinxes' (after W. Spiegelberg). One of the mounds is said still to have the name Tel(l)-Munf.

3 The Apis-tombs near Saḳḳārah were discovered by Mariette in 1851.

NOPHAH (נֹפַח), a place in Moab, mentioned with Medeba in Nu. 21 30.†

The text, however, is very uncertain. 𝔊 has *καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες (αὐτῶν) ἔτι προσεξέκαυσαν πῦρ ἐπὶ Μωαβ*; *i.e.*, נפח becomes נפחו. Delitzsch, Dillmann, and Strack prefer עַד נֻפַּח אֵשׁ 'so that fire was kindled as far as Medeba,' whilst G. A. Smith (*HG*, 560), suggests עַד־נֹבַח, and changes עַד מֵידְבָא to עַל־מִדְבָּר 'on the desert' (cp Pesh.).

NORTH, NORTH QUARTER, NORTH [UTTERMOST PARTS OF THE], NORTH WIND. See EARTH [FOUR QUARTERS OF], and WINDS; also CONGREGATION [MOUNT OF], and cp BAAL-ZEPHON, 1.

NOSE JEWEL (נֶזֶם הָאַף), Is. 3 21, and **Nose-ring** (נֶזֶם), Judg. 8 24 RVmg., EV 'earring,' Exod. 35 22 RVmg., EV 'earring.' See RING.

NOVICE (ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟϹ; *neophytus*; 1 Tim. 3 6†). A better rendering would be 'neophyte,' literally 'newly planted,' 'newly put forth,' 'a fresh sprout.' The meaning is, as AVmg. has it, 'one newly come to the faith.' The metaphor is sufficiently explained by the use of *νεόφυτον* to render נֶטַע, *neṭa'*, נְטִעִים, *n^eṭī'īm*, in Job 14 9 Ps. 144 12 Is. 5 7, and שָׁתִיל, *šāthīl*, in Ps. 128 3. *νεόφ.* is used by Aristophanes (Pollux); also in Egyptian papyri of second century A.D. (Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 48).

The classical adjective *novicius*, almost equivalent to *novus*, and applied to new wine, to a slave who has recently lost his freedom, and the like, became, in ecclesiastical language, the technical term for a candidate for admission to a cœnobium, whilst *neophyte* was applied to all the newly baptised (*νεοφώτιστοι*).

NUMBER. The Hebrews, like the other Semites, expressed numbers by the decimal system. That system

1. The Semite system of numbers. was devised before the separation of the Semites from the Hamites, since it is common to all the Semitic peoples and to the hieroglyphic Egyptian. The names even of some of the numerals are the same in the two families of languages.

Thus in Semitic 'two' is expressed by the root *šn*, *tn*, *ṯn*, in Old Egyptian, Coptic, and Tamašeq by *sn*; 'six' in Semitic by the root *šdš* (contracted [except in Ethiopic]—*e.g.*, Heb. *šš*), in Hamitic by *sds* (which appears in Tamašeq, though contracted in Egyptian to *ss*); 'seven' in N. Semitic by *šb'*, S. Semitic *sb'*, Egyptian *sfḫ*; 'eight,' Semitic *šmn*, *smn*, *tmn*, *ṯmn*, Coptic, *smn*; 'nine,' N. Semitic *tš'*, S. Semitic *ts'*, Tamašeq *tzz'*.

The method of treatment also is the same; in both the tens are formed from the units by using the plural of the former.[1]

The native Hamitic system is, therefore, the decimal.

Behind this there lay a quintal system based on the fingers of one hand. This is still found in some of the languages of the more backward of the Hamitic races, as the Bedza, Bilin, and Chamir (cp Müller, *op. cit.*, 306). In the Semito-Egyptian group the decimal system had developed before their separation.

The Sumerian system of numbers was sexagesimal.

The measurements of time in Babylonia, where day and night were divided into six equal parts, cannot, as Ihering has pointed out, have arisen among a people who used the decimal system, not, therefore, among Semites. His theory that these divisions of time arose in keeping the time of labourers[2] is, however, superficial. There are sexagesimal systems in many parts of the

1 Cp Erman, in *ZDMG* 46 93-129, and his *Ægyptische Grammatik*, 140-147; Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, 157 *ff.*; Brugsch, *Grammaire Hiéroglyphique*, 32-35; Zimmern, *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 179-182; and Friedr. Müller, *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. III., Abt. II., 305.

2 Cp Ihering, *Evolution of Aryan*, 121 *ff.*

world. They originate in a mystical addition of zenith and nadir to the four points of the compass.[1]

As the early Semitic Babylonians borrowed their system of writing from the Sumerians, they also to some extent borrowed this system of numbers. From the period of the oldest known writing, the Semites, who appear to have been in Babylonia in prehistoric times, mingled elements from their decimal system with the sexagesimal. This is shown by the presence of a special sign for ten.[2] In later inscriptions the decimal system gradually supplants the other. Thus in the Mesopotamian valley the native Semitic system reasserted itself.

Among the Hebrews, so far as we know, it was the system always in use; but before the time of the Maccabees there is no evidence that the Hebrews expressed numbers by figures. Numbers were, during these centuries, written in words. This is the case on the Moabite Stone, in the Siloam Inscription, and throughout the OT, including the Book of Daniel. In later Hebrew numbers were expressed by letters of the alphabet; but no such notation for numerals as that used by the Phœnicians appears among the Hebrews.[3]

2. The Hebrew system.

At an early time in the history of man certain numbers were regarded as having a sacred significance. In this respect the Hebrews were no exception. Three, four, seven, ten, twelve, forty, and seventy were either sacred or had a symbolical force.

3. Three.

Three (שָׁלֹשׁ, *šālōš*; Syr. *tᵉlāth*, τρεῖς) is the simplest of these numbers, and was widely considered sacred. It was so regarded by the Babylonians before the birth of the Hebrew people, and its sacred character in Israel may be due to Babylonian influence, unless—as is probably the case—it goes much farther back to primitive Semitic society. One of the earliest indications of it in Babylonia is the great triad of gods, Anu, Bel, and Ea, which appears in the inscriptions of Gudea, about 3000 B.C. They represent respectively heaven, earth, and water.[4]

Probably the origin of the sacredness of the number three is to be found in the fact that to primitive man the universe appeared to be divided into the three regions represented by these gods. This cause rendered the number sacred among the Vedic peoples of India.[5]

Its sacred or symbolical use among the Hebrews the following instances will illustrate:—David is given the choice of three plagues into each of which the number three enters (2 S. 24 13 1 Ch. 21 12);[6] Elijah stretches himself on the dead child three times (1 K. 17 21); Daniel prays three times a day (Dan. 6 10); Tartarus is divided into three parts (*Eth. En.* 22 9); there are three princes of Persia (1 Esd. 3 9); Ezra waits three days for a vision (2 [4] Esd. 13 58 14 1); the plagues of the Apocalypse destroy a third of all that they attack (Rev. 8 9 and 12); the twelve gates of the heavenly city face three towards each of the points of the compass (*Eth. En.* 34 2 35 1 and 36 1-2, also Rev. 21 13); and at last the divine nature is under the same influence conceived by the early Christians as a trinity (Mt. 28 19).

Multiples of sacred numbers came in time to have a sacred or symbolic character, as twenty-one (*Eth. En.* 69 2), thirty (*Slav. En.* 36 1 *f.*), thirty-six (*Eth. En.* 90 1), and many others. Connected with the symbolic character of three is its use to indicate that a course of action or a series of events has passed a normal point (Am. 1 and 2 Prov. 30 15-31 and 2 Esd. 16 29-31).

[1] Cp M'Gee in *American Anthropologist*, 1 656 *ff.*

[2] Cp the Blau Monuments, *Am. Journ. of Arch.* new ser. 4 pl. iv. v., and *JAOS* 22 118 *ff.*, also *Cuneiform Texts of British Museum*, pts. i. iii. v. vii. ix. and x. *passim*, and the inscription of Mainshtu-irba in Scheil's *Textes élamites-sémitiques*.

[3] See Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.* 1 198 *ff.*

[4] Cp Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 107 *ff.*; and King's *Babylonian Religion*, 14.

[5] Cp Hopkins, 'The Holy Numbers of the Rig Veda,' in *Oriental Studies of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia*, 141 *ff.*

[6] MT in 2 S. 24 13 reads 'seven years'; but this, as Houbigant saw long ago (1777), and all recent critics agree, is a mistake for 'three,' which 𝔊 and Ch. have preserved.

4. Four.

The sacredness of four (אַרְבַּע, *arbaʿ*; Syr. *arbaʿ*; τέσσαρες) was probably derived from the fact that the compass has four cardinal points. It is regarded as sacred in widely different parts of the world more often than any other number (cp *Amer. Anthrop.* 1 155). Cp the Bab. phrase 'the four quarters of the world' (*kibrat irbitta*, see EARTH, § 1); and in connection with this note the Hebrew ideas about the four winds (see WINDS) and the singular theory of the origin of the name Adam in *Or. Sib.* 3 24-26, *Slav. En.* 30 13 *f.* (ed. Charles, 41). The number came to denote completeness or sufficiency, which accounts for many biblical details. Thus there are four rivers of paradise (Gen. 2 10); Jephthah's daughter is bewailed four days (Judg. 11 40); Nehemiah's enemies sent to him four times (Neh. 6 4); God sends four kinds of pestilence (Jer. 15 3) or four sore judgments (Ezek. 14 21); four horns scatter Judah (Zech. 1 18 *f.*); four angels of destruction are sent from heaven (Rev. 9 13-15).

The number four is used similarly (though by no means exclusively) in the measurements of sacred furniture—*e.g.*, in Solomon's temple (1 K. 7), in Ezekiel's temple (Ezek. 41-43), in the tabernacle of the P document (Ex. 25 *ff.* and 36 *ff.*).

In like manner the guardians or bearers of the throne of God appeared in fours to different seers (Ezek. 1 and 10 *Eth. En.* 40 2 8 Rev. 4 6 8 5 6 8 14 6 1 15 7 19 4).

Multiples of four were also used. Thus we have twenty-eight in the measurement of the curtains of the tabernacle, forty as indicated below (§ 8), four hundred used to express the idea of a large number (Gen. 15 13 Judg. 21 12 and often), and 400,000 in great exaggerations (Judg. 20 2 17 2 Ch. 13 3).

5. Seven.

Seven (שֶׁבַע, *šebaʿ*; Syr. *šᵉbaʿ*, ἑπτά), the most sacred number of the Hebrews, was also sacred among the Babylonians, where seven planets were known and each represented a god,[1] where there were seven evil spirits,[2] and the underworld was surrounded by seven walls.[3]

The greetings in the Amarna tablets show that seven had a sacred significance in Palestine at an early date, and indicate that it was also sacred in Egypt. We know that it was held sacred in India by the Vedic people (Hopkins, *op. cit.*). The sacredness of seven probably originated in the fact that it is the sum of three and four, but among the Babylonians a great impetus must have been given to its use by the fact that there were seven sacred planets; by the influence of Babylon it became very popular with other Semites.

Ihering (*Evolution of the Aryan*, 113) holds that the Sabbath was of Babylonian origin and arose from the sexagesimal system, which we have seen was native with the Sumerians. They worked six days and rested the seventh. If this be true, possibly we should see in it the primary cause of the sacredness of seven. Cp SABBATH. Some anthropologists hold that seven arose from a sacred six by the addition of unity (cp M'Gee, *op. cit.* 663 *f.*).

The most liberal application of the number seven among the Hebrews is found in comparatively late Apocalypses, where direct Babylonian influence is probable—*e.g.*, the seven planets appear (*Slav. En.* 27 3); seven planetary deities (*Eth. En.* 21 3-6); there are seven heavens, one for each planet (*Slav. En.* 3 to 20); seven circles of heaven (*Slav. En.* 48 1); then the earth and moon are divided into seven corresponding parts (*Eth. En.* 73 5-8; 2 [4] Esd. 6 50 52). The week of seven days, early associated with the seven planets,[4] gave to P the idea of the creative week (Gen. 1 1-2 3). From these came the notion that seven enters into the constitution of man—he is made of seven substances and has seven natures (*Slav. En.* 30 8 *f.*). Corresponding to this is the conception that there are seven rivers in the world and seven islands, and that frosts come from seven mountains (*Eth. En.* 77 4-8).

[1] Jensen's *Kosmologie*, 101 *ff.*

[2] Jastrow, *op. cit.*, 264.

[3] Jeremias, *Bab.-Ass. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, 15.

[4] Jensen, *loc. cit.*; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 301.

NUMBER

The sacred character of seven shows itself in every period of the Hebrew ritual; we hear of seven altars built, seven sacred wells, seven lamps, blood is sprinkled seven times, etc. (Gen. 7 2 *f.* 21 28-30 1 K. 18 43 Dt. 16 9 Ezek. 40 22 41 3 Lev. 14 Nu. 23 and 29 *passim*, and elsewhere). Cp BEER-SHEBA, § 3; WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2], 181 *f.*

Closely connected with this is the thought that seven days is a sacred or fitting period of time (cp Gen. 8 10 12 50 10 Exod. 7 25 Lev. 8 33 Dt. 16 4 Josh. 6 *passim*, Ps. 12 6 [7] Apoc. Bar. 20 5 2 [4] Esd. 7 30 *f.* Acts 21 4 27 Heb. 11 30, etc.).

From this usage seven came to express a complete or round number (Job 1 2 Mic. 5 5 Esth. 1 10 2 9 1 Esd. 8 6 Tob. 3 8 2 Macc. 7 1 Mt. 22 25-28 Mk. 12 20-23 Acts 6 3 19 14 etc.). Once (Dt. 7 1) seven is equated with 'many.'

6. Ten. Ten (עֶשֶׂר, *'éser;* Syr. *'ĕsar*, δέκα) had a certain symbolic character, in part because it was the basis of the decimal system, and in part because it is the sum of three and seven.[1] Its simplest use is to denote a round or complete number, as ten lambs, ten shekels, ten men, ten virgins, ten talents, etc. This usage runs through both OT and NT (cp, *e.g.*, Gen. 24 10 22 Josh. 22 14 Judg. 17 10 2 K. 20 9-11 Job 19 3 Jer. 41 2 8 2 [4] Esd. 5 46 Mt. 25 1 28 Lk. 19 *passim*, Rev. 2 10 etc.).

A more sacred use of ten is found in the ritual. Not only were there tithes, but also sacrifices and many implements of the sanctuary were arranged in tens (Exod. 26 1 16 Nu. 7 28 and 29 *passim*, 1 K. 6 and 7 *passim*, 2 Ch. 4 *passim*, and Ezek. 45 *passim*).

Because of this sacred character ten is used in apocalyptic symbolism (Dan. 7 7 20 24 Rev. 12 3 13 1 17 3 7 12 16).

7. Twelve. Twelve (שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר, *šnêm 'āsār;* Syr. *trê'sar*, δώδεκα) derived its sacred character from the fact that it is the product of three and four, helped no doubt by the fact that the Sumerian sexagesimal system had made the number of months twelve. The most obvious application of its originating principle is found in the fact that the gates of heaven (cp Gen. 28 17) were conceived as twelve—three facing each of the four points of the compass (*Eth. En.* 34 2 35 1 36 1 *f.* and Rev. 21 12-14). From each of these in turn the sun goes forth (*Eth. En.* 72 3, *Slav. En.* 14 and 15 *passim*). Of kindred nature is the idea that the tree of life bears a fruit for each of the twelve months (Rev. 22 2).

Because the number was sacred the tribes of Israel were made up to twelve (Gen. 35 22 42 13 32 49 28 Nu. 1 44). That this was in part an artificial reckoning, the shadowy existence of some of the tribes, as Simeon, shows. Similarly the tribes of Ishmael were made twelve (Gen. 17 20 25 16). See GENEALOGIES i., § 5; TRIBES.

Many representative men and things were made twelve to accord with the number of the tribes (Ex. 24 4 Nu. 17 2 6 Josh. 4 *passim*, etc.). For this reason the 'disciples' were twelve (Mt. 19 28).

The number twelve for all the reasons given entered into Hebrew ritual (Ex. 15 27 Nu. 33 9 Lev. 24 5 Nu. 7 *passim*, Jer. 52 20 *f.* Ezek. 43 16 etc.).

As a symbolic number twelve was chosen to express completeness (2 S. 2 15 1 K. 10 20 Rev. 12 1).

The OT tribal usage and the NT apostolic are combined in the Apocalypse and produce twenty-four (Rev. 4 4 10 5 8 11 16 19 4).

8. Forty. Forty (אַרְבָּעִים, *arbā'îm;* Syr. *arb'în*, τεσσαράκοντα) was a symbolic, if not a sacred number. Its simplest use is to denote a somewhat indefinite period of time the exact length of which was not known. Thus the wilderness wandering was forty years (Ex. 16 35 Am. 2 10 5 25 Ps. 95 10 etc.); but cp MOSES, § 11, *e.* Probably this and several similar periods (*e.g.*, Judg. 3 11 5 31 8 28 13 1 and 1 S. 4 18) are intended to represent a generation, since the period from the Exodus to the building of the temple is counted (1 K. 6 1) as 480 years or twelve generations.[2] In some instances a semi-sacred character attaches to forty; thus Moses was in the mount forty days (Ex. 24 18 34 28); Elijah fasted forty days (1 K. 19 8); Christ did the same (Mt. 4 2 Mk. 1 13 Lk. 4 1 *f.*); and the ascension occurred after forty days (Acts 1 3).

[1] M'Gee would seem to account for it as nine plus unity (*i.e.*, 6+3+1). Cp *op. cit.* 664 672.

[2] Cp Moore, *Judges*, xxxviii.

9. Seventy. Seventy (שִׁבְעִים, *šib'îm;* Syr. *šab'în*, ἑβδομήκοντα) has a sacred or symbolical meaning in five cases. Seventy palm trees grow in an old sacred spot (Ex. 15 27); here 7 × 10 seems to be the origin of the number; seventy elders of Israel go up into the mount (Ex. 24 1 9, J), and out to the tent (Nu. 11 24 *f.*, E); in the latter passage Eldad and Medad (*vv.* 26 *f.*) make up the number to seventy-two; 6 × 12 or six for each tribe is, therefore, probably its origin here, though the former explanation is also possible if Eldad and Medad are not included; seventy 'souls' go down to Egypt (Gen. 46 27 Ex. 1 5 (P) and Dt. 10 22: in these passages the number is made up artificially to the ideal 7 × 10);[1] seventy years (Jer. 25 11 *f.*), or weeks of years (Dan. 9 24 *ff.*), must elapse before the restoration of the kingdom (*i.e.*, 7 × 10 years); and seventy disciples are sent forth (Lk. 10 1 17). On the seventy, or seventy-one, or seventy-two peoples of the Table of Nations (Gen. 10), and on subsequent Jewish and Christian beliefs, S. Krauss has written with great fulness of learning (*ZATW* 19 1-14 20 38-43 [1899, 1900]; cp Driver, *Deut.* 355 *f.*).

In Lk. 10 1 the reading is uncertain and the explanation difficult.

Many MSS, including ℵACL and other authorities read ἑβδομήκοντα (so Treg., Tisch., Weiss), whilst BDMR and many other authorities read ἑβδομήκοντα δύο (so WH). The number may perhaps be chosen to represent the peoples of the earth, each of which should have a Christian messenger; cp Dt. 32 8, where 𝔊 makes the number of peoples equal that of the angels[2] (בְּנֵי אֵל instead of בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). Cp, however, Zahn, *Einl.* 2 392.

Two other numbers fall to be considered here on account of the use made of them in the Apocalypses.

10. Three and a half. (*a*) The first of these is three and a half, with its derivatives. Scholars agree that the 'times, time, and half a time' (עִדָּן וְעִדָּנִין וּפְלַג עִדָּן, Dan. 7 25; מוֹעֵד מוֹעֲדִים וָחֵצִי, Dan. 12 7; καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ, Rev. 12 14), also the half week of Daniel 9 27, stand for three years and a half. Meinhold (*Dan.* 304) holds, on the basis of Dan. 9 27, that the three and a half is a broken seven.[3] Cornill holds that its origin is to be found in the three and a half years of the persecution of Antiochus.[4] If we could be sure of a Hebrew origin, one of these explanations might be accepted. Gunkel has, however, with great probability traced the origin of this number with other apocalyptic imagery to Babylon, and holds that the three and a half represented the half of Kislēv, and the three months, Ṭēbēt, Shĕbāṭ, Ădār, the time from the winter solstice to the festival of Marduk—the time covered by the period of winter—*i.e.*, the period of the supremacy of Tiāmat.[5] If this be its origin, the application to the years of oppression, on which all scholars are agreed, would be most natural, as would also its explanation as a broken seven (Dan. 9 27). There have been various attempts to define more precisely the three and a half: the 2300 evenings and mornings (= 1150 days: Dan. 8 14); 1290 days (Dan. 12 11); 1335 days (Dan. 12 12); with these we should put the 1260 days of Rev. 11 3 12 6 and the 42 months of Rev. 11 2 13 5. Scholars who insist on the unity of Daniel explain these differences of statement in that book by supposing that the author conceived the coming of the kingdom as a progressive event, the different stages of which are

[1] Cp Dillmann, on Gen. 46 27.

[2] According to Stade (*ZATW* 5 300 [1885]) and Bertholet (*ad loc.*), who prefer 𝔊's reading, Dt. 32 8 is perhaps an interpolation, as reflecting a late belief.

[3] So also Behrmann, *Dan.* 50, and von Gall, *Einheit d. Dan.* 92.

[4] *Sieb. Jahrwochen Dan.* 22 *ff.*

[5] *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 309 *ff.*; cp CREATION, § 16 (*b*).

ndicated in these numbers.[1] The theory of composite authorship affords a more satisfactory explanation.

On the most probable view of the composition of Daniel (cp *JBL* 17 62-86), the original use of three and a half is in 7 25, where פְּלַג means 'part,' not necessarily 'half.' This writer, imbued with Babylonian learning, drew from Babylonian material. His own explanation—1150 days—is given in 8 14. A less well-informed writer, imbued only with Hebrew lore, related it to Heb. imagery in ch. 9, making it a broken seven (*v.* 27). The final editor and two later glossators are responsible for its introduction into ch. 12, and its varying explanations in *vv.* 11 12.[2]

The numbers mentioned in Revelation are clearly interpretations by the NT writer of the three and a half of Daniel.

11. Six hundred and sixty-six.

(*b*) The second number referred to above (§ 10) is 666 (χξϛ', *ἑξακόσιαι* [-*ιοι* -*ια*] *ἑξήκοντα ἕξ*, Rev. 13 18), variant, 616 (Iren. v. 30 1). Not to mention uncritical interpretations of this number which find in it references to the Pope, to Napoleon, etc., the following explanations may be noted:—(1) Briggs' explanation: a 'straining after the holy number seven and falling short of it in every particular, marking the beast, therefore, and his subjects as deceivers.'[3] (2) *Λάτεινος*=666 (Iren. v. 30 3), which makes the Beast the Roman empire. Cp Clemen's similar theory and van Manen *Th. T* 35 477. (3) Nero Cæsar (נרון קסר=666) has been widely accepted since the omission of the final ן of Nero would give the variant 616.[4] (4) Völter thinks Trajan Hadrianus or Hadrian the meaning (טרון אנדרינוס=666, another spelling being טריון אדריינוס=616).[5] (5) Zahn[6] and Spitta[7] hold 616 to be the original and Caligula to be the beast (*Γαῖος καισαρ*=616). (6) Gunkel holds that the number originated, like other apocalyptic material, in Babylon, and originally referred to Tiāmat or Primeval Chaos (תהום קדמוניה=666).[8] Other modern explanations which need not be enumerated here may be found in Zahn, *Einl.* 2 622-626.

Of these solutions (2) and (5) hold that this part of Revelation was written in Greek. If, as many recent interpreters hold, and rightly, it was written in Hebrew, these explanations would not be adequate (cp APOCALYPSE, § 13). Of the others, that of Gunkel (6), in view of the Babylonian origin of apocalyptic material which he has proven, gives the best explanation. The number would be likely to be perpetuated because it fell just short of the sacred number seven at all points, and would naturally be applied by apocalyptists to persecutors like Nero (3) and Hadrian (4). When translated into Greek the explanation of Irenæus (2) would be very natural. The application to Caligula (5) may have been made in some form in ancient times, but could only have been made through the Greek.[9] G. A. B.

NUMBERS (BOOK)

1. Name and contents.

The name Numbers (*Numeri*, Ἀριθμοί) was given to the fourth book[10] of the Pentateuch in the Greek Bible because it begins with the census of the Israelites taken in the second year of the Exodus, giving the fighting strength of each tribe.

[1] Cp Cornill, *op. cit.* 22 *ff.*, Bevan, *Bk. of Dan.* 168 *ff.*, Boehmer, *Reich Gottes u. Menschensohn i. B. Dan.* 195-206.
[2] Cp Gunkel, *op. cit.* 269 n.
[3] *Messiah of the Apostles*, 324.
[4] Bousset (cp. APOCALYPSE, § 43) still holds to it. It was first proposed in 1831 by Fritzsche (*Annalen der ges. theol. Lit.* i. 3 42 *ff.*).
[5] *Problem der Apok.* (1893), p. 215. Cp Aberle, *Th. Quartalschr.*, 1872.
[6] *Zeit. für kirchl. Wiss.*, 1885, pp. 595 *ff.* Cp his *Einleitung i. d. NT* 2 624 *ff.*
[7] *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 392 *ff.*
[8] *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, 378.
[9] Cp discussion of this point in *Am. Jour. of Theol.* 2 797 n.
[10] In certain ancient lists of the OT books Numbers stands *third*, changing places with Leviticus; see Sanday in *Stud. Bib.* 3 241.

The corresponding Hebrew name is חֹמֶשׁ הַפְּקוּדִים,[1] Book of Musters, Numbers (lit. 'the mustered men,' 1 21 23 etc., cp 14 29); the book is more commonly cited by a catchword from the first sentence, וַיְדַבֵּר or בְּמִדְבַּר.[2]

The Book of Numbers covers, in the chronology of the Pentateuch, a period of more than thirty-eight years; viz., from the first of the second month in the second year of the Exodus (1 1) to the latter part of the fortieth year (33 38, cp 20 23-29).

Chaps. 1-10 10 record things that were done and laws that were given in the wilderness of Sinai; 10 11-20 13, the departure from Sinai and what happened in the way and at Kadesh, the sending out of the spies and the unsuccessful attempt to invade Canaan from the south; 20 14-27, the departure from Kadesh, the circuit around Edom, the conquest of the Amorite kingdoms E. of the Jordan, and the hostility of Moab, down to the appointment of Joshua as the successor of Moses shortly before the death of the latter; 28-36 contain additional laws and ordinances given in the plains of Moab.

In contrast to Leviticus, which is entirely legislative, and in its present form belongs as a whole to the priestly stratum of the Hexateuch, Numbers, like Exodus, combines history and law; JE and P are both represented; the method of composition and the character of the redaction, also, are similar to those in Exodus. Chaps. 1-10 28 and 25 6-36 (with the exception of a few verses in 32) belong wholly to P; in 10 29-25 5 P and JE are united. It will be most convenient to begin our investigation with the latter chapters.

2. JE: Chaps. 10 29-12.

The thread of JE's history of the Exodus, which was dropped in Ex. 34, is here resumed. Nu. 10 29-32 is from J; the sequel, Hobab's consent (cp Judg. 1 16 4 11), has been omitted. The following verses 33* 35 *f.* are probably from E; 34 is a late gloss dependent on 9 15 *ff.*[3] In J Nu. 10 29-32 probably followed closely upon the command to set out from Sinai for Canaan, Ex. 33 1*a*; the Yahwistic legislation, which a redactor has incorporated in Ex. 34, originally stood at an earlier point in the narrative. Nu. 10 33 *ff.* may come, in like manner, from E's account of the departure from Horeb which is ordered in Ex. 32 34*a*; but the original sequence of E has been too much disturbed by additions as well as by redaction to admit of a confident rearticulation. In the following chapter the clamour of the multitude for flesh and the sending of the quails (11 4-13 15 18-24*a* 31-34) is from J; but there are indications that the original narrative has been expanded by different hands; 7-9 are not improbably an archæological gloss; amplification is suspected in both 18 *ff.* and 31 *ff.*; it has been conjectured that 10*b*-12 15 originally stood in connection with Ex. 33 1.[4] The inspiration of seventy elders, who share with Moses the gift of prophecy that they may assist him thus in bearing the burden of the people (16 *f.* 24*b*-30) has nothing to do with the miracle of the quails; it follows the representation of E in Ex. 33 7-11 (the tent without the camp), and is perhaps a younger counterpart (E_2) to the appointment of judges in Ex. 18 13-26.[5] The destruction of the murmurers at Taberah (1-3) is also probably from E; 35 is a fragment of the itinerary, cp 12 16. Chap. 12 is related to 11 16 *f.* 24*b*-30, and may perhaps be regarded as a caution against erroneous inferences: no matter how many inspired prophets there may be, Moses is the organ of revelation in a unique sense (cp Ex. 33 11 [E] Dt. 34 10 [R_D]). What the Cushite woman in 12 1 has to do with it is not clear.[6]

[1] Origen in Eus. *HE* 6 25 Αμμεσφεκωδειμ; *M. Yōmā* 7 1, *M. Mĕnāchōth* 4 3, *Sōtā* 36*b* etc.
[2] Jerome, *Prol. Gal.*, *Vayedabber*; Massora.
[3] Verses 35 *f.* are included in modern editions between inverted *nūns*, which serve the purpose of brackets. As early as the second century the verses were marked off in some way to show that they are misplaced; see R. Simeon b. Gamaliel in *Siphrē*, Nu. § 84. In 𝔊 they stand before *v.* 34. See Harris, *JQR* 1 136 *f.*; Blau, *Masoret. Untersuch.* 40 *ff.*; Ginsburg, *Introd.* 342 *f.*
[4] Bacon, *Exodus*, 141 *ff.*
[5] The rare word אצל (*v.* 25) seems to connect these elders with the אצילים of Ex. 24 11; Wellh. *CH*(2), 102 n.
[6] The Cushite wife plays a considerable part in Hellenistic midrash. See also MOSES, § 4, ned.

NUMBERS (BOOK)

3. Chaps. 13 *f.*: the spies.[1]

In the account of the spies the narratives of P and JE are combined; to the former belong 13 1-17*a* 21*b* 25 26*a* (to Paran) 32 14 1 *f.* (in part) 5-7 (9*a*) 10 26-38 (with additions by R_P). The threats of Yahwè and the intercession of Moses, 14 11-24, are a secondary element in JE, probably R_{JE};[2] note the resemblance to Ex. 32 7-14 and the quotation of Ex. 34 6 *f.* in 17 *f.* In the remainder of the chapters (JE) two strands appear[3] (most clearly in 13 17*b* *ff.*), but even with the aid of Dt. 1 19-45[4] a clean analysis is scarcely possible. In one account (E) twelve men are sent up into the hill-country of the Amorites (cp Dt. 1 20); they go as far as the Valley of Eshcol and bring back specimens of the fruit of the land, and report on the population of the different regions of Palestine (13 17*c*, 18 in part, 20 23 *f.* 26*b** 29 33*); in the other (J) men are sent up into the Negeb, penetrate to Hebron, and bring back word that the land is flowing with milk and honey, but the people are strong and dwell in fortified cities (17*b*, 18 in part 19 22* 27* 28). Caleb gives his vote for an immediate invasion; but his companions declare the undertaking impossible (30 *f.* J). The people are dismayed and propose to return to Egypt (14 1* 3 J 4 E); 14 8 *f.*, commonly attributed to J and regarded as part of Caleb's speech (13 30), are perhaps originally a remonstrance of Moses (cp Dt. 1 29-31) in E (8*b* R_{JE}). The transpositions which have been proposed are then unnecessary. The secondary passage 14 11-24 (cp Dt. 1 34-40 and P in Nu. 14 26 *ff.*) seems to have supplanted —perhaps in part incorporating—the sentence of Yahwè, only 25*b* (E, cp Dt. 1 40) remaining. The sequel, 39*b*-45, seems to be from E, with some editorial amplification and change; cp J in 21 1-3. [Cp MOSES, NEGEB, § 7.]

4. Chap. 16: Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.[5]

The destruction of Korah and his supporters by fire from heaven (16 1*a* *b** 2 3-11 16-24 26*a* 27*a** 35) is from P, though not all of the same age (see below, § 11); the uprising of the Reubenites Dathan and Abiram against Moses, and their fate—the earth opening and swallowing them up with all that belonged to them—from JE (cp Dt. 11 6). Doublets in the narrative (see especially 32 *f.*) suggest that both J and E have been drawn upon, and many attempts have been made to separate the two strands.[6] Others recognise but one source, more or less amplified by later hands in 13 *f.* and 28 *ff.*; the indicia point on the whole to E (Schrader, Kuenen, etc.). The beginning of the story is not intact; we do not learn what these men had said or done before Moses summoned them, nor are the antecedents of 15 clear.

5. Chaps. 20 *f.*[7]

With P's account of the drawing of water from the rock in 20 1-13, which is dependent on JE in Ex. 17 1-7, are combined fragments cognate to one of the sources of the narrative in Ex.; these (1*b** 3*a* 5 ?8*b*) are generally attributed to J. The name (Waters of) Meribah attaches to Kadesh (Ezek. 47 19 48 28 Dt. 32 51);[8] the narrative is, therefore, in place here rather than before the advent at Sinai.[1] The other name, Massah, associated with Meribah (Ex. 17 7 Dt. 33 8), gives rise to difficult questions (see MASSAH AND MERIBAH). From Dt. 9 22 it may be inferred that in JE the provocation at Massah also followed the departure from Horeb.[2] P must once have contained a clearer account of the fault of Moses and Aaron than we now find; see *v.* 24 27 13 *f.* Dt. 32 51. The negotiations with Edom, 20 14-21, are in the main from E (cp 21 21-23); 19 *f.*, which sets in afresh, is probably an expansion, rather than a fragment of J as has been surmised. The conflict with the Canaanites, 21 1-3 (cp Judg. 1 16 *f.*), is from J, a counterpart of 14 41-45; the fiery serpents, 4*b*-9, from E, connecting with 20 22*a*. The following itinerary is derived from JE (cp P in 33); it is not complete—a fragment which probably preceded 12 is recognised in Dt. 10 6 *f.*—nor unitary; the phenomena are attributed to composition (18*b*-20,[3] or the whole of 16-20[4] being ascribed to J) or to extensive interpolation; 18*b*-20 anticipate, and bring us to the same point we reach in 22 *f.* The poetical *pièces justicatives* in 14 *f.* 17 *f.* 27 *ff.* are noteworthy. The war with Sihon, 21-31, is generally assigned to E; 24*b* 25 seem to be foreign to the source, perhaps containing a fragment of J, 26 a later editorial note; 32 is connected with 24*b* (𝔊, Jazer), and in diction shows affinity to Judg. 1 (J); 33-35 are an addition derived from Dt. 3 1-3.

6. Chaps. 22-24: Balaam.[5]

Chaps. 22-24 are wholly from JE; only 22 1 is from P, and the reference to the sheikhs of Midian in 22 4 7 perhaps R_P—others suppose that they were named in J. The story of Balaam was contained in both J and E; 22 22-35 (the speaking ass) is from J, and the antecedents of this version appear in 2-21 where many doublets give evidence of the union of two sources (cp 3*a* 3*b*, 2*a* 4*b*, etc.),[6] in one of which (E) Balaam is summoned from Pethor in Syria (5*b*, cp 23 7 Dt. 23 4 [5]), in the other (J) from among the neighbouring Ammonites (5*c*, Sam. Pesh. Vg.). God's revelation in the night (8 *ff.* 19 *f.*) has characteristic marks of E; 17 *f.* (cp 24 11-13) is from J, to which source 7 also, with a more or less considerable part of the preceding verses, and probably 11, is to be ascribed. The four oracles in the following chapters fall into two groups, distinct in the form of introduction and somewhat different in character, especially when manifest instances of contamination and redactional adjustment are set aside.[7] Those in 24, as is now generally recognised, are from J, the two in 23 from E;[8] a harmonistic connection imitated from 23 11-14 is made by R_{JE} in 23 27-30; in 22 35 also the same hand is seen. Additions have been made to the last oracle, probably in two stages, 24 20-22 and 23 *f.*;[9] on the age of these verses see BALAAM, § 6.

7. Chap. 25 1-5: Baal-peor.[10]

Chap. 25 1-5, describing the seduction of the people by the Moabite women, is from JE (cp Hos. 9 10); doublets indicate the presence of more than one source, 3*a* 5 may be ascribed to E. The conclusion, the nature of which may be inferred from 4 5 (cp also Dt. 4 3 *f.*), was omitted by R_P, who put in its place—as an instance of the execution of 5—the story of the sin of an Israelite prince with a Midianite woman and its consequences

[1] See Kosters, *Historie-beschouwing*, 37 *ff.*; Oort, *Th.T* 3 251 *ff.* (1869); Kayser, *Vorexilisches Buch*, 81 *ff.* (1874); E. Meyer, *ZATW* 1 139 (1881); Kue. *Th.T* 11 545 *ff.* (1877); Steinthal, *ZVPs.* 12 276 *ff.* (1880); We. *CH*(2) 103 *ff.* 336 *ff.*; WRS, *OTJC*(2) 400 *ff.*; Bacon, *Exodus*, 177 *ff.*; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *ad loc.*

[2] Or perhaps a still later hand (Kuenen, E_2; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, J_s).

[3] Kuenen is alone in ascribing the repetitions and discrepancies to interpolations and glosses in a single source (E).

[4] Cp also Josh. 14 6-15 Nu. 26 64 *f.* 32 6-15.

[5] Land, *Godgeleerde Bijdragen*, 1865, pp. 967 *ff.*; 1866, pp. 416 *ff.*; Oort, *ib.* 1860, pp. 205 *ff.*; Graf, *Gesch. Bücher*, 1866, pp. 89 *ff.*; Kosters, *Historie-beschouwing*, 119 *ff.*; Schrader-De Wette, *Einl.* 289; Kue. *Th.T* 12 139 *ff.*: *Hex.* § 6, n. 37, § 16, n. 12; We. *CH*(2) 105 *ff.* 339 *ff.*; WRS, *OTJC*(2) 402 *f.*; Di. *NDJ. loc.*; Bacon, *Exodus*, 190 *ff.*; Baudissin, *Priesterthum*, 34 *f.* 276 *f.*; Kittel, *History*, § 22; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hex.* See also DATHAN AND ABIRAM, KORAH.

[6] See Dillmann, Bacon, and Carpenter and Harford-Battersby.

[7] On 20 1-13 see Co. *ZATW* 11 1 *ff.* (1891).

[8] So Dt. 33 2 also is rightly emended; cp 𝔊.

[1] In Ex. 17 6 'Horeb' is premature; cp 19 1 *f.*

[2] See EXODUS, § 5, EXODUS (BOOK), § 3 v.

[3] E. Meyer, etc.

[4] Bacon, and Carpenter and Harford-Battersby.

[5] For the literature see BALAAM, § 8; add E. Meyer, *ZATW* 1 117 *ff.* (1881); Stade *ib.* 146 *ff.*, *GVI* 1 115 *ff.*; Del. *ZKWL* 9 119 *ff.* (1888); Bacon, *Exodus*, 218 *ff.*; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hex.* 1 224 *ff.*; v. Gall, *Zusammensetzung u. Herkunft d. Bileam Pericope*, 1900; Steuernagel, *St. Kr.* 1899, p. 340 *f.*, *Einwanderung d. israel. Stämme*, 72 *f.* (1901).

[6] [On the difficulty here referred to, cp PETHOR.]

[7] Kuenen is almost alone in deriving all four from one source (E); see also Steuernagel, *St. Kr.* 72 340 (1899).

[8] Di., We. *CH*(2) 346 *ff.*, Co.

[9] On 24 21-24 see Hommel, *Altisrael. Ueberlieferung*, 245 (= *AHT* 245).

[10] Kue. *Th.T* 18 527 *f.*

(6-15), sacrificing at the same time the introduction of the latter; 1-5 itself is perhaps not unmutilated.

We know from Dt. 3 12 *ff.* (see especially 18-20)[1] that JE contained the allotment by Moses to Gad and Reuben of the conquered territories E. of the Jordan, on condition that their armed contingent should co-operate with the other tribes in the subjugation of western Palestine. Such an account is found in Nu. 32, but it is not easy to say how much of the deuteronomist's source—presumably E—has been preserved in it; 20-27, which in substance corresponds most nearly to Dt. 3 18-20, can hardly in its present form be ascribed to either E or J. The phenomena seem to indicate that a late author has rewritten the account, following in the main the representation of his source and to some extent employing its phraseology; 28-32 is from P. Verses 6-15 belong to an advanced stage in the history of the redaction.[3] In 39 41 *f.* we have fragments of J, of the same kind as several disconnected notices in Josh. and Judg. 1; Budde puts them with Josh. 17 14-18; whether other parts of 1-5 or 34-38 are taken from the older narratives is questionable.

8. Chap. 32: territories of Gad and Reuben.[2]

The sources from which J and E drew their materials are of various kinds and values.[4] The invitation to Hobab (10 29 *ff.*) preserves the memory of the historical relation of Israelites and Kenites; the story of the spies (13 *f.*) indistinctly reflects the fact that Caleb alone reached its seats about Hebron from the S.; the settlements of Machir and Jair (32 39-42) and probably also the cities of Gad and Reuben (34-38) represent tribal movements or territories at a later time. The poems in 21 are ancient; whether they are rightly interpreted is another question. The traditions of the sanctuary at Kadesh do not yield as much as might be expected—little more indeed than the fact that it was long the religious centre of the tribes, some memories of conflicts with the population of the Negeb, and the legend of the origin of the copious fountains, the Waters of Meribah, which Moses by miracle caused to spring from the rock; the name ('controversy'), originally perhaps equivalent to the later 'Ēn mishpāṭ (Gen. 14 7), suggested the 'controversy' of the people with Moses.[5] Other stories are explanations of names; so TABERAH ('burning') and KIBROTH-HATAAVAH ('graves of desire,' 11); the origin of the bronze serpent (21 4 *ff.*) is an etiological legend of a different kind.[6] Stories with a distinct purpose are the prophesying elders (11), Miriam's leprosy (12), the fate of Dathan and Abiram, and of Korah (16). A theory of the relations of Israel to the neighbouring peoples finds expression in the embassies to Edom (20 14 *ff.*) and to Sihon (21 21 *ff.*); cp also the story and prophecies of Balaam (22-24).

9. Ultimate sources of J and E.

In Nu., as in Ex. and Lev., it is plain that P is not the work of one author nor of one age.[7] In Nu. 27 12-14 we come to the end of Moses' career; we are, in fact, at the same point which is reached in Dt. 32 48-52 (P). In the redaction of the Pentateuch these verses could stand only after the promulgation of the law beyond Jordan and the last admonitions of Moses (Dt.), and they were accordingly transposed to that place, where comparison shows that they are preserved in their primitive form; their original position in

10. P: chaps. 28 *ff.* secondary.

[1] Dt. 3 12-20 has been somewhat extensively interpolated. Cp also Josh. 1 12 *ff.*

[2] Kayser, *Vorexilisches Buch*, 94 *ff.* (1874); Kue. *Th.T* 11 478 *ff.* 559 *ff.* (1877); *Hex.* § 6, n. 42, § 13, n. 29; We. *CH*(2) 115, 351; Bacon, *Exodus*, 234 *ff.*; Addis, *Hex.*; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hex.* 1 239 *ff.*

[3] Kue. *Th.T* 11 559 *ff.*; We. *CH*(2) 351. Di., Ki., etc., regard them as ultimately from J (worked over by a redactor); Patterson attributes them to a deuteronomistic hand.

[4] See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 3.

[5] If Massah be the same place it may signify 'ordeal' waters. See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 181.

[6] See IDOL, § 4, NEHUSHTAN.

[7] See EXODUS (BOOK), § 5, LEVITICUS, §§ 2, 32.

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P, however, was in Nu., immediately preceding the installation of Joshua (27 15-23); after this nothing is in order but the ascent of Abarim and the death of Moses, P's account of which is preserved in Dt. 34.[1] On the other side, the position of the second census, with its close—the generation of the exodus had now all passed away—indicates that the late author (P_s) found the command to Moses (27 12 *ff.*) in this place. It follows that Nu. 28-36 are out of place, and there is a strong presumption that they contain supplementary matter appended by later hands at the end of the book.

An examination of the chapters in detail confirms this presumption. Nu. 28-29 40 [30 1] is a highly elaborated novel to P's calendar of feasts in Lev. 23 (28 3-8 = Ex. 29 38-42). Chap. 30, on vows by persons who are not *sui juris*, embodies a restriction the necessity for which can only have grown out of the increasing religious independence of women; formulation and diction are late. Chap. 31, the vengeance taken on the Midianites (cp 25 16-18), with precedents for the purification of warriors and the division of the spoil, has all the characteristics of historical midrash, resembling parts of Judg. 20 and numerous chapters in Ch. The author of *v.* 2*b* felt the inappropriateness of the introduction of this story after 27 12 *ff.* Chap. 32, the assignment of territories E. of the Jordan to Gad and Reuben, has been touched upon above (§ 8). It there seemed probable that the chapter is based upon an older source (E?), but it is in the main the work of a writer of the priestly school not far removed in age from the author of the preceding chapter; 6-15 are not improbably still more recent; they presuppose 13 *f.* substantially in their present composite form.[2] Chap. 33 1-49, a list of the marches and encampments of Israel from Rameses to the Plains of Moab, professedly written by Moses (2), is in fact a compilation by a late author not from P alone but from other sources in the Hexateuch (especially Ex. 15 22 *f.* 27 Nu. 11 34 *f.* 21 10 *f.* Dt. 10 6 *f.*).[3] Others suppose that a list originally found in P_G has been extensively worked over and interpolated by later editors.[4] In this difference of opinion the position of the list in this appendix is not without weight. Several of the names do not elsewhere occur in the Hexateuch.[5] The compiler has been singularly unfortunate in the place he has given to 36-40. Chap. 33 50-56: extermination of the Canaanites.[6] The hortatory character of the verses is foreign to P; 50-53 shows both in the introductory formula and in contents affinity to H (cp Lev. 26 1—*maśkīth* only in these two passages—30 19 4); 54 has been brought over from 26 53 *f.*; 55 is to be compared with Josh. 23 13 Judg. 2 3 (for the figure cp also Ezek. 28 24). The verses, with their composite reminiscences, were prefixed by a late redactor to 34. Chap. 34: boundaries of Palestine, designation of a commission to divide the land among the tribes. The chapter seems to be supplemental to 26 52-56, itself secondary. In what remains of P's account of the division of the land in Josh. there is no allusion to such a commission (cp Josh. 18 2 *ff.* JE, and 14 1 *ff.* P), nor are the actual N. and S. boundaries the same; cp also Ezek. 47 13-17 48 1. Chap. 35 1-8, forty-eight cities assigned to the Levites—including the six cities of refuge first mentioned in *v.* 11; the execution of these directions is found in Josh. 21. The provision conflicts with 18 21-24 26 62, according to which the Levites were to have no landed inheritance. Chap. 35 9-34: cities of asylum and law of homicide (see Josh. 20). The law corresponds in substance and intent to Dt. 19 1-13, cp also Ex. 21 12-14. The casuistic formulation is foreign to P, and resembles Ex. 21 or Lev. 25; nor is the phraseology consistently that of the priestly legislation. The phenomena suggest that the present law is founded upon a law of homicide and asylum derived from H, or one of the collections which served as the sources of H. The older *tōrōth* are in part preserved with little change (see, *e.g.*, 16 *ff.*); two strata of editorial additions may be recognised, one akin to R_H (see especially 33 *f.*, and observe the introductory formula, 9 *f.*), the other a late representative of P's school, to whom is to be ascribed the making of the 'congregation' judges (cp Dt. 19 12) and perhaps the substitution of the amnesty at the death of the 'high priest' for an older general pardon by a new king. Chap. 36, heiresses must not marry out of their own tribe, is a novel to 27 1-11 (see also Josh. 17 3 *f.*); like the latter, in the form of a case decided by Moses. It is dependent also on Lev. 25 10 *ff.* (reversion in the Jubilee year), though the bearing of this provision is not altogether clear.

Thus Nu. 28-36 appears to belong entirely to the younger strata of the priestly law and history.

By no means all of P in Nu. 1-27 was contained in the History of the Sacred Institutions, or belongs to the oldest stratum of priestly legislation. The lack of unity is conspicuous in the several passages which have for their subject the setting apart of the Levites for the

[1] See Klo. *St. Kr.* 44 256 *f.* (1871) = *Pentateuch*, 229 *ff.*, see also 115 *f.*, cp We. *CH*(2) 115.

[2] See especially Kue. *Th.T* 11 559 *ff.* (1877); We. *CH*(2) 351.

[3] Demonstrated by Kayser, *Vorexilisches Buch*, 97-99; cp We. *CH*(2) 184; Kue. *Hex.* § 6, n. 43.

[4] Dillmann, Kittel, Kautzsch.

[5] See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.

[6] Cp Ex. 34 12 *f.* 23 24 Dt. 7 1-6 Josh. 23 4-13 Judg. 2 1-5.

service of the tabernacle; viz., 1 47-53 (cp 2 33) 3 5 ff. 4 8 5-26 17 [17 16 ff.] 18 1-7. The three passages in 1 3 and 4 have to do with the numbering of the Levites, their substitution for the firstborn of Israel, and the assignment of specific duties in the removal of the tabernacle to the three Levite clans, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. At least three strata can be distinguished;[2] the oldest is 3 5-10 11-13, later than this is 14-39 40-44, youngest of all 4; the simple and general commandment of the first is successively amplified and heightened; 4 16-20 seems to be later than 1-15 21-49. Chap. 8 5-26 is younger than 4; note the lower age of entering the service (8 24, cp 4 1; see also 1 Ch. 23 24 26), the extravagant purifications (8 6, cp Lev. 14 8 *f.*; 17, cp 19), and the symbolical 'waving' (11 13); 15*b*-22 23-26 are probably a supplement to 5-15*a*. In Nu. 18 1-7 there is no allusion to a previous choice and consecration of the Levites; the definition of their duties and careful discrimination of their office from the priesthood are superfluous after 3 14 *ff.* 4 8 5-26 and even after 3 5-13; 18 1-7 must therefore be ascribed to a different source. The relation of 18 1 *ff.* to 16 *f.* (contention about the priestly prerogative) seems to indicate that it was at this point that P_G (see col. 2081, n. 3) introduced the assignment of the Levites to the service of the sanctuary. The older representation of P in 16 is that Korah (a Judæan) at the head of two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation opposes the exclusive claims of Moses and Aaron to the priesthood; all the congregation is holy. In the attempt to vindicate their claims they perish (16 1*a* 2 [except the first words] 3-7*a* 19-24 [except the words 'of Korah,' etc.] 27*a* 35). A later redactor transformed Korah and his companions into *Levites* who aspired to specifically priestly functions, and otherwise worked over the story (especially in 8-11 16-18), adding 36-40 [17 1-5].

11. P in chaps. 1-27: the Levites.[1]

The story of the plague (16 41-50 [17 6-15]) and the miracle of the rod that budded (17 1-11 [16-26]) have the same purpose; they prove that Yahwè has chosen the family of Moses and Aaron to minister to him. The latter is perhaps a later addition; 17 12 *f.* [27 *f.*] connect better with 16 41-50 [17 6-15], and on the other side contain the premises of 18 1-7. Chap. 18 1-7 exhibits some duplication—in part contamination from 3, 4 *f.*—and other evidence of retouching by late hands.[3]

The rest of 18 deals with the support of the clergy; the dues of the priests (8-20), the people's tithes to the Levites (21-24), and the tithe of the Levites to the priests (25-32). The long catalogue of priestly perquisites (cp Lev. 10 12-15) presents extreme claims;[4] it is natural to suspect that an older and more modest tariff has been enlarged, but in its present form the passage appears to be homogeneous, unless we might regard 19 *f.* as the original nucleus.[5] The tithe to the Levites (21-24) is connected by 22 with 1-7 17 12 *f.* [27 *f.*] and the older form of P in 16 (Korah and his companions not Levites); the verses show dependence on Ezek. 44 10 13. The tithe of the Levites to the priests (25-32) exhibits some features which suggest that an older *tōrāh* underlies 25-28 at least.

12. Chap. 7: the gifts of the princes. The gifts of the princes (ch. 7) were made 'on the day that Moses made an end of setting up the tabernacle' (1 10 84 88); the place for the chapter, therefore, is immediately after Ex. 40. On the other hand, the reference to the census (2), the names of the princes (12 18 24 etc.), the wagons for the transport of the tabernacle given to the Gershonites and Merarites but not to the Kohathites (3-9),[6] presuppose Nu. 14.

[1] See We. *CH*(2) 178 *ff.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 6, n. 35. For the general literature see LEVITES.

[2] See We. *CH*(2) 179 *ff.*

[3] Dependence on Ezek. 44 is also apparent.

[4] See Wellh. *Prol.*(4) 150 *ff.*

[5] Cp 5 9 *f.*

[6] The use of wagons is not contemplated even in the late chap. 4, nor in 10 17.

The whole character of the chapter stamps it as one of the latest products of the school to which the amplification of Ex. 35-40 is due; six whole verses are repeated verbatim twelve times with only the change of the donors' names.

13. Chap. 1 *f.*: the census; order of camp and march. Chap. 1 *f.* are in great part a mechanical enlargement of an older and much briefer text, reminding us in this respect of Ex. 35-40 Lev. 8; more than one stage in the expansion may be observed. The order of the tribes in 1 and 2 presents curious variations;[1] 2, which brings Judah to the head of the list, is the younger; the parenthetical introduction of the results of the census in the general orders of Yahwè to Moses concerning the encampment is singularly inept; the circumstantiality of the whole is characteristic of the epigoni of the priestly school (cp, esp., 4 7). The order of march is given also in 10 13-28, at the moment of departure from Sinai (10 11 *f.*),[2] and that is the place at which, according to the usual method of P_G, we should expect to find it; but 10 13-28 exhibit syntactical peculiarities which indicate a very late date; it has been surmised (by Dillmann) that these verses have supplanted an older text. The details of the census in 1 also appear to be elaborated by later hands; the order of the tribes in 17-47 differs from that in 5-15, and agrees with 2 in the peculiar position of Gad (but cp 𝔊); observe also the relation of 1 44-47 to 2 33 *f.* The oldest stratum of P in these chapters may have contained no more than the command to number Israel, and brief statistics of the several tribes with their totals.[3] The relation of this to the census of 26 will be considered below (§ 15).

14. Chap. 9 *f.*: the postponed passover, etc. The rule regarding the passover is given in the form of a precedent, the decision by Moses of a case brought before him at the passover of the second year. The date in 9 1 conflicts with 1 1, where we are already two weeks beyond the Paschal season. An old *tōrāh*, in a formulation akin to H, is incorporated—with much expansion—in 10*b*-14, and traces of phraseology kindred to H rather than to P are easily discerned in 2 *ff.* under that of P_S. Verses 15-23: the cloud over the tabernacle gave the signal to march or to encamp. The passage has no connection with the preceding; 15*a* sets in at precisely the point we have reached in Ex. 40 34 *f.*, and the following verses are parallel to Ex. 40 36-38. It is not unsuitably placed before the breaking-up of the encampment at Sinai (10 11 *f.*),[4] but in its present form it can hardly be assigned to the oldest stratum of P. Chap. 10 1-10: the silver trumpets. The making of the signal trumpets seems to be part of the preparations for the departure 10 11 *f.*, but precisely the verses which establish this connection (5-7) are proved by the abrupt change of person and the incompleteness of the enumeration to be an interpolation in dependence upon 2; 2*b β* is harmonistic. There remains a law for the convocation of the congregation and of the princes respectively (1 2*a* 3 *f.* 8), the age and original position of which are uncertain; it may perhaps be put in the same class with 8 1-4. Verses 9 *f.*, use of trumpets in war and at festivals, are plainly older than 1-8, and apparently kindred to H (so Horst and others) or its sources; cp Lev. 23 24 (H under P_S?).

P's account of the departure from Sinai is found in 11 *f.* (13-28 are secondary—or tertiary; see above, § 13); this was followed by P's version of the story of the spies and the sentence upon the generation of the wilderness (see above, § 3, begin.); the narrative was continued by the story of Korah and his abettors (in its older form) in 16 1*a* 2* 3-7*a* 19-24 27*a* 35 (see above, § 11); the plague (16 41-50 [17 6-15]); the miracle of the rod that budded (17 1-11 [16-26])—perhaps secondary; the

[1] Cp also 7 10 13-28 (both agreeing with 2), Ex. 1 2-4 Gen. 46 8 *ff.*

[2] Chap. 10 5 *f.* is a gloss; see below, § 14.

[3] The two references to the census in Ex. 30 11-16 and 38 24-26 are both in late contexts.

[4] Compare the position of 10 35 *ff.* in E.

designation of the Levites, 18 1-7 (see above, § 11); P's part of the story of the water from the rock (20 1* 2 3*b* 6 8*a** 10 12—altered by R_P to obliterate the sin of Moses and Aaron); the death of Aaron (20 22*b*-29 21 10 11*a* 22 1 25 6-8 [9] 14 *f.* [10-13 16-18 later expansion]). Of the narrative little more than this can be vindicated to P_G.

The census in Moab (ch. 26) is not expressly said to be the second, though this is implied in *v.* 64 (R).[1] The chapter is formally connected by *v.* 1 with 25 8 *f.* (the plague). The numbering of the tribes is the basis of the division of the land (52-56), and is therefore in place here, while the census in 1 has no manifest end. In contrast to 1 the clans of the several tribes are named; cp Gen. 46 (P_S). A striking discrepancy is noted between Nu. 26 58 and Ex. 5 16 *ff.* Nu. 3 17-20 (cp also 16 1*a*); the priority seems to be on the side of 26 (Wellh. *CH*[(2)] 184 *f.*). There is some plausibility in the hypothesis that 26 is the oldest of the census lists. Verses 9-11, based on Nu. 16 in its composite form, are a late interpolation; 59 is probably glossed from Ex. 2 1 and otherwise; 64 *f.* is redactional, cp 14 29 34.

15. Chap. 26: the census in Moab.

As in several other instances in P_S, the law regarding the inheritance of women is given in the form of a decision by Moses establishing a precedent and rule. It is not unnaturally placed after the census in 26; cp, especially, 26 33; 27 3 refers to the story of Korah, apparently in the older form of 16 2-7, in which his supporters were members of the secular tribes.[2] An old law in formulation resembling the *tōrōth* in H is incorporated in 8*b*-11; the case is similar to the deferred passover in 9 and the story of the blasphemer in Lev. 24 10 *ff.*

16. Chap. 27 1-11: inheritance of women.

Many of the laws and institutions in chaps. 1-27 have already been discussed.[3] Of the rest it is doubtful whether any were contained in the original History of the Sacred Institutions.

17. Laws and institutions in Chaps. 1-27.

Chap. 5 1-4: lepers and all other persons suffering from uncleanness excluded from the camp. The latter prescription goes beyond anything elsewhere in the legislation in the stringency with which it draws the consequence of the theory of the holiness of the camp in the midst of which Yahwè dwells; the law for the purity of warriors, Dt. 23 9-14, is quite a different thing. *Vv.* 5-8 are a novel to Lev. 6 1-7 [5 20-26], to which a general rule about the priest's dues (9 *f.*) is annexed from an older source (cp 18 19 *f.*). *Vv.* 11-31: the ordeal of jealousy. The formulation of the *tōrāh* corresponds to that of laws in Leviticus which we have found to be comparatively old; the beginning (11 12*a*) and close (29) suggest that it was taken from the same old collection which was the principal source of H; it has been expanded and glossed by later hands in a way similar to Lev. 17 or 23 9 *ff.*, and it is difficult to separate the old law from the later accretions. In the ceremony of the bitter water itself it may be suspected that two forms of the ordeal have been combined.[4]

Chap. 6 1-8 contain a *tōrāh* kindred to Lev. 13 *f.*, and not improbably, like the law of the leper, derived from the chief source of H; in 7 contamination from Lev. 21 11 *f.* may be suspected; 9-12 are a novel to 1-8. Verses 13-21 prescribe a ritual similar to those in Lev. 6 *f.*; cp Lev. 2; 19 *f.* resembles 5 25 *f.* Old customs in part underlie the law (the shaving of the head, 18, the boiled shoulder, 19), but in general the more elaborated rite has superseded the older rule.

18. Chap. 6 1-21: the Nazarite vow.

Vv. 22-27: the priest's benediction; misplaced here —its natural position (in P_G) would be in proximity to Lev. 9 22 *f.* Chap. 8 1-4: the candelabrum and care of the lamps; cp Ex. 27 20 *f.* Lev. 24 1-4.[1] All three of these passages are astray; only Ex. 25 31-40 stands in its proper place. The natural connection for the directions in Nu. 8 1-3 is in the immediate sequel of Lev. 9, but there is nothing to show that they ever stood there; probably the verses are secondary; *v.* 4 is a gloss from Ex. 25 31 *ff.*

Chap. 15 1-16: the prescribed quantities of flour, oil, and wine (*minḥāh*) to accompany various sacrifices. Noteworthy agreement in formulation and diction connects the law with H; compare the introduction with Lev. 23 9 *f.* (cp Lev. 19 23 25 2); 13-16 with Lev. 17 10 13 15. The phenomena seem to indicate that an old *tōrāh* touching voluntary offerings, which perhaps once stood in proximity to Lev. 23 (H's feasts), has been used as the basis for a paragraph regulating the *minḥāh*; the expansion seems to have been made by a writer of the same school as the priestly reviser of Lev. 23 9 *ff.*; the awkward form of 14-16 suggests the hand of a late editor or scribe. The *tōrāh* 17-21, introduced as in 1 *f* (see above), is assumed in Ezek. 44 30 to be familiar; cp also Neh. 10 37. An old law requiring first-fruits of barley grits has here been modified; the word *ḥallāh* in 20 is a gloss, as appears from its syntactical isolation and its absence from 21 as well as from Ezek. *Vv.* 22-31 are attached to the preceding without introduction, though upon an entirely unrelated subject—the sin-offerings of the congregation (22-26) and of the individual (27-31) respectively. The law is a partial parallel to Lev. 4 (cp 5 1-13), but both the formulation and the prescribed sacrifices are different; cp Lev. 4 14 with Nu. 15 24, Lev. 4 28 with Nu. 15 27.[2] The two belong to different strata of the priestly legislation or the practice of different times. Lev. 4 is undoubtedly late;[3] Kuenen regards Nu. 15 22-31 as later still. There are, at least in 22-26, traces of an older *tōrāh* having some resemblance to those in H, but the evidence is not so clear as in the previous cases. In its actual form the law seems to be younger than Lev. 5 1-13, but probably older than Lev. 4. Verses 32-36: the fate of the man who picked up sticks on the Sabbath, inserted here probably as an instance of sin 'with a high hand'; character and language show that the story is a bit of late midrash, similar to Lev. 24 10 *ff.* (the blasphemer). *Vv.* 37-41, the tassels (*ṣiṣith*): an old *tōrāh* set in the distinctive motives and phrases of H (see LEVITICUS, § 24); 40 is perhaps an addition, and in 38 the persons of the verbs have been changed.

19. Chap. 15.

Chap. 19 deals with the red heifer—a means of purification for those who have contracted defilement from contact with a dead body (see CLEAN, § 17). The old law-book from which Lev. 12 15 are taken must have contained provisions for purification in such cases; but the missing *tōrāh* can hardly be discovered in Nu. 19. The chapter consists of two parts, 1-13, 14-22. In the former we miss explicit directions for either the making or the application of the purifying mixture; in the latter we find both (17 18 *ff.*), but without any allusion to the 'red heifer.' Verses 14-22 are not the sequel of 1-13, but seem rather to be a parallel to it; note the new beginning (14), the more particular definition of the causes of uncleanness (14-16), the preparation of the water—apparently from the ashes of an ordinary sin-offering (17),[4] and the method of application (18 *ff.*). Though the rite is crude, the law in both its parts seems to belong to a very late stratum of P; the only reference to it is Nu. 31 23, cp 19.

20. Chap. 19: the red heifer.

Our examination of the Book of Numbers shows

[1] The allusion in *v.* 4 is a gloss.
[2] Possibly, however, to the present composite text of P.
[3] For those in 1 *f.* see § 13; 3 *f.* § 11; 8 5-26 § 11; 9 *f.* § 14; 18 § 11.
[4] See Stade, *ZATW* 15 166-178 (1895); Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hex.* 1 191 *ff.* See JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF.

[1] See EXODUS [BOOK], § 5; LEVITICUS, § 14.
[2] The harmonistic explanation that Lev. applies to sins of commission, Nu. to sins of omission, is not warranted by the text.
[3] LEVITICUS, § 5.
[4] The last words of 9 are perhaps a harmonistic gloss.

that the process by which it reached its present form was long and complicated. As in Exodus, J and E were united by a redactor, R_{JE}, who harmonised them where it was necessary (*e.g.*, 23 27 29), and sometimes introduced speeches of his own composition (14 11-24—unless this be from a later hand). E, at least, has a secondary stratum represented by such passages as 11 16 *f.* 24*b*-30 12. The narrative of JE was subsequently united with the parallel history of P; sometimes closely interwoven with it, as in 13 *f.* 16 20. But the simple hypothesis of composition—JE combined with a 'priests' code' containing the history of P and the mass of 'priestly' laws—nowhere proves more inadequate to explain the actual phenomena than in Numbers. Very little of the legislation or legal precedent in the book was included in the History of the Sacred Institutions; much of it was introduced after the union of JE and P, at various times, by many different hands, and from diverse sources. The same thing is true of considerable parts of the narrative, such as the secondary stratum of 16, the election of the Levites, census, order of encampment, etc. The additions found their place in part in the framework of P_G, or at least within its limits; in part in an appendix (28 *ff.*, see above, § 10). Sometimes they are introduced in an appropriate place, frequently otherwise (*e.g.*, 19); of systematic codification there is no trace.[1]

21. Redaction.

The modifications of the ritual are chiefly in the direction of more numerous sacrifices and larger revenues for the priesthood; these correspond in part, no doubt, to actual changes in the practice; in part they manifestly represent the theories of scribes rather than any more tangible reality. In the history, likewise, the later additions, such as the war of vengeance upon Midian, are properly described as midrash; the fiction has a purpose and embodies a theory.

22. Greek version.

Fränkel describes the Greek translation of Numbers as poor and scrappy, as though by different hands.[2] Comparison of Nu. 1 with 4 strongly suggests that 𝔊 in these chapters is the work of two independent translators: thus נשא את ראש, *λάβετε ἀρχήν* : *λάβε τὸ κεφάλαιον*; למשפחתם, *κατὰ συγγενείας* : *κατὰ δήμους*, etc. An exhaustive examination of the several strata of the book such as would be necessary to determine whether here, as in Exodus 35 *ff.*, 𝔊 witnesses to the *diaskeuè* of the Hebrew text, has never been made. There are, at least, no such considerable variations in the order as in Exodus.

23. Literature.

(*a*) *Commentaries.*—Vater (1805); A. Knobel (1861); C. F. Keil (1862,[(2)] 1870, ET 1867); F. C. Cooke (1871); J. P. Lange (1874, ET 1879); E. Reuss, *La Bible*, 3 2 (1879), *Das Alte Testament*, 3 (1893); A. Dillmann (1886); H. Strack (1894).

(*b*) *Criticism.*—Bertheau, Graf, Nöldeke, Kayser, Kosters, Colenso, Wellhausen, Kuenen, etc. (for titles see EXODUS, § 7, and DEUTERONOMY, § 33); Bacon, *Trip. Trad. Ex.* (1894); Addis, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, 1 (1893), 2 (1898); Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hex.* 2 vols. (1900). Investigations of particular chapters are cited in the footnotes to the respective paragraphs. G. F. M.

NUMENIUS (ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΣ [ANV], § 72), son of Antiochus, sent by Jonathan (about 144 B.C.) as high priest and by the 'senate' of the Jews on an embassy to Rome (1 Macc. 12 16 *ff.*) and to Sparta (*ib.* 17, cp 14 22; see SPARTA). He was afterwards sent on another embassy to Rome—this time by Simon (about 141 B.C.)—bearing as a present a large golden shield, weighing a thousand minas, to confirm the treaty between the Romans and the Jews (1 Macc. 14 24, cp 15 15 *ff.*) Cp the decree of the Roman senate given by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 8 5, which Josephus, however, assigns to the time of Hyrcanus II. See Schür. *Hist.* i. 1 266 *ff.*

NUN (נוּן; as if 'fish' [Aram., Ass.]; but once נֹוֹן, **Nōn**, 1 Ch. 7 27; ΝΑΥΗ, an old corruption of ΝΑΥΝ [H for N], cp Ges. *Thes.* 864; but in Nu. 13 9 [8] ΝΑΥΝΑ [F], in Ch. ΝΟΥΜ [BA], ΝΟΥΝ [L], ΝΑΥΗΚΟΣ and -ΧΟΣ [Jos.]), father of JOSHUA (*q.v.*), Ex. 33 11 Nu. 11 28 Josh. 1 1, and often. No doubt a clan name, and probably shortened or corrupted from NAHSHON (*q.v.*).

The name is of much interest, for it takes us into the heart of the question, Did the Israelites have names derived from animal-totems? Does 'Nahash' (lit. 'serpent'), the name of an Ammonite king, justify us in supposing an Ammonite serpent-clan (cp WRS *Kin.* 221, 304)? If so, a fish-clan is not inconceivable, the 'fish' being perhaps the mythic serpent, such as the Babylonian deity Ea (Oannes), the god of the subterranean deep which is coiled round the earth like a serpent, and the source of wisdom and culture.[1] Wellhausen has even suggested that AMNON, or Aminon, a name in David's family, means 'my mother is the serpent' (*IJG*[(2)], 24, n. 2; cp *Heid.*[(2)], 152, n. 7). There is, however, an increasing body of evidence, the force of which is cumulative, to show that the theory of totemistic family names must be applied, if at all, with the greatest caution, many of the names quoted (see Gray, *HPN*, 88 *ff.*) being strongly suspected of corruptness. NAHASH, for instance, is very possibly a corruption of 'Achish' (see also IR-NAHASH), and Amnon, or Aminon, of מְעוֹנִי, or מְעֻנִי, 'a man of Maon' (for an analogy see SHEPHATIAH); Maon was probably in the district of Jezreel to which Amnon's mother Ahinoam belonged. The theory, therefore, that Joshua's father was named 'Fish' or 'Serpent,' or (we may add) that Levi is connected with 'Leviathan' (Skipwith), is still more improbable than the theory that the name of the Assyrian capital really means 'fish-dwelling' (see NINEVEH, § 1). On this ground, and on that of the wide prevalence of corruption in clan-names, we are justified in assuming נון (MT Nun) to be corrupt. What then is most probably the true name of Joshua's clan? The present writer has already presumed to give a new answer to this new question (see JOSHUA). Joshua was the closest of the friends of Moses, and must have belonged to the same clan, if we should not rather treat both Moses and Joshua as the eponyms of kindred clans. Now Joshua should be another form of Abishua = Abi-sheba, which is an Aaronite name, and closely resembles Eli-sheba, the name of a Judahite clan with which 'Aaron' intermarried. That Abi-sheba and Eli-sheba are really names of the same clan can hardly be doubted. Now Eli-sheba is introduced to us as 'daughter of Amminadab, sister of Nahshon.' It is very probable that according to another representation Jo-sheba, or Abi-sheba, or Eli-sheba was the son of Nahshon, and that נחשון was sometimes written in the abbreviated form נן. NAHSHON (*q.v.*) probably has arisen out of כּוּשָׁן; Joshua, like Moses, was probably connected in legend with the N. Arabian Cush. Cp MOSES, § 6.

According to Tob. 1 1 [A] one of Tobit's ancestors was named *ναυη*. See ADUEL. T. K. C.

NURSE. The nurse or foster-parent occupied among the Israelites as dignified a position as in ancient Greece or Rome. Families were sometimes put under the care of male servants: cp 2 K. 10 5, who 'brought up' (גִּדֵּל, 2 K. 10 6; cp Is. 1 2 Hos. 9 12 etc.) their charges. Such a servant was JEHIEL (3). See FAMILY, § 13. 'Nurse' is the rendering of two Hebrew words:—

1. אֹמֶנֶת, *ōméneth* (lit. 'one who supports,' *τιθηνός*), used of Naomi (Ruth 4 16) who was nurse to Ruth's child, and of the woman who had charge of Mephibosheth (2 S. 4 4).

2. מֵינֶקֶת, *mēnéketh* (lit. 'one who suckles'); of DEBORAH *q.v.*) the nurse of Rebekah (Gen. 35 8, *τροφός*); cp also 2 K. 11 2

[1] The relation of these additions to the secondary stratum of Ex. is frequently close.

[2] *Einfluss der paläst. Exegese auf die alex. Hermeneutik*, 167 *ff.*; see also Popper, *Stiftshütte*, 165 *f.* 171 177 *ff.*

[1] On the 'fish of Ea' (Nun-Ia; cp the Bab. name Nûnia, (Hommel, *AHT* 300), see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 81 *ff.* Cp the theory of Nöld. and Wellh. that חַוָּה (Eve) properly means 'serpent, the primeval serpent. See ADAM AND EVE, § 3, n. 3.

(=2 Ch. 22 11) and Ex. 2 7 (τροφεύουσα). The pl. מֵינִיקוֹת occurs Is. 49 23 ('nursing mothers' EV), together with אֹמְנִים ('nursing fathers,' or foster-fathers, τιθηνοί), which in the sing. is found only in Nu. 11 12 (τιθηνός). Cp FAMILY, § 10.

NUTS. 1. אֱגוֹז, *ĕgōz* (ΚΑΡΥΑ Ct. 6 11†),[1] denotes, according to the ancient versions and almost unanimous tradition, the walnut-tree, *Juglans regia*, L. This is the proper meaning not only of καρύα by which 𝔊 renders *ĕgōz*, but also of the words akin to the latter in Aram. and Arab. (*gauzā* and *ǵauz*); these Semitic forms have their origin in Persian. The walnut is native in all the regions from E. temperate Europe to Japan, its S. limit coinciding roughly with that of the vine. Though found in the mountains of Greece, the walnut was not much regarded by the Greeks until they obtained a superior sort (named by them κάρυον βασιλικόν or περσικόν) from Persia; the Romans also regarded it as of Persian origin (de C. *Orig.* 342 *f.*).

2. בָּטְנִים, *boṭnīm* (τερέμινθος or τερέβινθος; Gen. 43 11†), are almost certainly 'pistachio nuts' as in RV^mg.. The word is akin to Syr. *beṭmᵉthā* 'terebinth'; cp Ar. *buṭm* (cp Ass. *buṭnu*), said to be borrowed from the Syr. word (Fränkel, 139). The nuts are the fruit of *Pistacia vera*, L., a shrub whose native country is Palestine, extending into Mesopotamia; elsewhere it is an importation.

These nuts would form a natural component in a present carried from Palestine to Egypt; in the latter country they are 'still often placed along with sweetmeats and the like in presents of courtesy.' See FRUIT, § 13.
N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

NYMPHAS (EV, with Tisch., Treg., Lightf., Zahn), or (RV^mg. with Lachm., WH) **Nympha** (ΝΥΜΦΑΝ may be either ΝΥΜΦᾶΝ, *i.e.*, the masc., or ΝΥΜΦΑΝ, *i.e.*, the fem.; see below), with 'the church that is in his house' (so AV; but RV 'their house'), is saluted in Col. 4 15. It is not quite clear whether the 'house' referred to was in Laodicea or in Hierapolis—most probably in the latter (cp Col. 4 13), as the 'brethren' in Laodicea are mentioned separately. Nymphas (masc.) is enumerated in the *Chronicon Paschale* among the seventy disciples of the Lord; cp Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 28. The name would be a contraction from Nymphodorus or Nymphodotus.

The rare occurrence of the name (*CIA* 3 1105 νυμφας; cp *CIG* 1290; *CIL* 2 57, Nyphas?) might lead to the alteration of αὐτοῦ (DEFGKL, etc.), in τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτ. ἐκκλησίαν, into αὐτῆς (B 67**), whilst αὐτῶν (ℵACP), though adopted by RV, Tisch., and Treg., is surely a mere reminiscence of 1 Cor. 16 19 Rom. 16 5, for 'the brethren' must have had more than one house. The objection to νύμφαν is that the form is Doric (Lightf., Abbott, Zahn); this is overruled by Hort (*App.* 163 *a*), but surely 'Martha' and 'Lydda,' being Semitic names, are not quite parallel to 'Nympha' (for Nymphe).

O

OABDIUS (ωΑΒΔ[ε]ΙΟC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 27 RV [AV om.] = Ezra 10 26 ABDI (*q.v.*, 2).

OAK (אַלּוֹן etc.), Gen. 35 8 etc. See TEREBINTH.

OAR. 1. מָשׁוֹט, *māšōṭ*, ΚΩΠΗ, Ezek. 27 6; and **oarsman**, מִשּׁוֹט, *miššōṭ*, κωπηλάτης, Ezek. 27 29†.

2. אֳנִי־שַׁיִט, *'ŏnī šáyiṭ*, 'fleet with oars,' Is. 33 21. See SHIP.

OATH (Anglo-Saxon *âdh*; Goth. *aîths*; etymology uncertain). 'An oath may be defined as an asseveration or promise made under non-human penalty or sanction' (*EB*(9) *s.v.*; cp Heb. 6 16). The use of the oath, mention of which is made throughout the OT, presupposes a legal system in some stage of development. At what precise date the oath came into vogue among the Hebrews cannot be determined (cp Lev. 5 1 [P]); but the need of it must have been felt as soon as a case arose in which no witnesses could be found with whom to confront and confound the accused (Ex. 22 6-11).

1. Terms and use. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 10. The common Hebrew equivalent *šᵉbhū'āh* (שְׁבוּעָה) is derived from the same root (שׁבע; in Niphal 'to swear') that supplied the word for 'seven' (שֶׁבַע, *šébha'*).

'Seven is a sacred number among the Semites, particularly affected in matters of ritual, and the Hebrew verb "to swear" means literally "to come under the influence of seven things." Thus seven ewe lambs figure in the oath between Abraham and Abimelech at Beersheba, and in the Arabian oath of covenant described by Herodotus (3 8) seven stones are smeared with blood' (WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2); cp BEER-SHEBA, and for the number *seven*, Gen. 33 3 Lev. 4 6 Nu. 23 1 29 Josh. 6 4 8 13 Zech. 3 9 Rev. 12 3 15 7 Mt. 12 45, etc.). Cp NUMBER, § 5.

Another word, *'ālāh* (אָלָה), which is often translated 'oath,' means literally 'curse,' and, therefore, when it is used something more awful than the ordinary oath is intended.

Solemn as was the oath alone, its awfulness was greatly increased when a curse was added. To express this twofold idea Hebrew sometimes combines the two words (Nu. 5 21; cp 1 K. 8 31 2 Ch. 6 22 Neh. 10 29 Dan. 9 11). In the case of *'ālāh* an imprecation was always added; in the case of *šᵉbhū'āh* there need be none.

The oath, as Benzinger says (art. 'Eid' in *PRE*(3)), 'played a great part among the Israelites in ordinary life'; but on common occasions the less severe form of oath was deemed sufficient.

So, when a promise was made by one person to another (Gen. 24 8 Josh. 2 17 20 2 S. 21 7 1 K. 2 43 Tob. 8 20), by one tribe to another (Josh. 9 20), by a people to its god, king, or priest (Judg. 21 5 1 S. 14 26 2 Ch. 15 15 1 Esd. 8 93 96 Judith 8 11 30 Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1 1 xv. 10 4), or by Yahwè to Israel's ideal ancestors (Gen. 26 3 Dt. 7 8 1 Ch. 16 16 Ps. 105 9 Jer. 11 5 Ecclus. 44 21 Bar. 2 34).

The meaning of the terms may be illustrated by Mt.'s version of Peter's denial of Jesus. Peter in the first instance denied simply; in the second he denied with an oath (Mt. 26 72 ἠρνήσατο μετὰ ὅρκου—*i.e.*, he made use of the *šᵉbhū'āh*); in the third he began to utter an imprecatory oath (ἤρξατο καταθεματίζειν καὶ ὀμνύειν—*i.e.*, he employed the *'ālāh* in addition to the *šᵉbhū'āh*). Peter did not, as might be inferred from EV, use blasphemous language; what he did was to employ the most solemn form of oath. The three denials, indeed, represent the three Jewish methods of making an asseveration. The first method was that used by Jesus himself (Mt. 26 63 *f.*).

Of the forms which the oath took when expressed in words several are mentioned in the OT. These are:

2. Forms. 'God do so to me and more also' (כה־יעשה־לי אלהים וכה יוסיף, 1 S. 14 44[1] 2 S. 3 35 1 K. 2 23; variations of this are: 'God do so to thee, etc.' 1 S. 3 17, 'God do so to the enemies of David, etc.' 1 S. 25 22, 'God do so to Abner, etc.' 2 S. 3 9, 'and the Gods do so [to me], etc.' 1 K. 19 2). 'As Yahwè liveth' (חַי־יהוה, 1 S. 14 39 19 6; variations of this are, חַי־יהוה[2] וְחֵי נפשך, 'as Yahwè liveth and as thou thyself livest' 1 S. 20 3, חַי־יהוה וְחֵי אדני המלך,[2] 'as Yahwè liveth and as my lord the king liveth' 2 S. 15 21). 'Yahwè is a witness between me and between thee for ever' (יהוה [עד] ביני ובינך עד־עולם, 1 S. 20 23; or, reading עֵד־עולם instead of inserting עד after יהוה, 'Yahwè is an everlasting witness,'

[1] [In Cant. 6 11 'garden of nuts' is exactly parallel to 'garden of pistacio-nuts' (Est. 7 7 *f.*, גִּנַּת הַבָּטְנִים; MT has the improbable גִּ' הַבִּיתָן, cp 1 5 (גִּ' בִּטְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ)].

[1] In 1 S. 14 44 לִי is to be added after 𝔊, or to be understood. See the remarks of Driver, and H. P. Smith.

[2] On the different punctuation of חַי in these passages see H. P. Smith on 1 S. 14 39.

etc.). 'The God of Abraham . . . judge between us' (אלהי אברהם . . . ישפטו בינינו), 'By myself have I sworn, etc.' (בי נשבעתי, Gen. 22 16, Yahwè being the speaker). That Paul used some kind of imprecation is implied in 2 Cor. 1 23 Phil. 1 8 Gal. 1 20.

For these passages Tylor compares the words of Athanasius 'I stretch out my hand, and as I have learned of the apostle, I call God to witness on my soul' (*Apol. ad Imp. Const.*; see Augustine, *De Mend.* 28; *Epist.*, cl. 3 9; cl. 4 250; *Enarr. in Psalm.* 88 (4); *Serm.* 307 319).

The Jews are said, moreover, to have sworn by heaven (cp Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1 168 *f.*), by the earth, by the sun, by Jerusalem, by the temple (see Mishna, *Shĕbū'ōth* 4 2; Mt. 5 34 23 16; *Bĕrākhōth* 55; *Kiddūshīn* 71 *a*; Maimonides, *Yad Ha-Ḥăzāḳā*, *Hilḳōth Shĕbū'ōth* 12), by the angels (Jos. *BJ* ii. 16 4) and by the lives of distinguished persons (Gen. 42 15 1 S. 1 26 17 55 2 S. 11 11 14 19).

In taking an oath it was usual, in order to add solemnity to the occasion, to lift up the right hand towards heaven (Gen. 14 22 Dt. 32 40 Dan. 12 7 Rev. 10 5 6; cp Homer, *Il.* 19 254, Pindar, *Olymp.* 7 120). Hence 'to lift up the hand' is used as an equivalent of 'to swear' (Ex. 6 8 Ps. 106 26 Ezek. 20 5; cp Ps. 144 8, 'Their right hand is a right hand of falsehood,' and Ar. *yamīn* 'an oath,' lit. 'right hand'). Sacrifice often formed part of the ceremony of the oath (see SACRIFICE and cp *Il.* 3 276). Sometimes it was the practice to divide a victim and to pass between the pieces (Gen. 15 10 17 Jer. 34 18; cp the Ar. *ḳasam*, 'an oath' from *ḳasama*, 'to divide into parts,' *aḳsama*, 'to swear'). Cp COVENANT, § 5. With regard to the practice of putting the hand under another's thigh, referred to in Gen. 24 2 47 29 (cp Jos. *Ant.* i. 16 1), it seems plain that it grew out of the special sacredness attaching to the generative organ; fruitfulness being of specially divine origin, the organ of it in man could by the primitive Semites be taken as symbolising the Deity.

Parallels are quoted by Ew. *Alterthümer*(3), 26, and Knob.-Dillm. *ad loc.*; Tylor also gives a particularly interesting parallel from Australia (see note in Spurrell's *Genesis*(2), 217 *f.*).

According to Tylor, the practice is better described as a covenant ceremony than as an oath-rite. But can we, among the Hebrews, dissociate covenants or compacts from swearing?

The prophets did not conceive the possibility of doing without oaths; indeed to proclaim the *šĕbū'āh* of Yahwè was part of the prophet's work (Zeph. 2 9; cp Schultz, *OT Theol.* 1 266 [ET]). Perjury is denounced by them as putting a man outside of Yahwè's religion (Ezek. 16 59 17 13 16 18 19; cp Ps. 15 4, 'that swears to another [reading לְרֵעֵהוּ, 𝔊, Pesh., RV^mg., Wellh.], and changes not'; 24 4, 'and who swears not deceitfully'). In post-exilic times there were not wanting men who scrupled to take any oath in daily intercourse.

3. Teaching of the prophets and of Jesus.

See Eccles. 9 2, which would perhaps be interpreted in the light of the principles of the later Essenes, who are said (Jos. *BJ* ii. 8 6) to have esteemed swearing on ordinary occasions as worse than perjury; and cp Ecclus. 23 9-11.

This brings us to speak of Mt. 5 34 Jas. 5 12 (this passage is important because it very possibly contains the true form of a part of the saying in Jesus' sermon). The great teacher takes up a definite attitude of opposition to the prevailing theories respecting oaths. As F. C. Burkitt (*Two Lectures on the Gospels*, 1900), following Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, 1 187), has well pointed out, Jesus' peculiar use of 'Amen' must have arisen out of this repugnance to oaths. 'Amen' is no oath, but involves a not less solemn asseveration of the truth of a statement. Lk. sometimes uses ἀληθῶς or ἐπ' ἀληθείας where Mt. and Mk. have ἀμήν (Dalman, 186; cp AMEN, § 2). Jesus, however, is also reported to have said that 'whatsoever is more than yea or nay is of the evil one' (*v.* 37, τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστίν), which could not possibly be said of a serious and reverent oath by the living God. This most solemn oath indeed, Jesus himself, according to Mt., recognised in his trial (Mt. 26 63 *f.*; but cp Mk. 14 61 *f.* = Lk. 22 70). Perhaps a passage in the Mishna, *Shĕb.* 4 13, may illustrate its meaning. It is there laid down that if one man adjures another with the words, 'By heaven and earth!' the adjuration is not binding; if, however, he adjures by one of the divine names, it is binding. The first part of this saying Jesus would certainly not have sanctioned; the second, he certainly would. To support this statement it is enough to refer to Mt. 23 16 *ff.*, where, after denouncing the casuistry of the 'blind guides' of Jewish laymen he says, 'And he that swears by heaven, swears by the throne of God, and by him that is seated thereon.' To say that Jesus meant that an oath by the God of heaven and earth 'comes of the evil one,' would be beyond the power of any Christian theologian. This binds our interpretation of Jas. 5 12 (on which see above, and cp Mayor's commentary). Keim (*Jesu von Nazara*, 2 256) appears to give a sounder view of the meaning of Jesus than B. Weiss (*Matthäusevang.* 166). The protest of Jesus is directed, as Holtzmann points out, rather against the lower, casuistical Pharisaism than against the Pharisaism of a nobler type which we know. See also VOWS, and cp Nowack, *HA*, *s.v.* 'Eid'; and for NT the article MINISTRY and Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* 1 102 105 139 *f.*

M. A. C., § 1 *f.*; T. K. C., § 3.

OBADIAH (עֹבַדְיָה and עֹבַדְיָהוּ [nos. 2, 6, 8], 'servant or worshipper of Yahwè,' § 37; cp ABDEEL, and Ar. *'Abdallah, Taimallat*; but this may be a later view, and originally the men afterwards known as Obadiah may have borne a clan-name, perhaps 'Arābī'; see OBED, and especially PROPHET, § 7; ΑΒΔ[Ε]ΙΑ [BAL] generally).

1. The prophet (in title οβδειου [B*], -διου [Bc] αβδιου [ℵQ], -δειου [A]; *v.* 1 οβδειου [B], -διου [B^b], αβδιου [ℵAQ]; subscription οβδειου [B*], -διου [B^bc], αβδειου [ℵ], -διου [A], -δαιου [Q]; ABDIAS, 2 Esd. 1 39 EV). See below, OBADIAH (BOOK).

2. The comptroller of Ahab's palace, a devoted adherent of the old Israelitish religion, in the days when, prophetic legend said, that religion was proscribed by Ahab (1 K. 18 3-16, עֹבַדְיָהוּ, αβδειου [B], -διου [AL]). Violent as the persecution was, Obadiah ventured to hide a hundred prophets of Yahwè 'by fifty in a cave.' Many readers have been surprised by Obadiah's (or 'Arābī's?) pusillanimous speech in 1 K. 18 9-14. But may it not be the narrator's object to bring out the fierceness of Ahab and the superhuman courage of Elijah? Later tradition has more to say about him, identifying him with the prophet (see Jer. *Comm. in Ob.*, the third captain of fifty, who came to Elijah (2 K. 1 13); and the prophet's widow, for whom Elisha wrought a miracle (2 K. 4 1), was his widow. His tomb was shown in Samaria with those of Elisha and John the Baptist, and the *Epitaphium Paulæ* describes the wild performances, analogous to those of modern dervishes, enacted before these shrines. The true story, however, may have been much misunderstood; 𝔊^L makes a brave attempt to make 18 4 more intelligible, but criticism has recovered the original story of Obadiah, which later copyists distorted (see PROPHET, § 7).

3. b. Azel, a descendant of Saul (1 Ch. 8 38 9 44).

4. b. IZRAHIAH (*q.v.*) of ISSACHAR (1 Ch. 7 3 μειβδεια [B], οβδια [A]).

5. A Gadite who came to David at Ziklag (1 Ch. 12 9).

6. Father of Ishmaiah (*q.v.*) (1 Ch. 27 19, עֹבַדְיָהוּ, αβδειου [B], -διου [AL]).

7. One of the sons of Hananiah b. Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 21, οβδιας [L]), but according to 𝔊, Vg., and Pesh., he belongs to the sixth generation from Zerubbabel.

8. A Merarite Levite (2 Ch. 34 12 עֹבַדְיָהוּ, αβδιας [AL]); cp below (9).

9. b. Shemaiah of Jeduthun—also Merarite (1 Ch. 9 16, οβδια [A], αβια [L]), see ABDA (2). On the occurence of the name in Merarite lists see IBRI.

10. One of Jehoshaphat's commissioners for teaching the Law (2 Ch. 17 7, αβιαν [B]), mentioned after BEN-HAIL (*q.v.*), *i.e.*, Ben-jerahmeel. Was his true name 'Arābī (see above)?

11. b. Jehiel, of the b'ne Joab, a family in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA i., § 2, ii., § 15 (1) *d*); Ezra 8 9 (αδεια [B], αβαδια [A], αβδιου [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 35 ABADIAS (αβαδιας [BA], αβδιου [L]).

Perhaps the priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 5 [6] (αβδ[ε]ια [BℵA] αβιας [L]); cp 12 25 (om. Bℵ*A), αβδιας [ℵ^c.a mg.], αβδιας [L], if not, however, to be connected with (8) above.

OBADIAH (BOOK)

In the Hebrew OT the Book of Obadiah stands fourth among the twelve 'minor' prophets, between

1. Place in the Canon. Amos and Jonah. The primary reason for this seems to be, not so much chronological theory, as the reference at the close of Amos (9 12) to the future occupation of the Idumæan territory by Judah, an event which is the climax of the so-called 'vision of Obadiah' (Obad. 18 *f.* 21). In 𝔊, however, Obadiah comes between Joel and Jonah, and certainly the parallelisms between Joel and Obadiah fully justify this arrangement.

Jerome (on Obad. 1, cp Talm. *Sanh.* 39), mentions a current Jewish identification of Obadiah with the

2. Author and headings. steward of Ahab's house (OBADIAH, 2). The scholion at the head of Ephrem's commentary, however, states that Obadiah was of the land of Shechem, of the district of Beth-Ephraim. The *Vitæ Prophetarum* (for the two forms of which see Nestle, *Marg.* 24 *f.*) instead of 'Beth-Ephraim' gives βηθαχαραμ and βεθθαχαμαρ respectively, and further states that Obadiah was the third 'captain of fifty,' whom the prophet Elijah spared (2 K. 1 13 *f.*); and in the longer form of the *Vitæ* it is added that he became Elijah's disciple, and went through much on his account. This, of course, has no historical authority; but it seems possible that the original tradition knew of a southern Shechem (see SHECHEM). Βηθαχαραμ represents Beth-haccerem, which is probably a popular modification of Beth-jerahmeel. The writer of the original prophecy may, in fact, like some others of the literary prophets (to judge from their names), have been of Jerahmeelite extraction. The Jerahmeelite element in Judah increased after the Exile. The Talmud (*Sanh.* 39) mentions a view that Obadiah was an Edomite proselyte. Of the headings, which are three, the last ('Thus has the Lord Yahwè said concerning Edom') is not quite accurate, Yahwè not being the speaker, according to MT, except in *vv.* 2 4 8 13 16. The two others, 'Vision (= prophecy) of Obadiah' and 'Obadiah' scarcely represent the original form of the heading; 'Obadiah,' being so vague in its meaning, would have been followed by 'son of.' Probably we should read עַרְבִי, 'Arābī (cp OBED), and find a trace of the view (see above) that the prophet was an Edomite proselyte. T. K. C.

[The difficulty of this small book is out of all proportion to its length, and it will be well to glance at an

3. Earlier criticism. earlier solution of the complex problem before attempting a more complete explanation. We will therefore throw ourselves back into the point of view which was natural in 1884, and see to what extent this enigmatical book had yielded up its secret. That it should be left for other critics to widen the earlier solution rather than for the eminent scholar whose work we use as a starting-point, is a matter of profound regret. Criticism, however, 'like Dante among the shades, proves its life by moving what it touches' (*OTJC*(1), preface, ix).]

We begin with a sketch of the contents. Yahwè has sent forth a messenger among the nations to stir them up to battle against the proud inhabitants of Mt. Seir, to bring them down from the rocky fastnesses which they deem impregnable. Edom shall be not only plundered, but utterly undone and expelled from his borders, and this he shall suffer (through his own folly) at the hands of trusted allies (*vv.* 1-19). The cause of this judgment is his cruelty to his brother Jacob. In the day of Jerusalem's overthrow the Edomites rejoiced over the calamity, grasped at a share of the spoil, lay in wait to cut off the fugitives (*vv.* 10-14). But now the day of Yahwè is near upon all nations, Esau and all the heathen shall drink full retribution for their banquet of carnage and plunder on Yahwè's holy mountain. A rescued Israel shall dwell in Mt. Zion in restored holiness; the house of Jacob shall regain their old possessions; Edom shall be burned up before them as chaff before the flame; they shall spread over all Canaan, over the mountain of Esau and the S. of Judah, as well as over Gilead and the Philistine and Phœnician coast. The victorious Israelites shall come up on Mt. Zion to rule the mountain of Esau, and the kingdom shall be Yahwè's (*vv.* 15-21).

Sure criteria for determining the date appear to be furnished by *vv.* 10-14. The calamity of Jerusalem can

4. Earlier views of date. only be the sack of the city by Nebuchadrezzar; the malevolence and cruelty of Edom on that occasion are characterised in similar terms by several exilic and post-exilic writers (Ezek. 25 8 12 *f.* 35 Lam. 4 21 Ps. 137). It is impossible to doubt that these verses were written under the impression of the events to which they refer. To regard the language as predictive (Caspari, Pusey, etc.) is to misunderstand the whole character of prophetic foresight. The opening verses, on the other hand, present a real difficulty. Obad. 1-6 8 agree so closely, and in part verbally, with Jer. 49 14-16 9 *f.* 7, that the two passages cannot be independent; nor does it seem possible that Obadiah quotes from Jeremiah, for Obad. 1-8 is a well-connected whole, while the parallel verses in Jeremiah appear in different order interspersed with other matter, and in a much less lucid connection. In Jeremiah the picture is vague and Edom's unwisdom (*v.* 7) stands without proof. In Obadiah the conception is quite definite. Edom is attacked by his own allies, and his folly appears in that he exposes himself to such treachery. Again, the probability that the passage in Jeremiah incorporates disjointed fragments of an older oracle is greatly increased by the fact that the prophecy against Moab in the preceding chapter uses, in the same way, Is. 15 *f.* and the prophecy of Balaam. But according to the traditional view, the prophecy against Edom in Jer. 49 dates from the fourth year of Jehoiakim, so that, if Obadiah and Jer. 49 contain common matter, it seems necessary to conclude with Ewald, Graf, and many others, that Jeremiah and our Book of Obadiah alike quote from an older oracle (see, however, § 7). Ewald supposes that the treacherous allies of Edom are the Aramæans, and the time that of Ahaz (2 K. 16 6); but, if his general theory be accepted, it would be more just to the tone of the prophecy to refer it to a later date, when Edom had been for some time independent and powerful, and it is not improbable that in Obad. 1-8 we have the first mention of that advance of the Arabs upon the land E. of Palestine which is referred to also in Ezek. 25. The prominence given to Edom, and the fact that Chaldæa is not mentioned at all, make it probable that the book was not written in Babylonia. The same verse speaks of exiles in SEPHARAD (*q.v.*). Sepharad is probably Sardis, the Çparda of Darius in the Behistun inscription. The language is quite consistent with a date in the Persian period.

The eschatological picture in the closing verses equally favours a late date. The conceptions of the 'rescued ones' (*pᵉlēṭāh*, פליטה), of the sanctity of Zion, of the kingship of Yahwè, are the common property of the later prophets. Like most of them, too, the writer gives expression to the intensified antithesis between Judah and the surrounding heathen in the prediction of a consuming judgment on the latter—the great 'day of Yahwè.' With Joel, in particular, he agrees in some striking points, both material and verbal, so closely that one of the two must be dependent on the other

OBADIAH (BOOK)

(Joel 3 19 cp Obad. 10 14, Joel 3 3 cp Obad. 11, Joel 2 32 3 17 cp Obad. 17), and the language of Joel 3 32 [5] certainly seems to imply quotation from Obadiah. It is also plausible to see a point of contact between Joel 3 6, which refers to 'sons of Judah and Jerusalem' as having been sold to the 'sons of Javan,' and Obad. 20 'the exiled band of Jerusalem which is in Sepharad.' Nor can we pass over the fact that while Obadiah still uses the phrases 'house of Jacob,' and 'house of Joseph,' the northern tribes have become to him a mere name; the restoration he thinks of is a restoration of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and even Gilead is to be occupied, not by Joseph, but by Benjamin. W. R. S.

There are three critical processes which have to be employed in order more fully to solve our problems.

5. New text-critical basis. We must first be searching in our textual criticism; we must then ascertain the component parts of the work before us, if we suspect it of being composite; we must lastly investigate the origin of each part, taking it in connection with parallel passages elsewhere.

The principal textual corrections, so far as the present writer can see, are as follows:—

Verses 5-7 should probably run thus[1]—

If thieves came upon thee,
Would they steal more than they needed?
If vintagers came upon thee,
Would they not leave gleaning grapes?
How are thy purposes broken,
Thy wise thoughts become foolish!
All thy confederates have befooled thee,
All thy friends have deceived thee.
The wise have perished from Edom,
And those that understand from the mountains of Esau;
Thy heroes, O Teman, are affrighted,
That every one may be cut off from the mountains of Esau.

In *vv.* 10-14 the editor has even surpassed himself in the endeavour to make sense out of a bad text, but he has handed on to us what he found, and underneath his ingenious explanations we can trace, as it appears, with almost complete precision, the original text, of which this is a rendering.[2]

For cruelty to thy brother Jacob
Shame covers thee—thou art cut off.
Jerahmeelites stand to look on,
Ishmaelites, Miṣrites, exult,
Rehobothites tread down thy cities,
Jerahmeelites make a mock of thee.
Triumph not over thy brother like the Rehobothites,
And rejoice not over the sons of Judah like the Arabians,
And mock not aloud like the Miṣrites,
And befool not his terrified ones like the Jerahmeelites,
And come not forward to cut off his escaped ones,
And betray not his fugitives like the Miṣrites.

A similar remark may be made on *vv.* 19-21, which should run, approximately, thus[1]—

And they shall occupy the Negeb and the Shĕphēlah,
The highland of Jerahmeel and of Miṣṣur,
And they shall possess the land of the Kenites,
They shall possess the land of the Zarephathites;
They shall possess the land of the Ishmaelites,
And Jerahmeel shall belong to Judah.

In ascertaining the component parts (if such there be) of the work before us, we begin by noticing (1) that

6. Analysis of book. the first five verses also occur in Jer. 49 14-16 and 9, while *vv.* 6 8 9*a* have points of contact with Jer. 49 10 (חשפתי) 7 and 22*b* respectively, and (2) that there is a marked difference of subject between *vv.* 1-14 and 15*b* on the one hand and *vv.* 15*a* and 16-21 on the other. It is evident, not only that the former section was originally independent of the latter, but also that the writer or (at any rate) editor of Jer. 49 7-22 was only acquainted with the former. This bisection of our Obadiah is supported by Wellhausen and Nowack; these scholars, however, think that *vv.* 6 8 *f.*, and one or two phrases in *v.* 5 are later insertions. This view is not favoured by a keener textual criticism; but Wellhausen's transposition of the two parts of *v.* 15 is clearly right.

From our text-critical point of view, it is impossible to follow either G. A. Smith (who makes *vv.* 1-6 an independent prophecy against Edom, used by Jeremiah), or König, who distributes the contents thus:—(*a*) *vv.* 1-10 (but *v.* 7 an expansion, the closing words being pleonastic beside *v.* 8; probably also *v.* 9*b*, because of the late word קֶטֶל), 16*a* 18 19*a* 20*b*; (*b*) *vv.* 11-15 16*b* 17 19*b* 20*a* 21.

The difference of subject in the two parts may be briefly stated. The first part speaks of the judgment upon Edom as past (or at any rate imminent) and as the just retribution of Edom's unbrotherly conduct towards Israel. As Edom joined the neighbouring peoples in triumphing over Israel (Judah) and deceiving and capturing its fugitives, so, now that Edom is cut off, the neighbouring peoples gather together to mock at its calamity and tread down its cities. 'As thou hast done, it is done unto thee; thy deed returns on thine own head.' The second part represents the judgment as still future; but Edom's punishment is only a specimen of the punishment of all the nations with which Yahwè is displeased. The only safe refuge will be Mt. Zion. The house of Jacob (Judah) and the house of Joseph (Israel) will unite in the work of destroying the arch-enemy Edom. The whole of the S., SE., and SW. of Palestine, which has hitherto been occupied by peoples hostile to Israel, shall now become incorporated into the land of Judah. The style of the first part is vigorous and full of colour; that of the second is feeble and prosaic in the extreme. In the first part Edom is distinguished from Jerahmeel; in the second Jerahmeel is virtually identified with Edom, the reason being that (as we shall see) the Edomites had in the meantime occupied the territory which anciently belonged to the Jerahmeelites and kindred tribes.

We have now to examine the origin, first of *vv.* 1-14

7. Origin of Part I. 15*b*, and next of *vv.* 15*a* 16-21, taking each part in connection with parallel passages elsewhere.

A comparison of the parallel portions of Obadiah and

[1] אם־שדדי comes from שֹׁדְדִים, a variant to גנבים. לילה איך נדמיתה is an editor's transformation of a corruptly written הֲלֹא יַשְׁחִיתוּ (cp Jer. 49 9). The key to *v.* 6 is to be found in אין תבונה בו (by which We. confesses himself baffled). Read אֵיךְ נִשְׁבְּרוּ מַחְשְׁבֹתֶיךָ נִבְעֲרוּ תְבוּנֹתֶיךָ. אין comes from איך, בו from נבערו. In *v.* 7 עד־הגבול=ירחמאל, a gloss on the corrupt word עֵשָׂו. For שלחוך read סִכְּלוּךָ; for יכלו לך read כל (dittographed). The next four words should be יְרַחְמְאֵל יִשְׁמָעֵאל מִצּוּר רְחֹבוֹת; a gloss. Verses 8 *f.* have been made into predictions by the editor. For תבונה read מְבִינִים; cp Jer. 49 7 (𝔊, Pesh.). מִקָּטֶל, which has exercised so many minds, is probably a miswritten ירחמאל—a late gloss on עשו.

[2] In *v.* 10 (end) לעולם, which spoils the trimeter, should be ירחמאלים; ביום is a corrupt fragment of the same word (dittographed). For עמדך read יַעַמְדוּ. The next clause should be ישמעאלים ומצרים יָגִילוּ, and the next רחבתים יָבוּסוּ עָרֶיךָ (בוא and בוס confounded). Then וְעָלֶיךָ יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים יָלְעִיגוּ (cp a similar error in text of Ps. 22 19). In the next line read באחיך כִּרְחֹבֹתִים; then, for ביום אבדם, read בַּעֲרָבִים; next, ואל־תַּלְעֵיג בְּפִיךָ כְּמִצְרִים (הגדיל and הלעיג are often confounded). After this come some doublets. Then וְאַל־תְּסַכֵּל נִבְהָלָיו כִּירַחְמְאֵלִים. In *vv.* 14 עַל־פֶּרֶק comes from יְרַחְמְאֵל, which was a correction of יום אידו, and ביום צרה from כמצרים.

[1] אֶת־הַר עֵשָׂו and אֶת־פְּלִשְׁתִּים are glosses (We.). For אפרים and שמרון read ירחמאל and מִצּוּר. בנימן is a corruption of ירחמאל, and גלנר a variant to גָּלְעָד. In *v.* 20 החל־הזהל and גלת are both corruptions of נָחֲלוּ; 'בני יש is a gloss. For אשר־כנענים read אֶרֶץ הַקֵּינִי (cp 𝔊). In עד־צרפת, עד is a dittographed צר; צרפת (צרפתים) is misplaced. The second וגלת should also be וְנָחֲלוּ. ירושלם should be ישמעאלים, a variant to צרפתים (which read, in lieu of בספרד). ירשו את־ערי הנגב is a fuller repetition of וירשו הנגב (*v.* 19). In *v.* 21 ועלו is a corruption of ונחלו; מושיעים בהר ציון comes from ארץ ישמעאלים (words transposed), and לשפט from לְצָרְפַת (a gloss). את־הר עשו is also a gloss. For ליהוה read ליהודה; המלוכה should be ירחמאל (as in 2 S. 12 26).

of Jer 49 7-22 proves beyond dispute that the author of the latter work borrowed from 'Obadiah,' or rather from the original 'Obadiah,' which was without *vv.* 15*a* 16-21. If, therefore, Jer. 49 7-22 is by Jeremiah, who wrote it, as is supposed (see Jer. 46 2), in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim (*circa* 606 B.C.), the capture of Jerusalem (when the Edomites behaved so unmercifully), and the danger to which (according to the prophetic poet) Edom is now exposed, must both be prior to the Babylonian invasion of Judah. In this case it will be natural to explain *vv.* 10-14 of the same event that is referred to in Am. 1 9 11, where Muṣur and Edom are accused of cruelty to the kindred people of Israel in its time of sore distress, and, if we could trust the narrative in 2 Ch. 21 16 *f.*, we might suppose the capture of Jerusalem by Philistines and Arabians in the reign of Jehoram mentioned by the Chronicler to be the event intended. Unfortunately, the pre-exilic date of Am. 1 9-12 and Jer. 49 7-22 is by no means secure (see AMOS, § 9; JEREMIAH, BOOK OF, §§ 12-14), and the historicity of the Chronicler's statement is not less questionable (see JEHORAM, § 5). From the fact that the first part of Obadiah is used in Jer. 49 7-22 we may justly infer that, like Jer. *l.c.*, it is post-exilic; only we shall do well to assume a considerable interval between Obad. 1-14 15*b* and the appendix (which was unknown to the Jeremianic writer). The view that Obad. and Jer. 49 7-22 derive the elements common to both from a prophecy older than either, which has been incorporated with least alteration by Obad., though still held by Driver (*Introd.*[6], 319), Wildeboer (*Letterkunde*[1], 351), and G. A. Smith (*Twelve Prophets*, 2 171) is, from our point of view, unnecessary.

Our next step is to compare Obad. 1-14 15*b* with certain other parallel passages,[1] viz. (*a*) Mal. 1 2-5, (*b*) Mic. 4 8 *ff.*, (*c*) Lamentations, (*d*) Is. 63 18 64 10 11 [9 *f.*], (*e*) certain psalms, (*f*) Is. 21 1-10, (*g*) a story in Jeremiah, (*h*) Esther, (*i*) Judith. We adhere to the point of view which has already led us to satisfactory results, starting from a carefully emended critical text, not from the often corrupt Massoretic text. A previous perusal of parts of the articles LAMENTATIONS and MICAH will probably assist the reader to realise the exegetical importance of attention to the text-critical problems.

(*a*) From Mal. 1 2-5 we learn that shortly before the date of Malachi's prophecy the mountains of Edom had been laid waste, and it is reasonable to see in this an allusion to an important stage in the displacement of the Edomites by the NABATÆANS (*q.v.*) some time before 312 B.C. It is natural (as Wellhausen first pointed out) to illustrate Obadiah by Malachi, and consequently by Diodorus (see EDOM, § 9).

(*b*) One of the later appendices to the prophecies of Micah (Mic. 4 8-5 6 [5]) contains a definite announcement of a siege of Jerusalem in which Zarephathites and other hostile nations are concerned, and of a captivity of Jerusalemites in Jerahmeel (Mic. 4 10). See MICAH, BOOK OF, § 4.

(*c*) and (*d*) supplement each other, and fully agree with the situation described in Obad. 11-14, and if we further take (*e*) into account—*i.e.*, the psalms which (as a searching criticism shows) relate to the oppression of the Jews and the destruction of the temple by Arabians, and which further speak of Jewish captives, or at least enforced residents, among the Jerahmeelites or Edomites —it will be difficult to retain much doubt as to the particular events referred to in this portion of Obadiah. These events were the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians aided and abetted by the Cushites, Jerahmeelites, and Miṣrites. The participation of these N. Arabians in the destruction of the Jewish state is not indeed mentioned in 2 K. 25 1 *ff.*; but it may be referred

[1] Joel 3 [4] 19, where 'Miṣraim' (Egypt) should be 'Miṣrim' (Muṣri); Am. 9 12, and Is. 34 (all post-exilic) might be added to the list, also the prophecies on Miṣrim (Muṣri) and Jerahmeel which appear to underlie those on Egypt, Elam, and Babylon in Jer. 46 49 50 *f.* The investigation of these hidden prophecies would involve too great a digression.

to in 2 K. 24 2[1] (*vv.* 2-4 are not improbably misplaced), and we seem to have an indirect confirmation of the fac in the asserted invasion of Judah in Asa's reign by 'ZERAH (*q.v.*) the Cushite' (*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Zarhites), and in the asserted capture of Jerusalem by the 'Philistines' (Zarephathites) and the 'Arabians that were near the Cushites' (2 Ch. 14 9 21 16 *f.*). Of the psalms which refer to this and the following period it is enough to refer to Pss. 42-43 74 79 120 137 140. A passage from 42-43 (emended text) is quoted elsewhere (see MIZAR). The speaker is a company of Jews dwelling among Jerahmeelite oppressors, and the value of this and the parallel psalms (excluding Pss. 74 79) is that they show the long continuance of Jerahmeelite—*i.e.*, N. Arabian—oppression (cp also Is. 62 8 *f.*, and the references to the hostility of neighbours in Nehemiah). Winckler (*AOF* 2 455) even thinks that the Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabians [rather the Miṣrites, Jerahmeelites, and Arabians] were the agents in the destruction of the wall referred to in Neh. 1 3; but see NEHEMIAH, § 1. At any rate, a series of Jerahmeelite captivities may pretty safely be assumed; it is to these that reference is made, not only in Am. 1 9 and Mic. 4 10 (emended text), but also in Ps. 42 *f.*, as appears from the direct reference to a hoped-for return to Jerusalem, and in Ps. 137 (emended text). The improbability of the ordinary view of Ps. 137 has been well shown by W. E. Barnes.

The attempt of Barnes, however, to make Ps. 137 refer entirely to Edom without touching the MT is unsuccessful.[2] Here, as in some other passages, בבל (as if בָּבֶל) is miswritten for ירחמאל which should be restored both in *v.* 1 and in *v.* 8. The passages which best illustrate our present subject are *vv.* 1 2 7 8—

1. On the heritage of Jerahmeel we wept, | remembering Zion;
2. The Arabs in the midst thereof had beaten | our harps to pieces.
7. Remember, O Yahwè! against Edom's sons | the wickedness of the plunderers,
Who said, Break down, break down | her sanctuaries.
11. To thee also, O house of Jerahmeel! | plunderers shall come;
Jacob shall uproot thee, and shall overthrow | all thy palaces.

Ps. 137 has a twofold reference; it commemorates alike the past and the present. Edomite oppression still continues (as Ps. 120 140, critically emended and explained, amply prove); but the tradition of still greater calamities, of which Jerahmeel and Edom are guilty, is still handed on. The temple itself fell a prey to the plunderers in that fatal day when the Arabian Cushites and Miṣrites profaned its holy precincts (Ps. 74, cp Is. 63 18), and the blood of faithful Jews flowed like water (Ps. 79 3, cp Joel 3 [4] 19 Am. 1 11). One would gladly avoid touching the traditional text of so well-known a psalm; but a strict exegesis of that text is impossible.

The Lamentations, too, and the not less affecting than dramatic outburst in Is. 63 7-64 are also commemorative; but Is. 63 1-6 and Obad. 1-14 15*a* are prospective.

A connection of 'Obadiah' with Pss. 74 42-43 79 44 60 61 84 63 80 was maintained by Vaihinger in 1869.

(*f*) Is. 21 1-10 has been as much misunderstood as Ps. 137. It is 'a poetic prophecy on the fall of Edom' (*Crit. Rev.* 11 [1901] 18). The plunderers seen in prophetic vision, whose progress at first produces deep alarm in the prophet (*v.* 3 *f.*), are not Elamites and Medes, but presumably Nabatæans. Verse 2*b* appears to be a gloss, 'concerning Jerahmeel[3] and Miṣṣur (Muṣri); all its palaces he destroys.' Then the prophet

[1] 'Yahwè sent against him bands of the Cushim, and bands of the Aramæans [Jerahmeelites], and bands of the Miṣrites, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of Yahwè which he spoke by means of his servants the prophets.' The emendations have been pointed out already elsewhere; 'Ammonites' is not unfrequently miswritten for 'Amalekites,' which comes from 'Jerahmeelites,' and is here a gloss on Aramæans. The reference to the prophets must be very late; it includes especially Micah.

[2] Winckler's study of Ps. 137, entitled 'Die golah in Daphne' (*AOF* 2 408 *ff.*), dated Nov. 1899, is subsequent in origin to the restoration given here. Winckler has perhaps attempted too much; his textual criticism is not as impressive as his very able historical criticism. The Jewish captives by the myrtles (ערבים!) of Daphne near Antioch (168 B.C.) have left us no record of their religious and patriotic melancholy. See MYRTLE.

[3] 'Elam' and 'Madai' both came from fragments of 'Jerahmeel'; cp the 'Elam' in Jer. 49 34 *ff.*, which should be, or at least originally was, 'Jerahmeel.' See PROPHET, § 45.

explains how Yahwè directed a seer to be set on the look-out, and how at first he saw something which apparently boded no good, but how, when he saw more clearly, he exclaimed, 'Fallen, fallen is Jerahmeel; its palaces he has broken, has levelled to the ground.' Here, again, a strict exegesis of MT is impossible, and only after much practice elsewhere should the corrector try his fortune. See *Crit. Bib.*

(*g*) The story in Jeremiah is the awful one of which the hero is Ishmael b. Nethaniah (Jer. 40 7-41 18). Elsewhere (JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 6, col. 2378) the narrative is viewed as a Midrash. It may be so indeed; but Jer. 41 10 seems to be based on fact. Ishmael, according to the common view, was a member of the royal house of Judah (cp ISHMAEL, 2). Really, however, he was a Jerahmeelite,[1] and although temporarily employed as a Jewish captain, his sympathies were with the Jerahmeelites. The statement that he 'carried captive all the rest of the people that were in Mizpah, . . . and departed to go over to the Ammonites[2] [Jerahmeelites?],' may be a reminiscence of the fact which another writer, in Obad. 14, describes as 'cutting off his (Judah's) escaped ones.'

(*h*) There is no doubt great attractiveness in the mythological explanation of the Book of Esther (see ESTHER, PURIM). It is possible, however, that underlying the present story there may be an older one which related to a massacre of Jewish captives in the land of Jerahmeel. Haman (Heman?) the Agagite is certainly more at home in Cushan-rehoboth than in 'Shushan the palace.' 'Mordecai,' too, must originally have been a corruption of 'Carmeli' or of some other modification of 'Jerahmeeli,'[3] and 'Esther' may come from 'Išraelith.' This is not the place to examine fully into the basis of the existing narrative; we simply adopt a theory, for which there are many parallels in other parts of the OT, and notably in the apocryphal Book of Judith. In neither of its forms can the story of Esther have been historical; but still it may have a historical kernel in the tradition of barbarous cruelty shown by the N. Arabians to Jewish captives. See PURIM, § 7.

(*i*) The Book of Judith, too, in its present form may, as Winckler thinks (*AOF* 2 274 *ff.*), contain mythological elements. But the story of the siege of Bethulia (Beth-el = Jerusalem?) by Moabites, Edomites, and Ammonites (Miṣrites, Edomites, and Jerahmeelites?) may have been told long before it was committed to writing, and so became the warp on which a great romancer wove his richly embroidered tale. 'Miṣṣur' (the N. Arabian Muṣri) became 'Asshur,' and so a place was ready for the occupation of the famed Nebuchadrezzar (see *Crit. Bib.*).

The origin of the first part of Obadiah has now been shown. It is primarily a prophetic announcement of

8. Origin of Part II. 'tidings' (שְׁמוּעָה) which 'we have heard [or, as Jer., 'I have heard] from Yahwè,' relative to a judgment upon Edom. In setting forth the causes of this act of strict retributive justice, however, the writer gives us a commemorative summary of the facts of the great long-past catastrophe, when Edom and its neighbours assisted the ruthless Babylonians. As to the date, we can only say that it must have been later than 588, but not so late as 312. Cp LAMENTATIONS.

The second part, as we have seen, must belong to a later period. Its literary weakness and the strong interest which it reveals in eschatology, together with its implied assumption that the Negeb is in the hands of the Edomites (who have been gradually driven from their ancient seats by the Nabatæans), and the absence of any trace of an acquaintance with it in Jer. 49 7-22, combine to prove this. The expressions in MT (*e.g.*, גלות החל הזה, and ספרד, *v.* 20) which have often been used as indications of date are valueless for us, because solely due to corruption of the text. Several of the passages, however, referred to for Pt. I. are almost, or quite, equally illustrative for Pt. II.; in particular perhaps Joel 3 [4] 19, because Joel, or the writer who takes this name, has apparently been influenced by both parts of our Obadiah (see references in § 4).

In taking leave of our book it may be remarked that the fulness with which it has been treated has been partly dictated by regard for the Book of Psalms. The background of many psalms being similar to that of Obadiah, we may venture to hope that we have in some measure prepared the way for a more effective treatment of these difficult but fascinating compositions. Perhaps we may indicate Ps. 22 as a portion which will gain much from a clearer view of the picture in Obad. 11-14.

9. Literature. Besides the introductions and general commentaries, see Jäger, *Ueb. das Zeitalter des Ob.* (1837); Caspari, *Der Pr. Ob. ausgelegt* (1842); Delitzsch, 'Wann weissagte Ob.?' in *Zt. f. Luther. Theol.*, 1851, pp. 91 *ff.*; Vaihinger, 'Zeitalter der Weissagung des Pr. Ob.,' in Merx's *Archiv.* 1 (1869) 488 *ff.*; Seydel, *Der Pr. Ob.* (1869); Peters (R. Cath.), 1892; Bachmann, 1892; Winckler, 'Obadja,' *AOF* 2 425 *ff.*

W. R. S. § 3 *f.*; T. K. C. §§ 1 *f.* 5 *ff.*

OBAL (עוֹבָל), Gen. 10 28† = 1 Ch. 1 22, EBAL, 2.

OBDIA (οβδια [A]), 1 Esd. 5 38 = Ezra 2 61, HABAIAH.

OBED (עוֹבֵד, 'servant,' might be a shortened theophorous name; cp Ar. *'abd*, etc., ωβηλ [BAL], ιωβηλ [A in 1-4]; but it more probably comes from a clan-name. Has it not been altered from 'Arābī, 'an Arabian'? Cp OBADIAH, OBED-EDOM, and note that 6 is called b. Gaal—*i.e.*, probably b. Jerahmeel; cp GILGAL, GILEAD, both of which names may be similarly explained). See, however, GAAL, § 1.

1. B. Ephlal, a descendant of Sheshan (1 Ch. 2 37 *f.*).
2. One of David's heroes (1 Ch. 11 47, ιωβηθ [Bℵ]). See DAVID, § 11, n. 3.
3. B. Shemaiah b. Obed-edom (1 Ch. 26 7).
4. Father of Azariah [15] (2 Ch. 23 1).
5. Father of Jesse (Ruth 4 17 21 *f.* [P], 1 Ch. 2 12, ιωβηδ [A])
6. Father of GAAL (*q.v.*); MT, less correctly, EBED.

OBED-EDOM (עֹבֵד אֱדֹם, 'servant of אדם;[1] cp Ph. עבדאדם, *CIS* 1, no. 295, מלך אדם, *ib.* 365, and possibly Punic and MH אדמן; αβεδδαρα, αβδεδομ, etc., see below; ωβεδαρος [Jos. *Ant.* vii. 4 2]), as the text stands, a Philistine of Gath, but according to an emendation of MT,[2] a Rehobothite, mentioned in the

[1] מזרע המלוכה comes from מזרע ירחמאל, 'of the race of Jerahmeel.' Nethaniah, too, is probably a distortion of the ethnic Ethani, 'Ethanite.'

[2] The confusion between 'Ammonites' and 'Amalekites' (Jerahmeelites) already referred to.

[3] See MORDECAI. By near or distant origin, though not in sentiment, the personage spoken of was a Jerahmeelite.

[1] Is אדם the name of a deity? As in the case of אדום, the name of the ancestor of the Edomites (see EDOM), opinions are divided. It has even been doubted whether the two 'Edoms' are to be connected (Nöld., Buhl). אדם may conceivably be a god, but not אדום; or אדום, but not אדם. The present writer (following We., *HC* (3), 47, n. 2; St. *GVI* 1 121; WRS, *Rel. Sem.* (2), 42, n. 4, and others) considers אדם to be at any rate a divine name. It is true that not all compounds of עבד are theophorous (Baeth. *Beitr.* 10, n.); but Baethgen's rendering 'servant of men' has nothing to recommend it. Egyptian inscriptions referred to by W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 315 *f.*) seem to favour this view; we find a divine name 'A-tu-ma, which reappears in a (N. Pal.) city compounded with Šamaš (the sun-god). 'A-tu-ma appears to correspond to a Hebrew divine name אדם. According to WMM, the older form of Edom was οδομ, but Thotmes III. and Amenhotep II. heard it pronounced with an *ă* (for *ŏ*); the α in some of 𝔊's forms will be noticed. Possibly, Abdădum is as near the true pronunciation as we can get. Following 𝔊's readings, Klo. takes the name to be a corruption of עבד הדד or עבד[א]רן. On the whole subject, cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 40 166 42 470 and Baeth. *Beitr.* 10, n. 3, who are on the side opposed to WRS. Reference may be made also to Rösch, *ZDMG* 38 646 (1884) who treats Edom as a divine name and identifies with *Ḳozah* (see EDOM, § 12). See also JEHOSHAPHAT, col. 2352, n. 1.

[2] [See *Crit. Bib.*, and cp REHOBOTH. According to this theory, עֹבֵד־אֱדֹם הַגִּתִּי ('Obed-edom the Gittite') has been corrupted out of עֲרַב־אֱדֹם הָרְחֹבֹתִי ('Arab-edom—*i.e.*, Arabia of Edom—the Rehobothite'). For a parallel to 'Arab-edom see SOLOMON'S SERVANTS [CHILDREN OF]. Here, however, the

history of the ark in David's time; for three months he is said to have sheltered the ark of Yahwè in his house (2 S. 6 10; αβεδδαδομ [A], v. 11, -δαν [L]). Difficult as is the story to which this passage belongs (see ARK, § 5, PEREZ-UZZAH, REHOBOTH), there is almost greater need for historical criticism in the narrative into which it has been introduced (with little variation) by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 13 13 *f.*; αβεδδαραμ [B], v. 14; 𝔊^L substantially as above). That 'all Israel' joined David in bringing up the ark to Jerusalem, we know from 2 S. 6 15. The older narrative in its present form does not state how 'all Israel' came to be with David, and the Chronicler cannot be blamed for supposing that they had been summoned to escort the ark. Then follows, according to the Chronicler, the institution by David of a sort of musical service. Priests, Levites, and singers in great numbers are present, and among them we meet with Obed-edom,[1] a singer and a doorkeeper (1 Ch. 15 18; αβαεδομ [B], αβδεδωμ [א], αβδεδδομ [L], v. 21 and v. 24, αβδοδομ [א in v. 24], αβδεδδομ, -ωμ [L], v. 25 αβδοδομ [Bא], αβεδαδδαν [L]; 1 Ch. 16 5, αβδοδομ [Bא], αβδεδδομ [L]). See PORTER.

Obed-edom appears in Ch. as the 'son of Jeduthun' (1 Ch. 16 38, αβδοδομ [BאA], αβδεδδουμ [L], a Merarite Levite), and the head of a house belonging to the Korahites (1 Ch. 26 4 *ff.* [αβδοδομ (BA throughout, except αβδεδομ, A once in v. 8), αβδεδδομ (L)]; contrast the number here with 16 38); and it is especially stated, 1 Ch. 26 5, that 'God blessed him,' a statement obviously based on 13 14. Obed-edom is again referred to in 2 Ch. 25 24 (written *plene* אדום ׳ע; ιαβδεδομ [B], -δοδομ [B^b], αβδεδομ [A], -εδδωμ [L]), where, however, the text of the original document (=2 K. 14 14) has been modified by the Chronicler or the author of the Midrash, from which he may have drawn (see Kittel in *SBOT*). Cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [ii.]; also PSALMS, § 26 (10), where Cheyne discusses the obscure name Jeduthun.

S. A. C.

OBEISANCE, to make, or do (הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה), Gen. 37 7 43 28 Ex. 18 7 etc., AV; also in RV in several places where AV has 'bowed himself,' 'did reverence,' or (2 S. 16 4, of Ziba) 'humbly beseech.' 'I humbly thank thee' expresses Ziba's meaning better. Prostration might, it appears, be performed not merely on entering the presence of a superior, but also on receiving a favour from him. See SALUTATIONS.

OBELISKS (מַצֵּבוֹת), Jer. 43 13 RVmg. See MASSEBAH.

OBETH (ωΒΗΘ [A]), 1 Esd. 8 32 = Ezra 8 6, EBED, 2.

OBIL (with long ī; אוֹבִיל, 'camel-driver,' cp ABEL, and Dozy, *Israel. zu Mekka*, 194, or possibly one of the distortions of 'Jerahmeel'; cp SHAPHAT [v. 29] = Zephathi, the name of David's keeper of the camels [Che.]), 1 Ch. 27 30 (αβιας [B], ουβ. [A], ωβιλ [L]). See ISHMAEL, § 2.

OBLATION. For מִנְחָה, *minḥāh*, קָרְבָּן, *ḳorbān*, תְּרוּמָה, *tĕrūmāh*, תְּרוּמִיָּה, *tĕrūmīyyāh*, see SACRIFICE. For מַשְׂאֵת, *maś'ēth*, see TAXATION AND TRIBUTE.

OBOTH (אֹבֹת), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness, Nu. 33 43 *f.* (σωβωθ [B, but ωβ. B^a in Nu. 21 10 *f.*], ωβ. [AFL]). Probably a corruption of עֲרָבֹת (or עֲרָב?). See WANDERINGS.

OCHIEL (ΟΧΙΗΛΟϹ [BA]), RV **Ochielus**, 1 Esd. 1 9, = 2 Ch. 35 9, JEIEL, 8.

OCHIM (אֹחִים), Is. 13 21, AVmg. See JACKAL, 3.

OCHRE, RED (שֶׂרֶד), Is. 44 13, RVmg., RV PENCIL.

OCIDELUS (ωΚΕΙΔΗΛΟϹ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 22 = Ezra 10 22, JOZABAD, 7.

OCINA (ΟΚΕΙΝΑ [BA], ΤΟΥϹ ΚΙΝΑΙΟΥϹ [א^{c.a}; א* has a shortened text]), mentioned in Judith 2 28 along with Tyre, Sidon, and Sur (see SUR), may represent עַכּוֹ, or perhaps עַכּוֹן (see PTOLEMAIS). So, already, Grotius.

most important point is the assumption that 'Obed-edom' was a native not of the Philistine city of Gath, but of a place in the Negeb where Yahwè was known and worshipped (Che.).]

[1] The reason for the transformation of Obed-edom, the Gittite or Rehobothite, into a Levite may be gathered from 1 Ch. 15 2 (cp PEREZ-UZZAH). It may be compared with the transformation of ZADOK (*q.v.*); cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [v.]. See also We. *Prol.*(4), 174 *f.*; Kue. *Einl.* i. 2 150 *f.*

OCRAN, RV **Ochran** (עָכְרָן; ΕΧΡΑΝ [BAL]; cp ACHAR [ACHAN], an Asherite, father of Pagiel (Nu. 1 13, etc. [P]).

ODED (עוֹדֵד, cp עִדּוֹא, Iddo; ωΔΗΔ [BAL]).

1. Father of Azariah, a prophet in the time of Asa (2 Ch. 15 1). In v. 8 he himself appears as a prophet. Probably the words '(of) Oded the prophet' or '(of) Azariah, son of Oded the prophet,' should be placed in the margin as a gloss; cp Kittel in *SBOT* (v. 1, αδαδ [A], v. 8, αζαριου [A], αδαδ [B]).

2. A prophet of Samaria at the time of Pekah's invasion of Judah (2 Ch. 28 9).

ODOLLAM (ΟΔΟΛΛΑΜ [AV]), 2 Macc. 12 38 AV, RV ADULLAM.

ODOMERA, AV **Odonarkes**, with mg. **Odomarra** (ΟΔΟΜΗΡΑ [AאV], ΟΙΔΟΜΗΡΑ [א*]; *Odaren*), a chief slain by Jonathan the Maccabee in one of his raids from BETH-BASI (156 B.C.); 1 Macc. 9 66. Cp PHASIRON.

ODOURS (ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ), Rev. 5 8 etc. See INCENSE.

ODOURS, SWEET. 1. בְּשָׂמִים, *bĕśāmīm*, 2 Ch. 16 14 etc. See SPICE, BALSAM.

2. נִיחֹחוֹת, *nīḥōth*, Lev. 26 31 Dan. 2 46, but more commonly 'sweet savour.' See SACRIFICE.

OFFERING. See SACRIFICE.

OFFICER, OFFICERS. The word is used in the EV to render eight distinct Hebrew and Greek terms most of which are elsewhere rendered otherwise; indeed, the OT terms which are used to represent official positions are frequently so ambiguous or of so extended a meaning, that a consistent translation would have been almost hopeless.

The words in question are:—

1. סָרִיס, *sārīs*. See EUNUCH.
2. שֹׁטֵר, *šōṭēr*. See SCRIBE.
3. נִצָּב, נְצִיב, *niṣṣāb*, *nĕṣīb*. See DEPUTY; SAUL, § 2, n. 1.
4. רַב, *rab*. See RAB, RABBI.
5. פָּקִיד, *pāḳīd*. See OVERSEER.
6. Quite generally, עֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה, Esth. 9 3, RV 'they that did [the king's] business.'
7. πράκτωρ, Lk. 12 58, RVmg. 'exactor'—*i.e.*, strictly, exactor of the fine assigned by the judge; Symm. gives πρ. for נוֹשֶׁה, 'creditor,' Ps. 108 [109] 11. The word also occurs in 𝔊 of Is. 3 12, and Aq. Theod. Is. 60 17. In the Egyptian papyri πράκτωρ may mean 'the public accountant.'[1] Altogether the word is too vague, and Mt.'s ὑπηρέτης to be preferred. Cp Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden*, 2 242.
8. ὑπηρέτης, lit. 'servant'—*i.e.*, beadle or bailiff, Mt. 5 25; Lk.'s word πράκτωρ is misleading as suggesting a reference to a fine. Cp Jn. 7 32 46 18 3 12 Acts 5 22.
9. In Jn. 4 46, RVmg. has 'king's officer' for βασιλικός. See NOBLES, 11.

On royal officers, officers of state, see COUNSELLOR, DAVID, § 11, GOVERNMENT, ISRAEL, §§ 21, 64, also ASIARCH, DUKE, 2 (נסיך), GOVERNOR, NOBLES, PRINCE, SHEBNA, TIRSHATHA, TREASURER, 2 (סֹכֵן); cp (for ἐθνάρχης), DAMASCUS, § 13, ETHNARCH; (for ἔπαρχος) SOSTRATUS; (for ἡγεμών) ISRAEL, § 90; and (for שֹׁטֵר, סֹפֵר) SCRIBE.

Several general terms are used in referring to ecclesiastical officers[2] (פקיד see OVERSEER; שׂר, נשׂיא, see PRINCE, 2 *f.*); see further GOVERNMENT, §§ 27, 31, ISRAEL, §§ 81, 111, LAW AND JUSTICE, § 9 (7), PRIEST.

On the officers of the judiciary and parochial systems see GOVERNMENT, §§ 16, 19, 21, LAW AND JUSTICE, § 8 *f.*, PROCURATOR.

On the various military terms see ARMY and cp CAPTAIN, CHARIOT, § 10; (for פקיד) OVERSEER; (for נגיד) PRINCE, GOVERNOR.

OG (עוֹג, and [1 K. 4 19], עֹג; ωΓ [BאAFRTL], see below), 'king of Bashan, who was of the remnant of the Rephaim, who dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei,' etc. (Josh. 12 4), also referred to, with SIHON (*q.v.*), as 'a king of the Amorites beyond Jordan' (Dt. 3 8 4 47).

[1] Mahaffy, cited by Deissm. *Bibelstudien*, 152.

[2] On the separation of church from state see EZEKIEL ii., § 24; the story of the revolt of KORAH (*q.v.*, § 1, col. 2687) shows the repugnance felt towards the exercise of civil authority by the priestly party.

For the history of Og ('Og) see BASHAN, REPHAIM; on the geography of his kingdom, see again BASHAN; and on his 'bedstead (?) of iron,' see BED, § 3. The question whether the story of Og is not really due to an early error in the text, and whether the original story of Sihon-Og did not refer to the wars of Israelite tribes in the far S., will be briefly treated at the close of the article.

It may be noticed here that though the tradition of the defeat of Og at Edrei is probably pre-deuteronomic, it is only (as the text now stands) by writers of the deuteronomic school, and those influenced by them, that the tradition is referred to. For the references, see BASHAN, § 4, and observe that Nu. 21 33-35 is no exception (cp Dr. *Deut.* 47; Bacon, *Trip. Trad.* 211; Di. *Nu.-Dt.-Josh.* 133). It is possible, however, that in Nu. 24 7, 'his king shall be higher than Agag,' it is Og king of Bashan who is meant, אגג (Agag) and עוֹג (Og) being very easily confounded (cp 𝔊B* Dt. 3 1 13 4 47; γωγ).[1] It is also noteworthy that the kingdom of Og is specially said to have included Salecah or Ṣalḫad, which, it is maintained elsewhere (see GILEAD, RAMOTH-GILEAD), probably filled a prominent place in the earliest Hebrew traditions. Gen. 31 46 *ff.* seems to point to a peaceable occupation of Salecah by the Jacob-tribe (see GILEAD); but the subsequent struggles for its possession between Israel and the Aramæans quite account for the rise of a different tradition—that preserved in Dt. 3 1-3 (Nu. 21 33-35).

As to the name 'Og,' it seems possible that the interchange of 'Agag' (γωγ; see Nu. 24 7) and 'Og' in 𝔊B* Dt. 3 1 13 4 27 was really justifiable. We cannot absolutely prove it; but it is very probable that the REPHAIM (*q.v.*), to the 'remnant' of whom Og belonged, were identical with, or closely allied to, the Jerahmeelites (the Ḥabiri of the Amarna tablets?), who seem, if our textual criticism elsewhere is sound, to have spread much more widely in Palestine than has been generally supposed. Now the identification of the Amalekites with a section of the later Jerahmeelites is almost beyond doubt. If the Rephaim may be identified with a section of the older Jerahmeelites, we can well understand that in the far south land and in the fruitful Bashan there lived chieftains who bore virtually the same name—Agag or Og. We can also now account for the description of Og as a king of the Amorites. Waiving the abstruse question whether the Amorites and the Jerahmeelites were not originally one and the same people, and assuming that they were at any rate regarded in OT times as distinct, it is worth while to point out that 'Mamre (?) the Amorite' was confederate with Abram (Gen. 14 13), and Abram originally the hero of the Jerahmeelites, one branch of whom were the Zarephathites or Rephaites. The civic community of Jerusalem, too, was probably partly Amorite, partly Jerahmeelite, or, as Ezekiel puts it (16 3 45) '[its] father was an Amorite, and its mother a Rehobothite' (so we should read, for 'Hittite' see REHOBOTH), for the arguments in favour of which, derived from 2 S. 5 6 8, see *Crit. Bib.* and cp MEPHIBOSHETH, ZION.

As stated elsewhere (MOSES, § 18), it is probable that the primitive tradition spoke of the conquest of the Jerahmeelite or Arabian land of Cush (we simply state the tradition, without criticising the facts). Sihon (*q.v.*) is very possibly a corruption of Cushan; the early tradition spoke of Og or Agag, king of Cushan, who reigned at Heshmon (cp Josh. 15 27). The text of the written tradition came down to a deuteronomic, or probably pre-deuteronomic, writer in a partly corrupt form, and he, under the influence of a definite historical theory, recast the imperfectly read tradition, and made it refer to the E. of Jordan. This is only a hypothesis; but the phenomena which suggest it are parallel to the phenomena which in other cases have enforced the production of similar hypotheses. T. K. C.

OHAD (אֹהַד), a son of Simeon; Gen. 46 10 (αωδ [AD], ανεωθ [L]); Ex. 6 15 (ιωαδ [B], ιαωαδι [A], αωδ [FL]). The name probably comes from a dittographed צחר[2] (ZOHAR); hence it does not occur in ∥ lists, Nu. 26 12 1 Ch. 4 24. T. K. C.

OHEL (אֹהֶל) is represented as one of the sons of Zerubbabel in 1 Ch. 3 20 (οσα [B], οοα [A], αθα [L]); but really, as so often, אהל is a fragment of ירחמאל. So also is the next name ברכיה (cp ברכאל, Barachel, JOB, BOOK OF, § 9), and the question arises whether the editor of 1 Ch. 3 20 did not misread his text, and split ירחמאל into supposed names of two sons, Ohel and Berechiah. Cp ZERUBBABEL. T. K. C.

[1] Nu. 24 23 𝔊 also reads καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν Ωγ [BA; Γωγ, L] καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν κ. τ. λ.

[2] צ and א confounded, as when צום (νηστείαν, 𝔊) becomes אָוֶן in MT of Is. 1 13; also ח and ה.

OHOLAH (אָהֳלָה?), Ezek. 23 4 *f.* 11 22 36 44†, where AV AHOLAH (*q.v.*).

The usual explanations, 'she who has her *own* tent' (sanctuary), and 'she who has tents' (sanctuaries), are against analogy. The former requires אָהֳלָהּ. Read perhaps אָהֳלִיָּה, 'tent (or, dwelling) of Yahwè,' and observe that in compounds of אהל in Sab. (אהלאל, אהלעתתר) and Phœn. (אהלמלך, אהלבעל) the second member is a divine name. See HIGH PLACE, § 3, col. 2066, n. 1. S. A. C.—T. K. C.

OHOLIAB (אָהֳלִיאָב, § 47), Ex. 31 6 etc. RV, AV AHOLIAB (*q.v.*). Cp HIRAM, col. 2074.

OHOLIBAH (אָהֳלִיבָה), Ezek. 23 4 11 22 36 44†, where AV AHOLIBAH (*q.v.*).

'She in whom are tents,' can hardly be the meaning. Read perhaps אָהֳלִיבַעַל, 'tent (or, dwelling) of Baal.'[1] Cp HEPHZIBAH. S. A. C.—T. K. C.

OHOLIBAMAH (אָהֳלִיבָמָה, § 47), Gen. 36 2 *ff.* and 36 41 1 Ch. 1 52†, RV, AV AHOLIBAMAH (*q.v.*, 1 and 2).

OIL. In the OT mention is repeatedly made, especially in Dt., of 'corn, wine, and oil' as the three chief products of the land of Canaan. By the last of this triad of God's good gifts is meant exclusively olive oil; for although, as we shall see, a considerable variety of vegetable oils was known in later times, the oil so frequently mentioned by OT writers, with one late exception (Esth. 2 12, 'oil of myrrh'), is that expressed from the berry or drupe of the olive-tree. For this reason the latter receives the name *zēth šémen* (זֵית שֶׁמֶן, Dt. 8 8) or *zēth yiṣhār* (ז׳ יִצְהָר, 2 K. 18 32; see OLIVE). Oil in its manifold applications is denoted by the general term *šémen* (שֶׁמֶן), sometimes by the more descriptive term *šémen záyith*, olive oil (Ex. 27 20 30 24 Lev. 24 2); oil fresh from the oil-press received the special designation *yiṣhār*, 'fresh oil,' a term which bears the same relation to *šémen* that *tīrōš*, 'must, new wine,' does to *yáyin* (see WINE). The place of the olive—which, in the older Hebrew as in English, bore the same name as the tree (*záyith*, Dt. 28 40 Mic. 6 15)—in the dietary of the Hebrews is discussed elsewhere (FRUIT, § 9).

1. Name.

When we consider the very many biblical references to oil, it is certainly remarkable that there should be so few hints as to the mode of its preparation. In early times the Hebrews seem to have been content to tread the olives with the feet (Mic. 6 15) as they trod the grapes, in a rock-hewn oil-press (cp גַּת בַּסֶּלַע *Bābā Mĕṣī'ā* 10 4 and the name GETHSEMANE), from which the expressed oil flowed into the adjoining vat (יֶקֶב Joel 2 24; for details see WINE). As the olive harvest was later than the vintage, the same presses and vats were probably used for both wine and oil. In later times—perhaps as early as Job 24 11 (see Budde, *HK*, *in loc.*)—other and more effective processes were adopted, although it is not till we reach the Mishna that we find references to oil-mills and oil-presses by name. From a comparison of the data in the Mishna with the fuller statements of Roman writers, on the one hand, and of the remains of ancient apparatus with the present-day practice in Syria[2] on the other, the following details have been gathered. The best oil, then as now, was that yielded by the olives before they were fully ripe. Berries that by the time of gathering were still hard had to be softened by being left for some time in a trough or vat (*ma'ăṭēn*, מַעֲטֵן, *Ṭohŏr.* 9 1 and often; see Heb. Lexx. for obscure word *'āṭīn*, עָטִין, Job 21 24, which some would connect with the מעטן of the Mishna). From a passage in *Mĕnāḥōth* (8 4 *f.*) we

2. Preparation.

[1] Aholiab, P's artificer, a Danite like Hiram (*q.v.*, 2), may have borne this name (אהליאב for אהליבה, the alteration was no doubt intentional). See, further, HIRAM, 2.

[2] For the modern processes of oil-making in Syria see the works of such writers as Robinson, Thomson, Van Lennep, and especially the details given by a native in Landberg, *Proverbes et dictons du peuple arabe*, 11 *ff.*

learn that it was usual to subject the olives to three successive processes for the complete expression of the oil, which of course deteriorated in quality with each process.

i. The first process began by gently pounding (כָּתַשׁ) the olives (זֵיתִים נִכְתָּשִׁים, *Tĕrūm.* 18 *f.*) in a mortar; the pulp was then poured into a wicker or rush basket (סַל), which, acting as a strainer, allowed the liquid (מוֹחַל, *Ṭohŏr.* 92) to run into a vessel underneath. The oil which would presently float on the top was skimmed off, we must assume, leaving the *amurca* (to use the Latin term) behind. The oil thus produced was of the finest quality—perhaps alluded to in Am. 66—and was, we have little doubt, the שֶׁמֶן כָּתִית, 'the beaten oil' of the OT. Indeed, the Talmud expressly gives the equation שֶׁמֶן כָּתִית = ש׳ כָּתוּשׁ (*Mĕnāḥ.* 86 *b*).

ii. In the second process, the basket with the pulp was conveyed to the oil-press (see below, § 3), where a second quality of oil was expressed by means of the press-beam.

iii. The third process—we still follow the authority above cited—consisted in submitting the remaining pulp to the action of the oil-mill (see below, § 3), after which it was submitted as before to the press-beam. The oil in this case, needless to say, was of inferior quality. No mention is made of the application of heat—either by the addition to the pulp of hot water, or otherwise—which is now universally used to expedite the flow of oil. The processes described were carried through either in the olive-garden itself, as the remains of oil-presses in different parts of Palestine amply attest, or in a special building, the בֵּית הַבַּד or press-house of the Mishna, attached to the owner's house.

3. Mills and presses.

In *Bābā Bathrā* 45 (with which cp *Ma'ăśēr.* 17) we have an interesting inventory of the contents of such a press-house, which was evidently constructed on the same lines as the Roman *torcularium* (see details of construction with illust. in Blümner's *Technologie* 1 328-348 and the articles *torcular, torcularium, trapetum* in the dictionaries of Rich [(6)] and Smith [(3)]). The essential apparatus of the press-house consisted of the mill and the press. We have seen that the older mortar (see MORTAR) was still used in NT times in the preparation of the finest oil from the choicest berries; but we may safely assume that, in the manufacture on a large scale, the berries were crushed in the oil-mill (*Ṭohŏr.* 98, more precisely ר׳ שֶׁל זֵיתִים Zāb. 42). In construction the oil-mill differed little from the primitive mill still used in Syria.

The place of the mortar was taken by a circular stone trough—the יָם or 'sea' of the Mishna—6 to 8 ft. in diameter, to judge from extant specimens. In this the olives were crushed by means of a stone (מַמֶּל), in shape like a millstone, of varying diameter and thickness. This stone was placed vertically, not horizontally as in the flour-mill, in the hollow understone or trough, and was made to revolve, by means of a pole or beam inserted through its centre, round the inner circumference of the trough. The parts described are still found in all parts of Palestine (see, besides writers already cited, Oliphant's *Haifa*, 95).

The main feature of the oil-press, from which it derived its name, was the press-beam (*ḳōrāh*, קוֹרָה, *prelum*), which was simply a lever of the 'second' class. To provide a fulcrum, one end of the beam was inserted at a convenient height into the face of a monolith in the garden, or into a wooden tie kept immovable by two upright beams (*bĕthūlōth*, בְּתוּלוֹת, the *arbores* of the Roman *torcula*), fixed into the floor of the press-house (see diagrams of construction in Rich, Smith, etc., cited above). The crushed pulp or paste from the mill was placed in special baskets (סַל, עֶקֶל, etc.) which were piled one upon another and covered with flat boards (עֲרִיבִין) to distribute the pressure; the press-beam was then lowered and the requisite pressure brought into play by means of a windlass (גַּלְגַּל) operating by ropes attached to the free end of the beam. In a simpler press of this kind (probably the קוֹטֵב of *Shĕbī'ith* 86) a less powerful pressure was obtained, as at the present day, by hanging large stones to the end of the beam. The press was worked by press-men (כַּבָּדִים, *Ṭohŏr.* 98 101). Still another form of press was, and still is, in use in Palestine. Two upright stones were erected a few feet apart and a third, of great weight, laid on the top, the whole having the shape of a Greek Π.[1] Failing the last, a wooden cross-beam was inserted in the opposite faces of the two upright stones. The baskets were placed directly underneath the cross-beam, and the intervening space filled with logs of wood or heavy stones (עֲגוּלִים, פִּידִים, etc.); the pressure was increased by the insertion of wedges between the logs or stones (see Schick's description of the actual remains of both kinds of presses in *ZDPV* 10 148 *ff.* with plans). Every press-house contained, further, the necessary gutters or conduits (עוּקָה *Ma'ăśēr.* 17) for conducting the expressed liquid to the vats (see Schick's diagrams, *l.c.*), in which it was allowed to settle and the oil gradually separated from the *amurca* and other impurities. When duly purified the oil was stored in jars (see CRUSE) and skins (נוֹדוֹת *Shabb.* 152). The refuse (גֶּפֶת) of the oil-press was used as fuel (*Shabb.* 31 41); perhaps, also, as in modern times, in soap-making (cp the 'washing-balls' of Sus. 17). The oil produced at Tekoa and at Ragab in Peræa was reputed the best in Palestine (*Mĕnāḥōth* 83).

4. Uses.

In warm climates nature has taught even the savage to ward off the injurious effects of the sun's heat upon the skin by the application of animal fat, in OT once at least also denoted by the word *šĕmen* (Ps. 10924). In oil-producing countries, such as Canaan, the more pleasant-smelling oil of the olive took its place. In Egypt, also, oil was regarded as a necessary of life, scarcely less important than bread itself. The Egyptian workman, according to Erman (*Egypt*, 231), 'had probably to be contented with native fat'; but by all but the very poor oil was extensively used, its importation being one of the most important branches of commerce. Among the Jews at the time of the olive harvest it was not unusual for the olive gatherers to squeeze the oil into one hand and so anoint themselves, or even to squeeze it directly upon the body (*Ma'ăśēr.* 41). From Mt. 617 anointing the head (cp Ps. 1415 Eccl. 98 Judith 168) appears to have been as much a part of the daily toilet as washing the face. To pour oil upon the head (Ps. 235[2] 1415 Lk. 746) was a mark of respect for an honoured guest.

In Egypt prevailed a curious practice which is thus described by Erman: 'The oil was not used as we should imagine. A ball about the size of a fist was placed in the bowl of oil; the consistency of the ball is unknown, but at any rate it absorbed the oil. The *chief anointer*, who was always to be found in a rich household, then placed the ball on the head of his master, where it remained during the whole time of the feast, so that the oil trickled down gradually into the hair. . . On festival days, all the people poured "sweet oil"[3] on their heads, on their new coiffures. At all the feasts cakes of ointment were quite as necessary as wreaths' (*Egypt*, 231, with illustr.).

In the OT, however, the allusions are more frequent to the use of oil in connection with the bath; thus washing and anointing are named together in Ruth 33 2 S. 1220 Ezek. 169 Judith 103 Sus. 17, and the same conjunction is probably implied in the more general references, Dt. 2840 Mic. 615. In all these the word for anointing is סוּךְ, ἀλείφω or χρίω. For the omission of this use of oil in time of mourning, and for other details, see ANOINT, I. In the same article will be found a full discussion of the important place occupied by oil as the medium of consecration of kings and priests—only once of a prophet 1 K. 1916—of sacred objects

1 Remains of dolmens were often used for this purpose.

2 Here the verb is דִּשֵּׁן, lit. 'to make fat'; cp דֶּשֶׁן, Judg. 99, of the 'fatness' of the olive-tree.

3 Cp the Hebrew phrase שֶׁמֶן רַעֲנָן, 'fresh, sweet, oil' Ps. 9210 [11].

and utensils. To anoint, in this sense, is מָשַׁח, χρίω (hence in Aramaic oil = מְשַׁח, Ezra 6 9 7 22), and the sacred oil שֶׁמֶן הַמִּשְׁחָה, 'oil of anointing,' or more fully שׁ' מִשְׁחַת קֹדֶשׁ, only in P. For its composition (Ex. 30 23-25) see OINTMENT (1).

The practice of anointing was, however, not confined to the living body; the lifeless corpse also, as among Greeks and Romans, was anointed with oil, although in this case oil was usually only the basis of a more costly unguent (Mt. 26 12 Lk. 23 56; cp Mk. 14 3 *ff.* Jn. 19 40). In Egypt, also, it was the invariable practice to pour oil over the dead body when the process of embalming was finished (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 3 429 *f.*, with illustr.). In 2 S. 1 21 Is. 21 5 the MT[1] refers to the practice of anointing shields with oil.[2] This was done, according to the usual interpretations, either to keep them in good condition if they were of leather, or to polish them if made of metal. In view of the sacred associations of the verb used (מָשַׁח) it is probable that we have here an obscure reference to a consecration of the warrior's weapons before setting out to war. The Babylonians, we know, dedicated foundation-stones, thresholds, etc., by libations of wine and oil. Similar libations may have been part of the solemn dedication of houses among the Hebrews (Dt. 20 5).

5. Domestic use.

There are surprisingly few references in OT to the all-important use of oil in the preparation of food. It is in this connection that the widow of Zarephath's remnant of oil is conjoined with the 'handful of meal' (1 K. 17 12). Unfaithful Israel was fed with 'fine flour and honey and oil' (Ezek. 16 13 19), but gave no thanks to the divine giver. Yet the fact that an early writer seeks to explain the taste of the wilderness manna by comparing it to some well-known delicacy cooked with oil (לְשַׁד הַשָּׁמֶן Nu. 11 8, RVmg. 'cakes baked with oil') shows that this use of oil was familiar to his readers. Oil, as much as wine, formed part of the ordinary provision for a journey (Judith 10 5 Lk. 10 34).

6. In the ritual.

Further light is thrown upon the daily use of oil for culinary purposes by the place it occupies in the later ritual of the Priestly Code. The gifts offered as 'the food of Yahwè' were those most esteemed by his worshippers in their own daily life. Oil accordingly figures prominently among the offerings to the deity not only among the Hebrews but also among Babylonians and Egyptians as well. In the present arrangement of the Priests' Code it is by no means easy, perhaps impossible, owing to the existence side by side of different strata, to reach a consistent presentation of the development of the 'meal-offering' (see attempted scheme in *Oxf. Hex.* 1 236 *ff.*). It will be sufficient to note here that in a typical offering the fine flour of which it was essentially composed might be presented in no fewer than four different forms, in each of which oil plays a part.

(1) The flour might, in its natural state, be mixed either with oil (Ex. 29 40) or (2) have oil merely poured upon it (Lev. 2 1); (3) the flour might be first mixed with oil as before, and then shaped into cakes (חַלּוֹת) and baked in the oven (Lev. 2 4 etc.), or (4) first baked in the shape of thin flat cakes (רְקִיקִים) which were then anointed with oil (מְשֻׁחִים בַּשָּׁמֶן Ex. 29 2 Lev. 2 4 7 12 etc.).

In the special case of the leprosy-offering (Lev. 14 10 *ff.*), in addition to a meal-offering of flour 'mingled with oil,' there appears an offering of 'a log of oil' (*v.* 10), which was first to be 'waved' before Yahwè (*v.* 12) and then used in the symbolical purification of the leper as prescribed in *vv.* 15 *ff.* Oil, however, is absent from the ritual of the sin-offering (Lev. 5 1 *ff.*) and the jealousy-offering (Nu. 5 11 *ff.*). For the oil required for these purposes, provision is made in the scheme of Ezek. 45 14 (חֹק הַשֶּׁמֶן). A grant of 100 baths of oil was made to Ezra from the royal exchequer (Ezra 7 22; cp 1 Esd. 6 30).

7. As an illuminant.

Not the least important of the daily uses of oil was to supply the household with light. The wick of twisted flax (Is. 42 3), protruding from the nozzle, fed itself from the oil in the body of the lamp (see LAMP). The lamp, if required to burn for a lengthened period, had to be frequently refilled (Mt. 25 3 *ff.*).

From *Shabbāth* 2 4 we learn that for the sake of economy it was usual to place an egg-shell, or a clay vessel of similar shape, with a minute aperture at the bottom, upon the mouth (פֶּה) of the lamp as a receptacle for the oil that it might more sparingly reach the wick. In the same section (2 2) we have an interesting list of substitutes for olive oil for illuminating purposes, among them oil of sesame, nut oil, fish oil, and even naphtha (נפט) and castor oil, שֶׁמֶן קִיק (*Shabb.* 2 1). The oil for the lamps of the tabernacle, and therefore of the temple, had to be of 'pure olive oil beaten[1] for the light' (Ex. 27 20 Lev. 24 2). It was part of 'the charge of Eleazar, the son of Aaron' to attend to this oil and to the oil of anointing (Nu. 4 16). In the time of the Chronicler the charge of the oil fell to the Levites (1 Ch. 9 29), to a particular division of the priests, according to Pseudo-Aristeas (ed. Wendland, 92).

8. Medicinal use.

Oil was used also medicinally by the Hebrews, as by the Egyptians, the Romans (Pliny, etc.), and other ancient peoples. 'Wounds and bruises' were mollified with oil (Is. 1 6 RV; 'ointment,' AV). The Good Samaritan employed a mixture of wine and oil (Lk. 10 34), an antiseptic familiar also to his Jewish contemporaries (Otho, *Lex. Rabbin.* 11). Olive oil is mentioned, along with wine, vinegar, and oil of roses (שׁ' וֶרֶד), as an antidote to pains in the loins (*Shabbāth* 14 4). An oil-bath was one of the remedies by which Herod's physicians sought to relieve his excruciating pains (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6 5 *BJ* i. 33 5). The anointing of the leper, above referred to, was not remedial but symbolical. Both ideas are probably to be found in the two remaining NT references to the curative properties of oil (Mk. 6 13 Jas. 5 14).

In order to avoid the risk of ceremonial defilement, the straiter section of the Jews scrupulously avoided using oil that had been prepared by a non-Jew (*'Āb. Zārā* 2 5 Jos. *Vita* 13). In the course of the great revolt (66 A.D.) John of Gischala skilfully turned this prejudice to his own advantage by buying oil at a cheap rate in Galilee, where it was abundant, and selling it at Cæsarea Philippi and the neighbourhood at eight (Jos. *BJ* ii. 21 2, § 591) or ten times (*Vita*, *l.c.*, § 74 *ff.*) the purchase price.

9. In commerce, etc.

Oil, as this incident shows, was at all times an important article of commerce, both in the home trade (2 K. 4 7) and for export. Through the markets of Tyre (Ezek. 27 17), the oil of Palestine found its way to the Mediterranean ports, and was undoubtedly among 'the oil from the harbour' mentioned in Egyptian literature (Erman, *Egypt*, 231; cp Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden*, 94 *ff.*). As a valuable article of necessity and luxury, oil was ever a welcome gift, whether as between individuals (1 K. 5 11, Solomon to Hiram; 1 Ch. 12 40) or nations (Hos. 12 1, Israel to Egypt). For the same reason it figures in the tribute imposed upon a conquered state, as in that of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria to the Persian king (1 Esd. 6 30).

10. In Biblical metaphors.

A word may be said in conclusion as to the place of oil in Hebrew metaphors. To the poets the almost proverbial abundance of oil in Canaan suggested the use of oil as a figure of abounding material prosperity, as when it is said that Asher 'shall dip his foot in oil' (Dt. 33 24), or when oil is spoken of as flowing for God's favoured ones from the rock (Dt. 32 13 Job 29 6; cp Joel 2 24).

1 [On the text see the commentaries, and further JASHER, § 2, and *Crit. Bib.*]

2 Since the above was written, Schwally also has expressed the view that the anointing of the shield was a religious rite (*Semit. Kriegsaltertümer* [1901], 49).

1 For this שֶׁמֶן כָּתִית, see above, § 2, i.

From the association, further, of oil with the toilet of the feast, it became to the Hebrews as to the Egyptians 'a symbol of joy' (Erman, *l.c.*), which gives point to such expressions as 'the oil of gladness' (Ps. 45 7 = Heb. 1 9) and 'the oil of joy for mourning' (Is. 61 3).

A. R. S. K.

OIL, PRECIOUS. See OINTMENT, 1.

OIL TREE is the rendering in Is. 41 19 (RV[mg.] 'oleaster') of עֵץ שֶׁמֶן; Neh. 8 15 AV 'pine,' RV 'wild olive.' The name 'oleaster' was formerly given to the wild variety of *Olea europea*, L.—the ἀγριέλαιος of Rom. 11 17-24; it is so used, *e.g.*, in Virgil (*Georg.* 2 182). In modern times the name has been transferred to a plant quite distinct from the olive, though in external features resembling it, viz., *Eleagnus angustifolia*; and this, which is common throughout Palestine, is most probably the עֵץ שֶׁמֶן or 'oil tree' of OT (see Tristram, *NHB* 372).

Whether, however, by the עֲצֵי שֶׁמֶן of 1 K. 6 23 31 *ff.* the wood of this tree, or rather, as Tristram (*ib.* 377) thinks, of the olive is intended, cannot be certainly determined. See OLIVE, § 2.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

OINTMENT. 1. (שֶׁמֶן, *šémen*, Is. 1 6, RV 'oil'), precious ointment (השמן הטוב, 2 K. 20 13 ‖ Is. 39 2 Ps. 133 2), oil of holy ointment שמן משחת קדש (Ex. 30 25, RV 'holy anointing oil'). See OIL, § 4. The holy chrism described in Ex. 30 23-25 was composed of 1 hin of olive oil, 500 [shekels] of flowing myrrh, 250 [shekels]

of sweet cinnamon, 250 [shekels] of sweet calamus, and 500 [shekels] of cassia. See, also, ANOINTING.

It is usually supposed that the holy oil or ointment is referred to in Ps. 133 2, which says 'that it trickled down on Aaron's beard, where it lay on the collar (not skirt) of his outer garment' (Macalister, in Hastings, *DB* 3 593 *b*). No learning or ingenuity, however, can make a reference to the holy oil or to Aaron's beard any more probable than a reference to the dew of Hermon (see DEW, end, col. 1096). כְּשֶׁלֶג עַל־רֹאשׁ חֶרְמוֹן is probably the true reading of *v.* 3*a* (so Che.), and both 'Aaron's beard,' and 'like the dew of Hermon' are corruptions of it. A similarly impossible phrase is 'the ointment of his right hand' (Prov. 27 16); see Toy, *ad loc.*, and cp WIND.

2. מִרְקַחַת, as in the phrase רֹקַח מ׳, Ex. 30 25, RV 'a perfume compounded.' Cp 1 Ch. 9 30 2 Ch. 16 14, and see PERFUME.

3. מֶרְקָחָה, Job 41 23 [31] *b*, AV a pot of ointment (𝔊 ἐξάλιπτρον [BℵAC], ἐξάλειπτρον [B[a.b]]), RV ointment. The context is very corrupt. It is in a description of Leviathan. Read (supplementing ABYSS, col. 31, and BEHEMOTH, col. 521), 'He makes the sea like *a caldron*' (כַּפָּרוּר, represented by כמר; the second ר fell out), and continue, 'The bottom of the river is his path, the dark places of the abyss are his road.'[1]

Rashi regards the root-meaning as 'to make a mixture' (cp Toy, 'Ezek.' *SBOT*, Heb., on Ezek. 24 10). Apparently it is a denominative from רקח, 'spice.' Cp Ass. *ruḳḳu*, 'to prepare spices,' *riḳḳu*, 'spice' (Ges.-Bu.).

4. μύρον Mt. 26 7 etc. Rev. 18 13. Perhaps from מֹר. See MYRRH and cp PERFUME.

OLAMUS (ωλαμος [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 30 = Ezra 10 29, MESHULLAM, 12.

OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

CONTENTS.

1. Idea of Old-Christian literature.

By 'Old-Christian Literature'[1] is here intended the extant remains of Christian literature so far as these are connected with the elucidation, defence, or advocacy of the Christian religion, down to about the year 180 A.D. Since no other description of Christian writings has come down to us from within the period defined, we may also say that the designation covers the whole body of extant Christian literature, sacred or secular, canonical or uncanonical, whether pages, books, or collections of books. It is usual to isolate the NT and to regard the twenty-seven books united under the title as a group standing by itself and not belonging to the Old-Christian Literature properly so-called; and in accordance with this a distinction is commonly made between the two studies, which are regarded as mutually independent: 'Introduction to the NT' and 'Patristic'—the latter denoting the scientific investigation of such writings of the early Christian period as were not received into the Canon, and the first, whether as 'Historical Critical Introduction to the NT,' or as 'History of the Literature' or 'of the Books' 'of the NT,' or simply as 'History of the NT' denoting the study, in the aggregate or in detail, of the works which make up the NT, whether this study be limited to the questions relating to their contents and origin, or extended to those relating to their text and its history, translation, interpretation, appreciation, etc.

The distinction, however, is not a just one, and its maintenance as recently exhibited by Th. Zahn in his article 'Einleitung in das NT' in *PRE*[(3)], 5 270-4 (cp 'Kanon des NT,' *ib.* 9 769-73) cannot be recommended. However powerful the practical considerations which can be urged in its support—such as the current usage of language, the peculiar importance of the NT for the faith and conduct of Christians, the place it occupies in dogma, in religious instruction, in university lectures and courses of study, the established practice of handbooks,—it is none the less without scientific justification. It does not, in point of fact, rest upon any real difference in the character or origin of the writings concerned, but only upon the assumption of their differing values as sacred or non-sacred books, as if the NT contained the records of a special revelation—in the last result the only argument of Th. Zahn—whilst none of the other literary productions of ancient Christianity can lay claim to any

1 [The phrase 'Old-Christian' for *altchristlich, oudchristelijk*, on the analogy of 'Old-Catholic,' is preferred as a technical term, less ambiguous than the more idiomatic 'Early Christian' or the not sufficiently colourless 'Primitive Christian.']

1 [קרקע for קחה and also for אחריו; יְאֹר for יָאִיר, and נְתִיבוֹ for נתיב (so Gu.); מַחֲשַׁכֵּי for יחשב (nearly as Du.), לִשְׁבִילָיו for לשיבה; see Che. *Crit. Bib.*]

such title. The justice of the separation may be granted when the question is looked at from the dogmatic point of view; but it is none the less purely dogmatic, and on that very account inadmissible in a scientific research. Moreover, the history of the origin and collection of the books of the NT has long ago enabled us to see that they arose one by one in the ordinary genuinely human manner, and only gradually were gathered together. Not at a single stroke, nor by any special divine or human providence, nor yet in virtue of exceptional talents or, if you will, supernatural gifts denied to other Old-Christian writers or collectors, was this task achieved. It was done by men moved after the same manner as ourselves, men who were the children of their own time and, be it said with all reverence for the priceless work they accomplished, were gifted in very various degrees,—writers, speaking generally, of similar quality and similar endowment with those to whom we are indebted for the other literary productions of ancient Christianity; collectors who, governed by various views regarding the interest of Christian society as they had learned to understand it, brought together a group of gospels, two groups of epistles—the Pauline and the Catholic—neither of which, however, ever had fixed limits. To these were added, though not immediately or even unanimously, Acts of the Apostles and a Revelation of John; also, for a time, in one quarter or another, other writings which in the end failed to gain admission into the Canon. See CANON, §§ 60-76; Zahn, *PRE*(3), 9 768-796; Van Manen, *Handl. voor de Oudchr. Lett.* 119-123.

The same history enables us to see that the books of the NT were originally coincident with what subsequently came to be described as Old-Christian literature. They form part of it—an essential and highly interesting and important—nay, the most important part. The old distinction between canonical and non-canonical books as regards this literature must be abandoned; NT Introduction and Patristic must no longer be separate studies, they must be amalgamated in that of Old-Christian literature.

2. Gradual recognition.

In principle this has been recognised at various times during the course of the nineteenth century, and especially within the last decades, under the influence of a growing interest in the examples of Old-Christian literature which had not attained canonicity, however little the persons by whom the recognition was made may seem to have been aware of the full significance of their words. Authors of Introductions to the NT were often obliged to discuss more or less fully, besides the books received into the NT, other gospels, Epistles, Acts, Apocalypses, which had arisen in similar circles.

Some of these scholars, such as Eichhorn, actually called their subject a history of Old-Christian literature. Hilgenfeld collected a *Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum* 1866, 1884(2), containing Epistles of Clement, Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, fragments of Gospels and other books.

The philologist Blass in writing his *Grammatik des NTlichen Griechisch* (1896, ET, by Thackeray, 1898) deemed it no longer fitting to confine his attention to the text of the canonical books of the NT, but took account also of the Epistles of Barnabas and Clement, the Homilies of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the fragments of the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter.

Harnack avowed on the first page of the first volume of his *Gesch. d. altchristlichen Litteratur* (1893)—although for practical reasons he passed over the NT in giving his account of the tradition of that literature, and in his writing on Chronology, (*Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur* (1897), dealt with it but in a stepmotherly way—'to the primitive literature of Christianity belong above all the twenty-seven writings which constitute the NT.' G. Krüger in his *Gesch. d. altchristl. Litteratur*, 1895, would doubtless have devoted more than a few pages merely to the books of the NT, had not Jülicher been contributing to the same series his *Einleitung in d. NT*.

Holland, meanwhile, had been more thoroughgoing.

As early as 1870-1871 an edition of the Apostolic Fathers, translated with introductions and notes had been published by A. C. Duker and W. C. van Manen, under the general title *Oud-Christelijke Letterkunde*. Rauwenhoff in his sketch of a theological encyclopædia (*Th. T*, 1878, p. 170) had substituted for NT Introduction and Patristic, 'Original documents relating to the founding of Christianity.' The same two branches of study ceased any longer to be officially recognised when the Bill relating to the Higher Education was passed in 1876. The Act speaks only of Old-Christian literature—an expression including both branches, as was set forth and vindicated by the present writer in his inaugural address (*De Leerstoel der Oud-Christelijke Letterkunde*, 1885). J. M. S. Baljon, ten years later, expressed himself in substantial agreement with this view in his inaugural address at Utrecht (*De Oud-Christelijke Letterkunde*, 1895). The same author in issuing a Dutch edition of Cremer's *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der NTlichen Gräcität* made so many additions as to make it in reality a first essay towards a Lexicon of Old-Christian Literature (*Woordenboek hoofdzakelyk van de Oud-Christelijke Letterkunde*, 1897-1899). Krüger declared himself convinced by the arguments of Van Manen, and wrote under this influence *Das Dogma vom Neuen Testament*, 1896.

At Leyden, since 1885, Hermeneutics and Textual Criticism have been taught, not as formerly with exclusive reference to the NT, but with reference to the whole body of Old-Christian literature. There also was published the first edition of a manual of Old-Christian literature, by Van Manen (1900), in which the old distinction between canonical and uncanonical writings was disregarded, and the material that had formerly been divided into these two was brought under a single category.

3. Extent.

As regards the delimitation of this material no unanimity has as yet been reached. In common parlance the expression 'Old-Christian literature' is used so widely as to be supposed to include all literary remains of Christian antiquity that can be regarded as, say, more than a thousand years old.

Thus, for example, R. A. Lipsius entitled his great work *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, 1883-90, in which texts dating from the second, third, fourth, down to the ninth century, and sometimes even of a yet later date, are dealt with, 'a contribution to the history of Old-Christian literature' ('ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Literatur-geschichte). Harnack placed upon the title-page of his largely planned *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur* 'down to Eusebius,' and in his preface (I. 1893, pp. viii, x) explained the words as meaning that he does not desire to include the Council of Nice in the scope of his work although taking account of the writings of Eusebius. Moreover, he leaves out of consideration all that relates to the Manichæans, a portion of the Testimonia of Origen and Eusebius, fragments of Julius Africanus, Origen, Eusebius, some things relating to Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Cyprian. Krüger confined his *History* of Old-Christian Literature, 1895, to 'the first three centuries.'

For the last sixteen years the arbitrary character of any such limitation has been continually protested against in Leyden. It is liable to alteration at any moment and has nothing to justify it. Consistency of language is, moreover, greatly to be desired. If the subject of Old-Christian literature be accepted as equivalent to that of NT Introduction *plus* Patristic, the expression can no longer suitably be employed to denote what might more properly be described as 'Old-ecclesiastical,' or, in a wider sense, 'later Old-Christian literature'—the latter being divided into 'Old-ecclesiastical' and 'Heretical.' The literary remains of most of the church fathers and their contemporaries—the category of church fathers including, according to Roman Catholic reckoning, writers down to the thirteenth century, while in Protestant circles it is limited to the first six centuries—fall outside the limits of Old-Christian literature. This embraces the NT and all that, speaking generally, pertains to it, as dating from the same or the immediately adjacent period, and breathing on the whole the same spirit—a spirit, that is to say, the same, apart from all difference that arises from mutual divergences in the personality, tendency, aim, environment of the writers. The question to be asked is as to what they have in common with one another as distinguished from those who lived at a later period. What spontaneously and immediately presents itself as thus characteristic and distinctive is their attitude towards the NT canon. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and those who followed them hold towards this literature an attitude quite different from that of the 'Old-Christian' writers who preceded. They not only, like some of the latter, show acquaintance with some, or many, of the 'books' that now

have a place in the collection called the NT; they also appear to recognise these, all of them or some of them, as authoritative for faith and practice—in a word, as holy writ. Here we have a touchstone for discriminating what is 'Old-Christian' from what is not. In this respect there is, as a rule, a marked difference between the Christian literature of an earlier date and that of the later date just indicated; let us say, before and after the year 180 A.D., the date of the principal work of Irenæus, *Against Heresies* (Πρὸς αἱρέσεις; according to iii. 3 3 written in the time of Eleutherus, 173 or 175-188 or 190 A.D.). Here we find a criterion for 'Old-Christian' which does not lie in the whim or fancy of the historian, but in the nature of the case, being supplied by the material itself with which he has to deal. We shall do well, therefore, to adhere to it even should we occasionally find that it is difficult to draw the line with equal precision at all points because in point of fact, strictly speaking, it does not always exist.

4. Subdivisions. Harnack and Krüger follow a classification of the subject-matter which cannot be adopted here partly because they extend their scheme so as to come down to Eusebius or to the end of the third century, partly because in point of fact they take no account, or almost no account, of the twenty-seven books of the NT. Nor is it advisable to follow them in their distinction between 'original' (Urlitteratur), gnostic, and churchly literature, with further subdivisions under each of these classes, in view of the fact that before 180 A.D. it is hardly possible to speak of 'churchly literature' at all, that the line between 'original' and 'gnostic' writings is difficult to draw, and that the further subdivisions—not the same in Harnack and Krüger—bear witness more clearly to the embarrassment of their authors than to any real endeavour to subdivide the writings in question as far as possible according to their contents.

Harnack, for example, begins with epistles of Paul that had not been received into the Canon, and with gospels, including apocrypha, certainly dating from the so-called post-apostolic age; the 'Preaching' and other non-canonical works of Peter, the Acts and the Preaching of Paul, the Apocalypse of Peter, further epistles of Paul, epistles of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the epistle of Barnabas . . . Papias, Polycarp . . . Ignatius, the Didaché . . . apologies of Quadratus, Aristides, Justin . . . ; and apocryphal Acts of Leucius, . . . Thomas, John, etc. This is what Harnack calls the Christian 'original' literature (Urlitteratur), which is followed by the gnostic, whilst in the third division he deals with 'Christian writings from Asia Minor, Gaul, and Greece,' dating from the second half of the second century, including epistles of Themiso and the churches of Lyons and Vienne, apologies of Melito and Athenagoras.

Krüger divides 'Original Christian' (Urchristliche) literature into Epistles, Apocalypses, Histories (Gospels and Acts), Didactic Writings, but discusses (to mention one or two examples) the Gospels of Valentinus and Marcion under gnostic, the apologies of Quadratus, Aristides, and Justin under churchly, literature.

It is better to classify the writings according to their different literary forms, and in doing so to adhere as far as possible to tradition and thus avoid anticipating any estimate we may have to form regarding the Old-Christian writers at a later stage of our investigations.

Guided by these principles, we propose to adopt the following classification of Old-Christian literature:[1]

5. Survey. Gospels, Acts, Epistles, Revelations, Apologies, Didactic Writings. In the present article it will not be possible to do more than give a brief survey of the contents of these six classes, further reference being made on many particulars to separate articles in this Encyclopædia (although the present writer must not be held as in every case concurring in the conclusions there formulated).

I. GOSPELS (§§ 6-8).

In Old-Christian literature, the gospels first demand our attention. Besides the usual word gospels (εὐαγγέλια), we find such designations as

6. Gospels: the oldest gospel. Gospel-writing (γραφὴ εὐαγγελίου), Sayings of the Lord (λογία κυριακά), Records (διηγήσεις), Memoirs of the Apostles (ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων), Traditions (παραδόσεις), The Acts of Jesus (αἱ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πράξεις), The Book of Days (ἡ βίβλος τῶν ἡμερῶν). These writings all relate to the life and work of Jesus Christ. They have a twofold character—historical and doctrinal-practical. They are not mere memoirs, drawn up by disciples or friends, for the purpose of preserving in the memory of contemporaries and posterity the recollection of what Jesus of Nazareth was, aimed at, did, said, experienced; they are more: they are handbooks in which each writer in his own way sought to make known Jesus Christ, the Lord, the Son of God, in all that he was for the world. 'History' here is employed in the service of religious instruction.

As for their origin, the gospels, on close comparison, point us back to (i.) an 'oldest' written gospel (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) which unfortunately does not exist for us except in so far as we can recover any traces of it preserved in later recensions. Perhaps it began somewhat as follows:—In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberias Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa . . . in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, . . . there came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee (ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πειλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας . . . ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέων Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, . . . κατῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας; cp Lk. 3 1 2 4 31), Jesus Christ the Son of God; and then proceeded to sketch, somewhat in the following order, his appearance at Capernaum, his casting out of devils, the proclamation of the kingdom of God, the transfiguration, the final journey to Jerusalem, his passion, death, and resurrection. Nothing was said as yet of his origin, birth, early life, meeting with John, baptism in Jordan, temptation in the wilderness, nor much of consequence regarding his mission as a religious teacher and preacher in Galilee.

This work, presumably written in Greek, may be conjectured to have arisen in the post-apostolic age in circles which sought to combine their more developed Christology (a free speculation of what would then have been called the 'left wing') with (ii.) the still older apostolic tradition—not yet reduced to writing—partly historical, partly not, regarding Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah who had once appeared and whose return was to be expected. As over against the friends of this older tradition, who were able to point to it, those whom we have described (i.) as belonging to the 'left wing' felt the need of a clear setting-forth of what had been done and suffered by the Son of God in his manifestation in the world.

7. Recensions. The 'gospel' thus produced (the first to be written, but, as we have seen, not the oldest form of what had been the oral tradition concerning the life, passion, and death of Jesus the Messiah) was soon supplemented and 'improved' in various ways with the help and guidance of this older tradition. The book appeared in new recensions, new forms. Among others there was, probably, an Aramaic recension, which still survives in a whole group of extant (partly fragmentary) gospels: those of the Hebrews (APOCRYPHA, § 26; CANON, § 73; GOSPELS, § 155), of the Twelve Apostles and of the Ebionites (APOCRYPHA, § 26), of Peter (APOCRYPHA, § 26; CANON, § 73; SIMON PETER), of the Egyptians (APOCRYPHA, § 26; GOSPELS, § 156 *b*), of Matthias (APOCRYPHA, § 26; MATTHIAS), and those of the synoptists, which were received into the Canon (Mt., Mk., Lk.; see GOSPELS).

In any case there lie behind the text of the three synoptists one or more written gospels of which the

[1] It is the classification followed in the University instruction at Leyden.

respective authors made use, each in his own way, in the composition of his work.

Among the later recasts of the original written gospel ought also to be classed that used by Marcion. It bore no distinctive name, and was afterwards maintained by Marcion's opponents to be a mutilated form of Lk. (see GOSPELS, § 98), although it would be more correct to say that it took its place alongside of that gospel as an independent redaction of the common source. This common source, along with its two derivatives, Marcion and Lk., may then be regarded as constituting a distinct group, the Pauline, as distinguished from the synoptic in the narrower sense of the word—*i.e.*, the Old- or Jewish-Christian, immediately underlying our canonical Mt. and Mk., which have received 'Pauline' touches (see Van Manen, *Handl.* chap. i., § 31).

A third current in the development of the written gospel along the Old- or Jewish-Christian and the Pauline or Gentile-Christian lines, is the Gnostic, including the Gospels—of which we know practically nothing but the names—of Cerinthus, Carpocrates, Basilides, Apelles, Valentinus (see GOSPELS, § 99), as also the later Gospels of Thomas, Philip, Eve, Judas Iscariot, the Gospel of Perfection (Consummation?) (εὐαγγέλιον τελειώσεως), the 'proper' (ἴδια) gospels of the Severians, and others, now lost, which also dated probably from the second century. A main source for our knowledge of the type of writing here referred to is, notwithstanding its catholic colouring, our canonical Fourth Gospel (see GOSPELS, and JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE).

As belonging to the same branch of Old-Christian Literature ought also to be enumerated the extra-canonical *Words of Jesus*, most recently collected with praiseworthy diligence by A. Resch (*Agrapha*, 1889; *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien*, 5 parts, 1893-97; *Die Logia Jesu*, 1898). Cp J. H. Ropes (*Sprüche Jesu*, 1896), who criticises and classifies them into seventy-three Agrapha without any, eleven of perhaps some, and fourteen of distinct, importance (see GOSPELS, § 156 *e*).

Also the so-called Λόγια Ἰησοῦ found in 1897 on a papyrus leaf among the ruins of Oxyrhynchus (see APOCRYPHA, § 26, 6; GOSPELS, §§ 86, 156 *a*; PAPYRI); the Fayûm fragment (see APOCRYPHA, § 26, 5; GOSPELS, § 156); in so far as one can venture to hold its existence (which is not probable, or at least is not certain), the *Words of the Lord*, collected by Matthew and commented on by Papias (see CANON, § 66; GOSPELS, §§ 120, 122, 149, 150); and the *Diatessaron* of Tatian (CANON, § 68; GOSPELS, § 107; Zahn, *PRE*[3] 5653-661; van Manen, *Handl.* chap. i. § 44).

8. Apocryphal gospels.

Apocryphal gospels, even of a comparatively early date, such as those of James, Thomas, Nicodemus (see APOCRYPHA, § 27; NICODEMUS [GOSPEL OF]), in which narratives are given of the nativity and childhood, passion and death of Jesus; also concerning his father Joseph, his mother Mary, his descent into hell; or about Pilate,—fall beyond the limits of time here assigned, although they occasionally contain noteworthy reminiscences. Strictly speaking, they can at best be regarded only as appendices.

II. ACTS (§§ 9-17)

9. Acts: character.

The next class of writings to be considered is the group of 'Acts' (πράξεις, *Acta*), Circuits (περίοδοι, *Itinera*), Preaching (κήρυγμα), Martyrdom (μαρτύριον), Passion (*Passio*), Consummation (τελείωσις, *Consummatio*). These writings relate to the life and career of apostles and other prominent persons. They have, as a rule, a twofold character; they are narratives, but also works of edification,—sometimes didactic and apologetic as well. The oldest of them have disappeared, either wholly or in part. The earliest of their kind, chiefly relating to the life of Paul, most probably had, like the oldest written gospel (§ 6, i.), its origin within a circle of Christians of a 'progressive' or (if the epithet is preferred) 'Pauline' type, who did not hold themselves bound exclusively by (apostolic) tradition. This conclusion is suggested by the consideration that the friends of tradition feel no need of 'lives' as long as the opposite party do not feel it; by what is known as to the course of the development of the written gospel; by the conclusions of criticism regarding the canonical book of Acts, and by the circumstance that *Circuits* (περίοδοι) of gnostic origin lie at the foundation of Catholic Apocryphal *Acts* (πράξεις). The remnants of the work which we may call the Acts of Paul (PAUL, § 37) are to be traced in Acts 1 24 [D] 4 36 *f.* 6 1-15 7 51-8 3 9 1-30 11 19-30 13-28; but they have there undergone a change of form. In any case, one or more previous writings now lost underlie the canonical book of Acts (see ACTS, §§ 1 8-12; PAUL, § 37; also van Manen, *Paulus* I.; *De Hand. der app.*, 1890; *Handl.* chap. ii. §§ 2-7).

10. Fragments.

Of the following works little more than the title is known. An Acts of Apostles (πράξεις ἀποστόλων), according to Epiphanius (30 16), was used by the Ebionites. Probably a counterpart (and therefore not a polemic) to the Acts afterwards received into the canon; a recast of the same material but in another spirit—the anti-Pauline.

An 'Ascents of James' (Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου), according to Epiphanius (*loc. cit.*), contained 'blasphemies against Paul' and utterances of James 'against the temple and the sacrifices and the fire upon the altar' (cp APOCRYPHA, § 28).

An 'Ascents of Paul' (Ἀναβατικὸν Παύλου), according to Epiphanius (38 2), was in use among the gnostics (cp 2 Cor. 12 2-4).

An 'Acts of Paul' (Παύλου πράξεις), mentioned by Origen and others, perhaps closely related to the 'Acts of Paul' mentioned already (§ 9, end) as having been employed in the preparation of canonical Acts, unless we are to regard it as the kernel of the (Apocryphal) Acts of Peter and Paul.

The Preaching of Paul (*Pauli Prædicatio*), mentioned by Cyprian, is perhaps to be identified with the Acts (πράξεις) just mentioned.

11. Preaching of Peter.

Clement of Alexandria makes us somewhat better acquainted with a work called The Preaching of Peter (Πέτρου κήρυγμα). It represents a liberal view of the preaching of the gospel, as designed for both Jews and Gentiles, in which 'Paul' is presented neither in a favourable nor in an unfavourable light, and no other apostolate than that of the twelve is thought of. It seems to have proceeded from some one who was not a Jew by birth, and who most probably was a Greek, somewhere about 120-125 (see APOCRYPHA, § 31, 2; SIMON PETER; also E. von Dobschütz, *Das Kerygma Petri*, 1893; Loman, *Th.T*, 1886, pp. 71-78, 333-6; Harnack, *ACL* 1, 1893, pp. 25-28; 2, 1897, pp. 472-4).

12. Apocryphal Acts.

Apocryphal Acts first appeared separately in considerable numbers, and afterwards came into collections. A group of Gnostic 'Circuits of the Apostles' (περίοδοι τῶν ἀποστόλων), embracing Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, is attributed to Leucius Charinus; in a revised form and expanded into Catholic Acts of the Apostles (πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων), to Abdias.

The study of this copious literature (Apocryphal Acts) discloses that it arose in Gnostic circles and that much of it was taken over by the Catholics after it had been duly revised (see R. A. Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* 1883-1890; R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, 1 1, 1891, 2 1, 1898).

The oldest of these Acts, probably old enough to fall within the period covered by the present article, although scholars are not agreed as to this, are now lost unless in so far as they survive in later editions and redactions. Such were, it is conjectured, 'Circuits of Peter' and 'Circuits of Paul' (Περίοδοι Πέτρου and Περίοδοι Παύλου), absorbed into the extant Catholic 'Acts

of Peter and Paul' (*Πράξεις Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου*); 'Circuits of John' (*Περίοδοι Ἰωάννου*), which partially still survive in Catholic and later Gnostic recensions; the Acts of Paul and Thecla, preserved in a later redaction, unless we are to hold—what does not seem very probable—that this work was already used by Tertullian before 190 A.D., or take it, with C. Schmidt (1897), for a section of the 'Acts of Paul' (*Πράξεις Παύλου*) (see Harnack, *ACL* 1 136-8 2 1 493-505; *Bibl. World*, 1901, pp. 185-190).

13. Martyrdoms: Paul, Peter.

Related to the category of Acts and in part belonging to it are the Books of Martyrs (*Martyria*, *Acta*, *Passiones*, *Virtutes*) of which Eusebius made a collection, now lost (*τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίων συναγωγή*, *σύγγραμμα*, *κατάλογος*); some of them fall within or just beyond our period. They are:

i. Accounts, known in various recensions, of the Martyrdom of Peter and Paul, which are supposed to have originally stood at the end of the oldest Acts of Paul and Peter (cp Harnack, *ACL* 1 130-134).

14. Polycarp.

ii. A 'Martyrdom of the holy Polycarp' (*Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου*), in the form of a letter from the church of God at Smyrna, sent at its own request to the church of Philomelium and also, unsolicited, to all other churches belonging to the holy catholic church, within a year of the martyrdom of Bishop Polycarp, *circa* 155, for the purpose of setting forth the circumstances connected with it.

The Greek text has reached us in five MSS.; in an abridged form in Eusebius (*HE* 4 15), and in an Old-Latin translation; it appears in various editions of the Apostolic Fathers, the latest and best being those of Zahn, 1896, and Lightfoot, 1889(2), cp Funk, 1901. The genuineness and historicity have been rightly questioned, either denied or disputed, by Steitz (*JDT*, 1861), Schürer (*ZHT*, 1870), Duker and van Manen (*Oud-Chr. Lett.* 2 164, 1871), Keim (*Celsus*, 1873, p. 145, and *Urchr.* 1878), Lipsius (*ZWT*, 1874), Gebhardt (*ZHT*, 1875), Holtzmann (*ZWT*, 1877), Jean Réville (*De anno Pol.*, 1881), Rovers (*Th.T*, 1881, pp. 451-7),—and upon insufficient grounds maintained by Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, 1861, 1874), Zahn (1876), Renan (*l'Église Chr.* 452), Lightfoot (1889(2)), Krüger (1895), Harnack (ii. 1, 1897, p. 341).

The work is, whether we regard form or contents, not a letter, nor even an account of Polycarp's death, and certainly not written soon after that event; it is a decorated narrative of the saint's martyrdom framed after the pattern of the story of Jesus' passion as given in the gospels, and expanded into a writing in glorification of the true martyrdom and at the same time in depreciation of the self-sought, superfluous martyrdom commended by the Montanists. The legendary character of the contents, which is not to be set aside by the assumption of interpolations, as also the tendency of the whole, brings it to a date some decades later than that of the death of Polycarp (*circa* 155 A.D.), yet still within the second century, rather than in the middle of the third century, or even later, as some would have it.

15. Pionius, Justin, etc.

iii. A writing concerning Pionius (*Πιόνιος*), who, we learn, suffered martyrdom at Smyrna shortly after Polycarp, is mentioned by Eusebius (*HE* 4 15, 47), and is extant in a transcript at Venice (Krüger, *ACL*, § 106).

iv. Memoirs of martyrs: Carpus and Papylus and a woman Agathonice (*Ὑπομνήματα μεμαρτυρηκότων Κάρπου καὶ Παπύλου καὶ γυναικὸς Ἀγαθονίκης*), mentioned by Eusebius (*HE* 4 15), edited by Harnack, who holds it to have been written in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (*TU* iii. 3-4 433-466).

v. 'Martyrdom of the holy martyrs Justinus, Chariton . . . who were martyred at Rome' (*Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ἰουστίνου Χαρίτωνος Χαριτοῦς Εὐελπίστου Ἱέρακος Παίωνος καὶ Λιβεριανοῦ μαρτυρησάντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ*), published with a Latin translation by Otto in *Justini Opera* (3), 2, pp. 266-279, 1879. It is thought to have been written shortly after the condemnation of Justin and his converts, which was between the years 163 and 167 A.D.

16. Vienna and Lyons.

vi. A particularly noteworthy account of the sufferings of the Christians during the persecution they were subjected to about the seventeenth year of the reign of Antoninus Verus—*i.e.*, according to the preface of Eusebius (*HE* 5), Marcus Aurelius (177-8 A.D.). This writing, partly preserved in Eusebius (*l.c.* 1-4), has the form of a letter, written by the Christians at Vienne and Lyons to their fellow-believers in Asia and Phrygia (*οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λουγδούνῳ τῆς Γαλλίας παροικοῦντες δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ τοῖς κατὰ Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν . . . ἀδελφοῖς*). It is, however, no letter giving details regarding the persecutions endured, but a 'writing' (*γραφή*), a 'composition' (*σύγγραμμα*) written, as Eusebius says, in other than a purely historical interest (*οὐκ ἱστορικὸν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικὴν περιέχον διήγησιν*). The writer's desire is to instruct and to edify; to judge by the portions taken over by Eusebius, he does not seek merely to inform his readers as to what the Christians in Gaul have endured, but also to make them see and feel *how* these Christians suffered, with wonderful fortitude yet without seeking martyrdom and without any trace of contempt or harshness towards those who had failed to stand the test; notwithstanding their greatness, not wise in their own eyes, but ready to allow themselves to be instructed, models of the true martyrship as also of sober Catholic Christian-mindedness in the whole conduct of life. The purpose is manifest: to promote such a manner of thinking and of living; to warn against the Montanistic views and doctrines prevalent in Asia and Phrygia and tending to spread from these centres to Rome and elsewhere. This is the author's reason for making use of his fresh recollections—historical even if here and there adorned with touches of art—of the sufferings of the Christians of Vienne and Lyons, and especially those of Lyons. He speaks as if in the very person of these two churches, yet frequently betrays that he is really outside them, we are not told where and can only guess Lyons or Rome. It is certain that he was not, as is often conjectured, Irenæus, whose style cannot be discerned here, although he may have lived at the same period; to judge by the relationship between this work, particularly as regards its tendency, and the Martyrdom of Polycarp, it was probably written towards the end of the second century, possibly, however, somewhat later (see P. A. Klap, *Theol. Stud.*, Utrecht, 1900, pp. 423-435).

17. Scili; Apollonius.

vii. The sufferings of the martyrs at Scili in Numidia in 180 A.D., written and published in various forms, the latest in a (probably original) Latin text (*TS* i. 2 105-121 [1891]; Harnack, *ACL* ii. 1 316; Krüger, *ACL*, § 105 5).

viii. A martyrdom (*μαρτύριον*) of Apollonius, who was put to death at Rome about 180-185 A.D. Lately published, so far as extant, by E. T. Klette, *TU* xv. 2 91-131.

III. EPISTLES (§§ 18-34)

18. Epistles: meaning of the word.

The greater proportion of the literary productions of the period of Christian history with which we are now dealing consists, in outward appearance, of letters; and many of these, though by no means all of them, are still regarded as having really been such—actual letters sent at first to definite persons and originally written with such persons in view—and as having penetrated to wider circles and become common property only at a later time. Continued examination, however, has led to the conclusion, first with regard to some of these, then with regard to a great number, and finally, in the opinion of the present writer and others (see below, § 19), with regard to the whole of them, that they neither are nor ever were 'letters' in any proper sense. They were, from the first, neither more nor less than treatises for instruction and edification, bearing witness to the character, aims, experiences, adventures, of persons, opinions, tendencies,

in the form of letters written to one or more recipients, usually in a tone of authority, by men of name. These authors are thought of as still alive although they really belong to an earlier generation. Such letters therefore seemed to be, even in the circle of their first recipients, as voices from the past. Yet they bear unmistakable marks of having been written in the later time. They come from the pens of persons who are unknown to us, and were designed like books which are brought into the market, or otherwise circulated, for all who take any interest in their contents; and more particularly and specially designed to be read aloud in religious meetings for the edification of the community or to serve as a standard wherewith to regulate faith and life.

As a literary device the epistolary form is an ancient one. It is met with alike among Jews, Greeks, and Romans, and was adopted also by Christian writers such as the authors of Acts 15 23-29 23 26-30 Rev. 2 3; *Clem. Hom.* 5 9-19 20-26; the epistles of Peter and of Clement to James with which *Clem. Hom.* is prefaced; that of the Church of Smyrna concerning Polycarp's martyrdom; that of the Christians of Vienne and Lyons with reference to the persecution under Marcus Aurelius (see above, §§ 14, 16); and so forth; cp also the epistolary form of the introduction both to the first and to the second work of Lk. (Lk. 1 1-4 Acts 1 1), and also the beginning and the end of the last book in the NT Canon (Rev. 1 4*a* 22 [18-] 21). [Cp EPISTOLARY LITERATURE.]

The letter of edification, on the other hand, is a peculiarly Christian product (cp *Th. T* 1897, pp. 413-5).

To compose 'letters' under another name, especially under the name of persons whose living presentment, or real or supposed spiritual equipment, it was proposed to set before the reader, was then just as usual as was the other practice of introducing the same persons into narratives and reporting their 'words,' in the manner of which we have examples, in the case of Jesus, in the gospels, and, in the case of Peter, Paul, and other apostles, in Acts. No one saw anything improper in this, or thought of any intentional falsification, deception, the playing of a part in which one had to be always on one's guard against self-betrayal. Any one who had anything to say wrote a 'letter' without troubling himself—at any rate not more than other writers—with respect to his work, about a supposed defect in the literary form he had chosen, not even about an address left blank in the epistle when 'despatched,' as for example in the canonical epistle to the Ephesians; or about the absence of a suitable epistolary beginning, as in the canonical Epistle to the Hebrews; or about the want of an appropriate close, as in the Epistle of James; or about the absence of both, as in the first Epistle of John.

19. Estimate of them.

At first no one thought about the matter at all—whether to hold or not to hold such epistles as really proceeding from and intended for their ostensible authors and recipients. Sometimes their real origin was known, sometimes it was guessed, sometimes people were content to remain in the dark. They used the epistles or left them unread, just as they were, indifferently, without asking any question as to their origin, knowing this only, that they were intended for all who chose to give heed to them.

Gradually the position changed as a result of a normal change in the readers' mode of thinking, their thirst for knowledge, their reverence for the authoritative word, and their exaltation of it to the dignity of canonical scripture. From the time of Irenæus onwards the old way of looking at things passed away for centuries,—first with regard to thirteen, anon fourteen, 'Pauline,' and certain 'Catholic,' epistles, and others, written by 'apostolic fathers'; next with regard to the whole body of Old-Christian epistles so far as it was taken by the Church under its protection, the most recent not excluded, such as are now found in Acts, Revelation, *Clem. Hom.*, even apocryphal writings such as the Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans, 3 Cor., that of Jesus to Abgarus. All these epistles now came to be regarded as proceeding from the writers whose name they bore, and to have been originally intended for those who were named as their first recipients in superscription, subscription, address, or tradition.

Here also the rise of the modern spirit wrought a change, and the human mind had to retrace its steps along the path it had for centuries been following. The 'apocryphal' epistles were all of them rejected soon after the Reformation; the genuineness of those embodied in the Clementine Homilies, Rev., and Acts was modestly questioned; some pieces, such as the larger recension of the Ignatian Epistles, and the second Epistle of Clement, formerly classed among the Apostolic Fathers, were no longer deemed to belong there; other epistles, both Catholic and Pauline, were from the time of Semler removed from the position they had so long occupied as possessed of the highest antiquity and indisputably 'genuine.' The process of disintegration steadily went on. The Tübingen school left unchallenged hardly more than the four 'principal epistles'—Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal. In the end criticism succeeded in removing the veil of error and misunderstanding that concealed the true character of even these (see PAUL, §§ 1 2 *f.* 33 *ff.*). The history of this criticism is the justification of those who hold to it and at the same time the condemnation of those who wholly or in part set it aside. The time seems to be approaching when the question as to 'genuineness'—in the sense now usually attached to the word—will no longer be discussed as regards any of the epistles that have come down from the first Christian centuries; it will be enough to be satisfied of their genuine antiquity.

20. Pauline and Catholic epistles.

i. The Old-Christian 'epistle' as a literary phenomenon seems, so far as we can discover, to have first made its appearance in progressive Pauline circles. The first examples of it have disappeared unless it be that some portions survive in some of our present canonical 'Epistles of Paul' ('Επιστολαὶ Παύλου), also 'the apostle' (ὁ 'Απόστολος) or 'the apostolic' (τὸ 'Αποστολικόν; see ROMANS; CORINTHIANS, etc.; PAUL). Perhaps there was an earlier group, to which reference is made in 2 Cor. 10 9-11 cp 1 13, and the present group had not originally the same extent as now. We know not by whom the collection was made, nor yet what influence his work had upon the traditional text. Perhaps we may suppose that it led to some changes. Probably the collection was not wholly the work of one person, but arose gradually through additions. The oldest account—to judge by what Tertullian says (*adv. Marc.* v.)—tells of a group of ten epistles used by Marcion (about 140 A.D.). It is known that Hebrews was for a long time set aside in many circles.

ii. A second group of Old-Christian Epistles is that known as Catholic ('Επιστολαὶ καθολικαί). The word must be understood as referring, not to the destination, nor to the ecclesiastical use, but to the contents of these writings. It was not originally intended to convey, as is often still incorrectly supposed, the idea of 'general' or 'circular' letters, nor yet of 'canonical' ones, but only (as a careful examination of the ancient employment of the word shows) 'trustworthy,' 'worthy of acceptance,' when judged by the standard of religion and dogma. The group, after long hesitation, was finally made up of seven: Ja., 1 and 2 Pet., 1, 2, and 3 Jn., and Jude (see JAMES (EPISTLE); PETER (EPISTLES OF); JOHN (SON OF ZEBEDEE), §§ 57-65; JUDE (EPISTLE).

iii. A third group: Epistles of Barnabas (§ 21 *f.*), Clement (§§ 23-27), Ignatius (§ 28 *f.*), Polycarp (see PHILIPPIANS, §§ 10 14, and above, § 14): is usually

included among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. At a later date was added an Epistle of the Church of Smyrna (see above, § 14); on the same grounds might be added the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons (see § 16).

21. Barnabas.

The epistle of Barnabas (Βαρναβᾶ ἐπιστολή) referred to in CANON, §§ 65, 73; GOSPELS, §§ 89, 90, is found in several MSS.

It is met with in ℵ, *as also in the Jerusalem codex from which* the Didaché comes (J); chaps. 5 7-(. . . *τὸν λαὸν κ. τ. λ.*)-21 in nine other Greek MSS, the so-called ἀκέφαλοι (v o f p h c n s a [=𝔊]); chaps. 1-17 in an Old Latin version; some sentences are also found in Clement of Alexandria and Origen.

The work professes to be a letter—now by one who is the spiritual father of the 'sons and daughters' he addresses (1 1), to whom he feels himself bound by the closest ties, and among whom he has long sojourned (1 3-4); now by one who belongs to their own number, who earnestly addresses the brethren, but not as if he were the teacher who had been placed over them (1 8 4 6 9). The epistolary form, however well maintained, and on that account usually accepted without question, is, in view of the contents, seen to be fictitious; in reality the writing is a treatise intended for general use.

The writer's purpose is to instruct, to edify, to communicate under the form of a letter that which he has himself received, in order that his assumed readers, rich in faith, may now arrive also at fulness of knowledge (ἵνα μετὰ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν τελείαν ἔχητε τὴν γνῶσιν: 1 5). This knowledge or gnosis concerns chiefly the right attitude of Christians towards the OT, the religion of Israel, the divine covenant with the fathers. On these things they need to be enlightened, in connection with the putting into practice of the new religious ethical life. This end is sought to be accomplished by means of a peculiar view—partly allegorical, partly typological, but always arbitrary—of 'Scripture' (the OT and some apocrypha).

The epistle admits of being divided into a double introduction (1 2-5 16-8) and two main portions of a doctrinal (2-17) and a hortatory (18-21) character respectively.

The doctrinal part begins by showing that what is of supreme importance is not the offering of sacrifices or the observance of fasts, but a life in conformity with the moral precepts of the Lord (2-3). It is our duty to love righteousness, especially at the present time when the days are evil and the end of the present age is at hand (4 1-6*a*). We Christians have been ever since the days of Moses the true covenant people (4 6*b*-14), kept by the Lord, who suffered on our behalf after he had become manifest in the flesh in accordance with what can still be read in 'Scripture' (5). There we can continuously read of his manifestation in the flesh (6). The fasts prescribed in the law, the sacrifice of Isaac, the goat on the great day of atonement, all are types of his passion (7). So also the red heifer that must be slain and burnt, whilst the ministering servants prefigure the twelve as preachers of the gospel (8). The precept of circumcision must be spiritually understood; the 318, circumcised by Abraham, are a type of Jesus (9); the laws concerning foods are to be taken metaphorically (10). At every moment one finds in the OT hints of baptism and of the cross (11-12). In Jacob and Ephraim we come to see that not Israel but the whole body of Christians are the true heirs of the covenant broken in the days of Moses but renewed in Christ (13-14). The true day of rest is not the Jewish Sabbath, but the eighth day, the first of the *new week; the true temple of God is not the building at Jerusalem*, but the spiritual temple, of which Christians form a part (15-16). After a short retrospect (17), passing on to another knowledge and teaching (γνῶσις καὶ διδαχή), our author depicts the paths of light and of darkness, and stirs up the children of joy and peace to a walk in conformity with the precepts of the Lord (18-21).

As to the (relative) unity of the whole, often denied or disputed since le Moyne (1685) but also frequently defended, no doubt need be entertained; there is no need for supposing chaps. 18-21 to be a later addition or that the original epistle has been largely interpolated or has undergone one or more redactions. It is obvious, however, that in the preparation of 18-21 the writer has made use of an older form of the *Two Paths*, as also, there and elsewhere, of the OT, the book of Enoch, 4 Ezra, and perhaps other works besides.

22. Authorship, date.

The author's name has not come down to us. Tradition, still clung to by many, suggests Barnabas, the companion of Paul, of whom mention is already made in the *β* text of Acts 1 23 (see BARNABAS and BARSABAS); but it has no claim on our acceptance and has been often controverted. The tradition is admittedly old, however, and perhaps the name of Barnabas has been always associated with this work. The unknown author was probably a gentile Christian, by birth a Greek, belonging to the Alexandrian circle. This conclusion is pointed to at least by his language and his manner of scripture interpretation, his ideas and some of his expressions, such as 'as novices shipwreck ourselves upon their law' (ἐπήλυτοι τῷ ἐκείνων νόμῳ, 3 6). It is also possible, however, to think of him as living somewhere in Syria or Asia Minor not far from the environment within which the epistles of Paul arose. There is nothing to indicate that he was a Jew by birth, or one of the later inhabitants of Palestine.

Notwithstanding his love for gnosis, the author is a practical man who has at heart before all else the edification and the safety of the church. Neither things imminent nor things that lie in the future (τὰ ἐνεστῶτα ἢ μέλλοντα) are of the highest importance, but present things (τὰ παρόντα) and to know how to comport oneself among them. See *e.g.*, 1 6-8 2 1-10 4 1 17.

The author belongs neither to the right wing nor to that of Paul, nor yet to that of the writer of Hebrews or that of Marcion. Towards Judaism his attitude is one of freedom; in his view Christianity came in its place in principle, as early as in the time of Moses; law and prophets are binding on believers, almost always, however, in the metaphorical interpretation only, not the literal, even where a historical occurrence seems to be described.

The date is earlier than that of Eusebius, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Celsus, or the present form of the Didaché; but later than the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. (chaps. 4 16); later than the time of the apostles (5 9 8 3); later than 'Paul' (see PAUL, §§ 38-42), including Hebrews; therefore not (as is still often supposed) before the end of the first century (see ACTS, § 16), but rather, let us say, between 130 and 140 A.D. It is not possible to gain a more precise determination from chaps. 4 and 16, unless in so far as the silence regarding the building of the temple of Hadrian at Jerusalem, in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, may be taken as showing that the temple had not yet been erected.

The value of the work, which, looked at either from the æsthetic or from the edificatory point of view, is not great, lies so far as we are concerned in the historical evidence it affords as to the existence of an interesting tendency—not observable elsewhere—in the direction of free thought among the Christians of the first half of the second century, and of a number of views, in the domain of Christian dogma and history, which differ from the usual opinions as to the contents of the Gospel narratives.

The older literature of the subject will be found referred to in the recent editions of the text by Gebhardt-Harnack (1878(2)), Hilgenfeld (*NT extra canonem receptum*, 1877(2)), Lightfoot (*Clem.* 1890(2), 2 503-512). See further Duker and Van Manen, *Oud. Chr. Lett.* 1870, 1 1-02; Loman, van Manen, Volkmar in *Th.T*, 1884; Steck, *Galaterbr.*, 1888, pp. 310-314; Völter, *JPT*, 1888, pp. 106-144; Joh. Weiss, *Der Barnabasbrief kritisch untersucht*, 1888; A. Link, *TLZ*, 1889, no. 24; Harnack *PRE*(3) 2, 1896, pp. 410-413; *ACL* ii. 1 410-428, 436-7. Cp A. van Veldhuizen, *De brief van Barnabas*, 1901.

23. Clement.

Two epistles of Clement to the Corinthians (Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους A and B), cited as witnesses in CANON, §§ 65, 73, and GOSPELS, § 87, are found in Cod. Alexandrinus (A), in the Jerusalem MS (J), and in an old Syriac version; the first also in an Old Latin version. It is claimed for them that they were written by Clement, in name of the Church of Rome, to the Church of Corinth in connection with disputes which had arisen there on questions of govern-

ment. They have in reality the epistolary form, though not written by Clement.

24. First epistle. The first, which from the moment of its recovery from the Cod. Alexandrinus by Patrick Junius [= Young] (*Epistolæ ad Corinthios, Græce, cum versione et notis Patr. Junii*, Oxford, 1633) was received with great distinction and accepted, in accordance with tradition, as the work of the bishop-martyr Clement, a disciple and one of the first successors of the apostles Peter and Paul at Rome, itself claims to have been written by the Church of God at Rome to that at Corinth. The form is not fortuitous; if the contents be considered, it must be regarded as a literary artifice merely. A 'church' cannot write: usually it is held therefore that Clement wrote in name of the church; of this, however, there is no evidence. The writing has the semblance of a letter throughout, and calls itself so (*ἐπιστολή*: 63 2; cp *ἐπιστέλλομεν* and *ἐπεστείλαμεν* 7 1 62 1); yet clearly this is not its real character, and probably it was never sent as such. Rather it is a book, in the form of an epistle; to speak more precisely, in the form of a Pauline epistle, prepared for, and made accessible to, all who cared to read it. It is an 'exhortation concerning a peace and concord' (*ἔντευξις περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας*), to use its own words (63 2) about itself; a 'writing' (*γραφή*), as Eusebius (*HE* iii. 38 5) designates it; an 'admonition' (*νουθεσία*), as Dionysius has it in Eus. ii. 25 8, designed to be publicly read in the church; cp 2 Clem. 19 1 1 Clem. 7 1.

The contents do not relate exclusively to the disputes at Corinth, although these figure as having furnished the occasion for the letter.

The writing begins, after the superscription and benediction, with an apology, by reason of various troubles, for not having attended to the Corinthians sooner (1 1); next follows an ideal picture of what the Corinthian Church had been (1 2-2 8); its fall is briefly described (3); a series of examples, drawn from the OT and the history of Christianity, is given to show the evils and misery wrought by jealousy and strife (4-6); a declaration that 'we'—not the persons addressed merely, but also the church that is writing—are suffering from the same cause is made; wherefore it will be well that we should pay heed to the rule of tradition (*κανὼν τῆς παραδόσεως*), to attend to what God demands of us and to fix our eyes on the precious blood of Christ (7 1-4). This is the beginning of a long sermon in which it is set forth how God has at all times demanded repentance (7 5-8 5); how we must turn ourselves to him, giving heed to what we read of Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Rahab (9-12); must be humble (13); obedient to God and not to the schismatics (14); must cleave unto those who are godly (15) and think upon Christ—who is described in language taken from the OT (16); copying the examples of the prophets and of Abraham, Job, Moses, David (17-19 *a*), laying to heart the example of peace and harmony shown in the Divine ordering of the universe (19 *b* 20); in all things bearing ourselves Christianly (21 22); holding fast our faith in the second coming of Christ and in the resurrection (23-27), fearing God and seeking to draw near to him by faith and good works (28-35), finding Christ by this road (36-39); observing how in Israel all things were orderly done (40-41); the appointment of bishops and deacons among Christians came of the will of God (42); Moses stilled a contention as to the priestly dignity (43); what the apostles have ordained for the regulation of the episcopal office (44 *a*); let no regularly chosen leaders of the church be dismissed, let contentions be avoided, love be stirred up (44 *b*-50); where needful make acknowledgment of sin, be willing to yield, admonish one another, submit to the presbyters (51-59 2). The exhortation then passes over into a prayer (59 3-61), followed by a retrospect, renewed exhortation to submission (62-63), a benediction (64), a word about messengers sent; renewed benediction (65).

All that is here said about contentions at Corinth belongs to the literary clothing of the document. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians may have suggested it (cp chap. 47). Perhaps too, though this is very far from certain, it is connected with disputes that had recently arisen as to the continuance in office, dismissal, and election of persons for the government of the church. It was the author's main purpose to remove difficulties of this kind wherever they might have arisen. He spoke under the mask of the Church at Rome, as a high authority, with growing emphasis, and finally as if he were one with the Holy Spirit himself (63 2; cp Acts 15 22-29).

The unity of the work has been disputed and the existence of large interpolations has been supposed at various times, though without just cause. No doubt the author, besides drawing much from the OT, has borrowed here and there from various works both Jewish and Christian, possibly also Pagan, without careful acknowledgment to his readers, or perhaps even to himself.

25. Authorship. The author is certainly not Clement of Rome, whatever may be our judgment as to whether or not Clement was a bishop, a martyr, a disciple of the apostles. The church of St. Clement at Rome, where the relics of the saint are reputed to rest, is evidently the third building on the site, and not older than 1059; the underlying second building may possibly be the basilica of which Jerome speaks (*Vir. ill.* 15). The first, which in turn underlies this, certainly exhibits traces of its having at one time been dedicated to the worship of Mithras, but not of any connection with the martyr-bishop Clement. The martyrdom, set forth in untrustworthy Acts, has for its sole foundation the identification of Clement of Rome with Flavius Clement the consul, who was executed by command of Domitian. (See the proofs of this in Lightfoot[2].)

Clement, as bishop of Rome, be he the first, second, or third after Peter, can no longer be maintained in view of the discovery that the Church of Rome (see ROME, CHURCH OF) had no monarchical government at all before Anicetus (156-166?). The disciple of Peter (and Paul) finds no support either in our present epistle or in Phil. 4 3. He disappears in the diverging versions of the tradition.

The possibility, still firmly maintained by such scholars as Harnack and Lightfoot, that the writing may have been the work of a certain Clement concerning whom nothing is known except what can be gathered from 'his' epistle, has no real value; and to connect it with the further supposition that this Clement was an influential member of the governing body of the Roman church—the martyr-bishop of legend—is not to be recommended. The epistle furnishes no ground for it, but rather the reverse. The oldest tradition as to its origin knows nothing of any such view. Irenæus (iii. 3 3) had occasion to refer to it, had he known it, when in that context he mentions the name of Clement; yet he speaks, with some emphasis, just as Dionysius of Corinth does in Eus. *HE* iv. 23 11, of the epistle as having been sent by the Church of Rome in such a manner as to make it, and it alone, responsible for the contents. The first to express himself distinctly in another sense, and to name Clement of Rome as the writer, is Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 7 38).

From the work itself, all we can gather is that the author probably belonged to the Church of Rome. He was an educated man, well acquainted with the OT, and the Pauline and other NT epistles; a friend of peace and order; a warm advocate of the occasionally, perhaps often, disputed rights of the presbyters and deacons once chosen, who had adequately discharged the duties of their office.

26. Date. The date, with regard to which we cannot follow Harnack in deducing anything from the lists of bishops, which have been found untrustworthy, cannot be sought as was done by the older scholars, and more recently by Hefele, Wieseler, and Mallinckrodt, in the time of Nero or immediately thereafter, but considerably later. There is nothing to compel us, with most scholars, amongst whom are Lipsius, Gebhardt-Harnack, Lightfoot, to assign it to the last years of the first century; with Krüger to leave it open till the reign of Trajan; with Volkmar to fix definitely on 125 A.D.; with Loman on the middle of the second century. Rather let us say with Steck, somewhere about 140 A.D.; especially on account of the author's acquaintance with the Pauline epistles (including, of course, Hebrews) and also with 1 Peter.

Whether he also had read the *Shepherd*, or whether, on the other hand, it was Hermas that had read the epistle of Clement, is not quite clear. It is clear, nevertheless, that Polycarp, Hegesippus, Dionysius of Corinth, and Irenæus were acquainted with his work.

The value of the epistle, not insignificant from an æsthetic or religious point of view, lies specially in what it tells us regarding the development of Christianity in the writer's time, and regarding the relation between clergy and laity.

The second epistle was almost immediately on its rediscovery in 1633 received with a certain amount of depreciation; soon it came to be regarded by some as simply a homily which cannot have been written by Clement, and ultimately this view was adopted almost unanimously. The epistle is, nevertheless, equally with the first, so far as form is concerned, a 'letter,' although it be as regards contents an edifying treatise designed to be from time to time read in church (19 1 cp 15 1 *f.* 17 5).

27. Second Clement.

The writer reminds his readers how they ought to hold high their Christian profession, live in accordance with it, make no compromise with the world, have no fear of death (1-5); not serving two masters—the present world and the world to come (6); struggle, seek repentance, believe in the resurrection of the body, do the will of God, have no fear about the future, but rather live in expectation of the great day at every moment, not put off the duty of repentance, make sure that they belong to the true church (7-14). Looking back upon what he has written, the writer calls it a 'counsel respecting continence' (συμβουλία περὶ ἐγκρατείας). He anew exhorts to fidelity to what has been learned, to diligence in seeking repentance both for oneself and for others, to a joyful confidence in God (15-20).

The unnamed author to whose voice we are listening here is not Clement of Rome, as Bryennius alone among modern scholars would have it, nor yet another Clement to whom Hermas refers in *Vis.* 2 4, as Harnack for some time (from 1875) supposed, nor yet is he to be identified with the author of the first epistle we have just been considering (§ 25). It is probable enough, no doubt, that the writer was acquainted with the last-named writing, and was in harmony with it. This view is confirmed by many obvious points of agreement: its being met with only in conjunction with the first epistle; the later yet still old tradition which unfalteringly assigns both epistles to Clement; and the older tradition in Dionysius (see § 31) where, in his epistle to the Romans, he refers to the present epistle (just as Irenæus did in the case of the first) as proceeding from the Church of Rome, but not, like the first, as written—whatever the words may mean—'through Clement' (διὰ Κλήμεντος; Eus. *HE* iv. 23 11, cp 9).

However the anonymous writer may seem to change his character—now as adviser (15 1), now as presbyter (17 3 5), now as reader (19 1)—it is clear that he is a Christian of gentile origin (16 26), an educated man who interests himself in the growth of the religious life of the community, and who when necessary stands up for the defence of the existing ecclesiastical order.

In date the work belongs to the transition period—approximately, after 140 but before 170 A.D.—towards the middle of the second century. Since we ought, in all probability, to attach no weight to the mention of Soter in Eusebius (*loc. cit.*), we may say, certainly before about 160 A.D.

The importance of this letter, apart from the value which it possesses for those who are in search of earnest exhortation and edification in the Old-Christian literature, lies mainly in the contribution it makes to our knowledge of Christianity as it was about the middle of the second century, the emphasis here again laid upon conduct as compared with doctrine (though neither is this depreciated), and the demand for good literature to be used along with the OT and gospels in the public meetings of the church.

The fullest and best studies of the two epistles are those of Lightfoot (*Ap. Fathers: S. Clement*, 1890[2]), with which compare Duker and van Manen, *OCL* 193-263; Hilgenfeld, *Cl. Rom.* 1876[2]; Gebhardt-Harnack-Zahn, *Pat. Ap.* 1876[2]; Loman, *Th.T*, 1883, 14-25; Steck, *Gal.-br.* 1888, 294-310; Mallinckrodt, *Gel. en Vrijh.* 1890, 85-143; Harnack, *ACL* ii. 1 251-255, cp *Th.T*, 1898, 189-193; R. Knopf, *Der erste Clemensbr.* (*TU*, new series, 5 1); F. X. Funk, *Die Apost. Väter*, 1901.

A large number of epistles of Ignatius, handed down from antiquity in various forms, attracted much attention in their several groups from 1498 onwards. The protracted controversy, not only as to the genuineness and value of these writings, but also as to the relative antiquity of the groups—the longer, the shorter, and the Syriac recension named after Cureton—has at last resulted in a practically unanimous conclusion that only seven epistles of Ignatius, mentioned by Eusebius (*HE* 3 36) and preserved in two Greek MSS—or rather, properly speaking, only in one, for the first gives six epistles and the second one more—in an Old Latin version, and partially in Old Syriac, Armenian, and Coptic versions, belong to the category of Old-Christian literature. Towards the end of the fourth century they were worked over and augmented by the addition of five others, to which in turn at a much later date (11th or 12th cent.) three more were added, in Latin. Moreover, they were translated in an abridged form into Syriac. The text of three of these Syriac abridgments—those to the Ephesians, Smyrnæans, and Polycarp—still treated with too great respect in Lightfoot[2], was published by Cureton in 1845.

28. Epistles of Ignatius.

The original group, cited as evidence in CANON, § 65, and GOSPELS, § 92, has the aspect of being a collection of seven epistles written by Ignatius when, after having been thrown into prison for his Christian profession and sentenced, he was on his journey from Antioch to Rome, where he expected to suffer martyrdom. Four of the seven—those to the churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, and Rome—appear to have been written at Smyrna; the remaining three—to the Philadelphians, to the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp—at Rome.

The first three treat the subject of monarchical church government with great earnestness, warn against heresies, and urge to a Christian life. The fourth treats of martyrdom, of which Ignatius must not be deprived. The fifth is chiefly devoted to the subject of church unity, by all the members adhering to the bishop. The sixth deals with docetism, and also with the recognition due to the bishop. The seventh, with the reciprocal duties of the church rulers and people, and of all to one another.

The form of this seeming collection, and of each of the epistles separately, however little prominence be given to the fact even where the genuineness is definitely given up, is artificial. The whole makes up a single complete book, designed for the edification of the readers.

To satisfy oneself of this it is enough to observe the absence of all trace of any such 'collection' having been made of the epistles as has been assumed; their mutual relations as parts of a whole; the reference in the first to the second epistle as a 'second tract' (δεύτερον βιβλίδιον) intended for the same readers (Eph. 20 1); the peculiar form of the addresses and superscriptions; the meaning of the words there employed: 'who is also Theophorus' (ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος [Philadelphia]), 'of Asia (τῆς Ἀσίας), 'on the Mæander' (πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ); the forced character of the assumed relations between writer and readers; the improbability of the details of the journey of Ignatius; its irreconcilability in various respects with the certainly older tradition—as such brilliantly defended by Völter against Lightfoot in 1892—according to which Ignatius died a martyr, not about 107 or 110 at Rome, but in the winter of 115-116, at Antioch, by command of the Emperor Trajan, who was there at that time; the fact that the writer sometimes distinguishes himself from Ignatius; the testimony of *Ep. Pol.* 9 and 13 regarding Ignatius and his epistles; the points of agreement and difference between Ignatius and Paul.

After the example of Paul, who writes edifying and doctrinal epistles, and is on his journey towards Rome, where he looks forward to martyrdom as probable, our writer makes Ignatius of Antioch, well known as a Christian martyr, bear witness to what lies in his heart regarding the glory of Christian martyrdom; the need for close adherence on the part of all church members to the bishop and presbyters of the church; the purity of Christian doctrine and the uprightness of a Christian life to be secured in this way. 'Ignatius' is not, however, as many with Baur have held, the mere advocate of the bishop or the mere assailant of docetism.

Who this writer may have been it is impossible to ascertain or even to guess. Certainly not Ignatius.

29. Authorship.

So much was already recognised—following in the footsteps of Salmasius and Blondel (1645)—by Daillé (1666) in his controversy with Usher and Voss; by Larroque (1674) against Pearson; in modern times by Baur, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Bunsen, Duker, van Manen, Keim, Killen, van Loon, against Rothe, Uhlhorn, Junius, Zahn, Lightfoot, Völter, Réville, Harnack. Thirty years ago it seemed as if the time had wholly passed by in which 'genuine' epistles of Ignatius would be spoken of at all. That the position has changed in recent years seems to be due, on the one hand, to the advocacy of Zahn (*Ignatius von Antiochien*, 1873; *Pat. Ap.* 1876) and of Lightfoot (*Ap. Fathers: S. Ignatius*, 1889(2)), whilst on the other, no account has been taken of anything urged on the other side by Dutch and American scholars; also to the readiness to accept various plausible yet baseless suppositions, as full and adequate answers to objections. It is in reality, however, of no avail, as has been frequently attempted, to separate, in the interests of the supposed 'genuineness,' the Epistle to the Romans from the others, and to attribute either the former only (so Renan), or the others only (so Völter), to the martyr-traveller. It is also useless and contrary to all tradition to regard Ignatius as having been bishop in the late years of Hadrian (Harnack, *Die Zeit des Ignatius von Antioch*, 1878), or to keep his date open to 125 A.D. (Harnack, 1897, *ACL* II 1, p. 406, 3); to regard his advocacy of monarchical church government as made on behalf of an ideal only (Jean Réville, *Études sur les origines de l'épiscopat*, 1891; cp van Manen, *Th.T*, 1892, 625-633: van Loon, *ib.* 1893, 278-284); to identify him with a second Ignatius, who lived about the middle of the second century (Völter, *Th.T*, 1886, 114-136), or with Peregrinus Proteus in the days when he was still a Christian (Völter, *Th.T*, 1887, 272-320, also *Die Ignatianischen Briefe*, 1892: cp van Loon, *Th T*, 1886, 509-581; 1888, 420-445; 1893, 275-316).

The unknown writer was, to judge by his work, an earnest man with much zeal for martyrdom and all that made for what he thought right in doctrine and life. Perhaps he was a layman, and lived in Rome, at some date intermediate between Eusebius, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and 'Polycarp,' on the one hand, and Peter and Paul, the 'apostles,' Ignatius (†115-116), and a group of Pauline epistles, including Eph. 1 Thess. 1 Tim. Titus, on the other. The importance the writer attaches to acceptance of monarchical church government as a guarantee of purity of doctrine and life, and his animadversions on Marcionite errors, also point to a date near the middle of the second century, though at the same time it does not seem advisable to fix upon *circa* 175 as van Loon does.

The value of the little work lies in the region of history, particularly in that of the external and internal ordering of the life of the church. It speaks to the existence of a strong desire for vigour and unity in the government of the church in the interests of sound doctrine and life.

The copious literature will be found registered for the most part in Lightfoot (*Ap. Fathers; S. Ignatius*, 1889(2)); cp also Duker and van Manen, *OCL* 2 5-154; Zahn, *Ign. v. Ant.* 1873 and *PA*, 1876; W. D. Killen, *The Ancient Church*, 1883(4), and *The Ignatian Epistles entirely Spurious*, 1886; R. E. Jenkins, *Ignatian Difficulties and Historic Doubts*, 1890; Völter, *Ign. Br.* 1892; van Loon, *Th.T*, 1886, 1888, 1893; Harnack, *ACL* ii. 1 381-406; Funk, *Ap. Vät.* 1901.

The epistle to Diognetus, cited in GOSPELS, § 95, belongs to the category of Apologies, on which see below, § 41.

30. Diognetus, Valentinus, Marcion, Themiso.

Epistles of Valentinus, an Egyptian gnostic who lived at Rome in the middle of the second century, are mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 8 36 ii. 20 114 iii. 7 59), and were, it would seem, of a doctrinal character. So also an *Epistle of Marcion*, dating from his pre-heretical period, to which Tertullian refers (*adv. Marc.* 1 1 44, *de Carne*, 2). A catholic epistle (*ἐπιστολὴ καθολική*) by the Montanist Themiso 'in imitation of the apostle' (*μιμούμενος τὸν Ἀπόστολον*), ± 170, written, according to Apollonius (ap. Eus. *HE* v. 18 5), for the enlightenment of those who were opposed to his views, is known to us only by this reference, and is noteworthy as the latest example of its kind from the time when 'epistles' were still written without hesitation in imitation of the manner of 'the Apostle'—*i.e.*, 'Paul.'

Catholic epistles to the Churches (*καθολικαὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολαί*) is the name given by Eusebius (*HE* 4 23) to seven epistles, written by Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, about (it is conjectured) ± 170 A.D., by request, to the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, Nicomedians, the churches of Gortyna and elsewhere in Crete, at Amastris, and elsewhere in Pontus, the Cnossians and the Romans.

31. Dionysius of Corinth.

The book is currently held to have been a collection of actual letters. To judge, however, by the character of the fragments preserved in Eusebius, we ought rather to regard it as a collection similar in kind to the Ignatian (see § 28), containing a series of precepts, suggestions, instructions regarding the true faith and right manner of life, the constitution and government of the churches. That Dionysius himself, and not that—after the practice of those times—a later author, should have written them and published them collectively under Dionysius's name becomes increasingly improbable as soon as we endeavour to do full justice to the complaint in the mouth of Dionysius about the falsification of his epistles; to the reasons given why he, Dionysius, wrote to one group of readers upon one subject and to another upon another, and so forth. Perhaps substantially the same has to be said of an epistle which Dionysius, according to Eusebius (*l.c.*, § 13), addressed to sister Chrysoptora.

32. Irenæus.

i. An *Epistle of Irenæus to Florinus*, presbyter at Rome and a pupil of Valentinus, known from Eusebius (*HE* v. 20 1) and still regarded as genuine by Harnack (*ACL* 1 593-4) and Krüger (*ACL* 93), is a later treatise, in epistolary form, on the unity of God, in connection with the question whether God is the author of evil (*περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν*). The manifest exaggeration to which Matthes years ago called attention (*De ouderdom van het Joh. Ev.* 1867, 117, 162-3), coupled with the fact that Irenæus, moreover, never shows any signs of acquaintance with Florinus, although he would constantly have had occasion to controvert him in *adv. Hær.* had he known him, and the manner in which the writer poses as Irenæus in defence of orthodox doctrine, all enable us to perceive clearly that a writer otherwise unknown is speaking to us here and why he is doing so.

ii. In like manner the *Epistle to Blastus*, connected with that of Irenæus to Florinus, and named only in Eusebius (*HE* v. 20 1, cp 5 15), is also, probably, not the work of Irenæus, but a later treatise 'on schism' (*περὶ σχίσματος*).

iii. A third epistle, which according to Eusebius (*HE* v. 24 11) was sent by Irenæus in name of the brethren in Gaul to Victor of Rome, and which is partially preserved by Eusebius (*loc. cit.* 12-17), should confidently be regarded as a later treatise about the paschal feast (λόγος *περὶ τοῦ πάσχα*), an earnest attempt at conciliation between contending parties in the paschal controversy, in which in all probability the name of Irenæus at first did not figure at all.

33. Ptolemy.

An *Epistle of Ptolemy to Flora*, preserved in Epiphanius (*Hær.* 33 3-7), and printed by Stieren (*Iren.* 1 922-936), and, in an improved text, by Hilgenfeld (*ZWT* 24 [1881] 214-230), takes the form of a friendly answer to the question: How ought we to think regarding the Law of Moses? Irenæus, in writing about the gnostic Ptolemy, head of

the school of Valentinus in Italy, neither uses this epistle nor shows any knowledge of it—a reason for regarding it as probably a treatise belonging to a somewhat later date than that usually assumed (the middle of the 2nd cent.). The same inference is suggested by the peculiar use here made of the gospels of Mt. and Jn., and of the Pauline epistles Rom., 1 Cor., Eph. (Cp A. Stieren, *De Irenæi adv. Hær. operis fontibus*, etc., 1836, pp. 19-21; *De Ptolemæi gnostici ad Floram Epistola*, 1843.)

34. Apocryphal epistles.

As Apocryphal epistles the following may here be mentioned by way of Appendix:—An interchange of letters between Abgarus and Jesus (see APOCRYPHA, § 29, and von Dobschütz, *ZWT* 1900, pp. 422-486); between Seneca and Paul; between the Corinthians and Paul (=3 Cor.); from Paul to the Lacedæmonians (see PAUL, § 50).

IV. APOCALYPSES (§ 35)

35. Revelations.

In Old-Christian literature a fourth class is constituted by the writings usually known as Apocalypses, Ἀποκαλύψεις, or Revelations, most of which are partially or wholly lost. The following are known:—a *Revelation of John* (see APOCALYPSE, and JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 1-15); part of a *Revelation of Peter* (see APOCRYPHA, § 30; CANON, § 73; SIMON PETER); the *Shepherd of Hermas* (see CANON, §§ 65, 72; SHEPHERD). Of the *Revelation of Paul* (see PAUL, § 50) and of the *Revelation of Abraham*, both mentioned by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 38_{2}), and both considered to date from the second century, we know little more than the names. Under this section we may include those fragments of older Christian Revelations which may be held to survive in Mt. 24 Mk. 13 Lk. 21_{5-36} 2 Thess. 2_{1-12} Barnabas 4_{1-6}, and the Christian portions of certain originally Jewish writings—4 Ezra, the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, the Sibylline Oracles, etc., and the later or apocryphal Revelations edited by Tischendorf, 1866, and others.

V. APOLOGIES (§§ 36-44)

36. Apologies: Quadratus, Aristides.

The Apologies form a fifth group. One of the oldest, known only in a small fragment (Eus. *HE* 4_{3}), claims to be by Quadratus and addressed to the Emperor Hadrian on his visit to Athens about 125-6 A.D.

So also a writing of Aristides partially (chs. 1, 2) extant in an Armenian version (1878), and wholly in a Syriac version discovered by Rendel Harris in 1889, as also in Greek in the romance *Barlaam and Josaphat* discovered by Armitage Robinson in 1890 (*ed. princeps* in *TS* 1_{1}, 1891). It has the form of a speech delivered before an unnamed 'king' (Βασιλεύς) and may be conjectured to have been published under the title, 'Apology of Aristides for the Christians' religion, to Hadrian' (Τοῦ Ἀριστείδους ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβείας πρὸς Ἀδριανόν) most likely with the superscription 'To the Emperor Cæsar Hadrian, Aristides the Philosopher, of Athens' (Αὐτοκράτορι, Καίσαρι, Ἀδριανῷ Ἀριστείδης Φιλόσοφος Ἀθηναῖος).

The speaker begins with a short profession of his faith in God (ch. 1). He premises that there are worshippers of so-called gods, as well as Jews and Christians; they fall into various classes as Chaldæans, Greeks, and Egyptians; and all are in error (2). Their gods have no title to be acknowledged or worshipped (3-13). They belong to the visible, not to the invisible world, and are creatures of God, perishable *stoicheia* (see ELEMENTS), or images of these (3-7). Amongst the Greeks, they are often represented as human beings displaying all kinds of objectionable attributes, vices and crimes (8-11). Amongst the Egyptians, moreover, as irrational animals, plants, and herbs (12, 13). The Jews know indeed the Almighty, the Invisible who sees all things and has created all things,—but although they are nearer the truth they do not serve him with understanding, as is shown by their denial of Christ the son of God who has come into the world (14). It is otherwise with the Christians. They live in accordance with the commandments of God engraved on their hearts, and are conspicuous in every respect for their praiseworthy conduct (15). The discourse concludes with two sections that seem to have undergone some alteration in transmission to us (16, 17).

So far as the form is concerned, it may well be doubted whether Aristides ever delivered such a discourse, either at Athens or elsewhere. There is, however, no sufficient reason for doubting also, with Harnack (*TLZ* 1891, nos. 12, 13), the rest of the statement in Eusebius, or for inferring from the superscription in the Syriac version that Aristides delivered his discourse to Antoninus Pius (138-161). We may adhere to the date under Hadrian (117-138), but not earlier than 125-6. With this assumed date agrees what can be inferred from the contents (if the simplicity of the discourse is noted), what the writer adopts from the gospel narratives, and his attitude towards the books he appears to have made use of (see CANON, § 65; van Manen, *Th. T* 1893, 1-56).

37. Aristo of Pella.

A *Dispute of Jason and Papiscus concerning Christ*, attributed to Aristo of Pella, depreciatingly spoken of by Celsus, and defended by Origen, is known to us in a fragmentary way from the writings of Origen and others, and perhaps underlies the *Altercatio Simonis Judæi et Theophili Christiani* which comes to us from the fifth century (Harnack, *ACL* 1_{92-95}; *PRE*(3) 2_{47-48}) and the *Discourse between Athanasius* [bishop of Alexandria] *and the Jew Zacchæus* (Conybeare, *Expos.* 1897, April, 300-323; June, 443-463). It appears to have turned upon the question whether Jesus was the Messiah foretold by the prophets, and to date from 135-170, let us say about 140 A.D.

38. Justin: First Apology.

The Christian philosopher, Justin Martyr, born about 100 A.D., baptized about 133, died about 165 (±163-7), who is cited as a witness to the NT in CANON, § 67 and GOSPELS, § 75, was the author of two apologies which are imperfectly preserved in a single MS. The first vindicates 'our faith' before Antoninus and the Roman senate, according to Eus. *HE* iv. 8_{3} 11_{3} 18_{2}. It is divisible into three parts: chs. 2-12 13-60 61-67, preceded and followed by an introduction (1) and a conclusion (68_{1-2}) to which was added at a later date a transcript of Hadrian's letter to Minucius Fondanus (68_{3-10}) and, later still, letters of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

The orator-author maintains (1) that Christians ought not to be persecuted for the name they bear seeing that they are neither without God (ἄθεοι) nor guilty of all sorts of evil deeds. He states what their belief really is, declares that Jesus Christ has foretold all things, and announces his purpose of proving, for the instruction of those who do not know it, the truth of his Christian confession (2-12). (2) He then proceeds in the second place to show that the Christian religion is rational and leads to a life that is lovely as the precepts of Christ are beautiful (13-22). In ch. 23 he lays down three propositions which he goes on to discuss in their order: what he and his brethren have taught concerning Christ and the prophets who went before is true (24-29); all this was taught by Jesus Christ, the Son of God, made man in accordance with the Divine purpose (30-53); before the incarnation men had wandered in error under the influence of evil spirits (54-60). (3) In the third portion he treats of baptism, the eucharist, the observance of Sunday (61-67).

The assumed character of a spoken discourse is merely literary form. The book is intended to advocate the Christian cause with all who cared to listen to it, especially with rulers (οἱ ἄρχοντες) all of whom, not merely one or two emperors, are addressed as 'pious and philosophers' (εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλόσοφοι). Where and when it was written cannot be determined with certainty. Probably it was at Rome about the middle of the second century.

In the second apology the speaker, in consequence of

39. Second Apology. a bloody persecution of three Christians under Urbicus, addresses himself to the 'Romans' whose 'governors' (ἡγούμενοι) permit or perpetrate such cruelties. He relates what has happened (chs. 1 2), speaks contemptuously of what a certain opponent called Crescens might be able to do (3); disposes of the advice given to Christians to commit suicide (4); explains why it is that in spite of all calamities they maintain their faith in God (5); that God is unnameable; who Jesus Christ is (6); why Christians cannot accept the Stoical doctrine as to the conflagration of the world and as to fate (7 8); why they believe in the penal justice of God (9); that philosophers like Socrates in the olden time were also persecuted (10); how it is possible to learn from Hercules at the crossway (11); of the fearlessness of Christian martyrs (12); and that it must be held a fitting thing that answer should be made to the complaints of the Christians (13-15).

This discourse is no mere postscript of the first, as has often been supposed, nor a preliminary argument. Rather is it an independent sequel, with constant reference to what has been said in the first: perhaps a work that at a later date (yet not much later) was separately published when Urbicus was city prefect—that is to say between 144 and 160 (*circa* 153).

Both discourses, cited as witnesses in CANON, § 67 and GOSPELS, § 75, are of great value for our knowledge of the manner in which in those days Christianity was regarded by mature and thoughtful professors. The first has an additional value on account of what it tells us as to the moral life of the Christians of that period as well as their ecclesiastical customs and practices.

40. Dialogue with Trypho. A third apology of Justin, in large measure preserved in the same MS, is known as his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. To Trypho he tells the story of his own baptism (2-8), and then he goes on to show, in the first place that the Mosaic law has had its day and must now give place to the new law, the law of Christ (9-48), and in the second place that Christ is rightly worshipped by believers along with God, because the prophets had foretold his coming and he is truly the Son of God as is witnessed by his birth, by his death on the cross, his resurrection, and ascension (49 *ff.*).

This dialogue, cited in CANON, § 67, was, according to ch. 120, written after Justin's First Apology, probably still within the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161), approximately about 155-160.

41. Epistle to Diognetus. What is known as the *Epistle to Diognetus* reached modern times in a single MS which was burned at Strassburg in 1870; it is a particularly fine plea for Christianity (cp § 30) in which an unknown writer, who for a while was wrongly identified with Justin, undertakes to enlighten the equally unknown Diognetus on the religion of Christians, the God in whom they trust, their contempt of the world and of death, their renunciation of the gods of Greece and of the Jewish worship (δεισιδαιμονία), their mutual love, and the reason why this new 'kind or practice' (γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα) of piety has only now entered into the world (ch. 1). He insists on the worthlessness of the gods made by human hands of perishable matter (2); maintains that the Jews are in error when they think to serve the Creator as if he had need of offerings and desired the fulfilment of a multiplicity of commands (3-4). He then goes on to sketch the Christian manner of life so as to show the excellence of the Christian profession (5-6). Their knowledge of God is through the manifestation of the Word (7). How greatly superior is the Christian revelation to all that ever philosophers formerly taught (8). Before it must come the fulness of transgression (9). Christian faith brings a rich blessing (10). Finally there follows, from another—somewhat younger—hand, a glorification of the Word and of the preaching of the Word to men (11-12).

The whole was, as plainly appears from the last lines of ch. 1, originally designed, not to be sent as a letter, but to be read and re-read in the religious assemblies of the church. When we compare this anonymous writer with Aristides and perceive how he seems to be acquainted with NT writings without ever quoting them verbatim or as possessing authority, we have reason to assign his date to the second half of the second century.

42. Tatian. Tatian, already referred to in § 7, was the author of a still extant *Oration to the Greeks* (critically edited by Schwartz in 1888) which may be dated towards the middle of the second century, not later than about 172 A.D. He there expounds what he, the quondam philosopher, deems most proper to be said on behalf of Christianity while criticising and confuting the religion, ethics, philosophy, and art of the Greeks.

43. Athenagoras. An extant *Oration of Athenagoras* (also edited by Schwartz, 1891) is represented as having been held before the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Commodus—that is to say, somewhere between the years 176 and 180. In it the Athenian philosopher (of whom nothing further is known) directs attention to the difference of treatment meted out to Christians and pagans (1-3); he then proceeds to vindicate Christians from the accusation of being atheists (ἄθεοι) (4-30) and of being morally inferior to pagans (31-36), and concludes with a fresh appeal to the supreme rulers (37).

44. Miltiades, etc. Apologies by Miltiades and Apollonius are known to us only by name: that of Melito (*circa* 170) from a quotation by Eusebius (*HE* iv. 26_{5-11}).

VI. TEXT BOOKS

45. Text books Such Old-Christian writings as do not come under the categories already dealt with—Gospels, Acts, Epistles, Revelations, Apologies—can be conveniently grouped under the heading of *Text books*, as having been written for the instruction of their readers. In this class the first we shall mention is the *Antitheses* or *Separatio legis et evangelii*. Of this we know little more than the name, and that it was the chief work of Marcion; it is mentioned by Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* 1_{19}; see CANON, § 69).

Four-and-twenty books of Basilides, or it may be, of one of his followers 'upon the Gospel' (εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον; so Eus. *HE* iv. 7_7) or 'exegetics' (ἐξηγητικά; so Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 12_{83}).

Letters, Homilies and Psalms, by Valentinus or his adherents, are referred to by Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Tertullian.

A 'treatise against all the heresies that have existed' (σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἱρέσεων), by Justin, is named by himself in *Apol.* 1_{26}.

Other works also are, rightly or wrongly, attributed to Justin.

Philosophical, doctrinal, polemical, ecclesiastical writings by Isidorus, Apelles, Agrippa Castor, Tatian, Miltiades, Apollinaris, Melito, Theophilus, Rhodon, and others in confutation of 'heretics' or in recommendation of their 'errors.'

Greater or smaller treatises wholly or partially incorporated or worked into later *Canones, constitutiones*, confessional writings, episcopal lists, etc.

The chief work of this description, known to us since 1883, is the *Didachè* (see APOCRYPHA, § 31; CANON, § 65; Warfield, *Bibl. Sacr.* 1886, pp. 100 *ff.*; Hennecke, *ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 58-72).

Five books of 'Memoirs' or 'Commentaries (Ὑπομνήματα) by Hegesippus, begun under Anicetus (154/5-165/7), completed under Eleutherus (173/5-188/9), of which fragments are preserved in Eus. *HE*, are more of a polemical, anti-gnostic, than of an historical, character.

The much discussed work of Papias was probably a commentary on one or more of our canonical gospels (see GOSPELS, §§ 65, 94).

'Memoirs' or 'Commentaries' (Ὑπομνήματα)—by Heracleon, according to Origen—collected by Brooke (*TS* 1 4, 1891) belong to a commentary on the Fourth Gospel (see CANON, § 69).

On the Resurrection of the Dead (περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν; edited by Schwartz, *TU* 4 2) was written by Athenagoras in answer to objections to the doctrine of the resurrection and in exposition of the arguments in its favour that can be drawn from the writings of philosophers, or from the constitution and destiny of man.

46. Literature. The literature of the subject is immense. It includes all studies, whether older or more recent, on the NT, the Apostolic Fathers and other Christian writers of the first two centuries. For brevity's sake we may refer to the 'Introductions' to the NT (see PAUL, § 51); Harnack, *ACL* 1 1893, 2 1, 1897; Krüger, *ACL*, 1895, and 'Nachträge,' 1897. W. C. v. M.

OLEASTER (עֵץ שֶׁמֶן), Is. 41 19 RVmg., EV OIL TREE (*q.v.*). Cp OLIVE, § 2.

OLIVE (זַיִת; ελαια Gen. 8 11 Ex. 27 20 30 24 etc.) is often mentioned in OT as well as several times in NT.

1. Etymology. The Hebrew name (*záyith*), is found in Aram., Eth., and Arab., but not in Ass. In Arab. *zayt* usually stands for the oil, and a longer form *zaytūn* for the tree.

Guidi's inference (*Della Sede*, 37) that both the name and the culture of the olive were a comparatively late importation into Arabia—supported by Strabo's statement (783) about the Nabatæan country εὔκαρπος ἡ πολλὴ πλὴν ἐλαίου, and the fact that various words for *lamps* were borrowed by Arab. from Aram.—is accepted by Fränkel (147), but denied by Hommel (*Aufs. u. Abhandl.* 99).

The origin of *záyith* was formerly sought within the Semitic languages in √זהה, 'to be bright' (cp זִיו, Ges. *Thes.*); but Lagarde in a brilliant article (*Mitth.* 3 214 *ff.*) maintains a derivation from Armenian *tsēth*, which may also be the source of Egyptian *djoeit* or *djōit*, a word which, in a slightly different form, is found in an early Pyramid text (Hommel, *l.c.*). If this etymology be accepted, it has an important bearing on the history both of language and of civilisation. The word would be an example of a very early loanword incorporated from without into the common Semitic stock, whilst the knowledge of olive cultivation might be inferred to have reached Egypt on the one hand and Palestine on the other from some early seat in Asia Minor—probably Cilicia, Lagarde thinks, in view of the fact that on the S. coast of Asia Minor the wild olive 'forms veritable forests' (De Candolle, *Origine*, 225). The Arabic word passed along the N. coast of Africa into Spain, and was also borrowed by Persian and Turkish. The Greek and Latin words are of quite independent origin.

2. References. Although in Gen. 8 11 a branch of *wild* olive seems to be intended, everywhere else *záyith* denotes the cultivated variety. In Neh. 8 15 this is distinguished from the oleaster (*Eleagnus angustifolia*), if that is the correct identification of *'ēṣ šémen* (see OIL TREE). The two terms are brought together in a distich of Ben Sira (Ecclus. 50 10, Heb. text)—

As a luxuriant olive (זית) full of berries,
And as a wild-olive tree (עץ שמן) with branches full of sap.

No wonder that references to the olive tree abound; it is as characteristic of Palestine (Dt. 8 8) as the date-palm is of Egypt, and shares the notice of Hebrew writers with corn and the vine. Once we find the phrase כֶּרֶם זַיִת, 'olive orchard' (Judg. 15 5). The special epithet of the olive is רַעֲנָן[1]—*i.e.*, 'luxuriant'—not 'green,' for the leaves of the olive are not strikingly green. The uses of its oil, for lighting, as an ingredient in food, and as a salve or ointment, are too familiar to

[1] See Driver on Dt. 12 2.

need illustration, nor need we refer here to GETHSEMANE [*q.v.*]. Olive trees stand as an image of fresh beauty combined with fruitfulness (Ps. 52 8 [10] 128 3 Jer. 11 16 Hos. 14 6); the process of 'beating' or 'shaking' the trees to bring down the ripe fruit is referred to[1] in Dt. 24 20 (for the law about gleaning cp Ex. 23 11) Is. 17 6 24 13; and the treading or pressing out of the oil in Mic. 6 15.

In Rom. 11 17-24 we have an allusion to the process of grafting, which has since ancient times been applied in order to grow branches of the finer cultivated olive upon the stem of the oleaster (ἀγριέλαιος); the writer, for the illustration of his argument, imagines a reverse process—the grafting of wild olive branches upon the cultivated plant.

3. Home of olive. The area over which *Olea europea*, L., is found growing spontaneously is so large that it is almost impossible to say where or how early it may have been first cultivated. As De Candolle (*op. cit.* 223 *ff.*) shows, however, its range may not in early times have been so extensive. The Egyptians certainly knew it very early as a cultivated plant. The Greeks believed Attica to have been its earliest home (Herod. 5 82), and it was cultivated among them from a great antiquity. The Syrian cultivation may reach back at least as far as either of these (cp Lagarde, *l.c.*), and Schweinfurth and other botanists incline to the view that the olive was of African origin, and thence spread along the Mediterranean region.

N. M.

4. Pss. 52 8 128 3. [Two passages in the Psalms seem to require notice here: (*a*) Ps. 52 8 [10] and (*b*) 128 3. In passage *a* olive-trees in the temple-courts may justly surprise us, for there is no trustworthy evidence that trees were planted there. Most probably the text is in disorder, as the vertical line called Pasek suggests. If we may read—

And I, the poor and needy one, ואני עני ואביון,
In the courts of the house of my God, בחצרות בית אלהי—

the difficulty is removed without violence (Che *Ps.*(2)).

In passage *b*, there may be an allusion to the way in which the olive tree propagates itself. When the trunk decays, fresh stems spring from the roots, and a group of olives takes the place of a single tree. As the parent stem decays, the suckers grow up, tall and strong, in their place, so that it may perhaps be a true tradition that in the famous olive-grove of Gaza (see GAZA, § 4) no trees have been planted since the Moslem conquest.[2]—T. K. C.]

N. M., §§ 1-3; T. K. C., § 4.

OLIVES, THE MOUNT OF (הַר הַזֵּיתִים, Zech. 14 4 *bis*; τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν [𝔊, NT, Jos.]; *mons Olivarum*;

1. Names. in 2 S. 15 30 מַעֲלֵה הַזֵּיתִים, ἡ ἀναβάσις τ. ἐ., *clivus*, 'ascent'; in Acts 1 12, ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἐλαιῶνος, *mons qui vocatur Oliveti*, 'the mount called **Olivet**' [Olivet also in 2 S. 15 30 AV; cp Jos. *Ant.* vii. 9 2]), afterwards called by the Jews הר המשחה, *mons unctionis* (on the expression הַר הַמַּשְׁחִית, 2 K. 23 13 see below, and cp DESTRUCTION [MOUNT OF]), and still later, *mons luminum* (explained in the Middle Ages as referring to the multitude of lights burning in the various sanctuaries on the mount) or also *mons trium luminum*—with reference to the triple light (*a*) of the temple, (*b*) of the rising sun, (*c*) of the oil of the olive trees, according to the rabbis; cp *PEFQ*, 1897, pp. 75-77, 307-308—or, more correctly, according to Reland, *mons trium culminum* (from its three summits; see below), and at the present day *Jebel ez-Zeitūn*, or more commonly, *Jebel-eṭ-Ṭūr* (sometimes *Jebel Ṭūr ez-Zeit*).

2. Description. The name applies primarily in a general way to the whole ridge (on the limitation to a part of this chain, see below [3]), coming from the NW., but stretching N. and S. for about 2½ m. on the E. side of Jerusalem, beyond the ravine of the Kidron valley, thus forming a sort of rampart parallel to the Bezetha and Temple Hills (see sketch map above, col. 2410). Geologically the formation is a hard cretaceous limestone (called by the Arabs *mizzeh*), with superimposed strata of soft cretaceous limestone (Senonian, called by the Arabs *kakūleh*), and quaternary deposits on the summit. The mount is easily climbed in a quarter of an hour from the Kidron; it is less stony

[1] 'In many parts of Spain and Greece, and generally in Asia, the olives are beaten down by poles or by shaking the boughs' (*EB*(9) 17 762).

[2] Conder, *Tent Work*, 2 261.

than some others near it, and formerly was rich in various plantations, especially (as the name implies) olive plantations; the number of these has greatly diminished. There are three distinct elevations separated by depressions in the ridge.

(1) The elevation on the N., where the house of Mr. Gray Hill now stands (2690 ft. above sea level), currently known as Mt. Scopus (but wrongly, the true Scopus being more to the W., beside the Nāblus road, at the point called Rās-el-Meshārif; cp *PEFQ*, 1874, pp. 94, 111); the native name appears to be eṣ-Ṣuwān.

(2) That on the S., now known as Jebel Baṭn el-Hawa (Mount of the Belly of the Wind), 2395 ft., having the village of Siloam on its western flank. By Josephus (*BJ* v. 12 2) it is called 'the hill overlooking the ravine of Siloam'; by tradition, ὄρος προσοχθίσματος, σκανδάλου, διαφθορᾶς, *mons offensionis* or *scandali*, being identified with the hill spoken of in 1 K. 11 7 as 'before' (עַל־פְּנֵי) Jerusalem, in connection with the pagan sanctuaries set up by Solomon for his foreign wives,[1] and also with the hill (to be regarded, however, as distinct), which in 2 K. 23 13 is called הַר הַמַּשְׁחִית (EV, mount of corruption, RVmg., 'or, destruction'). For a discussion of this phrase, which was unintelligible to the translator of 𝔊, see DESTRUCTION [MOUNT OF]; the hill intended by it was probably the Mt. of Olives, properly so-called, and as for the sanctuaries situated 'on its right hand'—*i.e.*, to the S.—they may have stood on the Jebel Baṭn el-Hawa, but equally well may be supposed to have been on the hill called by tradition the Hill of Evil Counsel, now locally known as the Jebel Abū-Ṭōr, to the S. of Jerusalem beyond the Wādy er-Rabābi. The Jebel Baṭn el-Hawa is separated from the Mt. of Olives proper by a sharp depression, through which passes the road to Bethany, and in which are situated the new abattoirs of Jerusalem.

(3) Between the two already mentioned is the Mt. of Olives proper—the distance from Jerusalem is variously given as 8 furlongs (Acts 1 12, 'a sabbath day's journey'), 5 furlongs (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 6) or 6 furlongs (Jos. *BJ* v. 2 3)—described as before (עַל־פְּנֵי) Jerusalem on the east (מִקֶּדֶם), Zech. 14 4), on the east side (מִקֶּדֶם) of the city (Ez. 11 23), and over against (κατέναντι) the temple (Mk. 13 3). Here again three culminating points have to be distinguished. The first, on the E. (2664 ft.), is now marked by the conspicuous Russian tower; the second (2636 ft.), farther to the W., exactly faces the temple; here stand (*a*) the chapel of the Ascension on the site of various Christian buildings, the oldest of which goes back to the time of Constantine; (*b*) the Arab village of Kefr eṭ-Ṭūr, first mentioned in the fifteenth century; (*c*) several other sanctuaries; the third, more to the N. (2684 ft.), is locally known as Karm eṣ-Ṣeyyād or Karm Abul-Hawa, and to tradition as *Viri Galilæi*; see below (§ 5). A carriage road, made for the Empress of Germany in 1898, leads from the Nāblus Road to Viri Galilæi and thence onwards to the Chapel of the Ascension.[2]

The view from the Mt. of Olives is very extensive. Westward, it commands a bird's-eye view of Jerusalem, 'in the form of a theatre,' as Josephus expresses it (the summit is 218 ft. above the Ḥaram). To the NW. is seen Neby Samwīl, and to the N. the mountains of Benjamin and Ephraim; to the S. are those of Judah, and, in particular, the 'Frank Mountain' (Bethlehem is not visible; but from the top of the Russian tower can be seen the bell-towers of the Church of the Nativity); to the E. are the arid mountains traversed by the road from Jerusalem to Jericho (Bethany is hidden), the Ghōr, the Dead Sea, the mountains of Gilead and Moab. Those, however, who claim to have seen Jerash, the greater Hermon, Ebal and Gerizim, the Mediterranean, are in error.

3. OT references. In the OT the Mt. of Olives is mentioned in four places:—(*a*) 2 S. 15 23-16 1. David, in flight from Absalom, crosses the Kidron and climbs up the other side to where, according to RV, 'God was worshipped' (RVmg., 'where he was wont to worship God'; AV less correctly, 'where he worshipped God'); on the other side he descended to BAHURIM (*q.v.*; unidentified). (*b*) Ezekiel (11 23) sees the 'glory of Yahwè' going forth from the temple and resting on the Mt. of Olives; cp 43 2, where, conversely, the glory of Yahwè comes to the temple from the E. (*c*) In Neh. 8 15 it is said: the people went to 'the mount' for branches of olive, etc.; various interpreters understand the Mt. of Olives here. (*d*) Zechariah (14 4) sees Yahwè in the great day plant his feet on the Mt. of Olives, which is cleft by an east-ward and westward valley to make way for the fugitives.

Later rabbinical Judaism attached the rite of the red heifer (Nu. 19; Mish. *Parah*, 3 6) to the Mt. of Olives, where also at the appearance of each new moon a fire was kindled visible as far as from Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh. A Jewish legend fixes the abode of the divine Shekinah on the Mt. of Olives for three and a half years.

4. NT references. The NT references are five:—(*a*) Mt. 21 1 Mk. 11 1 Lk. 19 29 (Jesus crosses the Mt. of Olives on the day of his triumphal entry into Jerusalem); (*b*) Mt. 24 3 Mk. 13 3 (scene of his discourse concerning the temple); (*c*) Lk. 21 37 Jn. 8 1 (Jesus withdraws for the night—as, according to Lk. was his habit—to the Mt. of Olives); (*d*) Mt. 26 30 Mk. 14 26 Lk. 22 39 (mentioned in connection with GETHSEMANE [*q.v.*]); (*e*) Acts 1 12 (after the ascension, the apostles return from the Mt. of Olives). Christian tradition, resting undoubtedly on the last-cited passage, but also influenced by Zech. 14 4, has, since the time of Eusebius (about 315 A.D.), regarded the summit of the Mt. of Olives as the scene of the ascension; a sanctuary

5. Scene of the ascension. was erected 'on the ridge' (ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωρείας), which varied in the course of centuries; from the fourth century onwards there has been shown one of the footprints (now right, now left) of Jesus on the rock (again an echo of Zech. 14 4). In Lk. 24 50 the scene of the ascension is placed very definitely at Bethany (he led them ἕως πρὸς Βηθανίαν AV, 'as far as to Bethany,' RV less correctly, 'until they were over against Bethany'). Unless two conflicting accounts be admitted, that of Lk. must rule, the passage in Acts saying merely that the disciples returned from the Mt. of Olives. 'There can be no doubt that Lk. means to say that he led them to the place called Bethany' (Tobler, 83). It may be added that in the time of Jesus there were houses on the top of the Mt. of Olives. The tendency to multiply sacred sites, so often shown by tradition, has caused the scene of the apparition of the angels ('Viri Galilæi,' Acts 1 11; see above, § 2, [3]) to be separated from that of the ascension itself. A further designation, Galilæa (which is not to be confounded with Viri Galilæi), is the result of a harmonistic effort to bring Mt. 28 10 (cp *v.* 16), which speaks of an appearance of Jesus on a mountain in Galilee, into conformity with the indications of Mk. and Lk., which make Jerusalem the scene of the manifestation. The attempt is old and has been often repeated; the last to make it is R. Hofmann, whose argument is interesting but unconvincing. Cp GOSPELS, § 138.

From the fourth century (Bordeaux Pilgrim, 333) onwards through the Middle Ages and down to the sixteenth century,[1] in accordance with the tendency of tradition to bring all the biblical sites as near to Jerusalem as possible, pilgrims were shown the scene of the transfiguration as well as that of the ascension on the Mt. of Olives. The similarity of names (Mt. Tabor, Jebel eṭ-Ṭōr; and Mt. of Olives, Jebel eṭ-Ṭūr) may possibly have contributed to this error. The interest of the Mt. of Olives for the Christian lies more in the mountain as a whole than in any particular part of it. As the Abbé Le Camus (*Voyage aux Pays Bibliques*, 1 252) has it: 'Quand les reliques sont des montagnes, on peut admettre leur authenticité.'

6. Literature. Tobler, *Die Siloahquelle und der Oelberg*, 59-313; Reland, *Palæstina*, 52 337-341; Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestina*(3), 1 274-275 604-605; *Phys. Geogr. of the HL*, 40 s.; Berggren, *Reisen*, 3 94-97; Furrer, *Wanderungen*(2), 81-85; art. 'Oelberg' in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, 4 355-356; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 2 410-422 433-437; Schick, 'The Mount of

1 A later tradition, going as far back as 1283 A.D., places here not the heathen sanctuaries, but the harem of Solomon.

2 The western flank of the Mt. of Olives has been from early times, and still continues to be, used for purposes of burial. The most ancient of the tombs, caves transformed into sepulchres, are now called (baselessly) 'Tombs of the Prophets,' and are situated to the SW. of the Latin buildings. Cp H. Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, 10 (1901), pp. 72-88; *PEFQ*, 1901, pp. 309-317.

1 Hans Stockar, pilgrim of 1519; *Heimfahrt von Jerusalem*, 18, Schaffhausen (1839).

Olives,' *PEFQ*, 1889, pp. 174-184; *PEFM* 3 2 30; *Jerusalem* 398-404; Doubdan, *Voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, 115-116 253-270, with a map on p. 100; Wallace, *Jerusalem the Holy*, 117-124; Buhl, *Geogr. des alten Palästina*, 94-95; Fraas, *Aus dem Orient*, 57-58 202 (Geological); R. Hofmann, *Galilæa auf dem Oelberg*, 1896, 53 pp.; *ZDPV* 13 (1890) 98 (Van Kasteren); Féderlin, *La Terre-Sainte*, xviii. (1901), nos. 2, 8-12.

LU. G.

OLYMPAS (ολυμπας, a contracted form of ολυμπιοδωρος) is saluted in Rom. 16 15; cp ROMANS, §§ 4, 10. Later legend (see the υπομνημα of Peter and Paul of the pseudo-Symeon Metaphrastes) said that he was ordained bishop of Philippi by Peter, and beheaded with Herodion at Rome when Peter was crucified.

OLYMPIUS (ολυμπιος [AV]), 2 Macc. 6 2. See JUPITER.

OMAERUS (μαηρος [B]), 1 Esd. 9 34 AV = Ezra 10 34, AMRAM, 2.

OMAR (אוֹמָר; ωμαρ [BADEL]), one of the sons of Eliphaz: Gen. 36 11 (ωμαν [ADE]) 15 1 Ch. 1 36.† Probably a corruption of Jerahmeel, like IRAM (so Che.) in Gen. 36 43 1 Ch. 1 54.

OMEGA. See ALPHA.

OMER (עֹמֶר), Ex. 16 36 etc. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

OMRI (עָמְרִי may either be an ethnic like Zimri, and many of the names which now close with יה, instead of י [see NAME], perhaps [cp OMAR] from Jerahmeel [Che.]; or, it may be put for עָמְרִיָּה, 'worshipper of Yahwè,' cp Arab. names 'Âmir and 'Omar, and see Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, 265 *f.*; in Aram. inscr. יעמרו [*CIS* 2, no. 195] and תעמר [*ib.*, no. 173], cp JAMBRI; ζαμβρ[ε]ι [BA, but occasionally αμβρ(ε)ι], αμβρι [L], αμαρινος [Jos. *Ant.* viii. 12 5]).

1. OT references. 1. Father of Ahab and King of Israel (900-875 B.C., Schr.; 890-879 B.C., Kamph.), 1 K. 16 15-28. He was originally 'captain of the host,' and was besieging Gibbethon, a Philistine town, when he heard that his royal master Elah had been slain by ZIMRI (*q.v.*). At once he left Gibbethon and came to Tirzah and besieged the usurper Zimri, who, finding himself unable to hold out, closed his reign of seven days by a voluntary death (see ZIMRI). But the victor had yet another rival to fear. TIBNI *b. Ginath and his brother Joram* (cp 1 K. 16 22 𝔊) were in arms against Omri, and it was not until they died that his authority was secure.[1] That he had the eye of a statesman is clear from his selection of SAMARIA (*q.v.*) as capital in preference to TIRZAH. His struggles against the Aramæans of Damascus were not particularly successful; he had to concede certain privileges to them in his own capital (1 K. 20 34), and was forced to surrender several Israelite towns, including, it would seem, the important Ramoth-gilead (22 3); see BENHADAD, § 2. The meagre accounts of him in the OT are supplemented slightly by the Moabite inscription.

From the stele of Mesha, we learn that Omri reasserted his claim to Moab and gained a hold on Medeba and the surrounding district, *which was retained by him for some years (cp* AHAB). The thoroughness of the subjection is proved by the enormous tribute paid to Israel by Moab (cp 2 K. 3 4). See MESHA.

Omri is the first Israelite king to be mentioned on the Assyrian inscriptions, and the widening of the political horizon of Israel marks the commencement of a new epoch.

2. Assyrian references. It is possible that Omri himself paid tribute to Assyria, and through its help obtained the throne (cp Ki. 2 259). On inscriptions from the time of Shalmaneser II. (854) down to Sargon (720) we find the northern kingdom designated as *māt Bīt-Ḫumrī*, 'land of the house of Omri'; or simply *māt Ḫumrī*, 'land Omri.'[1] Jehu even is called the 'son of Omri' (Schr. *KAT* 190 *ff.*). The use of this phrase shows how great was the reputation which Omri enjoyed abroad (Stade, however, supposes that the Assyrians did not learn of the existence of Israel till Omri's reign, and that, as years went by, they clung to the original name, without troubling to change it [*GVI* 1 521]). Another sign of the influence of Omri would be the strange phrase of an anonymous prophet in Mi. 6 16, 'the 'statutes of Omri'; but the text is doubtless corrupt (see MICAH [BOOK], § 3). The dynasty which he founded lasted for half a century, and was only overturned by the hatred of the prophets to the worship of Baal. It is remarkable that we are told so little about him. Cp HISTORICAL LIT., §§ 5, 7.

2. b. Becher, a Benjamite, 1 Ch. 7 8 (αμαρ[ε]ια [BAL]).

3. A descendant of Pharez, 1 Ch. 9 4 (αμρ[ε]ι [BA], αμβρι [L, who appears to identify Omri and IMRI, a name which BA omits]).

4. b. Michael, of the tribe of ISSACHAR (§ 4 n.), 1 Ch. 27 18 (αμβρ[ε]ι [BL], αμαρι [A]).

ON (אוֹן; αυν [B], αυναν [AF], αμναν [L]), b. Peleth, a Reubenite, the associate of Dathan and Abiram (Nu. 16 1). The name On seems to have attached itself to Jerahmeelite territory; hence it is parallel with Cushan and Miṣṣur, according to an almost certain restoration of Hab. 3 7, 'On is affrighted, the tents of Cushan are in dread,[2] the tent curtains of Miṣṣur tremble.' See DATHAN AND ABIRAM, and cp JERAHMEEL, § 3, PIBESETH.

The names On, Onam, Onan, Ono, Ben-oni point to the existence of a clan and of a district in the far S. called On, and there is a group of passages in the Prophets, commonly much misunderstood, in which the same S. Palestinian district is probably referred to, viz., Am. 1 5 ('and inhabitants from Rehoboth-on'), *v.* 5 ('Bethel [the southern Bethel in the district of On?] shall become Aven'), Hos. 10 8 ('the high places of On-jerahmeel'), Hab. 3 7 ('On shall be affrighted'), Ezek. 30 17 ('the young men of On and Jerahmeel'). For the explanation and justification of these readings see *Crit. Bib.;* we can only mention here that the Bethel of Amos and Hosea was probably the sanctuary of the golden calf (cp PROPHET, § 35), not far from Ḥalūṣah (= Dan?) in the Negeb. It is also by no means impossible that under the present Egyptianised story of Joseph, there lies an earlier story, which laid the scene *in N. Arabia, and gave Joseph for a father*-in-law a priest of On, a Zarephathite (צרפתי = פוטי פרע). Note that On in Nu. 16 1 is 'b. Peleth'—*i.e.*, a Pelethite (= Zarephathite)—and that REUBEN appears originally to have been a southern tribe (see PELETH); also that in Neh. 6 2, for reasons given elsewhere (see *Crit. Bib.*), the place of meeting suggested to Nehemiah was probably, not 'in [one of] the villages in the plain of Ono,' but 'in Jerahmeel, in Rehoboth of On' (cp Am. 1 5 above); and lastly, that in Neh. 11 35 we should probably read for 'Ono, Ge-haharashim' [RV^mg.], 'On of the Geshurites' (see GESHUR, 2). Every one of these corrections throws light on a dark place in the OT writings; hence their introduction into a work like the present.

T. K. C.

ON (אוֹן, אֹן; ηλιου πολις;[3] *HELIOPOLIS*), the city of POTIPHERA [*q.v.*], the father-in-law of Joseph (Gen.

1. Name. 41 45 50 46 20; also Ezek. 30 17 [𝔊; see AVEN]), also mentioned as Beth-shemesh in Jer. 43 13 (so MT and 𝔊; but the text needs correction; see BETH-SHEMESH), and in the true text of Is. 19 18 (cp ℵ* Symm., see HERES, CITY OF), and in 𝔊 of Ex. 1 11 (και ων [L, ωρ (unless this is a misprint in

1 Knowing, as we do, the manner in which late revisers have endeavoured to synchronise the events of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, we cannot, by comparing *v.* 15 with *v.* 23, fix the length of Omri's struggle with Tibni at four years (see CHRONOLOGY, § 7).

1 For the designation of a nation as the 'house' of a king or of a founder of a dynasty, cp Hos. 5 1. Mesha, too, speaks of the *house* of Omri's son (*l.* 7). Cp Wi. *KAT*(3), 247.

2 So Perles (*Analekten*, 66) and Nowack; but מצור must also be restored for ארץ מרין.

3 In Gen. 41 45 Ιου πόλις [A*], Ηλιου π. [A1], 41 50 46 20 Ηλιου π. [A].

Lag.)] η ϵϲτιν ηλιογ πολιϲ) as well as in Jer. 43 13 (a gloss on ηλιογ πολιϲ).

The name of the Egyptian 'On' (for the S. Palestinian 'On,' see preceding article) is written *'nw*[1] (the initial Aleph would admit also of being read as a y). According to a famous mythological text (Destr. 19), the name would be etymologically connected with the word preserved in Coptic as ϵγνι, 'millstone,' so that the *w* would have to be read before the *n*. The late pronunciation On is, at any rate, traceable, not only in 𝔊, but even in the Assyrian *Unu* (Ašur-banipal).[2] From the famous temple of the sun-god the city was perhaps also called *Pe(r)-Rē'*, 'house of the sun-god'; cp the Greek and Arabic designations.[3]

On-Heliopolis, situated very near the southern end of the Delta, E. of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile,

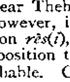
2. Importance. was, perhaps, the oldest city of Egypt. We find, at least, that from the texts of the pyramids to the latest theological writings it is described as the holiest city, the favourite place of the sun-god whence it is easiest to find access to heaven. In its temple ('the House of the Prince') was a sacred tree which is identified with the tree from the branches of which the sun-god rises every morning, etc.[4] The earliest divinity worshipped there seems to have been Atum(u), figured in human form, and explained by the later theologians as the setting sun. Rē' and Harmachis were also worshipped. A god explained as the Heliopolitan form of Osiris had the name Sep (cp Osarseph, the name of Moses in Manetho [JOSEPH ii., § 1]). The most sacred animal there was the bull called Mnēvis by the Greeks.[5] The name of the high priest (*wr-m'*) 'greatest in seeing' (*i.e.*, observing the stars) and his sacrificial costume, covered with stars, point to the high reputation of the Heliopolitan astronomers and astrologers. Even in Greek times the learning of those priests (*Αἰγυπτίων λογιώτατοι*, Herod. 2 3) was so famous that Greek philosophers like Plato and Eudoxus were said to have visited them to study their wisdom. So important was the city to which Potiphera (cp JOSEPH ii., §§ 3, 11) was said to have belonged.

Heliopolis was the capital of a nome (the thirteenth of Lower Egypt), but seems never to have played any

3. History. political part except, perhaps, in the time of the Hyksos who are said to have resided (?) there.

Being situated near the W. end of Goshen, on the road from Goshen to Memphis, On had, later, a very large Semitic population. As early as in the time of Rameses III. a quarter inhabited by some thousands of Asiatic 'Apuriu is mentioned, and before the foundation of Alexandria Heliopolis doubtless ranked high among the cities with a partly Jewish population.[6] The Jewish city Onīon and the temple of Onias (see ONIAS, § 13; cp DISPERSION, § 6, and ISRAEL, § 71) were near it, and several neighbouring ruins have, at present, names pointing to Jewish communities—*e.g.*, *Tell el-Yahūdīye*, 'the hill of the Jewess'; a 'Vicus Judæorum' occurs already in the Roman itineraries. 𝔊's addition to Ex. 1 11 is quoted above. Thus the eastern frontier of the Delta was occupied by a continuous line of Jewish settlements.

At the beginning of the Roman period, Strabo (p. 805) describes the city as deserted, although the great temples had still their population of priests. The ruins near the modern village el-Maṭarīye are, at present, very insignificant; the only considerable remnant of the great temple of the sun is an obelisk erected by Usertesen I. of the twelfth dynasty. The Arabs called the city 'Ain esh-Shems, 'fountain of the sun.' Whether the sweet well[1] near the sacred tree of el-Maṭarīye furnished the name, is doubtful; the ruins of Heliopolis are, at any rate, too far N. for us to regard the well as the sacred basin of the sun-temple. W. M. M.

[1] , Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.* 259.

[2] Delitzsch (*Par.* 318) would compare this *Unu* with Hermonthis near Thebes which had the same name in earlier times. As, however, its name at a later period always received the addition *rēs(i)*, 'the southern' or *Montu* 'of [the god] Month,' in opposition to the northern 'On,' Delitzsch's idea is highly improbable. Cp also *CIS* 102 *a*, 2 (Bloch, *Glossar.* 14) אן מצרם.

[3] Diodorus 1 12 concludes from the name that the sun-god founded the city. On the Egyptian form see Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.* 409 *ff.* (with caution).

[4] It is, certainly, not accidental that, after the downfall of paganism, the Christian Egyptians always reverenced a tree in or near Heliopolis, claiming that it had protected the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus on the flight to Egypt. The tree of Mary, shown at present, was planted somewhat over 200 years ago. No doubt it is a successor of the holy persea tree of antiquity.

[5] The sacred bird of On, the *bnw*, *bynw* (a crested heron), was considered as a symbol of the morning sun; the strange fables attached to it by the classical writers (Herod. 2 73, etc.) are not found on the monuments. Cp PHŒNIX.

[6] The statement of Juba (in Plin. 6 177) that it was founded by Arabs evidently refers to the same fact.

[1] The Virgin Mary is said to have washed the child Jesus in it, an indication that the well was sacred in pagan times.

ONAM (אוֹנָם, § 77; on the name cp GENEALOGIES i., § 5, n. 2; JERAHMEEL, § 2 *f.*; and see ON i., ONAN).

1. An Edomite clan (Gen. 36 23, ωμαν [AEL], -μ [*D*]; 1 Ch. 1 40, ωναν [BA], ωαν. [L]).

2. A Jerahmeelite sept or clan (1 Ch. 2 26, οζομ [B], ουνομα [A], αναν [L]). See JUDAH, JERAHMEEL, § 2.

ONAN (אוֹנָן, § 77; αγναν [BADEFL], cp ON i., ONAM), one of the five sons of JUDAH (*q.v.*), Gen. 38 4 8-10 46 12 Nu. 26 19 1 Ch. 2 3.

ONESIMUS (ονηϲιμοϲ [Ti. WH]) according to Philem. 10, is the name of a runaway slave Christianised by Paul and sent back to his master with our canonical 'Epistle of Paul to Philemon.' Later tradition makes him bishop of Ephesus. Another Onesimus is mentioned in Col. 4 9 as a Christian at Colossæ, who has recently been with Paul. According to some he is identical with the person called a slave in Philemon, and accordingly that epistle is held to be earlier than Colossians.

Attention has frequently been called to the meaning of the name (Onesimus = 'useful') and doubts on that account have been thrown on the historicity of Onesimus, or, at least, of the Onesimus of Philem. 10; so far as appears, however, without sufficient ground. A slave called Onesimus is really intended, although his presence in this place is probably a fiction, and the name borrowed from Col. 4 9. See PHILEMON [EPISTLE].

W. C. v. M.

ONESIPHORUS (ονηϲιφοροϲ [Ti. WH]) is mentioned twice in 2 Tim. Apparently we are to suppose that he was dead when the epistle was written, for in both places his 'house' (family), not he himself, is placed in the foreground. (*a*) In 1 16-18 the divine mercy is besought for his house as a reward for his mercy to Paul (cp Mt. 5 7). It is assumed that Timothy knows the details of his ministry to Paul perfectly well, but it is a pleasure to Paul to refer to his repeated kindness, not only at Ephesus but also at Rome: 'he oft refreshed me and was not ashamed of my chain; but when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently and found me.' (*b*) At the close of the epistle (4 19) this kind friend's house or household is specially saluted together with Prisca and Aquila.

Here two MSS (46 109) contain the insertion, Λεκτραν την γυναικα αυτου και Σιμαιαν [Ση-] και Ζηνωνα τους υιους αυτου, which, though it stands after 'Prisca and Aquila,' really belongs to 'the house of Onesiphorus' (cp *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, 2).

ONIARES (ον[ϵ]ια αρηϲ [A^vid. ℵ^c.a vid. V*, see Swete]), 1 Macc. 12 20. See SPARTA.

ONIAS

Name (§ 1).	Murder of Onias II. (§ 8).
References (§ 2).	Josephus and Onias IV. (§ 9).
Date of Onias I. (§ 3).	Trustworthiness of 2 Macc. (§ 10).
Date of Onias II. (§ 4).	Conclusions (§ 11).
His official position (§ 5).	Date of Onias IV. (§ 12).
His relation to the Tobiads (§ 6).	Temple in Heliopolis (§ 13).
Identity of Onias II. and III. (§ 7).	Literature (§ 14).

ONIAS

1. Name. Onias (ΟΝΙΑϹ) is the Greek form of a Jewish name which we find borne by various persons chiefly of priestly origin in the third and second centuries B.C. It stands sometimes for Heb. יוחנן (Ecclus. 50 1; *Ιονιου* [B*ℵ*]); sometimes for Heb. חניה, which occurs amongst the names in the inscription of the Bnē-Ḥēzīr on the so-called Sepulchre of Jacob in the valley of Kidron near Jerusalem.[1] Both forms come from the same root (חן, חנן), and the meaning of both is the same.

In the printed texts of the Talmud the name usually appears as חוניו (Ḥōnyō); but it is noteworthy that good MSS also exhibit the form נחוניון (Nĕḥōnyōn: Schür. *GJV*(2) 2 546, (3) 3 99, ET 4 288). As חוניו is equivalent to the older Hebrew form חניה, both the Hebrew forms (חניה and יוחנן) are represented by the Gk. Ὀνίας.

Unfortunately it is impossible to say in any individual instance whether the Greek name Ὀνίας represents the one Hebrew form or the other.

2. References. The following is a list of the persons known to have borne the name.

(*a*) Onias I., son of Jaddus or Jaddua (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8 7 [§ 347], xii. 2 5 [§ 43]; cp Neh. 12 11); see § 3.

(*b*) Onias II., son of Simon I. the Just (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2 5 [§ 44] xii. 4 1-10 [§§ 156-224]); see §§ 4-8 11.

(*c*) Onias III., son of Simon II. (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 10 [§ 225] (= xiii. 5 8 [§ 167]), 5 1 [§ 237]); see § 7 *f.* 11.

(*d*) Onias IV., son of Onias III. (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5 1 [§ 237], 9 7 [§ 387]), or son of Simon (Jos. *BJ* vii. 10 2 [§ 423]); see §§ 9-13.

(*e*) Onias, third son of Simon II. (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5 1 [§ 238 *ff.*]), usually called Menelaus (cp xii. 9 7 [§§ 383-385]); see § 13 (*e*).

(*f*) Onias, a pious Jew, killed at Jerusalem in 65 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 2 1 [§§ 22-24]).

(*g*) Onias, father of John, who was sent along with others by Hyrcanus to Rome (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 10 [§ 222]).

Of these seven, (*f*) and (*g*) may be left out of account in this article as being of no importance for our present purpose; on the other hand it will be necessary to bring together and to sift everything that our sources contain with regard to the first five.

3. Date of Onias I. (*a*) *Onias I.*—As regards Onias I., we know from Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8 7 (§ 347) that his father was Jaddus (or Jaddua, Neh. 12 11), from *Ant.* xii. 2 5 (§ 43) that his son was the high priest Simon the Just. According to *Ant.* xi. 8 4 *f.* (§ 322 *ff.*). Jaddua was contemporary with Alexander the Great. Of this synchronism, however, Willrich (*Juden u. Griechen*, 22) has argued that it must be given up, the whole of the Jewish Alexander-legend being unhistorical. This, no doubt, goes too far; the synchronism may be correct even if the details of the story be imaginary. We can no longer rely upon it, however, for determining the date of Onias. Onias I.'s son, Simon [I.] the Just, appears in *Ant.* xii. 2 5 (§ 43 *f.*), as the predecessor of Eleazar who, according to the epistle of Aristeas, lived in the time of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.). According to this, the date of Onias I. would be somewhere about 300 B.C. The epistle of Aristeas, however, cannot be regarded as a first-rate chronological authority, and Josephus does not seem to have had at his disposal any complete list of the Jewish high priests from which he could have taken Eleazar (Willrich, *ut supr.* 111). We next turn, therefore, to the Simon who is mentioned in Ecclus. 50 1: 'The greatest among his brethren and the glory of his people was Simon, son of Johanan (*Ιονιου* [*B*ℵ*], *Ονιου* [BB[b] ℵ[c.a]]) the high priest.' By comparison with the high priests of the post-exilic Jewish community named in Josephus, this Simon has been identified with one or other of two persons—either with the Simon [I.] the Just, already mentioned, or with Simon [II.] whose father, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4 10 [§ 224]), would seem also to have been named Onias (see below, § 7 *f.*). The splendid eulogy passed in Ecclus. 50 1 *ff.* gives the idea of an important personality whose merits did not allow him to be forgotten by posterity. Now, unquestionably the history supplies us with only one man answering such a description—Simon the Just; Josephus also praises Simon [I.] though briefly (*Ant.* xii. 2 5 [§ 43]), whilst as regards Simon II. he chronicles only his father's name, his sons' names, and his death (*Ant.* xii. 5 1 [§ 237] 4 10 [§ 225]). In all probability, therefore, those scholars are right who take Ecclus. 50 1 as referring to Simon [I.] the Just (see, however, ECCLESIASTICUS, § 7). In that case we shall do well to place him somewhere not too early in the third century. If Simon lived somewhere about 250 B.C. then the approximate date for his father, Onias I., will be about 280 B.C.

4. Date of Onias II. (*b*) *Onias II.*—According to Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 1-10 (§§ 156-224), Onias II., at first sight, appears to have been contemporary with Ptolemy III. Euergetes (247-221), Ptolemy IV. Philopator (221-204), and Ptolemy V. Epiphanes (204-181). His father was Simon [I.] the Just, but he did not succeed his father immediately, being under age at the time of his death. On this account, according to *Ant.* xii. 2 5 (§ 44) and 4 1 (§ 157), the high-priestly dignity was held first by Eleazar, brother of Simon and son of Onias I., the high priest of the Epistle of Aristeas, and afterwards by Manasseh, an uncle of Eleazar (perhaps a brother of Onias I.?). Whether the succession of high priests, and in particular the minority of Onias II. here given, rests really upon tradition has been rightly doubted by Willrich (110 *f.*) and Büchler (40 *ff.*). Josephus seems to have assumed the minority of Onias simply in order to make room for the Eleazar of the epistle of Aristeas; of Manasseh nothing is elsewhere known. It is therefore, to say the least, doubtful whether these data have a historical character. On the other hand, we do possess a trustworthy narrative—however amplified and distorted by various unhistorical anecdotes—in the association of Onias II. with the rise of the Tobiad Joseph as farmer of taxes (*Ant.* xii. 4 1-10). Willrich (96 *f.*) takes the narrative as referring to the opposition between Menelaus (= Joseph) and Jason (= Onias). Wellhausen regards it (*IJG*(3), 242) as being 'on the whole unhistorical although not on that account altogether worthless.' Büchler (43 *ff.*, 91 *ff.*), on the other hand, has successfully shown that the twenty-two years of the revenue-farming of Joseph can be understood only of the time of the Egyptian kings Ptolemy IV. Philopator (221-204 B.C.) and Ptolemy V. Epiphanes (204-181 B.C.) and must be placed somewhere about 220-198 B.C.

This does not harmonise indeed with the words with which Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4 1 [§ 154]) introduces the story; the reference to the marriage of Cleopatra the daughter of Antiochus III. (222-187) with Ptolemy V. Epiphanes allows us to reckon backwards only from 193. Nevertheless, the Egyptian revenue-farmer Joseph and the things attributed to him in the story, are compatible only with a period of Egyptian lordship in Palestine, in other words before 198 B.C. We may regard it as made out that the mention of Euergetes the father of Philopator in 4 1 (§ 158) is a later (and erroneous) insertion in the text (see Niese, *ad loc.*).

5. His official position. From this narrative (*Ant.* xii. 4 1-10) can be drawn the following details of the circumstances and conditions then existing.—After the Egyptian governor of Coelesyria, Theodotus the Ætolian, had in 219 invited Antiochus III. to the conquest of the Coelesyrian province, and its southern portion had received Syrian garrisons in the course of 218, Onias II. discontinued payment of twenty

[1] [Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.* no. 6; cp Driver, *TBS* 23.]

talents of tribute to Ptolemy IV., believing that the Egyptian suzerainty over Jerusalem was at an end (*Ant.* xii. 4_1 [§ 158 *f.*]). Though this sum is spoken of as in behalf of the people (ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ φόρος), we are not to understand by it the tax or tribute which the Jews as a whole had to pay to Ptolemy, but only a due which Onias II. had to pay on his own account, and which therefore he provides out of his private revenue (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων). It is closely connected with the personal position of Onias II., which is sometimes described as a presidency (προστασία τοῦ λαοῦ) and as a rulership (ἄρχειν), sometimes as a high-priestly dignity (ἀρχιερατικὴ τιμή) or as a high-priesthood (ἀρχιερωσύνη) (*Ant.* xii. 4_2 [§§ 161-163]). If he goes on with the payment he retains his dignity; if he discontinues, he loses his office and at the same time exposes to peril the Jewish inhabitants of the land (§ 159). We thus see that the dignity he holds is dependent on the king and mixed up with politics, and thus is not in any necessary connection with the Jewish high-priesthood.

Such a state of matters is easily intelligible so far as the expressions 'presidency' (προστασία τοῦ λαοῦ) and 'rule' (ἄρχειν) are concerned; but the phrases 'high-priestly dignity' (ἀρχιερατικὴ τιμή) and 'high-priesthood' (ἀρχιερωσύνη) are surprising; the position of 'ruler' depended on the will of the foreign overlord of the Jews, but that of high priest was purely an internal affair of the religious community. The narrative of *Ant.* 12_4, however, proceeds on the view that the presidency (προστασία τοῦ λαοῦ) and the high-priesthood (ἀρχιερωσύνη) over the Jews were now at last inseparable, so that a high priest who should become divested of his political position (at the head of the people) conferred by the king was thenceforth no longer in a position to retain the spiritual office.

Büchler seeks to solve the difficulty with regard to the chief-priesthood (ἀρχιερωσύνη) by supposing that the Ptolemies and Seleucids nominated for the separate provinces governors-general (στρατηγοί) who, in addition to their own proper (political) designation, bore also the title of chief priest (ἀρχιερεύς) or even—so far as Jerusalem was concerned—had to exercise certain rights as regarded the sanctuary (cp 2 Macc. 3_4: Simon is 'overseer of the temple' [προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ] as an official of the king). According to this view—in support of which Büchler (33) adduces certain inscriptions in addition to 2 Macc. 3_4—in *Ant.* xii. 4_1 *f.* it is only this political chief-priesthood (ἀρχιερωσύνη) that comes into account, not the spiritual headship of the Jewish community. Onias II. must in that case have been chief priest (ἀρχιερεύς) in a double sense; but this is hardly credible.

The decision of Onias II. to go over to Antiochus III. was premature. His grand-nephew, the Tobiad Joseph, judged the situation more accurately.

6. His relation to the Tobiads.

He cast in his lot unreservedly with the Ptolemies, was skilful enough to ingratiate himself with the Egyptian envoy in Jerusalem, and received from Ptolemy IV. the official positions which until that time had been held by Onias [*Ant.* xii. 4_3 (§ 172 *f.*)] (and, moreover, had nothing to do with the farming of the taxes in southern Syria [4_4 (§ 175 *ff.*)]). This occurrence had an important bearing upon the position of the high priests of the Jews in Jerusalem. Until now the spiritual head of the community had been at the same time its representative in its political relations with the foreign overlord; now the care of these 'foreign affairs' was dissociated from the priestly office and committed to a secular person—the Tobiads were Benjamites (2 Macc. 3_4; and see § 12). The change meant a substantial diminution of the high priest's power and gave rise to many disputes within the community, Joseph having asserted and maintained his new position as fully as he could as against the high priest.

The struggle between the elder sons of Joseph and the youngest, Hyrcanus, as also the setting-up by Hyrcanus of a dominion of his own in the trans-Jordanic territory (182 B.C.), where in 175 he commmitted suicide from fear of Antiochus IV. (*Ant.* xii. 4_{7-11} [§§ 196-222, 223-236]) render it very probable, if not even certain, that Hyrcanus held by the Ptolemies to the end whilst his elder brothers went over, very likely before 198, to the side of the Seleucids. Only under such a presupposition can we understand the political attitude of persons with whom 2 Macc. makes us acquainted. The brothers Simon, Menelaus, and Lysimachus, that is to say, necessarily (on account of Menelaus) belong to the Tobiads; according to Büchler (34 *ff.*) they are the sons of Joseph with whom the narrative of *Ant.* xii. 4_{11} (§§ 218 *ff.*, 228 *ff.*) deals. Simon under Seleucus IV. (187-175) has the position of 'overseer of the temple' (προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ: 2 Macc. 3_4); they must already, therefore, at some earlier date have abandoned the cause of the Ptolemies. The high priest Onias, on the other hand, according to 2 Macc. 3_{10} stands in connection with the 'Tobiad' Hyrcanus; he is the opponent of the elder brothers and now, therefore, in all probability is a friend of the Ptolemies. According to 2 Macc. 3 the mission of Heliodorus, who is represented as having attempted at the command of Seleucus IV. to violate the temple treasure in Jerusalem, ought to fall within the time of his priesthood. The legend, it would seem, is designed in its own fashion to establish the actual fact that in spite of the royal command the treasure remained untouched. How this immunity was secured remains uncertain; perhaps it was on account of the excellent relations subsisting betwen Heliodorus and Onias II.

The personality of Onias II. appears in totally different lights in *Ant.* 12_4 and in 2 Macc. 3 *f.* In Josephus he figures as a narrow, covetous man, in 2 Macc. as celebrated for his piety, his zeal for the law, and his effective solicitude for the city and the community. This diversity of judgment is to be accounted for by the difference of the sources. The narrative of Josephus is written in the interest of Joseph the tax-farmer, perhaps by a Samaritan (Willrich, 99; Büchler, 86 *ff.*); in 2 Macc. 3 *f.* we hear the voice of an uncompromising friend of the temple at Jerusalem.

7. Identity of Onias II. and III.

(*b* and *c*). In what has been said above, the Onias of 2 Macc. 3 has been identified with Onias II. The correctness of this identification must be further examined.

On the data of Josephus it is more natural to take 2 Macc. 3 *f.* as relating to Onias III. For, according to *Ant.* xii. 4_{10} (§ 224), Onias II. died in the reign of Seleucus IV., he was succeeded by his son Simon (II.), who in turn was succeeded by his son Onias (III.) who died at the beginning of the reign of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (*Ant.* xii. 5_1). On this view the close of the high-priesthood of Onias II., the whole of that of Simon II., and nearly the whole of that of Onias III., all fell within the period of Seleucus IV.

According to 2 Macc. 4, on the other hand, no Jewish high priest dies in the beginning of the reign of Antiochus IV.; it is only at the instance of Menelaus (after 172) that Onias is murdered (4_{30} *ff.*), that is to say, at a period when, according to Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5_1, Onias III. had already been dead for some years. If, accordingly, the Onias III. of Josephus is the person intended in 2 Macc. 3 *f.*, it would be necessary to suppose that the events of 2 Macc. 3 *f.* happened precisely in the closing years of Seleucus IV. Even so, however, the contradiction between Josephus and 2 Macc. with regard to the death of this Onias would remain.

A further circumstance, moreover, requires to be noticed. Josephus names Simon (II.) as having been high priest between Onias II. and Onias III. (*Ant.* xii. 4_{10} [§ 224]) and informs us (4_{11} [§ 229]) that Simon II. held with the elder sons of Joseph on account of relationship, and thus not with Hyrcanus. This statement remains unintelligible if we hold this Simon to have been an Oniad; for the Tobiad brothers were all alike related to the Oniads through the mother of their father Joseph (*Ant.* xii. 4_2 [§ 160]).

Büchler (39 *ff.*) seeks to dispose of this difficulty by supposing the Simon II. of Josephus to be in truth the 'overseer of the temple' (προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ) named in 2 Macc. 3_4, the Tobiad who 'for kinship's

sake' held by his full brothers, not his half-brother Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xii. 4 6 [§ 186 *ff.*]); that in the source followed by Josephus he was called chief priest (ἀρχιερεύς)—as a king's officer named by the Seleucids—that Josephus had understood the word wrongly as referring to the Jewish high-priesthood, and thus included Simon in the list of the high priests. The statement of Josephus in *Ant.* xii. 4 11 [§ 229] really does speak in favour of this supposition. In that case, Simon II. would have to be deleted from the list of Jewish high priests. This would carry with it the further consequence that Onias II. was immediately succeeded by Onias III. It is contrary, however, to old-Jewish customs for father and son to bear the same name. Thus we are led finally to the supposition that Onias II. and Onias III. are one and the same person. The same conjecture has already been put forward by Schlatter and Willrich (114).

The murder of Onias, however, spoken of in 2 Macc. 4 30 *ff.* is open to grave doubt. He is there represented

8. Murder of Onias II.

as having been craftily put to death by Andronicus at Daphne near Antioch after the expulsion of Jason (175-173). Formerly this datum used to be regarded as so certain that, as a rule, the obscure words in Dan. 9 26—יִכָּרֵת מָשִׁיחַ—were explained by reference to it. Of late, however, great doubts have been expressed. Wellhausen and Willrich have pointed out that, according to Diodorus Siculus (xxx. 7 2) and Johannes Antiochenus (ap. Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 4, p. 558) the regent Andronicus puts to death the son of Seleucus IV. at the instance of king Antiochus IV., and subsequently is himself punished with death. Both scholars are of opinion that 'the circumstances of the murder of the prince have simply been transferred to the high priest,' and therefore that the narrative of 2 Macc. 4 30 *ff.* as to the death of Onias is false. Certainly the account just given of the end of Andronicus is more credible than the story in 2 Macc. Strictly, however, it does not follow that the murder of Onias at Antioch is a pure invention: it is possible still to hold it true even if one were to come to the conclusion that the participation of Andronicus or other details in 2 Macc. 4 are unhistorical.

It is surprising, it must be admitted, that Josephus should know nothing of this singular end of a Jewish high priest. The words in Dan. 9 26 are, taken by themselves, so indefinite that they cannot supply confirmation of what is said in 2 Macc. 4. Moreover, they have recently, and doubtless with greater truth, been taken by such scholars as Renan, Baethgen, and Wellhausen as referring to the cessation of the legitimate high-priesthood altogether, in parallelism to *v.* 25, where the inauguration of the high-priesthood after the exile is brought into prominence.

Thus, the question of the death of Onias turns wholly upon that as to the degree of confidence we can repose in 2 Macc. as to this matter (see below, § 10).

According to another view this Onias did not die at all as high priest in Jerusalem, but having fled from the

9. Josephus and Onias IV.

hostility of his many enemies in Jerusalem, the Tobiads, founded in Egypt, under the patronage of Ptolemy VI. Philometor, the Jewish temple in Leontopolis. This view is based upon the short statement in *BJ* i. 1 1 (§§ 31-33), and has recently been advocated principally by Willrich and Wellhausen. Elsewhere (ISRAEL, § 69 *b*, col. 2261) will be found a brief statement of the construction to be put on the events of 175-170 B.C. according to this view. The struggle between Onias and his brother Jason, of which neither Josephus nor 2 Macc. have anything explicit to say, is after Willrich (88 *ff.*) to be drawn from the narrative which Josephus (xi. 7 1) gives regarding the high priest Johannes (= Onias) and his brother Jesus (= Jason).

The present writer is now, however, inclined to question the justice of this view. In any case it must be carefully borne in mind that Josephus nowhere affirms that the founder of the temple at Leontopolis ever held the high-priestly office in Jerusalem. In *Ant.* xii. 9 7 (§ 387) 5 1 (§ 237) xiii. 3 1 (§ 62) and xx. 10 3 (§ 236) the Onias who migrated to Egypt is represented as having been son of the high priest Onias III. to whom at home the path to the high-priesthood was barred. In *BJ* vii. 10 2 (§ 423) this Onias is the son of Simon (so also in Talmud: *ZATW* 6 281), 'one of the chief priests in Jerusalem' (εἷς τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀρχιερέων); this addition is found also in *BJ* i. 1 1 (§ 31) (εἷς τῶν ἀρχιερέων); only in § 33 does the phrase run, more briefly, 'the chief priest Onias' (ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ὀνίας). There can be no question that this last expression has to be interpreted in the light of what is said in § 31: Onias is there for Josephus not one who is actually discharging, or has discharged, the functions of a high priest, but simply a member of one of the 'chosen families out of which the high priests were selected (Schürer, *GJV*(3) 2 221 *ff.*; cp Büchler, 118). Nor does the fact that he is described as son of Simon carry us any further than this. An opinion has indeed been expressed that 'Onias, son of Simon' (Ὀνίας Σίμωνος υἱός) is here only short for 'Onias, son of Onias, son of Simon' (Ὀνιας τοῦ Ὀνίου τοῦ Σίμωνος). This, however, is nothing more than a harmonising co-ordination with *Ant.* xii. 9 7 xiii. 3 1 and no reliance can be placed on it. Whether Simon the father be really the high priest Simon (*Ant.* xii. 4 10 [§ 224]) or another person, it is impossible to determine. In any case this at least is certain: the Onias who migrates to Egypt is nowhere spoken of by Josephus as having held the high-priestly office. We are therefore compelled, in the end, to distinguish this Onias from Onias III.

It can hardly be merely accidental that 2 Macc. says nothing of a flight of Onias into Egypt, but on the

10. Trustworthiness of 2 Macc.

contrary relates the murder of the 'pious' high priest Onias at Daphne, whilst Josephus repeatedly recurs to the flight of Onias but says nothing of the violent end of a high priest at Daphne. This suggests that the author of 2 Macc. (or his source) may have intended to depreciate the worth of the Onias-temple in Egypt and for that purpose makes Onias the brother of Jason, who was regarded as the founder of the Onias-temple, to be murdered near Antioch so that the connection between the high-priestly Onias and the temple in Leontopolis may be completely severed. Such an intention would be in excellent agreement with the tendency of 2 Macc. to uphold the dignity of the temple of Jerusalem. It would result that the murder of Onias itself, not merely the attendant details, had been invented.

Baethgen (*ZATW* 6 [1886] 280) has adduced the execution of Onias-Menelaus (*Ant.* xii. 9 7 [§ 384 *f.*]) to explain the origin of the statements in 2 Macc. 4 30 *ff.* With this narrative, however, fall to the ground at the same time two other assumptions: namely, that the murdered Onias is identical with the high priest Onias (II. or III.) and that Jason (2 Macc. 4 7) raised himself to the high-priesthood as opponent of Onias. This is of importance for our understanding of the events of the period. The last high priest Onias, according to *Ant.* xii. 4 10 (§ 224), died in the beginning of the reign of Antiochus IV.

The result of our discussion of Onias II. and III. may be summed up as follows. Onias II. was prob-

11. Conclusions.

ably the last legitimate high priest of the Jewish community in Jerusalem. He held this office for a long time, having entered upon it in the time of Ptolemy IV. Philopator,—at latest in 220, and continued in the discharge of it till the beginning of the reign of Antiochus IV. (175-4 B.C.), that is to say, some forty or fifty years. From this period begins the series of those high priests whom the Seleucid kings nominated in virtue of their own might and in defiance of Jewish right: Jason, Menelaus, Alcimus: the author of the book of Daniel refuses to take account of them.

As objections to this solution of the problem may conceivably be urged the length of the term of office assigned to Onias, also the disappearance of the Simon

named in *Ant.* xii. 4 10. The student who finds these objections too formidable to be overcome, may hold by the statements of *Ant.* xii. 4 10. According to what we read there, Onias II. will have been high priest until the first year of Seleucus IV., then Simon II. will have held the office for a short time and been succeeded by Onias III. as the last legitimate high priest till 175-4. In that event the statements also of 2 Macc. 3 *f.* will have to be understood of Onias III., not as was said above (§§ 5-8) of Onias II. On such a view, it is true, one must abandon hope of explaining why it was that Simon held by the elder sons of Joseph (*διά τὴν συγγένειαν*: *Ant.* xii. 4 10 [§ 229]).

For the sake of completeness it ought also to be mentioned that in Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4 10 [§§ 225-227]) Onias III. receives a letter of the king of Sparta, Areus, in which the Jews are invited, on account of relationship through Abraham, to enter into close alliance with the Lacedæmonians. The transaction thus alleged vanishes on examination into air; Areus I. reigned in 309-265, Areus II. died somewhere about 255, aged eight years. Cp DISPERSION, § 21, and Büchler, 126 *ff.*, who explains the fable of relationship between the Lacedæmonians and the Jews by the settlement of Jews in the Dorian Cyrenaica.

(*d*) *Onias IV.*—We have already seen that Josephus nowhere designates Onias IV. as an actual high priest.

12. Date of Onias IV.

(§ 9 above). In *BJ* 1 1 (§ 31) it is recorded of him that he expelled the Tobiads from Jerusalem. The same action is intended as is referred to in *Ant.* xii. 5 1 (§ 239 *f.*) and 2 Macc. 5 5 *f.* where it is attributed to Jason. Jason and Onias, according to *Ant.* xii. 5 1 (§ 237 *f.*) 2 Macc. 4 7, are brothers. The historical accuracy of this relationship may be doubted; for the closely connected assumption that Onias III., Jason, and Onias = Menelaus, were all of them the sons of Simon the high priest (*Ant.* xii. 5 1 [§ 238 *f.*]) is certainly false.

Two brothers with the same name are *a priori* unlikely; Menelaus (= Onias) is the well-known leader of the Tobiads (§ 239; 2 Macc. 5 23 *ff.*) and does not belong at all to the high-priestly families (cp the contrast in Alcimus, 2 Macc. 14 3). Josephus erroneously reckoned him as so belonging because he felt bound to infer his high-priestly descent from the fact of his bearing the high-priestly dignity; but 2 Macc. 4 24 *f.* is here plainly right: *τῆς μὲν ἀρχιερωσύνης οὐδὲν ἄξιον φέρων*. Jason is represented alike by Josephus and by 2 Macc. 4 as the adversary of the Tobiads; doubtless he belonged to the party of the Oniads; he and the Onias who migrated to Egypt were party allies; whether they were brothers as well must be left undetermined. It is at least possible, if not probable, that Josephus inserted Jason's name in the list of Jewish high priests for the same reason as that mentioned already in the case of Menelaus. Jason was in any case, however, an Oniad and belonged as such to the high-priestly families. Nevertheless the question of his relationship to Onias III. is in a different position from the same question as regards Menelaus.

The attempt to expel the Tobiads from Jerusalem brings us down into the very thick of the conflicts under Antiochus (cp *BJ* vii. 10 2 [§ 423]). It happened about 170 B.C. when Antiochus IV. had undertaken his first expedition against Egypt and the report of his death was being circulated in southern Syria. Jason hurried back from the trans-Jordanic territory whither he had withdrawn from Menelaus in 172-1, received the support of the people of Jerusalem, and compelled Menelaus and his followers to take to flight. These betook themselves to Antiochus IV. and induced him to restore Menelaus at the point of the sword. This was done as Antiochus was returning from Egypt in 170. Jason fled first to the E. of the Jordan and subsequently to Egypt, probably to Cyrene (Büchler, 126 *ff.*), whilst Onias betook himself to the court of Ptolemy VI. Onias' flight thus falls to be dated in 170-169 B.C. The situation is stated quite differently in Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 9 7 [§ 387] xx. 10 3 [§ 236]).

Onias is represented in Jos. as not having left Jerusalem until Alcimus had been raised to the high-priesthood by Antiochus V. Eupator, and he saw himself superseded. This date (163-2 B.C.) appears to be too late. Still the intervention of the Romans in 168 did bring about a certain cessation of hostilities between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, so that political fugitives from Syria could no longer hope so readily for a favourable reception at the court of Alexandria. Moreover, in Judæa itself, about 163 the national resistance to the Seleucids was already organised, and it is difficult to see any reason why Onias should at that date set off for Egypt in order to cool his hatred of the Greeks.

According to what we learn from Josephus (*c. Ap.* 2 5 [§ 49 *ff.*]) the Jews who accompanied Onias to Egypt seem

13. The temple in Heliopolis.

to have played a prominent part in the army of Ptolemy VI. Josephus speaks of Onias and Dositheus as generals of the entire army and adds that in the war between Ptolemy (VII. Physkon) and Cleopatra (the widow of Ptolemy VI.) Onias adhered to Cleopatra and took successful part in the operations in the field. The sons also of Onias, Helkias and Ananias, were entrusted by queen Cleopatra (108 and 104 B.C.) with the conduct of the war against her son Ptolemy Lathūrus (*Ant.* xiii. 10 4 [§§ 285-287]—following Strabo—13 1 [§ 348 *ff.*]). Special interest attaches to the building of the Jewish temple in Egypt which is attributed to Onias. It is fully dealt with in what so far as we can judge is a genuine passage in *BJ* vii. 10 2-4 (§ 420 *ff.*). Onias seeks to gain Ptolemy VI. to his purpose by urging political considerations; the building of a Jewish temple, and full freedom granted to Jews for the exercise of their religion there, would win over all Jews to the Egyptian side. Ptolemy accordingly granted him a site in the nome of Heliopolis, 180 stadia from Memphis. Onias caused this site to be fortified and erected his temple in such style that it had the appearance of a citadel sixty cubits high. As a whole it did not resemble the temple in Jerusalem; only the altar and the sacred vessels (*ἀναθήματα*), apart from the golden candlestick, were the same as in Jerusalem. The temple was endowed with land so that the priests had a liberal income. Jealousy of Jerusalem is represented by Josephus as Onias's motive. The whole district was called 'Onias's land' (*ἡ Ὀνίου [χώρα]*). This temple lasted longer than that of Jerusalem.

The Jewish diaspora in Egypt was profoundly moved by the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., and Lupus the governor fearing that the temple of Onias might become a religious centre for revolutionary movements, received from Vespasian, in answer to his own representations, orders to demolish the structure. Lupus at first merely closed the temple; but his successor Paulinus made it completely inaccessible after having plundered it of its furniture (*ἀναθήματα*). This was in 73 A.D. Josephus represents it as having stood for 343 years, on which reckoning it must have been founded about 270 B.C. This date, however, is absolutely excluded by the foregoing data of Josephus himself; there must be some error in the figures. It is usual to assume 243 as the original reading; this would give 170 B.C. as the year of foundation. We may conjecture that the plan and its execution were not earlier than the desecration of the temple in Jerusalem by Antiochus IV. in 168, but also earlier than the granting of freedom of worship by Antiochus V. in 163.

The data supplied by Josephus in *Ant.* xiii. 3 1 *ff.* (§§ 66-70) 10 4 (§ 285) exhibit considerable discrepancies. The two letters incorporated—that of Onias to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, and their answer to it—are both without a doubt mere literary fabrications, of which the answer is still more worthless than the other. In Onias's letter the site for which he asks is an old disused sanctuary in the enclosure (*ὀχύρωμα*) of rural Bubastis (*ἀγρία Βούβαστις*); in the answer it is a ruined sanctuary of rural Bubastis (*ἀγρία Βούβαστις*) in Leontopolis in the district of Heliopolis (cp *Ant.* xii. 9 7 xx. 10 3). It is customary in accordance with this last statement to speak straightway of the temple in Leontopolis; it is questionable, however, whether the various definitions of the site exactly agree. According to *Ant.* 3 1 (§ 67), 10 4 (§ 285), the temple was built after the model of that in Jerusalem. The sole motive, according to 3 1 (§ 63) was the personal ambition of Onias; its erection is spoken of (3 2 [§ 69]) as sinful and a transgression of the law. The discrepancy of the accounts gives Büchler (239 *ff.*) occasion to conjecture the real question to be whether it was a (Jewish) temple of Onias or a (Samaritan) temple of Dositheus that was actually built. From the indications regarding the temple in *BJ* vii. 10 Büchler is rather inclined to conclude that it was Samaritan (255). Against this inference, however,

weighty considerations can be urged. Had the temple been Samaritan, assuredly the allusion to it in Is. 19 18 would not have been admitted into the Jewish Canon, and the Mishna would not have found it necessary to discuss the question whether sacrifices and vows in connection with the Onias temple were valid also for the temple of Jerusalem (Schürer, *GJV*(3) 3 99).

(*e*) For the Onias named by Josephus in *Ant.* xii. 5 1 (§ 238*f.*) as the youngest son of Simon II., see MENELAUS.

14. Literature. Besides the works on the History of Israel cited in ISRAEL, § 116, see Baethgen in *ZATW* 6 277-282 (1886); A. Schlatter, in *St.Kr.* 1891, pp. 633*ff.*, in *Jason von Kyrene*, 1891, and in *ZATW* 14 145 *ff.* (1894); H. Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen*, 1895; Wellhausen, *GGA*, 1895, pp. 947-957; A. Büchler, *Die Tobiaden u. die Oniaden im II. Makkabäerbuche u. in der verwandten jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur*, 1899; B. Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*, 1900; H. Willrich, *Judaica*, 1900. H. G.

ONIONS (בְּצָלִים, *bĕṣālīm*, for cognates see BDB; κρο[μ]μυα), longed for by the 'mixed multitude' and the Israelites, Nu. 11 5†. The onion (*Allium Cepa*, L.) of Egypt has always had a high reputation (Plin. *NH* 19 6 *ff.* 101, Juv. 15 9; cp Wilk. *Anc. Eg.*(2), 2 25 *f.*). Hasselquist (*Travels*, 290) speaks with enthusiasm of their sweetness and softness. Very possibly, however, the original story (see MOSES, § 5 *f.*) meant the onions grown in the Negeb near Zarephath, 'mixed multitude' being due to corruption. See E. H. Palmer's description of the country (NEGEB, § 5 *f.*). Cp ASHKELON (end), FOOD, § 6, and see Löw, 74 *ff.* and De Candolle, *Origine*, 52 *ff.*

ONO (אוֹנוֹ or אֹנוֹ; cp ONAM, ONAN; usually ωνω or ωνων, generally ανω [L], once ωναν [1 Ch. 8 12, B, where L has ωνων]; the **Onus** of 1 Esd. 5 22 EV, is simply a transliteration of the Gk. genitive.

A town near Lydda (Neh. 6 2; ενω [B], ωνα [ℵA]) which, if the text be right, should include the so-called 'valley of the craftsmen' (Neh. 11 35 [Bℵ*A om.] 1 Ch. 4 14). See CHARASHIM, VALLEY OF. The biblical notices are all post-exilic; but the mention of the place (under the form Auanau or, as W. M. Müller gives it, 'O-'no) in the Karnak list of Thotmes III. (no. 65) proves its antiquity. It may be safely identified with the modern Kefr *'Anā*, about 2 m. to the NNW. of Lod. It was in 'the villages' of the 'plain of Ano' that Sanballat and Geshem proposed to have their meeting with Nehemiah (Neh. 6 2). See HADID, LOD. The text, however, is very doubtful; for a probable restoration see ON, i. (end).

ONYCHA (שְׁחֵלֶת, *šeḥēleth*; Ex. 30 34†; ονυξ; *onyx*; cp Ecclus. 24 15, ONYX, EV), one of the ingredients of frankincense, generally believed to be the operculum of some species of marine mollusc. The operculum is a horny or calcareous plate attached to the foot of certain Gasteropodous molluscs the function of which is to close the aperture of the shell when the animal has withdrawn into the interior. It is not possible to identify the species of mollusc used; very likely more than one furnished the material. The name suggests a claw or nail-shaped object[1] and this corresponds with the shape of the operculum of the genus *Strombus*, one species of which, *S. tricorius*, is found in the Red Sea; but its operculum is small and insignificant. *Fusus*, another genus which is common in the Red Sea, has also a claw-shaped operculum and is known to have been used in recent times as an ingredient in perfumes. *Murex*, another accessible genus, has a more substantial operculum which may have been put to the same use. When burnt these opercula give off a strong aromatic or pungent odour. They were well known to the ancients, by whom they were sometimes used for medicinal purposes (cp Diosc. 2 10; Pliny, *HN* 32 46; the Arab. Ḳazwīnī, 1 140; Ges. *Thes.* 1388; and Di. *ad loc.*).

Onycha is still largely used throughout Nubia and Upper Egypt as an ingredient in the complicated perfumes with which the Arab women scent themselves. It is gathered along the coast of the Red Sea and transported inland. The method of scenting the person is as follows:—a small but deep hole is made in the floor of the hut or tent and a fire of charcoal is placed at the bottom of the hole; upon this a handful of drugs, which include ginger, cloves, myrrh, frankincense, cinnamon, sandal wood, onycha, and a kind of sea-weed is thrown. The woman then crouches over the hole enveloped in her mantle or tope which falls from her neck like a tent. In this hot air bath, the fumes of the drugs sink into the skin, and the perfume is retained for a considerable number of days; see Sir S. Baker's *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*, London, 1868. A. E. S.—S. A. C.

1 For the root cp Ar. *saḥala*, 'to peel' (so Di.), less probably, Syr. *šĕḥal*, 'to drop,' or more correctly 'to filter,' whence Boch. (erroneously) thought of bdellium. The meaning 'peel' is supported by Pesh. and Targ. כשת, the rendering of Targ. Ps.-Jon., probably represents the *Costus speciosus* (Löw, no. 305). Cp Winer, *s.v.* 'Teufelsklaue,' for the view that *šeḥēleth* is amber, see K. G. Jacob, *ZDMG* 43 354 (1889).

ONYX (שֹׁהַם). This is EV's invariable rendering, though RVmg. gives 'beryl' at Ex. 28 9 20 35 27 Job 28 16 1 Ch. 29 2. For the versions (which differ greatly) see BERYL, where Dillmann's rendering 'beryl' is supported. Kautzsch (*HS*) retains the Hebrew term '*šōham* (stone)' unaltered for שֹׁהַם. This is perhaps the wisest course, if we decide not to touch the Hebrew text, for there is apparently no safe explanation of שֹׁהַם even from Assyriology.[1]

1. Textual criticism.

Experience shows, however, that the readings of the traditional text in references to precious stones are by no means always to be trusted. It is probable that the names of precious stones became corrupted even in documents used by P, and one can easily believe that this writer made up his list of precious stones (as he made up his genealogical lists of names) by including corrupt variants. We have already found one probable case of this (see JACINTH), and we are now on the track of another.

Šōham as a proper name is certainly corrupt (see SHOHAM); it is also corrupt as the name of a precious stone, and the true form of the name is that with which in Ex. 28 20 39 13 and Ezek. 28 13 it is combined, viz., יָשְׁפֵה, *yāšᵉphēh*. The corruption was very easy, and wherever the *yāšᵉphēh*-stone was referred to outside the lists in Exodus and Ezekiel the name appears to have been editorially corrected (miscorrected) into *šōham*.

2. Identification.

What, then, is the *yāšᵉphēh*-stone? Kautzsch replies, 'the onyx.' But let us reconsider the question in the light of our present result, which appears to be new—*i.e.*, taking into account the passages in which (as the text stands) the *šōham*-stone is specially mentioned, but not the *yāšᵉphēh*. From Gen. 2 12 *šōham* appears to have been plentiful in Havilah. But both the situation of HAVILAH [*q.v.*] and the reading of the text are uncertain, and it would take too long to discuss them here. The *šōham*-stone is called 'the precious *šōham*' (Job 28 16), and is singled out as the gem *par excellence* in Ex. 35 9 27*a* 1 Ch. 29 2. From Ex. 28 9 *ff.* it appears to have been specially adapted for engraving upon (Ex. 28 9 *ff.*). Now it cannot be denied that the onyx would have been suitable for the purpose mentioned in Ex. 28 9, and that the variety called SARDONYX [*q.v.*] was very highly valued by the ancients. But it must be remembered that every one of the stones specified in Ex. 28 17-20 was to be engraved with the name of one of the twelve tribes, so that there is no compulsion whatever to prefer the onyx for the *šōham*. So far as relates to the passages in which *yāšᵉphēh* occurs, we have seen already (see JASPER) that the opal best satisfies the conditions imposed by them. Considering too that the opal specially deserved the title of 'precious' applied to the *šōham* in Job 28 16 (where it is even combined with the sapphire), we may safely offer 'opal' as a probable rendering, wherever MT gives either *yāšᵉphēh* or *šōham*.

1 According to Jensen (*ZA* 10 [1895] 372) *šōham* would represent an original *šuhm*,* which could not in Assyrian give *sa(ā)mtu*, the word which some (see BERYL) connect with *šōham*.

We must not urge in favour of the onyx that the finest onyxes have for ages been brought from India, for the view that Havilah and Pishon were in India is confessedly antiquated. The characteristics of the onyx are pointed out elsewhere (see CHALCEDONY, § 1). It may be added that it was probably that variety of chalcedony which presents a red layer that originally suggested the name 'onyx' (from ὄνυξ, 'a nail'), since the contrast between its layers remotely resembles that between the flesh-coloured part of the finger-nail and the white *lunula* at its root.

ONYX is also used in Ecclus. 24 15 in the sense of ONYCHA [*q.v.*]. T. K. C.

OPHEL (הָעֹפֶל, 'the hill,' MI 22 [MESHA, § 3]), the SE. slope of the temple hill (see JERUSALEM, § 19), 2 Ch. 27 3 33 14 Neh. 3 26 *f.* 11 21 (*without article* in Is. 32 14, RVmg. 'Ophel,' AV 'forts,' RV 'the hill,' and in Mic. 4 8 RVmg. 'Ophel,' AV 'stronghold,' RV 'the hill'). In 2 K. 5 24 we read of an Ophel (AV 'tower,' EV 'hill') at Samaria.

Three of the passages enumerated need consideration.

(1) If the text of 2 K. 5 24 is right, Elisha's house stood close to an Ophel ('hill') connected with the fortifications of Samaria. But the statement that 'when he (Gehazi) came to the Ophel, he took them from their hand, and bestowed them in the house' is too strange to be admitted as probable. Klostermann's emendation עֳרָפֶל, 'the recesses (?) of the house,' is hardly satisfactory; הַמַּעֲלָה, 'the ascent' (cp 1 S. 9 11) is suitable and may be right; מ and פ are easily confounded.

(2) In Is. 32 14 the 'hill' and the 'watch-tower' are not to be found in 𝔊; they may be a later insertion (Bickell, Marti); cp Neh. 3 25-27.

(3) Mic. 4 8 stands in a context full of textual error (see MICAH, BOOK OF, § 4).

In *Crit. Bib.* it is maintained that *v.* 8, in its original form, probably ran thus:—

> And thou, O Jerahmeel [Jerahmeel], Zion's people—thy foes I *will* collect,
> And there shall come the Ishmaelites, the Geshurites, and the Amalekites.

'Jerahmeel' is the old name of Jerusalem; Isaiah (one may venture to assert) plays upon it very beautifully (29 1 *f.*; see LO-RUHAMAH), and the late prophetic writer of Mic. 4 8 *ff.* imitates him. The first 'Jerahmeel' is represented in MT by *migdal*, 'tower,' the second by *'eder 'ophel* (flock, hill). Cp EDER, and for a similar suggestion in Gen. 35 21 see *Crit. Bib.*

T. K. C.

OPHIR (אוֹפִיר; in 𝔊 spelled in eight ways but usually [in B always] with initial σ; ωφειρ [AC], ουφειρ [AEL], σωφ[ε]ιρ [BℵA], σουφειρ [BℵAQΓL, etc.], σωφαρα [A], σωφειρα [BL], σωφηρα [BA]; Vg. always *Ophir*, except Ps. 45 10 *deaurato* [following 𝔊 διαχρύσῳ], Job 22 24 *aureos*, 28 16 *Indiæ*, Is. 13 12 *obrizo*[1] [=Ar. *ibrīz*?]; Pesh. transliterates). There may be a trace of the spelling Sophir in Gen. 10 30 (סְפָרָה, 'to Sophir' =אֹפִרָה, 'to Ophir'; see GOLD, § 1 *c*).

According to Gen. 10 29 1 Ch. 1 23 Ophir was a son of Joktan. In the time of Solomon the place so called was the source of gold and other costly objects imported into Palestine (1 K. 10 11 22). The objects mentioned in 1 K. 10 22 are gold, silver, *šenhabbīm*, *ḳōphīm*, and *tukkīyyīm*. *Šenhabbīm* may be a combination of 'ivory and ebony' (see EBONY, § 2 *b*); but it may also be an error for אבני שהם (Klo.), 'onyx-stones' (but see ONYX).

1. Biblical references.

In this case קפים ותכיים will be best explained as corrupted from a dittographed חפנד, *ḥipindu* (the name of a precious stone,[2] corrupted elsewhere in OT; see TOPAZ). The usual explanation of *ḳōphīm* and *tukkīyyīm* is extremely improbable; it is not supported by 𝔊BL, nor are 'apes and peacocks' referred to by the Chronicler. In 1 K. 9 28 only gold is mentioned; but in 10 11 almuggim-timber and precious stones are referred to. Almuggim was most probably a rare hardgrained wood from Elam.[3] See ALMUG, APE, PEACOCK, EBONY, IVORY.

[1] On this word, and on ἄπυρον, which some connect with Ophir, see CRYSTAL, *d*; GOLD, § 1.

[2] The peculiar appropriateness of this suggestion will appear from a reference to Gen. 2 12, where, according to a critical emendation which seems to represent at any rate one stage in the history of the text, the *ḥipindu*-stone as well as the *šōham* and gold, came from Havilah; cp GOLD, § 1 (*b*).

[3] In MT of 2 Ch. 2 8 [7] Solomon sends for almug-timber from Lebanon, instead of Ophir, and critics have reproached the Chronicler for ignorance. But הלבנון (the initial ם is dittographed) is simply an incorrect variant for אלמגים, 'almuggim.' Exactly the same error is made in Cant. 3 9 where 'wood of Lebanon' should be 'almug-timber'; cp 3 10 where 'purple' ('argamān) should be 'almug.' See *Crit. Bib.*

Ships (unless, indeed, as Kittel supposes, it was only a single ship; cp 𝔊, μία . . . ναῦς) were despatched thither by SOLOMON [*q.v.*] in conjunction with Hiram,[1] and at a later time JEHOSHAPHAT [*q.v.*] would fain have followed his example (1 K. 9 28 = 2 Ch. 8 18 1 K. 10 11 22 = 2 Ch. 9 10 21 1 K. 22 48 *f.* = 2 Ch. 20 35-37). Hence in poetry and late prose 'gold of Ophir' = 'fine gold,' Is. 13 12 Ps. 45 10 [MT] Job 28 16 1 Ch. 29 4, and even by itself Ophir can mean 'fine gold'; so, *e.g.*, in Job 22 24, and possibly in Ps. 45 10 (see GOLD, § 1 *e*).

Respecting the site of Ophir there are five views which claim to be considered:—

1. Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, 1 538 *f.*), followed by Delitzsch, identifies Ophir with the Aberia of Ptolemy, the Âbhīra of the Sanskrit geographers, which was on the W. coast of India, near the mouths of the Indus. To this view there are serious objections.

2. Sites for Ophir.

That India is meant, was held long ago by Vitringa, Bochart, and Reland, and has the authority of Jos. (*Ant.* viii. 6 4), who says that the land formerly called Σώφειρα, but now Χρυσῆ, belongs to India. 𝔊, too, probably means this by its σωφειρ (and the like); cp the Polyglot Arabic version of Is. 13 12 (*Hind*). It is usual to refer to the Coptic vocabularies in which India is called Sophir,[2] and to the old city of Σούπαρα (Ptol.) or Οὔππαρα (Arrian), which was on the W. of Malabar in the neighbourhood of Goa. There are, however, four serious objections:—(1) A maritime trade with India hardly existed prior to the seventh century B.C., and the Jews at any rate cannot be assumed to have known India before the Persian period (see INDIA). (2) The objects mentioned in 1 K. 10 11 22 do not at all necessarily point to India (see ALMUG TREES, APE, PEACOCK). (3) The Indian gold that was exported took the form of gold dust. (4) Gold was not imported from Barbarike—the port for Aberia and the Indian Delta. See Arrian, *Periplus*, 39, where a full list of Indian exports is given, and cp Peters, 50; Keane, 53 *ff.*

2. Peters (*Das goldene Ophir Salomos*, 1895) warmly advocates the identification of Ophir with the mysterious ruins of Zimbabwe in Mashonaland discovered by Mauch in 1871 (31° 7′ 30″ E. long., 20° 16′ 30″ S. lat.), in a district between the Zambesi and the Limpopo sown broadcast with the ruins of granite forts and the remains of ancient gold-diggings in the quartz reefs. Peters also thinks that Ophir and the Punt of the Egyptian inscriptions are identical, and that they are situated in the modern Rhodesia. Certainly gold was abundant there in antiquity, and topazes and rubies are said to be found in the Revwe river near Sofala. The very name Ophir Peters finds preserved in the name Fura (about 15 m. S. of the Zambesi), which he traces to Afur, by which name the Arabs of the sixteenth century knew this district. (Cp the summary and criticism in Keane, 30-35.)

There are two special objections, however, to this view:—(1) This SE. African district was unknown to the ancients, and even to the Arabian geographers before the thirteenth century. (2) Punt was, according to Maspero (*Dawn of Civ.* 396, n. 6), the country between the Nile and the Red Sea, though the name was afterwards extended to all the coast of the Red Sea, and to Somaliland, possibly even to a part of Arabia. It is only in the extended sense that Punt can come into consideration (cp EGYPT, § 48).

3. Benzinger suggests identifying Ophir with the land of Punt—*i.e.*, the Ethiopian coast of the Red Sea with the opposite coast of Arabia. This partly coincides with Sprenger's view (*Alte Geogr. Arab.* 49 *ff.*) that Ophir was on the W. coast of Yemen. It is quite true that ingots of gold were sent from Punt as tribute to queen Ḥa't-šepsut ('Hatasu,' 18th dyn.). But Punt was not, like Ophir, the land of gold *par excellence*; gold only figures amongst other precious objects, the first of which are 'the good woods of Tanuter' (the land of the gods—*i.e.*, the holy land), *ḳmy* or gum arabic trees producing green *ana*, ebony, and pure ivory.

4. To the preceding identifications there is this additional objection that the inclusion of Ophir among the sons of Joktan points to an *Arabian* locality. It is not enough, however, to prove the abundance of gold and silver in ancient times on the W. coast of Arabia between the Ḥijāz and Yemen. For, not to lay stress on the

[1] The notice in 1 K. 10 22 was misunderstood by the Chronicler (2 Ch. 9 21), who supposed the phrase 'Tarshish ships' to mean 'ships that went to Tarshish.' See TARSHISH.

[2] Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, 298.

three years' voyage to Ophir and back mentioned in 1 K. 10 22 (see below, § 3, end), we should have expected the journey to this part of Arabia to be performed by a caravan (cp 10 15); the queen of Sheba came from SW. Arabia by land (10 2).

3. Probable theory.

5. Glaser (*Skizze*, 2 357 *ff.* 368 *ff.*; cp Sayce, *PSBA*, Oct. 1896, p. 174, Keane, pp. 43 *ff.*) places Ophir on the E. coast of Arabia, stretching up the Persian Gulf. So, too, Hommel (see references in *AHT*, p. 236), who derives Ophir from Āpir, an old cuneiform name for that part of Elam which lay over against the E. Arabian coast, and hence for that coast itself. This he connects with a theory that from an early date there was commercial intercourse between Elam in the E. and Nubia in the W. by Ophir, and, accepting the present writer's theory that 'almug' as a name for a rare kind of timber used for building is derived from Ass. elammāku (see ALMUG, vol. i., col. 120)—*i.e.*, 'Elamitish'—he claims the almug-timber as one of the exports from Ophir. This is a rather attractive view. Of course the objects taken in by Solomon's agents at Ophir would not in all cases be products of Ophir. From the inland region as well as from more distant parts, merchants would bring their wares to the emporium at Ophir. This was evidently the farthest point of the voyage. There is nothing to prevent us from supposing that Solomon's ships first sailed along the Egyptian coast, then along the Somali coast, and at last along the coast of Arabia till they entered the Persian Gulf.[1] How they trafficked with the natives, we are not told; but Naville (*Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, 3 15) explains how the objects brought by the men of Punt to the Egyptians sent by Ḥa't-šepsut were goods to be exchanged against the products of Egypt. Such, no doubt, was the course pursued by the agents of Solomon.

A word must be added here on the remarkable statement of 1 K. 10 22, 'For the king had at sea Tarshish ships with the ships of Hiram; once in three years came the Tarshish ships, and brought gold, silver, ivory,' etc. Ophir is not mentioned here, and the passage most probably belongs (see Kittel's commentary, but cp Burney in Hastings, *DB* 2 865 *a*) to a late redactor. If so, it would not be necessary to charge the redactor with having exaggerated (through ignorance) the length of the voyage to Ophir. To go all round Arabia, stopping perhaps on the way, and at any rate waiting long at Ophir, must have required a considerable time. The redactor possibly had an old notice beside him, which he abbreviates. This old notice probably used the expression 'Ophir-ship,' which we may perhaps find in 𝔊 of 9 26 (reading with Klo. *ναῦν ωφιρα* for *ναῦν ὑπὲρ οὗ*).

See also J. Kennedy, 'Early Commerce of Babylon with India,' *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 241-288; 'Ophir' (revised by Kessler) in Riehm's *HWB*(2) 2 1138 *ff.*; Soetbeer, *Das Goldland Ophir*, 1880; Leng, *Ophir u. die Ruinen von Zimbabye*, 1896; A. K. Keane, *The Gold of Ophir*, 1901 (virtually identifies Ophir with SEPHAR).

T. K. C.

OPHNI (עָפְנִי, meaning unknown; 'stench'? § 106; om. 𝔊BA [2] αφνη [L], ܥܦܢܝ [Pesh.], *ophni* [Vg.], cp *afni*, αφνει *OS*(2) 94 10 222 43), a Benjamite city, grouped with Chephar-ammoni and Geba (Josh. 18 24). Before seeking to identify it, we must be reasonably sure of the name. העפני and העמני stand side by side; the strong probability is that dittography has come into play, and that one or the other of the words should be cancelled. Now Josh. 18 11-28 belongs to P, in whose time the existence of an Ammonite (or Jerahmeelite?) village, or a village which had been Ammonite, would not surprise us (cp PAHATH-MOAB, TOBIAH). If, on the other hand, we prefer ha-Ophni (so MT reads) to ha-Ammoni, how is ha-Ophni (*i.e.*, Beth ha-Ophni, scarcely Chephar ha-Ophni) to be accounted for? There is no obvious meaning, no obvious identification. Probably there is no such word as Ophni.

With Gophna (mod. *Jifnā*; see Baed. 214), so important in later times, we can hardly identify it; Gophna would be rather too far N. (so Buhl, *Pal.* 173). Besides, mod. Jifnā presupposes an ancient name גֶּפֶן, 'vine' or בֵּית־גְּפָנִים, 'place of vines.' The valley in which Jifnā stands is one of the most fertile in Palestine. On Gophna see Neubauer, *Géogr.* 157. T. K. C.

1 So Kessler.

2 H-P, however, cite αφν[ε]ι, αφονη and αιφνες in certain MSS.

OPHRAH (עָפְרָה, 'a hind'?; γοφερα [BL]). 1. A town mentioned in 1 S. 13 17 as on one of the roads taken by the marauding Philistines from Michmash. It was towards 'the land of SHUAL,' and from the context we may infer that it was to the N. of Michmash. Probably the same as 2.

2. A town in Benjamin, in P's eastern group of cities, Josh. 18 23 (ιεφραθα [B], αφρα [A], αφαρα [L]). Perhaps the Ephraim of 2 S. 13 23, and to be identified with the mod. *eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh* (see EPHRAIM ii.). Though too far N. for a Benjamite town, the circumstance that a place of this name is mentioned in 1 S. 13 16 *f.* in connection with Geba of Benjamin may have seemed to P to justify placing Ophrah in Benjamin (cp HPSm. *ad loc.*). Whether it is the Ephraim of Jn. 11 54 is open to question; this place, near the wilderness of Judah, was very possibly En-cerem[1] (*'Ain Kārim*).

3. The city of Gideon (Judg. 6 11 24 8 27 9 5), called 'Ophrah of the Abiezrites' (6 24). It lay in W. Manasseh, and was apparently within an easy distance of Shechem (see 9 5). If Fer'atā, 6 m. WSW. of Nāblus, is not PIRATHON (*q.v.*), it is somewhat plausible[2] to identify it with Gideon's Ophrah. The name 'Ophrah,' or perhaps Ephrath, may occur, disguised as 'Deborah' in Judg. 4 *f.*

One of the many examples of the textual and consequently historical errors of the early editors seems to be connected with the name of Ophrah. Underneath the story in Judg. 4 there may be a record of a great battle between the Israelites and the Kenizzites under their king Jabin and his general (*sārīs*). The patriotism of the Israelites was stirred up by the 'judge,' or ruler, of the time, whom we know, in Judg. 6-8, as Jerubbaal or GIDEON (*q.v.*), but in Judg. 4 as Deborah—*i.e.*, 'Ophrah' (Ephrath). In Judg. 4 4 *f.* we should perhaps read 'And Ophrah [a prophetess, *a gloss*], wife of Zelophehad, judged Israel at this time. She was of the family of Maṭri of the house of Jerahmeel, in the land of Ophrah (Ephrath).' It is probable that both 'Jerubbaal' and 'Ephrath' are early corruptions of 'JERAHMEEL' (*q.v.*). Cp LAPIDOTH, and see *Crit. Bib.*

𝔊 usually εφραθα; 𝔊A εφραιμ in 8 27 9 5, and 𝔊L εφρα in 6 11 8 27.

4. (γοφορα [A], εφραθ [L]). The eponym of a Judahite clan called Ophrah, which traced its origin to Meonothai (Maon?), 1 Ch. 4 14†. The genealogy is Kenizzite. T. K. C.

OPOBALSAMUM (נָטָף, *nāṭaph*), Ex. 30 34 RVmg., EV STACTE (*q.v.*).

ORACLE. For 'oracle' in the sense of a supernatural message or advice obtained by supernatural means, see DIVINATION, MAGIC. In EV the word represents the following Hebrew and Greek terms:—

1. The 'oracle of God' (2 S. 16 23) is simply (so mg.) the '*word* of God' (דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים, λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ cp Jer. 1 2 and often).

2. In NT, λόγια,[3] literally 'words,' everywhere rendered 'oracles,' is used of the Mosaic laws (Acts 7 38, cp Rom. 3 2), the doctrines of the Christian religion (Heb. 5 12), and the utterances of God spoken by Christian teachers (1 Pet. 4 11).

3. The word 'oracle' (דְּבִיר, *debīr*) as applied to a part of the temple at Jerusalem (1 K. 6 5 16 19 *f.* 7 49 8 6 8 2 Ch. 3 16 [here, however, רָבִיד (Berth. Ki.), *i.e.*, 'necklace,' = lower border of the capital, should be read] 4 20 5 7, δαβ[ε]ιρ, once δαβερρ [A], once χρηματιστηρί [Ba? b? mg.]; Ps. 28 2, ναός) we owe to Aq., Sym. and Vg.[4] who wrongly, but not unnaturally, derived the Heb. from *dibbēr* to speak (hence χρηματιστηρίον [so Ba? b? mg. 1 K. 8 6], *oraculum*). The *debīr* is properly the innermost room of the temple (so RVmg. Ps. *l.c.*; cp Ar. *dubur*, *dabr*, back)—the holy of holies—wherein dwelt Yahwè as manifested in the ark. A similar place was to be found in every temple (*e.g.*, of Baal, 2 K. 10 25, 𝔊L acc. to Klo.); it is the Assyrian *parakku* (see Jastrow, *RBA* 627), the Gk. ἄδυτον (*adytum*), and is a survival from the primitive times when the temple was built before the cave wherein the deity was supposed to dwell (cp Gr. μέγαρον from מְעָרָה, 'cave'). See TEMPLE.

ORATOR. 1. נְבוֹן לַחַשׁ, *nĕbōn ldḥaš*, Is. 3 3, RV 'enchanter.' See MAGIC.

2. ῥήτωρ, Acts 24 1. Cp TERTULLUS.

ORCHARD. 1. פַּרְדֵּס, *pardēs*; παραδεισος, Cant. 4 13. See PARADISE.

2. κῆπος, Bar. 6 71 [70]. See GARDEN.

1 A corruption of the Greek text may well be supposed.

2 Conder, *PEFQ*, 1876, 197; cp GASm., *HG* 329, n. 3.

3 Often in 𝔊 for חֹשֶׁן, the priest's breastplate.

4 Theod. oscillates between δαβειρ and χρηματιστήριον.

ORDINATION. See HANDS, LAYING ON OF.

ORE (בֶּצֶר), Job 22 24, RVmg. See GOLD, MINES.

OREB (עֹרֵב, 'raven,' § 68; but see below; ωρηβ [BℵARTL]) and ZEEB (זְאֵב, 'wolf'? § 68, ζηβ [BℵARTL]), two Midianite princes in one of the two stories of GIDEON (*q.v.*), corresponding to ZEBAH and ZALMUNNA in the other (Judg. 7 25, cp Is. 10 26). They are said in the narrative to have been slain, the one upon the **Rock of Oreb** (צוּר־עוֹרֵב; σουρ [ωρηβ], σουρειν, A), the other at the Winepress of Zeeb (יֶקֶב־זְאֵב; ιακεφζηφ [βAL], τῇ κοιλάδι τοῦ ζηβ [Symm.], ιακεβ τῇ κ. [Theod.]), but 'Isaiah' (if the text is right) speaks of 'the slaughter (defeat) of Midian at Oreb's Rock' (𝔊 ἐν τόπῳ θλίψεως, Symm. σουρ Χωρηβ). The discrepancy cannot be explained away. Stade and Wellhausen assume a different tradition. But how improbable that the defeat of an army should be localised at a rock, either by a tradition or even by a late editor of Isaiah (Che. *Intr. Is.* 55)!

Hence the probability that צור and יקב are corrupt, and this justifies us in doubting the pointing of ערב and the consonants of זאב. 'Raven' and 'wolf' are plausible names, no doubt, and yet they must be wrong. The solution is plain. צור is a corruption of שַׂר; יֶקֶב of זֶבַח (a variant of זְאֵב), and זבח or זְאֵב comes from זְבִיב. The original story simply told of the capture of Zebīb ('the long-haired,' from the Arabic), prince of the Bedouins ('the desert-dwellers'), and the bringing of the head of the prince of the Bedouins to Gideon on the other side of Jordan. For Zebib, cp the well-attested reference to 'Zabibieh queen (šarrat) of Aribi,' who, like Menahem of Samaria, paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 738 B.C. (Schr. *KAT*(2) 253 = *COT* 1 245).

Tradition loves to *double*; cp Mt.'s two blind men of Jericho with Mk.'s Bartimæus. In the present case this was facilitated by the presence of false readings side by side. In Judg. 7 25 read simply, וַיִּלְכְּדוּ אֶת־זְבִיב שַׂר עֲרָב וַיִּרְדְּפוּ אֶל־מִדְיָן וְרֹאשׁ שַׂר עֲרָב הֵבִיאוּ אֶל־גִּדְעוֹן מֵעֵבֶר לַיַּרְדֵּן. In Is. 10 26 we should probably read כְּמַכַּת עוֹרֵב שַׂר מִדְיָן, 'like the defeat of Oreb prince of Midian'; ערב may already have been misread as עֹרֵב, 'raven,' when Is. 10 26 was written. T. K. C.

OREB (*Choreb*), 2 Esd. 2 33 AV, RV HOREB.

OREN (אֹרֶן, 'fir' or 'cedar' or more probably 'wild-goat'; αραν [A], αραια και αμβραμ [B], αραμ [L]), a Jerahmeelite family-name (1 Ch. 2 25). See ARAN, and cp JERAHMEEL, § 2 *a*.

ORGAN (עוּגָב), Gen. 4 21, etc., RV 'pipe.' See MUSIC, § 4*b*.

ORION (כְּסִיל; ωρειων [Job 38 31? also Is. 13 10]; on 𝔊 in Job 9 9 see STARS, § 3 *c* n.). Since *kᵉsīl*, כְּסִיל, means 'fool,' most commentators have supposed the name to allude to a myth of a giant who strove with God and was chained to the sky for his impiety.

Such myths do exist, and Tg. substitutes נִפְלָא, 'giant,' for כסיל. Cp NIMROD. *Kᵉsīl*, כְּסִיל, however, ought not to be confounded with *nābāl*, נבל (see FOOL), and the term 'cords' in Job 38 31 is hardly that which would be most naturally suggested by such a myth. Cp Delitzsch, *ad loc.*

Kĕsil has been thought to be a Hebraised form of *kasil*, one of two Babylonian names of Orion, the other being *šugi* or *šibu*; with the former name some compare that of the 'wild hunter' Sahu, in one of the Pyramid texts (Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 108; cp Hommel, *Der Bab. Urspr. der Äg. Kultur*, 40). Ka-sil is said to mean 'opening of the path'—viz., to the under-world (on which and on the twofold application of the name see Hommel, in Hastings, *DB* 1 218 *a*). Stucken, however (*Astralmythen*, 31), connects *kĕsīl* with *kesel*, 'thigh,' and compares an Egyptian name for the Great Bear meaning 'thigh' or 'club.' Followed by Winckler (*GI* 2 82) he connects the story of Abraham with the myth of Orion (not *kĕsīl*); Winckler (*GI* 2 188) even makes NABAL (*q.v.*) a development out of Orion. The plural form Kĕsilim occurs only in Is. 13 10, 'The stars of heaven and the Orions (EV 'constellations') thereof,' where 'Orions' is held to mean 'Orion and stars not less bright.' 𝔊, however, has simply ὁ Ὠρ[ε]ίων; [Ὠριον ℵ*]; possibly the text originally ran, 'The Bear, Pleiades, and Orion' (see 'Isa.' *SBOT*, Addenda). Egyptian theology placed the 'noble soul of Osiris' in Orion (Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth.* 301). T. K. C.

ORNAMENTS. The ornaments mentioned in the OT are treated in special articles. On ornaments for the *head*, see CHAPLET, CROWN, TURBAN, VEIL; on those for the *neck*, see CHAINS, NECKLACE, PERFUME, RING; on those for the *nose* and *ear*, see AMULETS, RING; on those for the *hand* and *arm*, see CHAINS, BRACELETS, RING; on those for the *body*, see GIRDLE, MIRROR; on those for the *feet*, see ANKLETS, SANDAL, etc. See also, in general, DRESS, § 5, STONES [PRECIOUS].

General terms for ornaments are: 1. כְּלִי, *kᵉlī* (for passages in which it occurs see JEWEL, 7), an ornament mostly of precious metal with perhaps a jewelled inset.[1] *Kᵉlī* often has a very general meaning, *vessel*. In NT κόσμος has the same sense of ornament in general.

2. עֲדִי, *'ădī* (עמה = עדה, 'to put on'; cp תעדה כליה, Is. 61 10 and Hos. 2 13 [15]) used of men, Ex. 33 4, of women, Jer. 2 32. In Ezek. 16 11 *'ădī* is the generic name applied to many forms of ornament.

3. מִגְדָּנוֹת, *migdānōth*, Gen. 24 53 2 Ch. 21 3 Ezra 1 6 ('precious things') may mean ornaments. In the first of these passages they seem to form the *mōhar* or price paid for the bride (Di.).

4. Special terms rendered ornament in EV:

i. חֲלִי, *ḥălī*, Prov. 25 12 etc.; see BASKETS, NECKLACE.

ii. לִוְיָה, *liwyah*, Prov. 1 9, AV (RV 'chaplet'); see CHAPLET.

iii. אֲפֻדָּה, *ăphuddāh*, Is. 30 22, AV (RV 'plating'). It is properly the gold sheathing of the wooden idol-images; cp Dt. 7 25. See EPHOD.

iv. פְּאֵר, *pᵉ'ēr*, Is. 61 10, AV (RV 'garland'). See TURBAN.

v. שַׂהֲרֹנִים, *śahărōnīm* (of camels), Judg. 8 26, AV 'ornaments,' RV 'crescents.' In Is. 3 18 (of women) AV has 'round tires like the moon.' See NECKLACE.

vi. עֲכָסִים, *'ăkāsīm*, Is. 3 18, AV 'tinkling ornaments,' RV 'anklets.' See ANKLETS. The Hebrew prophets (Is. 3 18-23 etc.) rebuked the excessive use of ornaments by women. Cp also 1 Pet. 3 4 1 Tim. 2 9 *f.* I. A.

ORNAN (אָרְנָן), 1 Ch. 21 15 etc. See ARAUNAH.

ORPAH (עָרְפָּה; ορφα [BAL]), daughter-in-law of Naomi (Ruth 1 4 14). See RUTH.

ORTHOSIAS (ορθωσιαν [AℵV]), RV **Orthosia,** 1 Macc. 15 37. According to Tab. Peut., 30 R. m. S. of Antaradus on the coast of Phœnicia.

OSAIAS (ωσαιας [A]), 1 Esd. 8 48 = Ezra 8 19 JESHAIAH (*q.v.*, 5).

OSEA. 1. (*Josia*) 4 Esd. 13 40. See HOSHEA, 1. 2. (*Osee*) 4 Esd. 1 39, RV **Oseas**. See HOSEA.

OSHEA (הוֹשֵׁעַ), Nu. 13 8 AV, RV HOSHEA.

OSNAPPAR (אָסְנַפַּר), Ezra 4 10 RV, AV ASNAPPER (*q.v.*).

OSPRAY (עָזְנִיָּה, *'ozniyyāh*; αλιαιετος, form uncertain [see Swete]), one of the unclean birds (Lev. 11 13 Dt. 14 12†). Evidently some bird of prey is meant, such as the ospray (osprey) *Pandion haliaëtus*, zoologically one of the Pandionidæ allied to the family Falconidæ. This bird is essentially a fish-eater, and may be seen poising in the air, then suddenly dropping like a stone into the water, to emerge in a minute with its prey, just as Pliny (*HN* 10 3) describes the haliaetus as doing. Ospreys, however, are somewhat rare in Palestine. Tristram inclines to regard the term *'ozniyyah* as generic, and would include several species under it, such as

[1] The setting seems to be intended by מַשְׂכִּיּוֹת, Prov. 25 11; see BASKETS.

the Short-toed, the Golden, and the Imperial Eagle. The first-mentioned of these is specially abundant in Palestine, and not unlike the ospray (*NHB*, 184). Knobel rather boldly explains *'ozniyyah* as 'the bearded,' and identifies the bird with the Ossifrage: in this case *péres* (פֶּרֶס; see OSSIFRAGE) would be some other sort of vulture.

The ospray has also been recognised in Job 9 26 (‖ נֶשֶׁר 'vulture'), where, for חָלְפוּ עִם־אָנִיּוֹת אֵבֶה, 'they pass like the ships of reed' (?!), we may read הֲלֹא עִם־עָזְנִיּוֹת יַעֲבֹרוּ 'surely they pass by like osprays' (cp 𝔊 ἢ καὶ ἔστιν).

T. K. C.-A. E. S.

OSSIFRAGE, RV GIER-EAGLE (פֶּרֶס 'breaker'; γρυψ[1]), one of the unclean birds (Lev. 11 13 Dt. 14 12†), is the *Gypaëtus barbatus*, commonly known as the Lämmergeier, a most magnificent bird with wings stretching 10 ft. across. In some respects this species is intermediate between the Vulturidæ and the Falconidæ, with one or the other of which it is classed by different writers. Some authorities state that the Lämmergeier lives on offal and garbage; but undoubtedly at times it attacks living creatures. As the name Ossifrage indicates, this bird is fond of bones, which, when small, are swallowed, but, when large, are said to be carried aloft and from a height dropped on a rock with the view of breaking them. Snakes and tortoises are subjected to the same treatment, and thus killed. The Lämmergeier breeds early in the year, the nest being placed on an inaccessible ledge of rock amongst the gorges it frequents. The species has a wide distribution, extending across Europe and Asia; but it has been exterminated, or is in process of becoming so, in many places. This grandest of the vulture tribe is perhaps referred to in the Eulogy on Wisdom.

In Job 28 8 RV gives 'The proud beasts have not trodden it'; but שחץ 'pride' is most questionable, and for בְּנֵי שַׁחַץ we should probably read בְּנֵי פֶּרֶס[2] 'the young vultures' (lit. ossifrages) ‖ 'the CORMORANT' (*q.v.*). See also OSPRAY.

It is also practically certain that in Job 9 25 the complaint of Job is that his 'days are swifter,' not 'than a post (מִנִּי רָץ),' but 'than an ossifrage[3] (מִפֶּרֶס).' We thus get, in *vv.* 25 *f.*, all the three swiftly-flying birds of prey grouped together in Lev. 11 13 Dt. 14 12.

A. E. S.—T. K. C.

OSTRICH. The ostrich (*i.e.*, *Struthio camelus*) is mentioned several times in the EV, and is the correct rendering of three Hebrew words.

1. בַּת־הַיַּעֲנָה (יענה, ב׳ יענה), *bath ya'ănāh*, στρουθός (4 times) σειρήν (3 times); *struthio* in Lev. 11 16 Dt. 14 15 Job 30 29 Is. 13 21 34 13 43 20 Jer. 50 39 and Mi. 1 8 RV, where AV erroneously has OWL [*q.v.*, 1], AVmg. 'daughter of the owl.' The Hebrew name seems to mean 'daughter of greed,' in allusion to the bird's voracity, or 'daughter of the desert,' cp the Arabian name of the ostrich, 'father of the plains' (see BDB).

2. יְעֵנִים, στρουθίον (Lam. 4 3, Ḳri.), plur. of a form closely related to the above.

3. רְנָנִים, τερπομένων,[4] *struthio* (Job 39 13, AV, PEACOCK [*q.v.*]), supposed to be derived from the hoarse melancholy cry which the ostrich makes; but G. Hoffmann acutely suggests יְעֵנִים (cp 2), which Budde and Duhm adopt. On the ostrich-section cp JOB ii., § 10.

4. חֲסִידָה, ασιδα (Job 39 13, AV), and

5. נֹצָה, νεσσα (*ib.* AVmg.), receive antiquated renderings; see STORK.

The ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) at the present day hardly extends northward of the Syrian desert which lies E. of Damascus, though there is historical evidence that it was formerly more widely spread in the E. portions of Asia.[1] Full details respecting the habits of the bird would be superfluous here. It will be sufficient to mention that in the breeding season ostriches assemble in troops of four or five—one cock and the rest hens. The latter lay some thirty to forty eggs in a common nest scooped in the sand, over which they brood in turns, the male taking the main share. Around the nest are scattered a number of unincubated eggs which are said to serve as food for the young when hatched; their presence may explain the reflections on the care of the ostrich for its young, found in Job 39 15. The ostrich is several times referred to as inhabiting desert places (Is. 13 21 34 13 43 20 Jer. 50 39), and its great speed when running did not escape the observation of the writer of Job 39 18—an allusion which would show that the ostrich was hunted in his time. At night it emits a hoarse melancholy note, compared by Tristram to the lowing of an ox in pain, and on this account it is mentioned along with the jackal in Mi. 1 8 Job 30 29.

The ostrich was one of the unclean birds (Lev. 11 16 Dt. 14 15), and is not eaten at the present day, as a general rule, save among the African Arabs. The fat of the bird is sometimes used as a medicine. The feathers have always been esteemed, and at the present day the Arabian chief will bind a tuft of ostrich plumes around his spear-head as a sign of rank.

For later Hebrew details of the ostrich ([בת] יענה, נעמיתא), see Lewysohn, *Zool. d. Talm.*, § 240.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

OTHNI (עָתְנִי; ΓΟΟΝΕΙ [B], ΓΟΘΝΙ [A], ΟΘΝΙ [L]; cp OTHNIEL), a doorkeeper, son of Obed-edom (1 Ch. 26 7).

OTHNIEL (עָתְנִיאֵל, § 39; ΓΟΘΟΝΙΗΛ [BAL]; cp GOTHONIEL), a Kenizzite clan (cp 1 Ch. 4 13), described as the younger brother of CALEB, who settled at Kirjath-sepher (Debir), and married ACHSAH [*q.v.*] (Josh. 15 17 Judg. 1 13). His deliverance of Israel (properly S. Judah) from the Edomites (read אֱדֹם for אֲרָם), or rather the Jerahmeelites (נהרים is probably a corruption of ירחמאל, a gloss on אֲרָם), is briefly narrated in Judg. 3 7-11 (see CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM, JUDGES, § 5). Comparing 1 Ch. 27 13 and *v.* 15, we are led to suspect that Othniel and the Zarhites are closely connected. Nor is it hard to justify this. עתניאל has not yet been explained, but is probably only another form of איתן; ETHAN, we know, was an Ezrahite or Zarhite. The southern clans became more and more prominent in the later period. Cp KENAZ.

T. K. C.

OTHONIAS (ΟΘΟΝΙΑC [BA], 1 Esd. 9 28 = Ezra 10 27, MATTANIAH, 7.

OUCHES (מִשְׁבְּצוֹת, *mišbeṣōth*; √שבץ, to interweave? Ex. 28 11 13 14 25 39 6 13 16 18; the word also occurs in Ps. 45 14 [ΚΡΟC(C)ωΤΟC]; cp also Ex. 28 20, מְשֻׁבָּצִים, CΥΝΔΕΔΕΜΕΝΑ ΕΝ ΧΡΥCΙω). First, as to the word 'ouche.' It arose by a very early error ('a nouche' being mistaken for 'an ouche') from an adopted Old French word *nouche*, *nosche*, 'clasp, buckle,' and seems to have acquired the sense of 'gold ornament.' In Ex. it is clear that the gold settings of the engraved stones are intended; these settings were not solid pieces of gold, but formed of woven wire wreathed round the stones in *cloisonnée* work, a sort of filigree. How this wire was produced we learn from Ex. 39 3 (cp EMBROIDERY, § 3).

In Ex. 39 6 13 𝔊 has περισεσιαλωμένους and συνδεδεμένα, but in 28 13 *f.* 25 and 39 16 18 ἀσπιδίσκας (which also occurs in 1 Macc. 4 57, where EV, improbably, however literally, '[small] shields'). This appears to be a good rendering. By 'little shields' 𝔊 means what we call rosettes; these were of filigree work, and to them were attached the chains of gold by which the *ḥōšen* or BREASTPLATE [*q.v.*] of the high priest was kept firm.

In Ps. 45 14*b* [13*b*] the same word occurs, AV rendering 'her clothing is of wrought gold,' RV '. . . is in-

[1] γρυψ and γυψ of B = γυψ and γρυψ of A in Lev.

[2] פרם, miswritten סרף, became שחץ under the influence of שחל in *v.* 8 *b*. On שחץ in Job 41 21, see LION.

[3] נ and פ are confounded, *e.g.*, פערי, 2 S. 23 35 = נערי, 1 Ch. 11 37. ני of course could with especial ease be miswritten for פ.

[4] It is equally probable that τερπομένων = נעלסה (transliterated by ℵc.c.A) and that the name of the bird has fallen out.

[1] 'The ostrich appears on the elaborate decoration of the royal robes, and upon cylinders. Perhaps it was considered sacred.' Perr. and Chip. *Art in Ass.* ii. 153, and figs. 75, 76.

wrought with gold.' If, however, פנימה in *v.* 14*a* should be read פנינים—*i.e.*, 'pearls,' or perhaps (see col. 895 *f.*) 'corals' or 'corallites'—it becomes possible to combine this word with *v.* 14*b*, and render 'of pearls woven in gold (משבצות זהב) is her garment.' But Wellhausen (*SBOT*), in taking this view, disregards Hebrew metre. It is surely better to follow MT's division of the verse, and to render 'Brocade of gold is her raiment' (Che. *Ps.*(2)).

Duhm rearranges the clauses unsatisfactorily. In Prov. 25 11 משבצות probably underlies the much-disputed word מַשְׂכִּית; a fine proverb is thus restored to the group of passages with which we are dealing (see BASKETS, col. 499, esp. n. 1). T. K. C.

OVEN (תַּנּוּר, *tannūr*; κλιβανος; *clibanus*; Ex. 8 3 [7 28] Lev. 2 4 [not 𝔊B] 7 9 [6 39] 11 35 26 26 Ps. 21 9 [10] Lam. 5 10 Hos. 7 4 6 *f.* Mal. 4 1 [3 19] Mt. 6 30 Lk. 12 28). See FURNACE, 5, BREAD, § 2, *c*, and COOKING, § 4.

OVERSEER. 1. פָּקִיד, *pāḳīd* (√פקד, in Heb. and Ass. implying supervision or control), is used in Jer. 20 1 29 26 2 Ch. 24 11 31 13 Neh. 11 22 12 42 of various temple officials (*καθεσταμένος, ἐπιστάτης, προστάτης, ἐπίσκοπος*), superintending 'Levites,' 'singers,' or 'the house of Yahwè'; see TEMPLE SERVICE. The word is also met with in Neh. 11 9 14 (*ἐπίσκοπος*), is used of a military officer in Jer. 52 25 ‖ 2 K. 25 19 (*ἐπιστάτης*), and is applied to ZEBUL (*q.v.*), Abimelech's officer (*ἐπίσκοπος*), in Judg. 9 28, to Pharaoh's overseers (*τοπάρχαι*) in Gen. 41 34, and to the officers (*κωμάρχαι*) appointed throughout the empire by Ahasuerus to find a successor to Vashti (Esth. 2 3).

2. שׁוֹטֵר, *šōṭēr*, Prov. 6 7. See SCRIBE.

3. מְנַצֵּחַ, *mᵉnaṣṣēăḥ*, 2 Ch. 2 18 34 12 (*ἐπιστάτης*), of superintendents of the corvée. The word occurs also in the titles of fifty-five Psalms, where it is rendered 'Chief Musician'; but see MUSICIAN, CHIEF.

4. ἐπίσκοπος, Acts 20 28; cp Acts 1 20, AV, 'his bishoprick (*ἐπισκοπή*) let another take,' but RV 'office' with mg. 'Gr. overseership.' See BISHOP, MINISTRY.

OWL. The owl is mentioned at least twelve times in AV; and though a strict examination of passages displaces the owl for some of them, it reappears in others where its presence has been forgotten.

1. OT references.

The Heb. words to be considered are:—

1. בַּת (בְּנוֹת) יַעֲנָה, *bath* (*bĕnōth*) *ya'ănāh*, Is. 13 21, etc. AV; RV OSTRICH [*q.v.*]; 2. לִילִית, *līlīth*, Is. 34 14, AV **Screech-owl**, but see LILITH; and 3. קִפּוֹז, *ḳippōz*, Is. 34 15, AV **Great Owl**, undoubtedly a reptile, see SERPENT (§ 1 [8]). The remaining names are those of 'unclean' birds, mentioned as such in Lev. 11 17 *f.* Dt. 14 16 *f.*[1]

4. יַנְשׁוּף, *yanšūph*. This bird is grouped in the legislation with the *šālāk* (see CORMORANT), and the *kōs* (see below, 5), and, like the RAVEN, is used by a prophet to typify the desolation of Edom, Is. 34 11 (יַנְשׁוֹף, *yanšōph*, RVmg. BITTERN). The word may be the same as the Ass. *êššêpu* (from *ênšêpu*), a bird which frequents ruins (Del. *Prol.* 80 *f.*; *ZDMG* 40 719, n. 1). Both here and in Lev. 𝔊 understands the Ibis (see HERON).

5. כּוֹס, *kōs*, EV 'little owl.' In Ps 102 6 [7] the '*kōs* of the ruins' is parallel to the '*ḳā'ath* of the desert' (see PELICAN). 𝔊 both here and in Lev. gives *νυκτικόραξ* or screech-owl; Tg. Onk. in Lev. קַדְיָא,[2] which is Ass. *ḳadu*. We cannot venture to connect the name with כּוֹס 'bag,' and on this ground to identify the bird with the pelican (Boch.).

6. תִּנְשֶׁמֶת, *tinšĕmeth*, RV 'horned owl'; AV 'swan' (see SWAN), Lev. 11 18 (*πορφυρίων* [B], *-ρών* [A]; Dt. 14 16 † (*ε*)*ιβις* [BFL], *ιβης* [A]). The position of the name in the lists favours RV, which has also ancient authority (Targ., Sam., see Di.-Rys.).

The restoration of the owl to certain passages where its presence had previously been unsuspected is an important result of textual criticism. In Is. 59 10 כַּנֶּשֶׁף (AV 'as in the night'; RV 'as in the twilight') should no doubt be כְּיַנְשׁוּף 'like the owl.' It is ‖ to באשמנים, which should certainly be לתנשמת. The word תנשמת (see 6) has indeed been unfortunate. It is represented in the text of Ps. 39 12 by ותמם and איש; in Ps. 58 8 by תמם and אשת, and in Is. 59 10, as we have seen, by the hitherto unintelligible אשמנים. The sense produced by the required restorations is as follows:—(*a*) Is. 59 10, 'We grope, as blind men, by the wall; like those who have no eyes, we feel our way; at noonday we resemble (נמשלנו) the owl; we are become like unto the screech-owl' (לתִ' דָּמִינוּ). The passage continues, 'We all groan like bears, and mourn sore like doves.'

(*b*) Ps. 39 12 [11], 'In the midst of deep gloom I grope, I am become like the owls.' The passage continues, 'All my piety is like spider's webs; surely a (mere) breath is all piety.'

(*c*) Ps. 58 8, 'On the highway let them walk in obscurity, like owls which never see the sun.' In the third of these passages Tg., which misunderstands תמם, imagines אשת to denote the mole (see MOLE, 2). See Che. *SBOT*, 'Isa.' Heb. 201 *f.*; *Psalms*(2).

2. Identifications.

Next as to the identifications. We may plausibly identify the *yanšūph* (4) with the *Bubo ascalaphus*. This is one of the commonest species of the Eagle Owl. It sometimes resorts to burrows in the ground, but also frequents caves and mines, and is specially abundant round the Idumæan Petra. The *kōs* (5) may be *Carine glaux* (so Tristram), a sub-species of *C. noctua*, a bird of 'grotesque actions and ludicrous expression,' which nevertheless was the classical emblem of Pallas Athene, and is stamped upon the coins of Attica. But we must not be too sure of any identifications. The names of owls are generally derived from their hoarse cry, and need not have been applied with any strictness. Both the divisions of the sub-order Striges (called respectively Striginæ and Alucinæ) are represented in Palestine. To the Striginæ belongs the *Strix flammea*, or Barn-owl, an almost cosmopolitan species, which haunts the ruins of the Holy Land. In Palestine Tristram also found the *Ketupa ceylonensis*, a species of an essentially Indian genus with bare legs and fish-eating habits; *Asio otus*, the *O. vulgaris* of some, the Long-eared Owl, which inhabits woods, especially in N. Palestine; *A. accipitrinus*, or Short-eared Owl, found only in winter; *Syrnium aluco*, the Tawny Owl,[1] a woodland species which in Palestine has a gray, not a tawny, hue; *Scops giu*, whose specific name is derived from its cry, common in the spring; and the *Bubo ascalaphus* and *Carine glaux* (see above).

Frequent representations of the white and horned owl are found in Egypt. The owl does not appear, however, to have borne at any time a sacred character among the Egyptians, although many mummies have been found in the necropolis of Thebes. A. E. S.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

OX (ωζ [BℵA], עוּץ, cp Gen. 22 21 [A]; Vg. *IDON*), ancestor of Judith (Judith 8 1).

OX (שׁוֹר, etc.), Ex. 20 17 etc. See CATTLE.

OX, WILD, RV 'Antelope' (תְּאוֹ, Dt. 14 5; רְאֵם, Dt. 33 17). See ANTELOPE, UNICORN.

OX-ANTELOPE (רְאֵם), Nu. 23 22 RVmg., AV UNICORN (*q.v.*).

OX-GOAD (מַלְמַד הַבָּקָר), Judg. 3 31. See AGRICULTURE, § 4.

OZEM (אֹצֶם; ασομ [BA]). 1. B. Jesse, brother of DAVID (*q.v.*, § 1 *a*, n.); 1 Ch. 2 15† (*ασαμ* [L]).

2. A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch. 2 25 (*ασαν* [B], *ασωμ* [L]). See JERAHMEEL, § 2.

OZIAS (οζ[ε]ιας [BAL]).

1. 1 Esd. 5 31 RV. See UZZA, 2.

2. 1 Esd. 8 2 RV. See UZZI, 1.

3. (*i.e.*, Uzziah: *οζιας* [Ba.b]) b. Micah of the tribe of Simeon, a governor of BETHULIA (Judith 6 15 7 23 8 9 28 35). See JUDITH, BOOK OF.

4. Mt. 1 8 9 AV. See UZZIAH.

OZIEL (οζειηλ [BℵA]), ancestor of Judith (Judith 8 1).

OZNI (אָזְנִי), and **OZNITE** (הָאָזְנִי), Nu. 26 16. See EZBON, 1.

OZORA (εζωρα [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 34 AV, RV EZORA (*q.v.*). See also MACHNADEBAI.

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[1] The owl, however, is sometimes eaten in Arabia, see Doughty, *Ar. Des.* i. 305, 604.

[2] Cp Di. on Lev. 11 17. Frd. Del. formerly (*Ass. Studien*, 100; *Heb. Lang.* 33) connected כּוֹס with Ass. *kasūsu*, but, as he points out himself (*Prol.* 80), this is rather a falcon.

[1] The name *aluco* has really been interchanged with that of the *Strix*, so that *S. stridula* is the Tawny Owl and *Syrnium aluco* the Barn-owl; but in this article recent custom has been followed.

P

PAARAI (פַּעֲרַי; φαραει [A]; αφαρει [L]; for 𝔊^B see below), one of David's heroes (2 S. 23 35), an Arbite (*i.e.*, a man of Arāb in Josh. 15 52 [?]), or rather Archite. The reading 'Archite' is suggested by the [ουραι]οερχει of 𝔊^B, and the ὁ αραχειεις of 𝔊^A (see ARCHITES). In 1 Ch. 11 37 the name is corrupted into Naarai ben Ezbai, where 'Ezbai' (אזבי) plainly comes from 'Arbi' (Arbite). See NAARAI.

PACHON (παχων [A, om. V]), 3 Macc. 6 38. See MONTH, § 4.

PADAN (RV **PADDAN**) **-ARAM** (פַּדַּן אֲרָם, פַּדֶּנָה אֲרָם; (η) μεσοποταμια (της) συριας [BADEL], less often without συριας [ADEFL]; ܦܕܢ ܐܪܡ everywhere), a geographical designation found only in P (see Gen. 25 20 28 2 5 6 *f.* 31 18 33 18 35 9 26 46 15 48 7 [Sam., 𝔊, Pesh., but MT only פַּדָּן]). A prophetic writer (Hos. 12 12 [13]; see JACOB), speaking of Jacob's flight, has the phrase שְׂדֵה אֲרָם, 'the field (or [see FIELD], the highland) of Aram.' There is no reason to doubt that P, as the text of Genesis now stands, regarded Jacob's family as settled at Haran before entering Canaan, and when we consider the large amount of corruption in the proper names of Genesis it is not too bold to regard פדן as a scribe's error for חרן.[1] 'Paddan-aram' may therefore mean 'Haran (Ḥauran?) of Jerahmeel.' Cp NAHOR.

For attempts to identify Paddan-aram and to explain the first part of the name, see ARAM, § 3. The suggestion of Tomkins connecting Paddan-Aram with the land of Patin on the Orontes may also be mentioned.[2] Other scholars (*e.g.*, Sayce, *Crit. and Mon.* 200) compare Paddan with Assyrian *padanu*, 'road,' a synonym of *ḥarranu*, 'high road.' Delitzsch (*Par.* 135), however, states that the ideogram *kar*, which in one glossary is translated by Assyrian *ginū*, 'garden,' *ēklu*, 'field,' in another is explained by *padanu*, so that *padan* might be the equivalent of the Hebrew *śādeh*, 'field' (but why not *śĕdeh Aram*, as in 'field of Aram' in Hosea?). It is also stated that an ancient Babylonian king Agu-kak-rime assumed the title of 'king of Padan and Alvan' (Rogers, *Outlines of Hist. of Early Babylonia*, 1895, p. 40). T. K. C.

PADDLE (יָתֵד), Dt. 23 13 EV, RV^mg. SHOVEL (*q.v.*, 2).

PADON (פָּדוֹן abbrev. name, § 52; φαλων [BℵAL]), a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra 2 44 = Neh. 7 47; in 1 Esd. 5 29 PHALEAS (φαλαιου [BA]).

PAGIEL (פַּגְעִיאֵל, φαγαιηλ or -γεηλ [BAFL]), prince of Asher; Nu. 1 13.

The name, if original, would come from √פגע, 'to meet with,' and אֵל, 'God.' The old lists, however (especially P's), are largely made up of corrupt and distorted names, and no name is so frequently and so variously distorted as Jeraḥme'el. 'Pagiel,' still further distorted, becomes PELEG. T. K. C.

PAHATH MOAB (פַּחַת מוֹאָב, § 70; *i.e.*, 'governor of Moab'; φααθ μωαβ [BℵA], φ. ηγουμενου μ. [L]), a Jewish family known in post-exilic times, which consisted of two branches, Jeshua and Joab (see Ezra 2 6 1 Esd. 5 11 Neh. 7 11; also Ezra 8 4 = 1 Esd. 8 31, Ezra 10 30 Neh. 3 11 10 14 [15]). In Ezra 8 9 the Joab-branch is reckoned apparently as a separate clan.

According to Ezra 8 4 the b'ne Pahath-moab under Eliehoenai(?) numbered 200 males, a figure which seems more credible than the 2812 given in Ezra 2 6 (φαλαβμωαβ [B]). Other members of the family are enumerated in Ezra 10 30 (φααδ μωαβ [Bℵ]) = 1 Esd. 9 31 (see ADDI, 1), and another, HASSHUB (*q.v.*), is mentioned in connection with the repairing of Jerusalem (Neh. 3 11, φααβ μωαβ [Bℵ]). It was represented amongst the signatories under Nehemiah (Neh. 10 14 [15], φααδμωαβ [B]). In 1 Esd. 5 11 EV, the name appears as PHAATH-MOAB (φθαλειμωαβ [B]), and *ib.* 8 31 AV (μααθμωαβ [B], φαοθ μωαβ [L]).

The interest centres in the origin of the names Pahath-Moab, Jeshua, Joab. Many have supposed that the first of these names records the fact that the ancestor of the clan in pre-exilic times had been governor of Moab; Smend (*Listen*, 20) compares the obscure passage, 1 Ch. 4 22. There is no evidence, however, that the official title *peḥāh*, פֶּחָה, was in use before the exile, and 1 Ch. 4 22 is not very solid evidence for pre-exilic history (see SHELAH). Probably there is an error in the text; the different passages have no doubt been harmonised by an editor.

'Moab' may probably be right; cp CHEPHAR-AMMONI in Josh. 18 24 (P). Since, however, there are several cases of the corruption of 'Miṣṣur' (= the N. Arabian Muṣri; see MIZRAIM) into 'Moab,' and in the lists of post-exilic families 'Pahath-moab' occurs near SHEPHATIAH (*q.v.*), which is probably a disguise of Šĕphāthī (= Ṣārĕfāthī 'belonging to Zarephath'), and 'Arah' and 'Elam' (both disguised fragments of 'Jerahmeel'), it is most probable that 'Moab' should be 'Miṣṣur'; 'Pahath' can in this case very easily be corrected. For פחת in Josh. read תַּפֻּח, Tappūăḥ; the 'Tappūḥim' are probably mentioned as a N. Arabian tribe in the original text of Gen. 10 13 (see MIZRAIM). Those of them who bore the name b'ne Shūa' or Sheba' (so we should read instead of Joshua) were specially the inhabitants of SHEBA or Beer-sheba. Probably 'Joab,' which can hardly mean the general of David (Meyer, *Entst.* 146), is a corruption of 'Arabi (Arabian). Indeed, David's general may himself have been really called 'Arabi. The name 'Pahath-moab' is therefore by no means an unsolved enigma (Hastings, *DB* 3 639); it can be explained by a textual and historical criticism. T. K. C.

PAI (פָּעִי), 1 Ch. 1 50 = Gen. 36 39, see PAU.

PAINT. The art of painting was but little developed among the Israelites; see COLOURS, §§ 1-5. In Ezek. 8 10 EV speaks of idolatrous forms 'pourtrayed' (מְחֻקֶּה; √חקה, to cut, carve) upon a wall; but the literal rendering is 'cut' or 'carved'—they were probably scratched upon the plaster—though a parallel passage (23 14) suggests that such carvings were often filled up with paint. Here no doubt, as well as in the walls painted (משׁח, χρίειν) with vermilion in Jehoiakim's building (Jer. 22 14), Egyptian and Babylonian influence can be traced.[1]

1. Art of painting.

The rude daubs found on old lamps and pottery in Palestine can scarcely be called paintings, nor have we any reason for supposing that the colouring of images referred to in Wisd. 13 14 (καταχρίσας μίλτῳ καὶ φύκει; cp 15 4 σκιαγράφων . . . εἶδος σπιλωθὲν χρώμασιν) was any more artistic.[2] See POTTERY.

It is in the Babylonian age, moreover, that we first hear of eye-paint (Jer. 4 30); it is true, the context permits us to conjecture that the custom was not much approved of by respectable women (see *v.* 31), and it is probably to the Persian age that we ought to refer the effective contrast drawn in Is. 3 24 between the brand on the forehead or hand of a slave-woman and the elegant paintings or tattooings on the fair skin of a lady. The use of rouge (φῦκος) is nowhere mentioned, except indeed once with reference to idols (Wisd. 13 14, RV^mg.; see above). Things have changed in Palestine since then. Even in the time of Josephus painting the eyes was not perhaps altogether creditable (cp the singular story in *BJ* iv. 9 10); at any rate, it was a special mark of luxury. At the present day, however, it is general, not only in Egypt, but also, among women of any position, both in Palestine and in Arabia (see below).

2. Eye-paint.

The eye-paint which was used was composed of a black powder, known in Egypt as *mestem*,[3] and usually mixed

[1] Bruston (*ZATW* 7 [1887], 207) has already emended the פדן of Gen. 48 7 into חרן.

[2] Cp Sayce, *RP*(2) 3 88; Tomkins, *Bab. and Or. Record*, 3 3.

[1] The statements in Nah. 2 3 [4] cannot be accepted without criticism; see Che. *JBL*, 1898, p. 106.

[2] On the Grecian custom of staining images with red or vermilion cp Frazer, *Paus.* 3 20 *f.*

[3] Cp Copt. *Stim*, etc., Eg. *sdm* or *sdmt*; cp WMM as cited next col., n. 2. The act of painting the eyes was called *semtet*, and the part painted, *semti*. From these words are derived the Gk. στίμμι στίβι and our 'stibium,' cp Ar. *ithmid*, *uthmud*, etc., whence, through the Romance languages, comes the word 'antimony.'

with oil to make a kind of paste. The idea was to increase the prominence and beauty of the eye (קָרַע 'to rend,' of the eyes, Jer. 4 30) by staining the eyelids and brows with the powder. This is clear from the enlarged form of the eye in ancient Egyptian pictures (cp also Juvenal, *Sat.* 2 93; Pliny, *Ep.* 6 2).

3. Its composition.

The elements of this powder were the sesquisulphuret of antimony, the black oxide of copper, the sulphide of lead; even the powder of lamp-black, of burnt almonds, or frankincense might be used. Antimony was the most precious kind, but had to be imported from the most remote countries (India? Europe?), and was extremely rare. See EGYPT, § 39, Budge, *Mummy*, 229 *f.*, Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 2 348, Erman, *Life in Anc. Eg.* 230, and *ZDMG*, 1851, pp. 236 *ff.* For Arabia, see Doughty, *Ar. Des.* I 585.

In Hebrew this paint was called פּוּךְ,[1] *pūk*; cp 2 K. 9 30 (וַתָּשֶׂם עֵינֶיהָ בַּפּוּךְ RV, 'she painted her eyes')[2] and Jer. 4 30. In post-biblical times the usual word is כְּחֹל (cp the verb Ezek. 23 40 [στιβίζομαι] = Ar. *kaḥḥala*).[3]

Pūk occurs twice in an apparently different sense. In Is. 54 11, it is foretold that the stones of the new Jerusalem shall be laid in פּוּךְ (EV 'fair colours,' RVmg. 'antimony'), which may be a figurative expression for the black asphalt-mortar that was used in buildings of ancient Jerusalem (Guthe, *Th.LZ*, 1892, p. 26). Ewald, Wellhausen (*Prol.* ET, 391), Cheyne (*SBOT*), and Marti, however, after 𝔊, would read נֹפֶךְ, 'emerald,' and possibly the same change is required in 1 Ch. 29 2, for אַבְנֵי פוּךְ (λίθους πολυτελεῖς); cp commentaries *ad loc.*

Kohl bottles have been found in Egyptian tombs together with needles for applying the powder; some of the bottles are divided into cells to contain (it would seem) mixtures of different colours or qualities. Similar receptacles were doubtless used among the Hebrews; one of Job's daughters bears the characteristic name קֶרֶן־הַפּוּךְ ('paint-horn'); but see KEREN-HAPPUCH.

S. A. C.

PALACE.[4] Of the eleven words rendered 'palace,' 2, 3, 4, and 9 offer some special points of interest.

1. Terms.

1. (בֵּית (הַמֶּלֶךְ, *bēth (hammélek)*, a simple and natural phrase, usually in EV and always in RV rendered 'the king's house' (1 K. 9 1 10 10 12, etc.; cp HOUSE), though in 2 Ch. 9 11 and occasionally elsewhere AV has 'king's palace.'

2. Another word meaning royal or stately dwelling-place is הֵיכָל, *hēkāl* (2 K. 20 18 Is. 13 22, etc.), ultimately perhaps a loan-word through Ass. from Sumer. *e-gal* = 'great house'; so BDB; cp Haupt, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, Oct. 1887, pp. 273 *f.*; G. Hoffm. *Phön. Inschr.* 25 n. 1 (from הָכִיל, 'to inclose').

3. אַרְמוֹן *'armōn*, √ארם, occurs mainly in the prophetical books (Is. 25 2 32 14 Jer. 30 18 Am. 1 4 7 10 12; see also Ps. 48 4 14 [3 13]). MT has ארמון בית המלך, 'citadel' (but EV 'palace') 'of the king's house' in 1 K. 16 18 2 K. 15 25. Here, however, 𝔊 (ἄντρον, ἐναντίον [BA], ἐν [L]), and Jon. (אנדרון = אידרון), may point (see Klost.) to the conjectural reading אנדרון = ἀνδρών or ἀνδρεών (Herod. 1 34, etc.), the men's apartment or banqueting-hall (cp Moore's suggestion, PORCH, 3). In 2 Ch. 36 19 כל־ארמנותיה, 'all her [Jerusalem's] palaces,' represents the כל־בית גדול, 'every great house,' of 2 K. 25 9.

4. אַלְמְנוֹת, *'almānōth*, in Is. 13 22† (AV 'desolate houses,' AVmg. 'palaces,' RV 'castles') ought probably to be read ארמנות (Pesh., Tg., Vg.; Di. and most). The alleged sense 'castle' for Ass. *almattu* (Frd. Del. formerly [cp BDB]) is not made out.

5. הרמון, *harmōn*, Am. 4 3, where AV takes הרמון as = ארמון.

[1] Perhaps from a root = 'to grind to powder'; cp Syr. *ethpakkak*. May we connect with φῦκος (orig. sea-weed) 'red colour'; cp Lat. *fucus*, *fucare*, rouge dye? Or have we a mere accidental coincidence?

[2] WMM in *OLZ*, 1900, p. 399, proposes to read ותכחם (a denom. of כחם; see preceding col., n. 3) instead of ותשׂם; an ingenious but not altogether necessary change.

[3] Whence (through the nouns *kaḥl*, *kiḥāl*) by successive changes of meaning comes the modern 'Alcohol.' It is perhaps hardly necessary to mention the old supposition that an allusion to the practice is made in מְשַׂקְּרוֹת עֵינַיִם, Is. 3 16 (cp ܣܩܪ, *fucare*).

[4] Lat. *Palatium* (√*pa*, 'protect'), the name of the first of the 'seven' hills of Rome to be built on, that on which Augustus fixed his residence.

PALACE

But see HARMON, to which add that, according to Cheyne, הרמון seems to be a corruption of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel). See PROPHET, §§ 10, 35.

6. and 7. בִּירָה, בִּירָנִיּוֹת, *bīrah*, *bīraniyyōth*; Gk. βάρις. See CASTLE, 3, and cp JERUSALEM, col. 2425 and n., col. 2428; also TEMPLE.

8. טִירָה, *ṭīrāh*; Cant. 8 9 (RV 'turret,' RVmg. 'battlements'), Ezek. 25 4 (RV 'encampments'), Ps. 69 27 [25] AVmg. (EV 'habitation,' RVmg. 'encampment'). See CAMP, § 1.

9. אַפֶּדֶן, *'appéden*, in Dan. 11 45, of the אהלי אפדנו 'the tents of his palace'—*i.e.*, 'the tents which form his (Antiochus's) headquarters.' An Aram. loan-word = Old Pers. *apadāna* 'palace' (? see BDB). But the supposed sense is not good, and the loan-word is unexpected. See ELYMAIS; PERSEPOLIS.

10. αὐλή Mt. 26 3, etc.; RV COURT [*q.v.*].

11. πραιτώριον Phil. 1 13, etc. See PRÆTORIUM.

2. 1 K. 5-8.

Of David's palace all we are told is that it was built by carpenters and masons sent by Hiram king of Tyre (2 S. 5 11). Of the palace buildings of Solomon, on the other hand, we have a somewhat detailed account in 1 K. 5-8; this description, however, is not such as enables us to form a clear conception of all the details. Apart from the fact that the text has been greatly worked over and is very corrupt,[1] the description itself is very unequal. Whilst the temple (upon which the attention of a later age naturally concentrated itself) is described with great fulness, we learn of various secular buildings little more than the names. It is plain that the buildings intended for the king's private residence were less known to the author, simply because he had little or no access to them. He seems to have been a priest, or at all events not a palace official. As regards the royal harem, moreover, it will be obvious that the author could not be in a position to describe it. To this must be added a certain want of skill on his part: that he was unpractised in this kind of description is shown, not only by the awkwardness of his style, but also more particularly by the fact that he often leaves out of sight and omits altogether those very points which are most important of all for enabling the reader to form a picture of a building. Finally, to us still more than to the old copyists the technical expressions are often very obscure, indeed quite unintelligible. In these circumstances we must give up all hope of reaching a complete understanding of our present text (cp below, § 5 *f.*).

3. The courts.

So much, at least, we can clearly gather from the description: that the buildings of Solomon formed one great whole, a mutually connected group. The group was all contained within a single enclosure (הֶחָצֵר הַגְּדֹלָה),[2] made of three courses of great hewn stones (אֲבָנִים יְקָרוֹת), and a course

[1] On the contents of these chapters, cp Stade in *ZATW* 3 129-177 (1883), and the commentaries of Klostermann, Benzinger, and Kittel. The narrative does not come before us in its original form; it has undergone much redaction and received many additions, especially in that part which treats of the temple and its furniture. Moreover, it has suffered greatly at the hands of copyists, so that it is now one of the worst preserved texts we have. There are various reasons for this; but the main one undoubtedly is that much of the architectural terminology, and indeed much else of the often difficult technical description, was no longer intelligible to the later copyists, who had not the objects themselves before their eyes. To supplement the description from other sources is possible only in the case of the temple; as regards the rest of the buildings now under consideration, we have no other accounts whatever.

As for the date at which the description was composed, Stade lays weight principally on the fact that the temple by that time had already absorbed all the main interest, and that the royal castle had taken a place of only subordinate importance, which was far from having been the case in Solomon's time, or that of his immediate successors. On the other hand, however, it has to be observed that in the description itself there is not wanting evidence which goes to show that this phenomenon is due to the redaction merely, and that in its original form this predominance of the temple was not observable. The present order, for example, which makes the building of the royal residence, one might almost say, a mere incident between the building of the temple and the preparing of the temple furniture, and brings in the dedication of the temple as the closing scene of the whole undertaking, cannot be the original one.

[2] חצר means both 'court,' and also the wall enclosing it.

of cedar beams above (1 K. 7 9 12 ; cp Benz. *ad loc.*). Within this enclosure lay all the separate buildings and, more particularly, the temple, which in turn lay within an enclosed court of its own. This is referred to as the inner court (הֶחָצֵר הַפְּנִימִית or חֲצַר בֵּית יהוה הַפְּנִימִית ; 1 K. 6 36 7 12*b*). In Jer. 36 10 this court containing the temple is called the 'upper' (AV 'higher') court; one went *down* from it through the 'New gate' to the king's house (Jer. 26 10). This is a fact to be borne in mind: the palace lay on a lower level than the temple, and accordingly we are to understand that the 'great court' was lower than the temple court, which rose above it as a higher terrace. This temple court also was enclosed by a wall of three courses of hewn stones, surmounted by a course of cedar beams. Like the temple, the royal palace, together with the harem, was surrounded by its own enclosure. This is called in the description of the buildings 'the other court' (הֶחָצֵר הָאַחֶרֶת ; 1 K. 7 8), but elsewhere (2 K. 20 4) 'the middle court' (הֶחָצֵר הַתִּיכֹנָה). From the standpoint of this last narrative—for Isaiah goes from the royal palace through the middle court into the city—the temple court is the

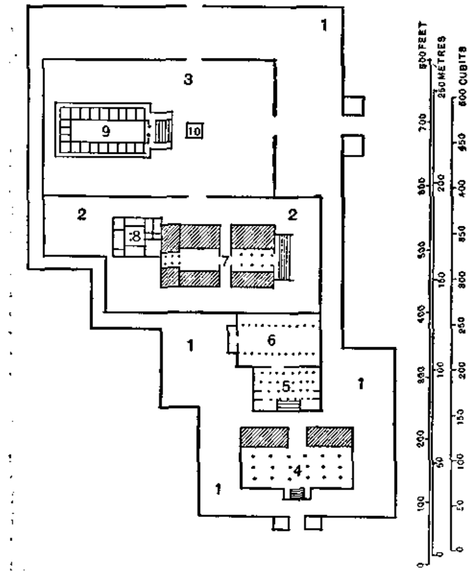


FIG. 1—Plan of the buildings of Solomon (after Stade).
1. 'Great court.' 2. 'Second court.' 3. 'Court of the Temple.' 4. House of the forest of Lebanon. 5. Hall of Pillars. 6. Hall of Judgment. 7. Royal Palace. 8. Harem. 9. Temple. 10. Altar.

'inner,' that containing the royal palace proper is the 'middle,' and that in which the state buildings are situated is the 'outer' court. To infer, however, that this last was a distinct court separated off like the two others by an enclosing wall of its own is not necessary; it is excluded by the formal description, which knows nothing of any such court. As the subjoined plan shows, it is perfectly possible that this court may simply be identical with that portion of the great court which contains these state buildings. Neither did the state buildings require to be shut off from the great court by a wall of their own; for access to them, as distinguished from the temple and the king's private palace, was free to every one. Further, as regards the relation of the two smaller courts to the great court, it seems probable that the great court enclosed the two inner courts on all sides, so that the outer containing wall at no point coincided with any one of the inner walls (see plan). Conversely, there is much to be said for the view that the two inner enclosures—that of the temple and that of the royal palace—were separated only by a party wall (see plan), so that the king could go directly to his palace-sanctuary and court-chapel without having to pass through the great outer court that was open to every one.

The architectural description enumerates, apart from the temple, the following five buildings as belonging to the one group we have spoken of:—(*a*) the house of the forest of Lebanon (1 K. 7 1-5); (*b*) the hall of pillars (7 6); (*c*) the hall of judgment (7 7); (*d*) the palace (7 8*a*); (*e*) the harem (7 8*b*). If we assume the writer to have followed a certain order in his description, the enumeration just given will answer to the respective situations of the buildings, so that the visitor to the royal castle would first come upon the house of the forest of Lebanon (4 in plan); next in order he would come to the state buildings (the hall of pillars and the hall of judgment: 5 and 6 in plan); behind these, he found enclosed in a court of their own the buildings set apart for the king's own use—dwelling-house and harem (7 and 8 in plan). Lastly came the temple (9 in plan). Thus the king's palace lay 'in the midst' between the temple and the public buildings (see above, § 3). That the palace properly so-called lay in immediate juxtaposition with the temple is expressly testified moreover by Ezekiel, who charges it as a sin against the kings of Judah that they had defiled the holy name of Yahwè by 'setting their threshold by my threshold, and their doorpost beside my doorpost, and there was but a wall between me and them' (Ezek. 43 7 *f.*).

4. Position of the several buildings.

The configuration of the ground enables us to draw more precise conclusions as to the position of the buildings. As has been shown elsewhere (JERUSALEM, §§ 16-20, and plan), the 'city of David,' Zion, and Moriah are practically the same; that is to say, the city of David, the palace of David, the palace of Solomon, and the temple lay all of them upon the eastern hill. The ancient contour of this hill has been adequately ascertained by excavations (cp JERUSALEM, col. 2410, plan). It is an exceedingly narrow spur of a high plateau which first runs from NW. to SE., then, at a point a little to the S. of the S. wall of the modern Ḥaram, turns its direction from NNE. to SSW. In this direction also the hill gradually sinks in terraces, till it suddenly falls away at its southern extremity. The eastern and western flanks are still steeper than this abrupt southern slope. By small side valleys the hill is divided into three summits (cp Benz. *HA* 43), and of these only the middle terrace, now occupied, broadly speaking, by the Ḥaram enclosure, presents an area—level, or at least capable of being levelled—of appreciable size (about 100 metres, 328 ft. in length, and 40-50 metres, 131-164 ft. in breadth), which is situated approximately in the centre of the Ḥaram enclosure. It is here that nature on the last hill has provided her site for great buildings. The fall of the ridge towards the SE., moreover, was also not so great but that it was possible, without excessive labour, to erect some additional buildings on the ridge at a somewhat lower level. Nowhere else on the E. hill was there space for any considerable aggregate of buildings; the ground would have first required to be made by gigantic substructions. Now, many considerations support the conclusion—and there are none against it—that the temple of Solomon stood approximately where the 'dome of the rock' now is—more precisely that it stood to the W. of the sacred rock, on which, doubtless, the altar of burnt-offering stood (see TEMPLE). With this as a starting-point, it becomes practicable to infer the sites of the remaining buildings with some degree of certainty. The whole complex of buildings, we may be sure, occupied much less space than the modern Ḥaram. For the external walls of the Ḥaram are, speaking broadly, the work of Herod, and he, as we know, considerably enlarged the

temple area. Moreover, so far as Solomon's buildings are concerned, we are precluded from assuming substructions similar to those which astonish us in the work of Herod by the statement that the great outer wall consisted of only three courses (see above, § 3). Such a thing could not possibly be said of any wall like that which we now see. We shall therefore be fully justified

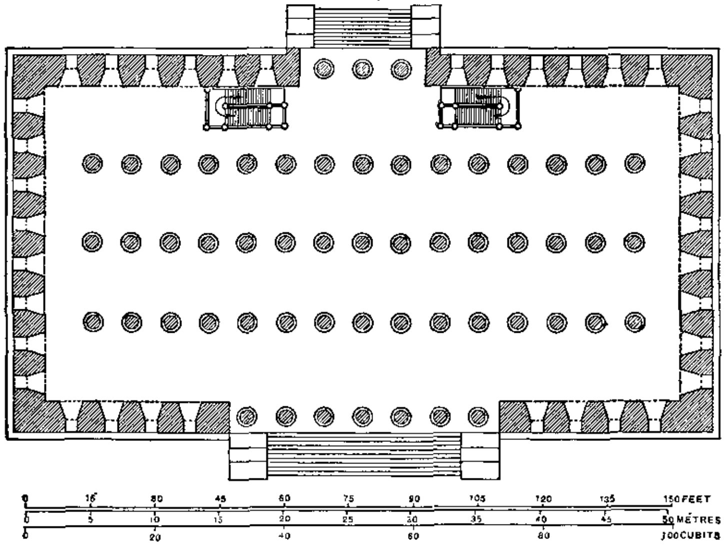


FIG. 2.—Ground plan of the house of the forest of Lebanon.

in proceeding on the assumption that the buildings of Solomon adapted themselves as closely as possible to the conditions of the site. In that case the royal castle can only have extended in a southerly or south-westerly direction from the temple, following the ridge and descending in terraces. Neither eastwards, nor westwards, nor northwards from the temple could space have been obtained without making great substructions. All the incidental notices of the buildings in question in the OT fit in with the site now supposed. The palace proper, if it was to the SE. of the temple, lay on a lower level; compare the regular form of expression which tells us that one *went up* from the palace to the temple (Jer. 26 10), but came down from the temple to the palace (2 K. 2 19 Jer. 22 1 36 9 *f.*). On the other side the palace lay higher than the buildings that extended along the ridge south-eastwards, and higher than the old city of David with David's palace, as again we learn from other texts: Solomon brings the ark up from the old city of David into his castle-sanctuary (1 K. 8 1), and Pharaoh's daughter came up into the house which Solomon had built for her (1 K. 9 24).

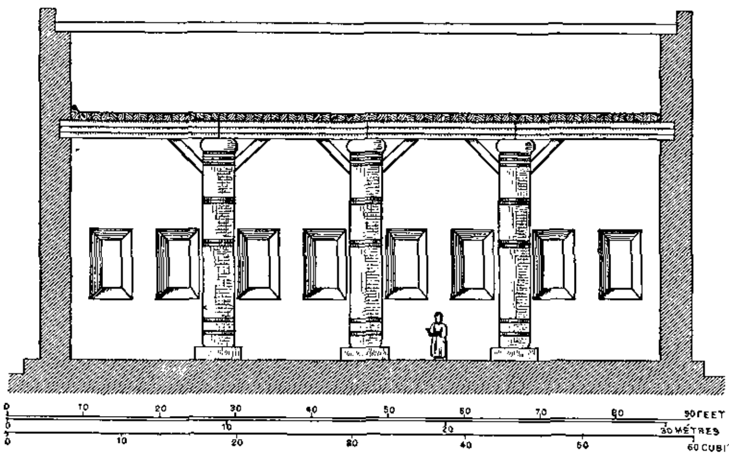


FIG 3 Section of the house of the forest of Lebanon.

5. House of forest of Lebanon. The house of the forest of Lebanon (1 K. 7 1-5) is described more fully than any of the others; but the description, in precisely the most important points, cannot be made out with any certainty. The name is derived from the upper story resting on 45 pillars of cedar of Lebanon, arranged in three rows (so 𝔊^BAL; fig. 2; MT, four rows)[1] of fifteen pillars each. Cedar beams upon these support the superstructure, which is also roofed with cedar. According to the text as it now stands, what we are to understand is most probably a large hall above which was a second story containing chambers (see fig. 4). The ground floor was a single large hall, 100 cubits (about 49.44 metres, 162 ft.)[2] in length by 50 cubits (about 24.72 metres, 81 ft.) in width. The number of pillars in each row being fifteen, the distance between each from centre to centre comes out as (100 ÷ 16 =) 6¼ cubits (3.09 metres, 10 ft.)—a very moderate interval, especially when it is remembered that the pillars themselves must have been of considerable thickness. In the breadth of the apartment, if we regard the three rows as all inside the ground plan, the corresponding distance from pillar to pillar gives (50 ÷ 4 =) 12½ cubits (6.18 metres, 20¼ ft.) as the distance to be spanned by the beams of the roof, a very appreciable distance. The latter becomes greater (see fig. 4) if we suppose with some interpreters that one of the three rows of pillars formed at the same time the front wall; this would give an interval of (50 ÷ 3 =) 16.6 cubits (8.25 metres, 27 ft.). This would be for cedar beams a very great span; the other interpretation is therefore the more probable. The more moderate span thus given is further diminished by the beams above having 'shoulder pieces' (כְּתֵפוֹת; so 𝔊, ὦμιαι; in *v.* 7*b* for MT כְּרֻתוֹת, 'beams'; cp fig. 3). The height of the building is given as 30 cubits. If of this total we allow some 7 cubits for the upper story, and another 3 cubits for its plinth, roof, and floor, there remains for the hall itself a height of 20 cubits, which presents no difficulty.

[1] That the rows were three appears from *v.* 3*b*, where the pillars are forty-five and the row contains fifteen.

[2] On the assumption that the cubit intended is the longer cubit, see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

For a hall of these dimensions the window openings would have to be many and large. With regard to these, however, as also with regard to the doors and to the stairs for reaching the upper story, the present text leaves us entirely at a loss, *vv.* 4*b* and 5*b* being quite unintelligible. All we can gather is that the windows and doors were four-cornered, as distinguished from the entrance (*e.g.*) into the holy of holies, which was five-cornered (6 31), the lintel being in two pieces and forming an angle. Very possibly the front wall, and perhaps also the back wall, was broken by some pillars so as to gain more light. This is assumed in fig. 2. This hall of pillars no doubt served, as also Josephus informs us (*Ant.* viii. 5 2, § 133), as a place of assembly. The upper story was, we may conjecture, divided into separate chambers. We may perhaps conceive the arrangement to have been that three longitudinal walls rested upon the three rows of pillars on the ground floor; this is at least the most natural, architecturally speaking. In these three walls, doors and window openings facing one another must have been pierced for the admission of light; this may perhaps be what is referred to in *vv.* 4*b* 5*b*. In connection with the stairs which we must imagine somewhere, there will have been in the upper story some corridor or passage from which the chambers on either side opened. As to the darkness of the chambers on the inner side we need not trouble ourselves, for we learn that this house of the forest of Lebanon was not inhabited but served as an armoury (1 K. 10 16 *f.* Is. 22 8; cp 39 2).

When we consider how few are the certain data we possess regarding this building, it is not to be wondered at that other interpreters of the text have arrived at quite different conclusions from those suggested above. (i.) Furthest removed from this conception of the building as a large hall with pillars and an upper story, are those attempted reconstructions which agree in assuming an open enclosure surrounded on all sides by a shallow building. In the lower story this building was arranged as a covered portico; the three upper stories consisted of series of chambers (so Keil, Thenius, Klostermann). We are not called upon here to explain in detail how the various writers have sought to bring this reconstruction into agreement with the wording of the text; but we may say that more or less violence is done to it by all of them; nowhere does it make any mention of a courtyard or of a three-storied building or of a portico; such a reconstruction, moreover, demands the assumption of a greatly increased number of pillars (Thenius for example gives 400 to his court of pillars).

6. Other theories of it.

(ii.) More attention is due to a third attempt at reconstruction by Friedrich (see below, § 11); it is indeed hard to reconcile with the present text, but as against this difficulty it has to be said that it finds a strong support in the history of architectural art. A close examination of Assyrian buildings in particular leads Friedrich to a characterisation of the Phœnician-Syrian architecture that differs considerably from that hitherto current. He has adduced strong reasons for believing that the most original and simplest form of the Phœnician and Syrian palace was a walled parallelogram, the interior of which was completed by constructions of wood in such a manner that chambers for dwelling and storage were obtained by means of galleries running round the walls. According to Friedrich the palaces of the Philistines and of the Moabites conformed to this type. He will have it that the temple also was built on this plan (with a wooden framework in the interior), and he brings together all the other buildings of Solomon, alike the royal residence and the state buildings, into one great building—the house of the forest of Lebanon. The main and characteristic part of this palace complex he finds—in accordance with this N. Syrian style of architecture—in the great hall stretching through the whole enclosure of the house (throne-room and judgment-hall) in the centre of the complex, having its roof supported by many wooden pillars. All other apartments, the royal residence, the harem, storerooms, and the like, he regards merely as side-chambers connected with this hall. That this collection of all the buildings into a single large building is not reconcilable with our present text is obvious; we read in it quite clearly of various separate buildings. On the other hand, we must concede the possibility that the house of the forest of Lebanon was erected as one of the separate buildings of the citadel in this N. Syrian palace style; the use of wooden pillars was naturally an importation in S. Syria, which was poor in timber.

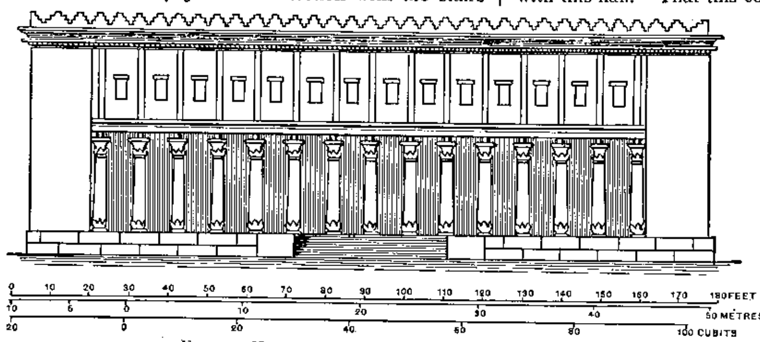


FIG. 4.—House of the forest of Lebanon (after Stade).

Next in the description, after the house of the forest of Lebanon, we read (1 K. 7 6) of the hall of pillars (אוּלָם הָעַמּוּדִים). It measured 50 cubits by 30, and in front of it was a porch with pillars and a flight of steps (perron; or a projecting roof? the meaning of the Heb. word עָב here used is quite unknown). We may perhaps suppose that it was intended to serve as a sort of ante-room, or waiting-room, to the hall of audience which (see below, § 8) is mentioned immediately afterwards in the description, and on this account we might think of it as also architecturally connected with the other. The word אולם is also used of the outer court of the temple. Klostermann, starting from this employment of the hall, suggests that we should read its Hebrew designation as אוּלָם הָעֹמְדִים—*i.e.*, the hall of those who stood waiting on the king's service, or who as petitioners in their own affairs or as appellants to his justice were waiting for an audience.

7. The hall of pillars.

Of the judgment-hall (1 K. 7 7), which, as suggested above, perhaps constituted with the hall of pillars but one building, we are not told either the dimensions or the construction. All we learn is that its walls were panelled with cedar up to the roof. The purpose of the hall is expressed by its very designation (judgment-hall, אוּלָם הַמִּשְׁפָּט); it was here that the king sat in judgment (see GOVERNMENT, § 19), and here too that he usually gave audience. The great ivory throne with the lions, which is described as one of the wonders of the world (1 K. 10 18-20), stood there, whence the hall was also called the throne-room (אוּלָם הַכִּסֵּא; 1 K. 7 7).

8. The hall of judgment.

'Inwards' from this hall, in an enclosure of their own

(see above, § 3), were the palace and harem (1 K. 7 8).

9. Palace and harem. Of the palace or 'residence' of Solomon (בֵּיתוֹ אֲשֶׁר יֵשֶׁב שָׁם) we are told that it was built after the same manner as the judgment-hall,—thus, doubtless, with a hall in the lower story and panelled with cedar. This palace seems also to have served as residence for Solomon's wives; at least we are not told of a separate house for them, only the most illustrious of them all—the Egyptian princess —received a separate dwelling, which was built in the same manner as the throne-room and Solomon's palace (1 K. 7 8). Where it was situated we are not expressly informed; but it cannot be doubted that it was in the immediate vicinity of the palace and perhaps contiguous with it (so Stade, see Fig. 1)—at any rate with the court of the palace, the 'middle' court (see above, § 3).

With regard to all these buildings what is brought into special prominence is that they were built of

10. Material and style. 'costly'—*i.e.*, great—stones. These blocks were on both the inner and the outer side cut with the saw (1 K. 7 9-11), whilst elsewhere, as the old Phœnician architectural remains show, the Phœnicians often built with rough-faced rustic work (*rustica*). For the foundation, stones of from 8 to 10 cubits (about 4-5 metres, 13-16½ ft.) in length with proportionate breadth and thickness were used. In the superstructure smaller blocks, yet still of considerable size (אֲבָנִים יְקָרוֹת כְּמִדּוֹת גָּזִית, stones—*i.e.*, blocks hewn according to measure; 1 K. 7 11), and cedar timber were employed. From foundation to cope only fine large blocks were employed; this was the case even with the wall of the great enclosure (see above),[1] whilst elsewhere the Hebrews, little skilled in such constructions, were wont simply to superpose undressed stones one upon another (cp Benzinger, *HA* 231 *ff.*). This employment of large blocks is quite characteristic of Phœnician architecture. It is *a priori* in the highest degree probable that it was applied in the case of Solomon's buildings. A Hebrew architecture as such there never was; stone-working and the art of erecting detached houses was at that time something rather unfamiliar to the Israelites. David and Solomon alike, therefore, found it necessary to summon Phœnician masons to their aid, and these naturally built in the style with which they were acquainted. Of this Phœnician architecture Renan makes the remark, which will apply also to the buildings of Solomon: 'The fundamental principle of their architecture is the hewn rock, not as in Greece the pillar. The wall takes the place of the hewn rock without losing this characteristic entirely.' Hence the partiality for building with huge square blocks; the greater the blocks the greater the resemblance to the rocks. That these palaces of David and Solomon, built of hewn stone, though insignificant compared with the palaces and temples of Egypt, Assyria, and Phœnicia, should have struck the Hebrews in their then stage of culture as in the highest degree wonderful need not cause us surprise.

11. Literature. For the older literature, see Bähr, *Der Salomonische Tempel mit Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zur hebräischen Architektur überhaupt*, 1849; see further Stade, 'Der Text des Berichtes über Salomos Bauten': *ZATW* 3 129-177 [1883]; the archæologies of Jahn, Saalschütz, Scholz, Schegg, Hamberg, de Wette-Räbiger, Keil, de Visser, Benzinger, Nowack; the commentaries of Keil, Thenius, Klostermann, Benzinger, and Kittel on 1 K. 5-7; the Dictionaries of Schenkel, Winer, Riehm, Herzog, and Smith, under the various headings. Also Stade, *GVI* 1 311 *f.*, Kittel, *Gesch. d. Heb.* 2 164 *ff.*, Köhler, *Lehrb. d. bibl. Gesch.* ii. 1 384 *ff.*; Th. Friedrich, *Tempel u. Palast Salomos*, 1887, and *Die vorderasiatische Holztektonik*, 1891; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, v.; Perrot and Chipiez, *Le Temple de Jerusalem et la Maison du Bois-Liban*, 1889.

I. B., §§ 2 *ff.*

[1] MT, מִחוּץ עַד הֶחָצֵר, yields no sense, since the court cannot in any case have been paved with colossal blocks. Delete מִחוּץ, which is a mere repetition, through oversight, of the מחוץ shortly before, and translate עַד הֶחָצֵר as above: 'bis auf die Hofmauer hinaus.' See Benzinger, *ad loc.*

PALÆSTRA (παλαιστρα), 2 Macc. 4 14 RV, AV 'place of exercise.' See WRESTLING, and cp HELLENISM, § 5.

PALAL (פָּלָל, § 50; cp PALLU and PELALIAH; φαλαλ [B], φαλακ [א], φαλαξ [A], φαλλη [L]), b. Uzai, one of the repairers of the wall (Neh. 3 25).

PALANQUIN (אַפִּרְיוֹן; φορ[ε]ιον) Cant. 3 9 RV.

The Revisers appear to suggest as possible a connection of *appiryōn* with Sanskr. *parayanka* = palanquin. RVmg. 'car of state' (AV 'chariot,' mg. 'bed'). See LITTER, § 1; CANTICLES, § 15.

PALENESS (יֵרָקוֹן), Jer. 30 6. See COLOURS, § 11.

PALESTINE

By Palestine[1] is to be understood in general the country seized and mainly occupied by the Hebrew

1. Extent. people. We thus exclude the portion of territory which they held only for a time, or only according to an ideal demarcation (cp Nu. 34 [P]) by which the land of the Israelites was made to extend from the 'river of Egypt' to Hamath (?); we accept, on the other hand, another ancient tradition which fixes the extreme borders at Dan (at the foot of Hermon) in the N. and at Beersheba in the S., thus excluding the Lebanon district and a portion of the southern desert. In like manner, though with certain limitations to be afterwards mentioned, the country E. of Jordan stretched from the foot of Hermon in the N. to the neighbourhood of the Arnon. Towards the W. the natural boundary—purely ideal so far as occupation by the Israelites was concerned—was the Mediterranean; but towards the E. it is difficult to fix on any physical feature more definite than the beginning of the true steppe region. That the territory of Israel extended as far as Salcah (E. of Bosra at the foot of the Haurān Mountains) is the statement of an ideal rather than an historical frontier (Josh. 13 11).

Palestine thus lies between 31° and 33° 20′ N. lat.; its SW. point is situated about 34° 20′ E. long., some distance S. of Gaza (*Ghazza*), its NW. point about 35° 15′ E. long., at the mouth of the Līṭāny (el-Ḳāsimīye). As the country W. of the Jordan stretches E. as far as 35° 35′, it has a breadth in the N. of about 23 m. and in the S. of about 80 m. Its length may be put down as 150 m.; and, according to the English engineers, whose survey included Beersheba, it has an area of 6040 sq. m. For the country E. of the Jordan no such precise figures are available. The direct distance from Hermon to Arnon is about 120 m., and the area at the most may be estimated at 3800 sq. m. The whole territory of Palestine is thus of very small extent, equal, in fact, to not more than a sixth of England. The classical writers ridicule its insignificant size.

Palestine, as thus defined, consists of very dissimilar districts, and borders on regions of the most diverse

2. General geography. character. To the S. lies a mountainous desert, to the E. the elevated plateau of the Syrian steppe, to the N. Lebanon and Antilibanus, and to the W. the Mediterranean. In the general configuration of the country the most striking feature is that it does not rise uninterruptedly from the sea-coast to the eastern plateau, but is divided into two unequal portions by the deep Jordan valley, which ends in an inland lake (see JORDAN, DEAD SEA). Nor does the Jordan, like the Nile in Egypt, flow through the heart of the country and form its main artery; it is the line of separation between regions that

[1] On the name see below § 18, PHILISTINES, § 1; cp GASm. *HG* p. 4 and n. 2.

may almost be considered as quite distinct, and that too (as will afterwards appear) in their ethnographic and political aspects. This is especially the case in the southern sections of the country; for even at the Lake of Tiberias the Jordan valley begins to cut so deep that crossing it from either direction involves a considerable ascent.

The country W. of Jordan is thus a hilly and mountainous region which, forming as it were a southward continuation of Lebanon, slopes unsymmetrically E. and W., and stretches S., partly as a plateau, beyond the limits of Palestine. The mountain range consists of a great number of individual ridges and summits, from which valleys, often rapidly growing deeper, run E. and W. Towards the Mediterranean the slope is very gradual, especially in the more southern parts, where the plain along the coast is also at its broadest. About three-fourths of the cis-Jordan country lies to the W. of the watershed. Towards the Dead Sea, on the other hand, the mountains end in steep cliffs; and, as the Jordan valley deepens, the country draining towards it sinks more abruptly, and becomes more and more inhospitable. The plateaus back from the W. coast-cliffs of the Dead Sea have been desert from ancient times, and towards the east they form gullies of appalling depth. On the farther side of the Jordan the mountains have quite a different character, rising from the river gorge almost everywhere as a steep wall (steepest towards the S.) which forms the edge of the great upland stretching E. to the Euphrates.

3. Geology.

The mountains of Palestine consist in the main of strata of the chalk formation; of older precretaceous rocks can be mentioned only a few isolated instances of a breccia-like conglomerate, consisting of fragments of archæan crystalline schists and older porphyry, and traversed by dykes and veins of old plutonic rock. These represent the oldest rocks of Palestine. They are met with only to the SE. of the Dead Sea (Ġōr eṣ-Ṣāfiye) and on the eastern border of the W. el-'Arabah, where they are still covered by sandstones and dolomitic limestones of the carboniferous age. The chalk strata belong to the upper cretaceous (Cenomanian, Turonian, and Senonian).

The strata include: (1) the Nubian sandstone on the E. shore of the Dead Sea. (2) Limestone, marl, and dolomite, containing many echinoderms, oysters, and ammonites. Fossils are found in quantities at es-Salṭ and 'Ayūn Mūsā to the E. of Jordan, as also in the region to the W. of Jerusalem (on this last the so-called mizzi aḥmar, dēr-yāsīni, and mizzi yehūdi, with *Ammonites Rotomagensis*). (3) Massive limestones, dolomites, and silicious limestone, with Rudistes and Nerineæ (the Meleke, or cave rock, and mizzi ḥelū in the city of Jerusalem itself). (4) Yellowish-white limestone (sometimes ringing under the hammer), with ammonites (*A. quinquenodosus*), the kākūle of the Mount of Olives, used for inscriptions on the tombs. (5) White soft chalk marls containing lamellibranchs (*Leda perdita*), gasteropods, and baculites. (6) Gray to blackish bituminous and partly phosphatic limestones containing fish remains (asphalt limestones of Nebī Mūsā), alternating with variegated red, yellow, gray-green, and dazzling white marls, with much gypsum and dolomite. (7) Flint beds alternating with limestones and marls in the wilderness of Judæa.

Eocene nummulitic limestone occurs but rarely in Samaria (Ebal, Gerizim), more frequently in Galilee. Younger tertiary is entirely absent. The diluvial strata, on the other hand, are very extensive: partly of marine origin on the present coasts of Sharon and the Shĕphēlah and southwards to beyond Beersheba, partly of lacustrine origin, deposited by the formerly greatly extended Dead Sea, which occupied the whole of the lower Jordan valley as far as to the N. end of the Sea of Tiberias and deposited beds in the form of terraces. Finally, mention must be made of the dunes on the coast, and the deposits left by the rivers.

Volcanic rocks are very extensively met with all around the sea of Tiberias (Jaulān) and the plain of Jezreel in Galilee, as well as on the plateau to the E. of the Dead Sea (Jebel Shēḥān), and particularly in Ḥaurān and in Trachonitis. Cp BASHAN, § 2, and TRACHONITIS.

4. Physical divisions: Upper Galilee.

The mountain system W. of Jordan must be broken up into separate groups, which, it may be remarked, are of political as well as physical significance. A first group, consisting of the country N. of the plain of Jezreel (see map of Galilee, above, facing col. 1631 *f.*), may be subdivided into a large northern portion with summits reaching a height of 4000 ft., and a smaller southern portion not exceeding 2000 ft.

The northern, the Upper Galilee of antiquity, is a mountainous region with a somewhat intricate system of valleys, stretching from the Ḳāsimīye in the N. to a line drawn from Acre (*'Akka*) towards the Lake of Tiberias. Of the valleys (more than thirty in number) which trend westwards to the Mediterranean, the Wādi Ḥubeishīye, Wādī 'Ezzīye, and Wādi el-Ḳarn deserve to be mentioned. Not far W. of the watershed is a plateau-like upland draining northwards to the Ḳāsimīye. The slope to the Jordan is steep. Jebel Jermaḳ, a forest-clad eminence 3934 ft. above the sea, is the highest *massif*. The whole territory is fruitful, and forms decidedly one of the most beautiful as well as best-wooded districts of Palestine. See GALILEE i., § 4. The plain along the Mediterranean is on the average hardly a mile broad; between cliff and sea there is at times barely room for a narrow road, and at some places indeed a passage has had to be cut out in the rock. South of Rās en-Nāḳūra, on the other hand, this plain widens considerably; the portion named after the town of Acre is, as far as the town itself, about 4 m. broad.

5. Lower Galilee.

The mountain structure of the southern subsection, or Lower Galilee, is of a different character—low chains (running east and west in well-marked lines) enclosing elevated plains. Of these plains the most important is that of Baṭṭauf (plain of Zebulun or Asochis), an extremely fertile (in its eastern parts marshy) depression 9 m. long and 2 broad, lying 400 to 500 ft. above the sea, between hills 1700 ft. high. To the SW., about 700 ft. above the sea, is the smaller but equally fertile plain of Tor'ān, 5 m. long and 1 m. broad. Among the mountains the most conspicuous landmarks are Nebi Sa'īn (1602) near Nazareth, Jebel es-Sīḥ (1838), and especially, to the E. of this last, Jebel eṭ-Ṭōr or Tabor (1843), an isolated wooded cone which rises on all sides with considerable regularity, and commands the plain of Esdraelon. Eastwards the country sinks by a succession of steps: of these the lava-strewn plateau of Sahl el-Aḥmā, which lies above the cliffs that look down on the Lake of Tiberias, but is 300 ft. below the level of the Mediterranean, deserves mention.

The principal valleys of the whole region are: (1) towards the W. the great basin of Nahr Na'mān (Belus of the ancients), whose main branch is Wādi Khalzūn, known in its upper course as Wādi Sha'īb or Wādi Khashab, and, farther S., the basin of the Wādi Melek (Wādi Rummānī), which flows into the Nahr el-Muḳaṭṭa' (Kishon); and (2) towards the E. the rapid-flowing Wādī Rabadīye, Wādi el-Ḥamām, and Wādi Fejjās.

6. Jezreel.

There is a certain connection between the plains already mentioned (those of Baṭṭauf, Acre, etc.) and the great plain which, with an average height of 250 ft. above the sea, stretches S. from the mountains of Galilee and separates them from the spurs of the mountains of Samaria (the central portion of the cis-Jordan country). This great plain (see map, opp. col. 1631 *f.*), which in ancient times was known as the plain of Megiddo, and also as the valley of Jezreel or plain of Esdraelon, and now bears the name of Merj Ibn 'Āmir (pasture-land of the son of 'Āmir), is one of the main features of the whole cis-Jordan region (Josephus called it the Great Plain *par excellence*; cp EPHRAIM i., § 3), and presents the only easy passage from the coast districts to the Jordan valley and the country beyond. The larger portion lies W. of the watershed, which at el-'Afūle is 260 ft. above the Mediterranean. In the narrower application of the name, the whole plain forms a large triangle with its

southern corner near Jenīn and its western near the mouth of the gorge of the Nahr el-Muḳaṭṭaʿ (for here the hills of Nazareth shoot out towards Carmel); and connected with it are various small plains partly running up into the hills. The plain to the S. of Acre, in which marshes are formed by the Kishon and Naʿmān, and various other recesses towards N. and E., really belong to it.

To the NE. stretches a valley bounded in one direction by Jebel Nebi Daḥy (the Lesser Hermon, a range 15 m. long and 1690 ft. high) and in the other direction by the hills of Nazareth and Mount Tabor, where lie Iksāl and Debūriye (see CHISLOTH-TABOR, DABERATH); then to the E. of the watershed lies the Bīre valley, and the well-watered Wādi Jālūd from Zerʿīn (Jezreel) falls away towards the Jordan between the slopes of Jebel Nebi Daḥy and the more southern range of Jebel Fuḳūʿ (cp GILBOA, MOUNT). Finally, towards Jenīn in the S. lies the secondary plain of ʿArrāne.

In ancient times the whole country, with its rich basaltic loam, was densely peopled and well cultivated. See GALILEE i., § 4.

To the S. of the plain of Jezreel, which still belongs to the northern part of Palestine, it is much more difficult to discover natural divisions (see map of the hill-country of Ephraim, opp. col. 1311 *f.*, and cp EPHRAIM i., § 3). In the neighbourhood of the watershed, which here runs almost regularly in great zigzags, lie several plains of very limited extent.

7. S. of Jezreel.

The plain of ʿArrābe (700 to 800 ft. above the sea) connected SE. with the Merj el-Gharaḳ, which having no outlet becomes a lake in the rainy season; the plain of Fendeḳūmiye (1200 ft.); and the plain of Rūjīb, E. of Shechem, connected with the plain of Makhna (1600 to 1800 ft.; cp MICHMETHAH) to the SW. The highest mountains too are generally near the watershed. In the E. lies the south-westward continuation of Gilboa. In the W., Mount Carmel (highest point 1810 ft., monastery 470) meets the projection of the hills of Nazareth, and sends its wooded ridge far to the NW. so as to form the southern boundary of the Bay of Acre, and render the harbour of Ḥaifā, the town at its foot, the best on all the coast of Palestine.

The belt of land along the shore, barely 200 yards wide, is the northern end of the lowland plain, which, gradually widening, stretches S. towards Egypt.

8. Maritime plain.

At ʿAthlīt (9 m. S.) it is already 2 m. broad, and it continues much the same for 21 m. to the Nahr ez-Zerḳā (named by the ancients after the crocodile, which is still to be found in its marshes), where a small ridge el-Khashm projects from the highlands. South of Nahr ez-Zerḳā begins the marvellously fertile plain of SHARON (*q.v.*), which, with a breadth of 8 m. near Cæsarea and 11 to 12 m. near Yāfā (Jaffa), stretches 44 m. farther to the Nahr Rūbīn, and slopes upwards towards the mountains to a height of about 200 ft. above the sea. Its surface is broken by lesser eminences, and traversed by a few coast streams, notably the Nahr el-Fāliḳ.

Between the maritime plains and the mountains proper lies a multiform system of terraces, with a great number of small ridges and valleys. In this the only divisions are those formed by the basins of the larger wadis, which, though draining extensive districts, are here too for the most part dry. They all have a general E. and W. direction.

9. Wādis.

First comes the basin of the Nahr el-Mefjir, bounded S. by the Bayāzīd range, and debouching a little to the S. of Cæsarea; and about 5 miles farther S. is the mouth of the Iskanderūne, which is distinguished in its upper portion as the Wādi esh-Shaʿīr, running E. as far up as Nābulus (Shechem), hardly a mile W. of the watershed. It is in this neighbourhood that we find the highest portions of the mountains of Samaria—Jebel Islāmiye or EBAL (*q.v.*), 3077 ft. high, to the N. of Shechem, and Jebel eṭ-Ṭūr or GERIZIM (*q.v.*), 2849 ft. high, to the S. Both are bare and rugged, and consist, like all the loftier eminences in the district, of hard limestone capped with chalk. It was generally possible, however, to carry cultivation up to the top of all these mountains, and in ancient times the highlands of Samaria are said to have been clothed with abundant forest.

From the watershed eastward the important Wādi Fāriʿa (also known as Wādi Ḳarāwā in its lower course) descends to the Jordan (cp EPHRAIM i. § 4).

Returning to the western slope, we find to the S. of Nahr el-Fāliḳ the basin of the ʿAujā, which after it leaves the hills is fed by perennial (partly palustrine) sources (see ANTIPATRIS, MEJARKON), and falls into the sea 5 m. N. of Jaffa. As at this place the watershed bends eastward, this extensive basin stretches proportionally far in that direction; and, the right side of the Jordan valley being also very broad, the mountains of the eastern slope soon begin to sink rapidly.

On the watershed, not far from Jifnā, lies Tell ʿAṣūr (3378 ft.; see BAAL-HAZOR), and with this summit of hard gray

limestone begin the hills of ancient Judah (cp further EPHRAIM i., § 3 *f.*). South of the ʿAujā comes the Nahr Rūbīn (near Jabne), perennial up to the Wādi Ṣarār (SOREK ?), and reaching, as Wādi Bēt Ḥanīna, as far as the country N. of Jerusalem; the Wādi el-Werd is one of its tributaries.

Farther S. begins the maritime plain of Philistia, which stretches 40 m. along the coast, and, though now but partially under cultivation, consists of a light brown loamy soil of extraordinary fertility. It is crossed by many ridges of hills; and to the S. of Ashdod (Esdūd) the highlands advance westwards, and form a hilly district composed of horizontal strata of limestone, sometimes considered part of the lowlands (Shĕphēlah), and separated from the more elevated region in the interior by a ridge more or less parallel with the line of the watershed.

10. Philistia.

The basins to the S. of the Rūbīn are those of Wādi Sukereir, which runs up towards Tell-es-Ṣāfiyeh (see GATH, MIZPEH) in one direction and to Bēt Jibrīn in another, of Wādi el-Ḥesy, and finally of Wādi Ghazza, which forms the proper boundary of Palestine towards the S., runs past Beersheba as Wādi es-Sebaʿ, and receives the Wādi el-Khalīl (Hebron) from the NE.

The mountainous district immediately N. of Jerusalem is now known as Jebel el-Ḳuds, of which the loftiest point is the summit of the Nebi Samwīl (2935 ft.), rising above the plateau of El-Jīb. Near Jerusalem the watershed lies at a height of about 2600 ft. Wild deep-sunk valleys descend eastwards to the Jordan; the Wādi el-Ḳelt (see ZEBOIM, VALLEY OF), Wādi en-Nār (Kidron valley), Wādi ed-Dereje, and southernmost Wādi Seyāl deserve to be mentioned. The country sloping to the Dead Sea falls in a triple succession of terraces—a waterless, treeless waste (in ancient times known as the desert of Judah), which has never been brought under cultivation, but in the first Christian centuries was the chosen abode of monasticism. To the N. of Hebron, in the neighbourhood of Ḥalḥūl, lie the highest elevations of this part of the central highlands (up to 3500 ft.), which may be distinguished as the mountains of Hebron. Towards Yuṭṭā (JUTTAH) in the S. is a sudden step down; there begins a plateau at a height of about 2600 ft., 500 ft. below the Hebron watershed. The plateau consists of open wolds and arable land, the soil being a white soft chalk; but there are no wells. Southward another step leads down to the white marl desert of Beersheba, abounding in caves. In ancient times this southern district was called the NEGEB; it extends far to the S., but is properly a part of Palestine. The country was in former times a steppe region without definite boundaries, and consequently the abode of nomadic herdsmen. See NEGEB, and map opp. col. 3375 *f.*

11. Jerusalem and southwards.

The Jordan Valley having been described elsewhere (see JORDAN, ARABAH), we may pass to a brief sketch of the physical character of the country E. of Jordan (see map of Gilead, opp. col. 1727 *f.*, and map of Moab, opp. col. 3167 *f.*, and compare GILEAD, MOAB). This is a more difficult task for several reasons: first, no connected series of investigations and measurements has been made; and, secondly, as the ideal demarcation of the book of Joshua is a hardly sufficient basis on which to build, and the information about the actual state of matters supplied by other ancient sources is insufficient, it is impossible to determine the limits of the country as far as it was occupied by the Israelites.

12. E. of Jordan.

In the opinion of the present writer, the plain of BASHAN (*q.v.*) can hardly be assigned to Palestine. To the S. of the Yarmūk (Hieromax of the Greeks and Romans, Hebrew name unknown), which falls into the Jordan below the Lake of Tiberias, begins the cretaceous formation; only in the E. of the country the basalt of the Ḥaurān territory stretches farther south. Ascending from the Yarmūk, we first of all reach a mountainous district of moderate elevation (about 2000 ft.) rising towards the S.; this is Jebel ʿAjlūn, which abounds in caves, and, according to

recent explorers, is extremely well watered and of great fertility—the whole surface being covered with pasture such as not even Galilee can show. Eastwards are massive ridges as much as 4000 ft. in height—Jebel Ḳafḳafa and especially Mi'rāḍ—separating this territory from the waterless desert lying at no great depth below. The plateau stretches away to the S. of the deep gorge of the perennial Zerḳā (Jabbok), and reaches a considerable height in Jebel Jil'ād (Gilead in the stricter sense). The landmark of the region is Jebel Ōsha' (3590), to the N. of es-Salṭ, so called from the traditional tomb of Hosea (see GILEAD, § 4). From the deep-sunk Jordan valley the mountains rise grandly in terraces, partly abrupt and rocky; and, whilst fig trees and vines flourish down in the lower levels, valonia oaks, *Laurus Pinus*, cedars, and arbutus grow on the declivities. Owing to its perennial springs, the interior terrace of the country, the ancient Mīshōr, is a splendid pasture land, famous as such of old; and abundance of wood and water renders this whole middle region of the trans-Jordan country one of the most luxuriant and beautiful in Palestine. Only a few individual summits, such as Jebel Nebā (Mount Nebo), are noticeable in the ridges that descend to the Jordan valley. The country from the Zerḳā southward to the Mōjib (Arnon) is now known as el-Belḳā; and beyond that begins the land of Moab proper, which also consists of a steep mountain-wall through which deep gorges cut their way to the plain, and behind this of a plateau poorly watered but dotted over with ancient ruins (see MOAB, §§ 3-5). In this district, too, there are a few individual summits. Here also a mountain-wall separates the plain from the eastern desert; and the mountain district continues farther S. along the Araba (cp EDOM).

13. Water. Palestine is not exceptionally deficient in water. Perennial streams, indeed, are scarce, and were so in antiquity; but, except in certain districts, as the desert of Judah, the country is not badly supplied with springs. In keeping with the structure of the rocks, the springs usually break out at the junction of the hard and the soft strata. Thus abundant springs of good water occur on the very summit of the cis-Jordan country, as, for example, near Hebron, at Nābulus, and in Galilee; and, though few are found in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem, more than forty may be counted within a radius of 15 to 20 miles round the city. There is no water in the low hilly country behind the coast region; and, though in its northern portion some fairly large streams take their rise, the same is true of the coast-region itself. Rising as they do at the foot of a great mountain range, the most abundant springs in Palestine are those of the Jordan, especially those near Bāniās and Tell-el-Ḳāḍi. The mountains of Gilead are rich in excellent water.

A considerable number of hot springs occur throughout the country, especially in and near the Jordan valley; they were used in ancient times for curative purposes, and might still be so used. The water of the bath of el-Ḥammeh, about 2 miles S. of Tiberias, has a temperature of 137° Fahr., and the spring near the Zerḳā Ma'īn, formerly known as Callirrhoe, as much as 142° Fahr. Hot sulphur springs also occur on the W. coast of the Dead Sea. Many of the springs in Palestine are slightly brackish.

From the earliest times cisterns (*bīr*, Heb. *bĕ'ēr*) have naturally played a great part in the country; they are found everywhere in great numbers. Generally they consist of reservoirs of masonry widening out downwards, with a narrow opening above often covered with heavy stones. Open reservoirs were also constructed to collect rain and spring water (see CONDUITS). Many aqueducts, as well as many now ruined cisterns, could be restored without much trouble, and would give a great stimulus to the fertility and cultivation of the country.

14a. Climate and vegetation. Climatically, Palestine may be considered part of the subtropical zone. At the summer solstice the sun stands 10° south of the zenith; the shortest day is thus one of ten hours, the longest of only fourteen. In a few points, as already remarked, there is a difference between Palestine and the rest of Syria.

The extensive maritime plain and the valley of the Jordan give rise to important climatic contrasts.

1. From its vicinity to the sea the maritime plain is naturally warmer than the highlands. The mean annual temperature is 70° Fahr., the extremes being 50° and 85°. The harvest ripens two weeks earlier than among the mountains. Citrons and oranges flourish; the palm also grows, though without fruiting; melons are largely cultivated; and pomegranate bushes are to be seen. Less rain falls than in the mountains.

2. The second climatic zone consists of the highlands (from 500 to 3000 ft. above the sea), which were the real home of the Israelites. The average temperature of Jerusalem, which may be taken as pretty much that of the upland as a whole, is 62°; but the extremes are considerable, as the thermometer may sink several degrees below the freezing-point, though frost and snow never last long. The rainfall of 20 inches is distributed over about fifty days. In this climate the vine, the fig, and the olive succeed admirably. Even in the southernmost districts (of the Negeb), as well as throughout the whole country, there still are traces of ancient wine-growing. The mountain ridges in this zone are for the most part bare; but the slopes and the valleys are green, and beauty and fertility increase as we advance northwards.

3. In regard to the climate of the third zone, see JORDAN, § 8. The barley harvest here ends with the middle of April. The thermometer rarely sinks below 77°, and it goes as high as 130°.

4. The fourth zone, the elevated plateau of the trans-Jordan region, has an extreme climate. The thermometer may frequently fall during the night below the freezing-point, and rise next day to 80°. The mountains are often covered with snow in winter. Whilst the rainfall in the Jordan valley is very slight, the precipitation in the eastern mountains is again considerable; as in western Palestine, the dewfall is heavy.

From this short survey it appears that Palestine is a country of strong contrasts. Of course it was the same in antiquity; climate, rainfall, fertility, and productiveness cannot have seriously changed. Even if we suppose that there was a somewhat richer clothing of wood and trees in the central districts of the country, on the whole the general appearance must have been much the same as at present. To the stranger from the steppes arriving at a favourable season of the year Palestine may still give the impression of a land 'flowing with milk and honey.'[1] The number of cisterns and reservoirs is proof enough that it was not better supplied with water in ancient times; but, on the other hand, the many ruins of places which were still flourishing during the Roman period show that at one time (more especially in the southern districts, which now possess but few inhabited localities) cultivation must have been carried on more extensively and thoroughly (cp NEGEB, § 6). In general the country enjoyed the greatest security, and consequently the greatest prosperity, under Western rule, which even protected the country E. of Jordan (at present partly beyond the control of the Government) from the inroads of the Bedouins. The Romans also did excellent service by the construction of roads, portions of which (as well as Roman milestones and bridges) still remain in good preservation in many places. Thus it cannot be denied that the resources of the country were formerly better developed than at present. Like all the lands of the nearer East, Palestine suffers from the

[1] On this phrase see above, col. 2104, n. 3, and NEGEB, § 7.

decay of the branches of industry which still flourished there in the Middle Ages. A. S. (§§ 1-14 *a*).

14*b*. Flora. The unique position of Palestine—a narrow strip of mountainous country connecting the three great continental areas of Europe, Asia, and Africa—and its remarkable variations of surface and climate within a comparatively small area render it a fitting home for an exceedingly rich and varied flora. There are at present known more than 3000 species of flowering plants, and this number will certainly be increased by future explorations, particularly in Antilibanus and the southern extension of the eastern range. So varied is the flora that its relationships are found in no less than three botanical regions.

i. *Mediterranean area.*—The narrow strip of coast, the slopes of Lebanon and Antilibanus, the tableland of Galilee and the hills of Judæa, Gilead, and Moab, constitute a fairly uniform area, the plants of which are for the most part identical with or closely related to those which flourish at corresponding elevations in Asia Minor and southern Europe, particularly in Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Sicily. This may be termed the 'Mediterranean' area. The relationship of the flora with that of the maritime countries of the eastern Mediterranean is most marked on the coast plains and on the western slopes of the hills on the seaward side of the Jordan. In the mountains east of the Jordan and on the eastern slopes of the western hills the presence of many wanderers of eastern affinity marks the transition from the Mediterranean flora to that of our second region, the Oriental.

1. On the coast plains and the western hills, including the lower slopes of Lebanon, such well-known European genera as Clematis, Anemone, Papaver, Silene, Hypericum, Rhamnus, Medicago, Lotus, Lathyrus, Scandix, Lonicera, Anchusa, Linaria, etc., are represented, in most cases by species identical with those found in Europe. The indigenous trees of the coast plains are very few; among them are two British willows, a Mediterranean alder, and the terebinth, which is probably only a variety of the Mediterranean *Pistacia Terebinthus*, L.

2. On Lebanon dense forests are no longer to be seen, and on Antilibanus forest-covered areas are now found only on its eastern flanks. The most prominent tree is the oak, represented by about half a dozen Mediterranean species. Maples, pruni, poplars, the Aleppo pine and the widely cultivated carob (*Ceratonia siliqua*, L.) are also common. A large number of herbaceous species are at present known only from these two ranges, and they all belong to genera which are represented by other species in southern Europe. On the western slopes of Lebanon, between 300 and 3500 ft., occurs *Erica verticillata*, the only heath found in Palestine.

3. The southern uplands west of the Jordan have few trees, and those that occur do not grow gregariously, the land being now practically destitute of forests. Hardly any plants are found here which are not also known from the lower and middle slopes of Lebanon.

4. East of the Jordan, especially on the flanks of the mountains of Gilead, there are forests of oak, Aleppo pine, and terebinth. The most characteristic plants on this portion of the eastern range are those which are common on the western slopes of the hills of western Palestine. Thus the flora of the hills of Gilead and Moab is truly Mediterranean in character although its continuity with that of western Palestine is abruptly broken by the deep gorge of the Dead Sea, and it contains many species of Oriental affinity mingled with the more numerous western types.

5. Above 4000 ft. on the slopes of Lebanon and Antilibanus the low-level Mediterranean species gradually disappear and their place is taken by others which mark the approach to an Alpine flora. Conspicuous among these is the famous cedar of Lebanon, which, within our area, appears to be confined to the middle slopes of Lebanon, where it is now found only in a few small isolated groves. Its apparent absence from Antilibanus is remarkable, though the comparative dryness of the climate of this range is perhaps sufficient to account for it. At about the same elevation are found our single species of rhododendron, a cotoneaster, several roses, and two species of juniper.

6. Above 7000 ft., on Lebanon and Antilibanus, the flora becomes Alpine in character. Trees and tall shrubs are wanting; such shrubby vegetation as there is consists of isolated, small, frequently prostrate bushes of *Cerasus prostrata*, *Cotoneaster nummularia*, and other woody species. Rounded clumps of *Acantholimon libanoticum*, a member of the Leadwort family, form a marked feature on the otherwise almost naked summits. The vast genus Astragalus is represented here by many thorny species. In moist and sheltered crevices are hidden several ferns, a family which elsewhere is very feebly represented in our area. The most notable feature of the Alpine flora of these ranges is the almost complete absence of arctic species such as characterise the Alpine zone in the Alps of Europe and even in a range so far south as the Himalayas. The northern genera which do occur are represented by Levantine species; one of the very few, perhaps the single, arctic species being *Oxyria digyna*, L. The explanation of this remarkable absence of arctic types, which is found also in the Alpine regions of the high mountains of tropical Africa, is to be sought in the geological history of the country.

ii. *Oriental area.*—Our second botanical area is very much smaller and less distinctly characterised than the preceding. The plains of Coele-Syria (separating Lebanon from Antilibanus), Ḥaurān, and Damascus, together with the lower eastern flanks of Antilibanus, possess a flora which may be described as Oriental. Although it includes many Mediterranean species and a few from the Syrian desert, its most marked affinity is with the plants of Northern Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia. The most characteristic genus is Astragalus, which is represented by about thirty species. Next to these, species of Verbascum and Phlomis are most abundant. The plants of this area, which includes the isolated volcanic range of Jebel ed-Drūz, are very incompletely known, and in the present state of our knowledge its exact botanical relationship with the vast plains and deserts to the east cannot be defined. Many herbaceous species have thus far been found only in these plains. Future exploration will doubtless extend the range of many of these in an easterly direction.

iii. *Tropical area.*—In the gorge of the Jordan and Dead Sea there flourishes a tropical flora which has for the most part African and Arabian affinities, but includes a large number of species from the eastern deserts, many of which are found as far east as the deserts of North West India. On descending the steep declivities of this remarkable cleft, the traveller leaves the Mediterranean flora behind at about the true sea-level.

Among the more remarkable plants which in Palestine are found only in the gorge are *Solanum coagulans*, Forsk., whose fruit has been called the "Dead Sea apple," *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, Del., and *Calotropis procera*, W., all of which are tropical African and Arabian species; *Salvadora persica*, L., identified, probably incorrectly, with the "Mustard-tree," *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, the 'Christ-Thorn,' and *Populus Euphratica*, Oliv., which extend from Africa to India. The genus Astragalus is represented by over 70 species, only about three of which are Mediterranean.

On the shores of the Dead Sea there is a typically tropical halophytic flora, composed largely of species of Salicornia, Suaeda, and Atriplex. Higher up the valley the tree flora includes several species of Willow and Tamarix, which in places form a dense low jungle-growth. This narrow cleft is, from a botanical point of view, one of the most remarkable and interesting features of the country. Isolated from the surrounding area in the course of geological changes and by reason of its depression possessing a torrid climate, it harbours the descendants of a tropical flora which probably flourished over a very wide area in an earlier epoch. Its flora is further modified by the saline nature of the soil of its southern end, due to the absence of a natural outlet for the waters of the Jordan.

H. H. W. P. (§ 14 *b*).

14*c*. Fauna. Of the six regions (based primarily on the distribution of land-birds) into which the surface of the world has been subdivided by zoogeographers, Palestine belongs to the Palæarctic. It lies not far from the middle of the southern districts of the Palæarctic region of Sclater and Wallace, and in the Mediterranean sub-region. The Palæarctic region includes all Europe, Asia north of the Himalayas, Northern China, Persia and neighbouring lands as far E. as the Indus and the extra-tropical parts of N. Africa, Egypt, and Arabia.[1] Of the sub-regions into which the Palæarctic region is divided the Mediterranean is by far the richest, indeed by some authorities it is considered not so much a sub-region as a transition region whose fauna

[1] Some authorities group this vast expanse of land with the N. American continent as one region (the Holarctic), thus reducing the regions to five.

is an association of elements derived from the Palæarctic, the Ethiopian, and the Oriental regions, with each of which the area is contiguous.

In its broader features, then, the fauna of Palestine is that of the Mediterranean sub-region, which includes Spain, the countries S. of the Alps, the Danube, and the Caucasus. Eastwards this fauna extends over Persia, Afghanistan, and Beluchistan, southward across Arabia and Africa, its southern limit being the line of the Tropic of Cancer. Almost in the centre of this district, but a trifle to the E., lies Palestine. Since it is so near the gate which leads from Africa to Asia one is not surprised to find a considerable intrusion of Ethiopic forms. Still this is not so considerable as to alter the dominant Palæarctic facies of the fauna, which is still less modified by animals from the Oriental region. As usual the tracts of desert which lie to the E. of Palestine offer a very effective barrier to the dispersal of both beast and bird; and but for this desert we should doubtless find a greater admixture of Indian forms.

Palestine is characterised by a wide diversity not only of climate (§ 14 *a*), but also of soil. Large areas are sandy deserts, and much is stony ground; but there are also tracts of rich corn-fields and fruitful orchards, and although there are now no large forests, there probably were such in the past, and the smaller woods and thickets are still sufficient to give shelter to many sylvan birds and beasts. Both in climate and in the nature of the soil and its products, the country is adapted to a rich and varied fauna.

14*d*. Mammals.

According to Canon Tristram, Palestine possesses some 113 species of mammals, amongst which, however, are counted several species no longer to be found there, but for whose existence we have, as in the case of the *Bos primigenius*, fossil evidence, or, as in the case of *Felis leo*, the evidence of history. Of these 113, about one half are characteristic of the Palæarctic region.

The mammals belong to the following classes: *Hyracoidea*, 1; *Ungulata*, several species of which are probably introduced as domestic cattle, etc., 23; *Carnivora*, 21; *Insectivora*, 8; *Cheiroptera*, 17; and *Rodentia*, 43.

The mammalian fauna is obviously rich and fairly varied for so small an area, the most striking character perhaps being the predominance of the Carnivores and Rodents.

One of the Carnivores, *Ursus syriacus*, as was indicated by Canon Tristram, is not a true species. It is classed by Trouessart as a variety of *Ursus isabellinus*, which extends from the Caucasus to Thibet. Some authorities even regard the last named species as a mere variety of the European Brown Bear, *U. Arctos*. In any case, *U. syriacus* can no longer be reckoned as a species peculiar to Palestine.

Of the 43 rodents, a number which Canon Tristram thinks may easily be increased, he counts no less than ten as peculiar to the district. Some of these have, however, since been shown to have a wider range; thus *Sciurus syriacus* is now recognised as a synonym for *Sc. persicus* which is widely distributed in Europe and Asia. *Gerbillus tæniurus* extends to the Euphrates valley. *Dipus hirtipes*, the rough-footed jerboa, does not, according to Trouessart, live in Palestine, where the fascinating little jerboas are represented by *D. ægyptius*, *D. gerboa*, and *D. sagitta*. *Lepus judeæ* is recorded from Palestine alone; but *L. syriacus*, *L. sinaiticus*, *Gerbillus tæniurus*, *Psammomys myosurus*, *Acomys russatus*, *Mus prætextus*, *Eliomys melanurus* all extend into neighbouring lands such as Syria and the Peninsula of Sinai, and some are found even farther afield.

The rodents thus not only are rich in number but also show a marked proportion of peculiar forms. This is largely due no doubt to the fact that they form the dominant desert fauna. For the most part nocturnal in habit, burrowing in their holes during the day, at night they emerge and seek as food the succulent bulbs and tuberous roots of the desert flowers.

The only peculiar Ungulate, *Gazella arabica*, and the coney, *Procavia syriaca*, also extend through Syria and the Sinaitic peninsula, and the latter throughout Arabia, in the southern parts of which it is represented by a sub-species *P. syriaca jayakari*. The 13 other species of Procavia which together make up the class Hyracoidea are confined to the African continent and are widely distributed throughout the continent except along the northern border.

It may further be mentioned that of the 113 mammals recorded by Tristram 34 are common to the Ethiopian

region and only 16 to the Indian, a further proof of the efficiency of such a desert as that which stretches out E. of Palestine as a barrier to the dispersal of animals.

14*e*. Birds.

The birds are even more pronouncedly Palæarctic than the mammals; of the 348 species recorded by Tristram, 271 are also Palæarctic, 40 Ethiopian (10 of which are also Indian), 7 Indian, 30 are claimed to be peculiar. Thus the avifauna is remarkably rich for so small a district, and this is partly due to the wealth of bird life at times of migration. Palestine has a winter season for many birds that summer farther north and a summer season for others that pass their winter in warmer climes. The essentially Palæarctic character of the birds is perhaps best brought home to us by the statement that 134 species are common to Britain and Palestine.

One of the interesting features of the avifauna is that of the 30 species common to Palestine and the Ethiopian region alone 18 are found only in the Jordan and Dead Sea basins. In fact this deep cleft shelters the Ethiopian and Indian forms, very few of which are found outside it, whilst in it, except for some winter migrants, hardly any Palæarctic birds are found. Thirteen of the 30 classed by Tristram as new or peculiar birds have closely allied Palæarctic forms. Eleven, however—and these are all found in the Dead Sea basin—are allied to Ethiopian or Indian forms, or to forms common to these two regions. On the whole the approximation is greater to the African avifauna than to the Indian; but this is not so pronouncedly so as in the case of the Mammalia.

Amongst the reptiles and Amphibia we find less trace of an Ethiopic invasion.

14*f*. Reptiles and Amphibia.

Of the 91 reptiles and Amphibia recorded by Tristram some 11 are peculiar, 49 occur also in the Palæarctic region, 27 in the Ethiopian, and only 4 in the Oriental. There are in Tristram's list 33 Snakes, 44 Lizards, many of which are deserticolous in appearance and habits, 7 Chelonians, 2 of them marine, and the single species of Crocodile, *C. niloticus*, which is found nowhere out of Africa but in Syria and Palestine, where judging from travellers' tales it is much less common than formerly.

The Amphibia include a newt, the beautiful *Triton vittatus*, *Bufo viridis s. variabilis*, the green toad; *B. pantherina s. mauritanica*, the pantherine toad; *Pelobates syriacus*, the Syrian spade-foot toad; *Rana esculenta*, the edible frog, and *Hyla arborea*, the tree frog. Doubtless further search would be rewarded with other species of Amphibia.

14*g*. Fishes.

The ichthyological fauna is by far the most characteristic of the five vertebrate groups. Of the 43 species, only 8, and these found in the rivers of the coast, belong to the ordinary piscine fauna of the Mediterranean basin. Out of 36 species found in the Jordan system only one is common to the ordinary Mediterranean fauna.

Two others, *Chromis niloticus* and *Clarias macracanthus*, occur in the Nile; 17 others are found in the lakes and rivers of Syria and SW. Asia, whilst 16 species of the families *Chromidæ*, *Cyprinodontidæ*, and *Cyprinidæ* are peculiar to the river Jordan and its subsidiary streams and lakes. The discovery of *Chromis* (7 species) and *Hemichromis*, typically genera of the East African lakes and rivers, in the valley of the Jordan is one of the most remarkable pieces of evidence of the connection of this gorge with the Ethiopian region.

14*h*. Invertebrata.

A good deal of work has been done on the molluscan, the arachnid, and certain classes of the insect fauna; but, as is usually the case, our knowledge of the Invertebrata lags behind that of the Vertebrata. In many cases the divisions of the land made in accordance with the distribution of the various groups of Invertebrata, in no way corresponds with the areas laid down by Sclater; and for this reason, and because in the present state of our knowledge of the invertebrates of Palestine it would be premature to generalise, we shall not consider the invertebrate fauna in this article. A. E. S., §§ 14 *c-h*.

15. Political geography: pre-Israelite.

Evidence of Palestine's being inhabited at an early date is afforded by many megalithic monuments similar in character to those so often met with elsewhere in widely separated quarters of the globe. It would be rash to base upon these too definite conclusions regarding the primitive population of the country.[1]

[1] In this respect Conder's *Syrian Stone Lore* (1886), for example, is much too positive.

For thousands of years Palestine was an object of conflict between the vast monarchies of western Asia.

As Egypt, whenever she sought to extend her power, was from the very position of the country naturally led to make herself mistress of the E. coast of the Mediterranean, so, on the other hand, there were no physical boundaries to prevent the westward advance into Palestine of the Asiatic empires. For both Egypt and the East indeed the country formed a natural thoroughfare, in time of war for the forces of the contending powers, in time of peace for the trading caravans which carried on the interchange of African and Asiatic merchandise.

It may, to a certain degree, be accidental that we have no detailed reports of the Syrian expeditions of the first pharaohs of dynasty 18 (cp EGYPT, § 53). From the time of the great conqueror Thutmosis III., we find lists of foreign countries or cities very frequently as mural decorations of the temples. The most important referring to Palestine (*As. u. Eur.* 157 *f.*) are:

i. The list of Thutmosis III. in Karnak (T), 118 names, embracing northern and middle Palestine. Socoh (No. 67) is the southernmost city which we can determine; *Y(a)-ra-za* (No. 60), said to have been farthest S., cannot be localised (*As. u. Eur.* 152, 159).[1]

ii. The list of Rameses II. in Karnak (R), enumerating rebellious Palestinian cities (chiefly in Middle Palestine) which he had resubjugated (*As. u. Eur.* 165; copied in Medinet Habu by Rameses III.: see *Rec. de Trav.* 20 114 [1898]). Both texts will soon be republished by the writer in *MVAG*.

iii. Another small list (R_2) of such rebel cities in N. Palestine and north of it, is found on a representation in the Ramesseum (*As. u. Eur.* 220). It is much mutilated.

iv. The list of cities of Judah and Israel conquered by Šošenḳ—Shishak (Sh.: *As. u. Eur.* 166); strictly, the only list referring to biblical times. It seems to go back to sources written in Canaanitish (Phœnician) letters, whilst the other official lists all show traces of cuneiform originals.

v. Finally, we might mention various small lists of Sety I. (St.), pertaining more to Phœnicia (*eg.*, *As. u. Eur.* 191), and

vi. The enumerations of cities and countries in the so-called 'Travel of an Egyptian,' in (hieratic) papyrus Anastasi I. (An.) (time of Rameses II.; now generally understood as satirical and fictitious in the part in question; *As. u. Eur.* 172).

The rest of our material consists of single occasional references.

For the criticism of these lists the writer must emphasise more than ever (*As. u. Eur.* 157) that they contain nothing but loose enumerations of names without any systematic arrangement. All attempts to find in the order of the names larger geographical groups or even the marches of the Egyptian armies have failed.

The popular character of the inscriptions, which were primarily mural decorations, explains this deplorable lack of order and precision. (Compare the sharp distinction which the Assyriologist has to make between the strictly historical texts and the 'Prunkinschriften' or 'texts of general laudatory phrases.') For the mode of transcription, it must be borne in mind by the non-Egyptologist that the consonants are fairly well rendered (cp, on the principal equations, EGYPT, § 12 *a*) as far as was possible with the Egyptian alphabet which, unfortunately, does not distinguish between *r* and *l*, or *ṣ* and *z*, but on the other hand keeps carefully asunder *ḥ* and *ḳ*. (The weakest point is the rendering of the dentals *d*, *t*, *ṭ*.) The system of vocalisation, however (EGYPT, *l.c.*), is always more or less arbitrary and ambiguous, and, although far from being perfectly worthless, as has sometimes been maintained, it is to be used only with the greatest possible caution. The present writer transliterates it, as much as possible, in imitation of the cuneiform system (which, we know, exercised a strong influence on the Egyptian orthography of foreign names) and of the methods of Assyriologists.[2]

Taking the list of Thutmosis III. (Th.) as basis[3] and marking the other lists with R (R_2), Sh., St. (*i.e.*, Sety), and An. (*i.e.*, pap. Anastasi I.), we have the following cities which allow certain identifications[4]:—

1. *Ḳad-šu*[5] (An. distinguishes *Ḳad-šu* on the Orontes from *Ḳad-ši* in Galilee).
2. *Megiddo* (*Ma-ke-to*, etc.); cp An., St., Sh.
3. *Ḫa-ṭà-y* (thus, after Sayce, who compared the Ḫa-zi of Amarna, in N. Palestine).
4. *K(!)e-ti-su-na*, the *Gadašuna* of Amarna, 267, a קרשון.
6. *De-be-ḫu* (An., *Tu-bi-ḫi*); cp Amarna *Tubiḫi* and biblical טבח (*As. u. Eur.* 396).
7. *T(!)u-tì-y-na*, bibl. Dotha(i)n.

8. *Ra-bi-na*, a northern Libnah (or Lebonah?).
9. *Ḳe-r-tì-naz(e)-n(!)a*, a Ḳirjath-Naṣib; cp *OLZ* 2 138.
12. *Ma-ra-ma*, a מָרוֹם—not Merom—also in R_2.
13. *Tì-mas-ḳu*, Damascus mixed in here by mistake.[1]
14. *'A-ti-ra* (an Addîr); cp Sh.
15. *O-bi-ra*, an Abel; cp on 90.
16. *Ḥam-tu*, Ḥammath in Naphtali (not the great Ḥamath on the Orontes, cp *As. u. Eur.* 256).
18. *Ša-ma-na* is, perhaps,[2] the *Šamḫuna* of Amarna,[3] or rather *šāmên*, 'fat place'?
19. *Bi-'a-ru-tu*, a Beeroth (in Benjamin?).
21. *Sa-ru-na* (not the plain but a city of) Sharon; cp Amarna, 260, after Knudtzon's reading.
26. *Ḳa-nô* (also St.), Kanah in Asher.
27. *'A-ru-na* (also Sh.), 'E-runa (*i.e.*, 'Elyôn), described as covering the road across Carmel (*As. u. Eur.* 158).
28. *'(E)-s-tì-ra-tu*, Ashtaroth-Ḳarnaim beyond Jordan.
30. *Ma-ḳu-ta*, Maḳeddah (of Judæa?).
31. *Ra-ui-sa*, Laish-Dan?
32. *Ḥu-za-ra*, Hazor of Galilee (St., An.).
33. *Pa-ḥû-ra*, frequently mentioned (St., An., etc.) (*As. u. Eur.* 192).
34. *Ke-n-na-ra-tu*, Chinnereth.
36. *('A)-tì-m(e)-m* (an Adummim? cp An. A-da-mi-mi).
37. *Ḳa-su-na*, Ḳishion.
38. *Ša-na-ma*, Shunem (cp Sh.).
39. *Ma-ša-'-ra*, Misheal.
40. *'A-k-sap*, Aksaph (on An., cp *As. u. Eur.* 96, 173, and above, col. 1310, n. 4).
42. *Ta-'a-na-k*, Taanach (Sh.).
43. *Y(a)-b-ra-'a-mu*, Yibleām.
44. *Ke-n-tu-'(e)-s-na*, a Gath-Ashna; cp Amarna, 257.
46. *'A-y(a)-na*. Ijon; cp 95.
47. *'A-a-k* (correct 'A-ka), Accho; cp St.
48. *Ru-ša-ḳad-š*, a 'holy mountain-top,' ראש־קדש; cp R.
49. *K(e)-ri-y(e)-me-na*, a Ḳ(thus R.)aryamin.
50. *Ḅa-ra*, a 'Bor.'
51. *Ša-m-ša-'(e)-tì-ma* (in a text of Amenophis II. Ša-m-ša-'(e)-ti-u [*i.e.*, to]-ma), two gods Shamash and Edom joined.
52. *'A-nu-ḥ(e)-r-tu*, Anāharath in Issachar.
53, 54. *'-p-ra*, Ophra (??).
55. *Ḫa-ša-bu*; cp Amarna *Ḫa-ša-bu* in N. Palestine.
56. *Tì-su-ra-tì*, the Tušulti of Amarna; N. Palestine.
57. *Ne-ge-bu*, not 'the desert place,' נֶגֶב (so *As. u. Eur.* 184, and often), but נֶקֶב, 'pass' (cp Josh. 19 33?).
58. *'(e)-šu-š-ḫ(e)-n*, Šasḫimi in Amarna.

On 60, *Y(a)-ra-za*, the Yurza of Amarna, see above, § 15, i.

62. *Y(a)-pu*, Joppa-Japho (also An. and in a novel).
63. *K(e)-n-tu*, a Gath (Sh.).
64. *Ru-ṭe-n* (hardly Lod).
65. *Ô-nô*, bibl. Ono.
66. *'A-pu-ḳe-n*, an Aphiḳim or (Apheḳ?).
67. *Sa-u-ka* (Sh.), Socoh.
68. *Y(a)-ḥ-ma*, elsewhere *Y(a)-ḥam*, described as situated in the plain between Joppe and the Carmel.
71. *Ma-k-tì-ra*, Migdol (St., Sh., etc.), a frequent name.
76. *Ḥu-di-tì*, Ḥadid.
77. *Har*, a 'mountain.
78. *Y(a)-ša-p-'(e)-ra*, now usually understood as Joseph-el, although the *š* for Samekh would be unusual. Cp Winckler, *GI* 2 68 against it (also JOSEPH i. § 1, ii. § 1).
80. *K(e)-ru-ru* (hardly Gerar).
81. *H(e)-r-'(e)-ra*, 'God's mountain.'
82. *Ra-ba-ô* (or *â*), a Rabbah (??).
83. *Nu-ma-'-na* } evidently
84. *N(a)-'-ma-na* } identical. The name *Na'(a)mān* seems to point to the territory of Benjamin.
85. *Ma-ra-ma-ì(?)m*, 'heights.'
86. *'ni*, a 'fountain'; עין.
87. *Ra-ḥ-bu*, Reḥob in Asher, Sh., An.
89. *He-y-k-ra-y-m*, 'double temple' (cp *As. u. Eur.* 88).
90. *O-bi-ra*, an Abel. Frequent; cp Sh., St., and 15.
91. *O-ta-ra-'a*, Edrei.
92. *O-bi-ra*; cp 90.
95. *'A-y(a)-na*, Ijon.
96. *Kà-ra-ma-na* ('vineyards'?).
97. *Ba-tì-ya* (rather *yâ*), Beth-Yahweh?; cp *As. u. Eur.* 313.
99. *O-bi-ra*; cp 15, 90, 92.
101. *Ḥa-ra-kà-ra*, elsewhere written *Hu-r(e)-n-kà-ru*, in southern Lebanon; cp *As. u. Eur.* 200, 204.
102. *Y(a)-'-ḳ(e)-b-'â-ra*, the much discussed name Jacob-el, also in R; cp *As. u. Eur.* 164 [JACOB, § 1].
104. *Ḳa-zi-ra*, Gezer.
105. *Ra-ba-tu*, a Rabbah; cp Sh.
107. *'a-m-ḳu*, a 'valley.'
109. *Bi-'(e)-ru-tu*; see above, 19.
110. *Bi-tì-ša-'(e)-ra*, a Beth-sha-el; cp *As. u. Eur.* 193 (Sh., St., An., etc.).
111. *Ba-tì-n-tì* (*sic!*), Beth-Anath in Naphtali; Sh. correctly gives the 'Ain omitted here.
112. *Ha-ra-ḳ-tu*, Helḳath in Asher.
113. *'n-ḳ-n(e)-'a-mu* (*sic!*), the 'fountain of Jokneam in Zebulun.
114. *Ḳ(e)-b-'u*, a 'hill.'
116. *Za-f-tì* (elsewhere *Ze-f-tì*), on mount Carmel; a northern Zephath.
117. *Be-ra-ḳ-na*; cp Burkuna (thus Knudtzon) Amarna, 43, 164, which seems to have been situated in Issachar.

An. mentions, of strictly Palestinian places, also: Shechem (cp *As. u. Eur.* 394) as *Sa-ka-mà*; *Ḳa-(i)ra-tì-'(E)-n-bu*, *i.e.*, Kirjath-'Enab (a place NW. of Jerusalem; also in St.); *Y(a)-'a-ni-na* (= Kirjath Jearim? evidently corrupted); *Ba-tì* (Beth, *sic!*)-*Ṯu-pa-(i)ra* (*i.e.*, Kirjath Sepher, cp *As. u. Eur.* 174);

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[1] French scholars commonly identify Y(a)-ra-za with an alleged modern *Yerzâ* (?), *Erzeh* (?); but the name is doubtful.

[2] Consequently, the grave accent indicates not stress but that a sign can be used with the *o* or *e* vowel.

[3] The numbers prefixed to the names indicate their position in Thutmosis' list.

[4] Doubtful names which do not admit of geographical identification or a reasonable etymology have been omitted.

[5] Mistaken by the scribe for the Ḳadeš on the Orontes and, therefore, placed first.

[1] Cp *As. u. Eur.* 234, for the mention in texts of Rameses III.

[2] The *'Ain* being omitted because the *ma* sign contained a silent *'Ain*. Cp the double value of the point of שׁ with Cholem preceding.

[3] If *Šamḫuna* were a Simeon, שמעון (Winckler), it would be not the tribe but a city.

Ki-y-na=(*Gina*, Amarna), cp *As. u. Eur.* 174 on the biblical equivalent. A *Zidiputi*, mentioned between the last two places, occurs in Sh. as *Za-d-p-t-ru*—*i.e.*, Zadpet-El. An *Adurumu* is common to both sources, perhaps Adoraim in Juda.

On the list of Shoshenk, see further SHISHAK.

Gaza (*Gazatu* also in An.) is mentioned frequently, *Askaruni*-Ashkelon twice, Shārōhēn (S.) in Simeon three times, Luz (*Kuza*) once, the important fortress Zarethan on the Jordan (*Za-ra-tu-na*) twice, also the modern Sannur, and a number of places which admit no certain identification.

The list of Shishak (Sh.) enumerates of known cities besides those mentioned before: Hapharaim (*Ha-pu-ru-m-ā*), Gibe'on, Beth-Horon, Kirjathaim (see *As. u. Eur.* 166, on the necessary emendation of *Ka-d(e)-t(e)-m*), Ajalon (*Ay-yu-ru-n*), Beth-Tappuah (*Bi-ti-tà-pu, sic!*), Pnuel, Azmon (? *'A-ā-za-m-ā*), Arad differentiated as 'great Arad' (*'A-ru-d-ā ru-bi-t*) and Arad *n(e)-ba-tà*, perhaps Jerahmeel (*Yu-ra-hu-ma*). W. M. M.

On the light shed by the Amarna letters (ISRAEL, § 6) and the Assyrio-Babylonian documents, see SYRIA, and on Me(r)neptah's 'Israel' inscription, see ISRAEL, § 7. On the ethnology of primitive Palestine, see CANAAN, and on the relatively late and artificial details of the geography of the various Israelitish tribes see the several articles.

Down to a very late date (the time of the Maccabees) the Israelites were almost entirely shut out from the sea-coast. To the N. of the land of the Philistines the maritime plain was in the hands of the Phœnicians; see DOR. Even in the NT mention is made of a district of Tyre and Sidon to which we must not assign too narrow an extension inland. How matters stood in the country E. of Jordan it is hard to decide. The stretch from the N. of the Dead Sea to the Yarmūk (practically to the S. end of the Lake of Tiberias) was the only portion securely held by the tribes of Israel. See GILEAD, BASHAN, MANASSEH, GAD, REUBEN, MOAB, MESHA, AMMON.

16. Israelitish occupation.

Our information in regard to the divisions of the country during the regal period is very defective. At any rate, the list of Solomon's twelve 'officers' in 1 K. 4 (see BAANA, BEN-HUR, BEN-DEKER) is derived from ancient sources. It is noticeable in this document that, whilst the boundaries of some of the districts appear to coincide with the tribal boundaries (cp TRIBE), the political division was not based on the tribal. In the account given in 1 K. 11 mention is made of only one tribe that remained true to David, by which must naturally be understood the tribe of Judah. The boundary, in fact, so far as it related to the tribal territory of Benjamin, seems to have varied from time to time; cp BENJAMIN (col. 538, beginning). It was to the kingdom of Israel, with its general superiority in strength and influence, that all the Israelite districts beyond Jordan were attached.

17. N. and S. kingdoms.

That the northern kingdom consisted of ten tribes (1 K. 12) is a highly artificial computation. The small extent of the southern kingdom is evident from a list (if indeed it be trustworthy) given in 2 Ch. 11 of the towns fortified by Rehoboam. As regards the capitals of the northern kingdom, the royal court was originally at SHECHEM (Nābulus), from the time of Jeroboam I. at Tirzah (not yet securely identified; cp TIRZAH), and from the time of Omri at Samaria (Sebastīye); the house of Ahab had its seat for a season at Jezreel (Zer'īn).

To describe in detail the boundaries or divisions of Palestine in later times is rather a historical than a geographical task.

The lists for the post-exilic period (found in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah), containing a series of new topographical names, require a very careful examination, owing to the tendency of the Chronicler to introduce late elements into his literary material.[1] That Edomites forced their way into S. Judah, is a known fact (see EDOM); this part of the country came to be known as Idumea. It also appears that there was a Jewish population not only in a portion of the old territory of Judah and Benjamin, but now to the N. of Bethel.

Before we proceed to the Græco-Roman period it will be well to consider the names by which the country in general was called at different times.

[1] On the difficult questions involved, cp Ed. Meyer, *Ent. d. Jud.* (1896), p. 151. See also EZRA-NEHEMIAH, and special articles on these 'new names' in the present work.

i. Gilead was the centre of the power of the Israelites on the E. side of Jordan, and the whole country which they possessed there bore this name. Gilead consequently is opposed to Canaan, the 'Promised Land' (cp col. 1585, n. 1). The southern portion ultimately received the name of the individual tribe of Judah, as indeed the northern kingdom was frequently called after the most powerful tribe of EPHRAIM (*q.v.* i. § 1; JOSEPH i.).

18. General names.

ii. The name of the southern kingdom appears in cuneiform inscriptions as māt (ir) Ya-u-du (di); and it is said (see AHAB, § 4) that māt Sir'lai occurs once for the land of Israel, though more frequently it is called māt Humri (Land of Omri). That even the Assyrians occasionally included Judah under the designation Palastu or Pilistu (Philistia) has not been absolutely proved; but there is nothing improbable about the supposition. It cannot be taken for granted, however, that the cis-Jordan country bore the name of land of the Philistines at a time when it was the scene of a great development of the Philistian power; the name was rather, as so often happens, extended by their neighbours from Philistia proper to the country beyond, and from the Egyptians it passed to the Greeks. In the OT Pĕlésheṭ (see PHILISTINES, § 1) is still always restricted to the Philistine coast-plain; the same is the case in Josephus; and in Herodotus, though the usage is not very explicit, Palæstina appears usually to have no wider application. Gradually, however, the designation Palæstina Syria, or simply Palæstina, came into vogue, and was made to include even the country E. of Jordan, and consequently the whole territory between Lebanon and Sinai. See, further, PHILISTINES, § 1, etc.

We now return to the divisions of Palestine. Already in the book of Kings (that is, by the time of the exile) the name Shōmĕrōn (SAMARIA) is applied to the territory of the northern kingdom, for mention is made of the 'cities of Samaria' (2 K. 17 26 23 19; cp the late narrative-passage, 1 K. 13 32). In the apocryphal books of the OT, Judæa and Samaria (Σαμαρεῖτις, Σαμαρίς, Σαμάρεια) are opposed to each other; but the limits of the two divisions at the time of Christ, and for centuries previously, can hardly be laid down.

19. Later divisions.

Thus in Josephus the Mediterranean coast as far N. as Acre is assigned to JUDÆA (*q.v.*); towards the S. this country was bounded by Idumea; in the N. it extended to about 8 m. to the S. of Nābulus (Shechem). Whether SAMARIA (*q.v.*) extended from the Jordan to the sea is uncertain; in the N. it reached the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon, the frontier town being 'En Gannim (Jenin). Galilee was originally the district in the neighbourhood of Kedesh, afterwards distinguished as Upper Galilee. The Jewish population was there largely mixed with Phœnicians, Syrians, Greeks, and even Arabs (see GALILEE). The whole maritime region to the N. of Dor was still called Phœnicia in the time of the Romans, and thus does not strictly belong to Palestine in our sense of the word.

Along the coast, as well as more especially in the N. of the country, many Greek colonies were established; how strong the foreign influence must have been in Samaria and Galilee is evident from the preservation of so many Græco-Roman names like Neapolis (Nābulus), Sebaste (Sebastīye), Tiberias (Ṭabarīye). Elsewhere too, in the S. for example, the old nomenclature was altered: Ælia was substituted for Jerusalem, Azotus formed from Ashdod, and so on; but the old names were always retained in the mouth of the people. The N. of the country and the trans-Jordan region were much more thoroughly brought under the influence of the Greeks and Romans than the south.

The Greek towns in some cases date from the time of Alexander the Great, and others were founded by the Ptolemies; but most of them owe their origin to the Seleucids. One district of the trans-Jordan region retained at that period its old name in the Greek form of Peræa. Josephus says that this district extended from the Jordan to Philadelphia (Rabbath Ammon, 'Ammān) and Gerasa (Jerash), went southward as far as Machærus (Mkaur on the Zerkā Mā'in), and northward as far as Pella (Fāhl opposite Beisān).

Adjoining Peræa, and mainly to the E. of Jordan, lay the DECAPOLIS (*q.v.*), which was not, however, a continuous territory, but a political group of cities occupied by Greek republics distinguished from the tetrarchies with their Jewish-Syrian-Arabic population in the midst of which they were scattered.

Little requires to be said about the division of the country in later Roman times.

In the fifth century a threefold partition began to prevail:—Palæstina Prima (roughly equal to Judæa and Samaria), Palæstina Secunda (the countries about the upper Jordan and the Lake of Gennesaret), and Palæstina Tertia or Salutaris (Idumea and Moab). In the time of the crusades the same

names were applied to three divisions (at once political and ecclesiastical) of the country W. of Jordan,—Palæstina Prima or Maritima being the coast region as far as Carmel (with Cæsarea as its archbishop's see), Palæstina Secunda comprising the mountains of Judah and Ephraim (with the patriarchal see of Jerusalem), and Palæstina Tertia corresponding roughly to Galilee (with its bishop's see at Nazareth). The country E. of Jordan was called Arabia, and was in like manner divided into three parts lying N. and S. of one another.

20. Trade routes. Palestine is by no means so strikingly a country apart as is usually supposed. It lay, as already mentioned, near the great military highway from western Asia to Egypt and Africa. The traffic by sea was also formerly of importance; and even in the Middle Ages something was done for the protection of the harbours. At no time, however, was the country in the proper sense of the word rich; it hardly ever produced more than was necessary for home consumption. The great trading caravans which passed through were glad for the most part to avoid the highlands, and that region at least was more or less isolated.

The following is a brief survey of the principal routes, partly as they ran formerly, partly as they are used still.

From Egypt a road runs by el-'Arīsh (Rhinocolura) or 'the RIVER OF EGYPT' (*q.v.*) by Rafaḥ (Raphia) to GAZA (*q.v.*). From Gaza another runs by Umm Lāḳis, formerly identified with LACHISH (*q.v.*), and Bēt Jibrīn (Eleutheropolis) across the mountains to Jerusalem. Northwards from Gaza the main route continues along the plain at some distance from the sea (which in this part has piled up great sand dunes) to el-Mejdel (perhaps Migdal Gad) near Ashkelon, and so on to Ashdod (Esdūd, Azotus). From Ashdod a road runs by 'Āḳir (Ekron) to Ramle, an important town in the mediæval Arabian period, and Ludd (Lōd, Lydda). From these towns, which are connected with the port of Yāfā (Japho, Joppa), there run to Jerusalem three routes, of which the one most used in antiquity was evidently the northern one passing by Jimzu (Gimzo) and the two Bēt 'Ūrs (Beth-horon), not the one now followed—viz., by 'Amwās (Nicopolis) and Wādi 'Ali. From Yāfā a road continues along the coast by Arsūf (Apollonia) to the ruins of Ḳaisārīye (Cæsarea), then past Ṭanṭūra (ruins of Dor) and 'Athlīt (Castellum Peregrinorum of the crusaders) and round the foot of the promontory of Carmel to Ḥaifa and Acre (a town of great importance from early times). Another route starting from Ludd runs north, close to the mountains by Antipatris (now Kefr Sābā or Rās el-'Ain?) and Ḳaḳūn, and ends at Khān Lejjūn. The Great Plain offered the easiest passage from the coast inland. el-Lejjūn (a corruption of the Latin *Legio*) was certainly an important point; it is still generally identified, according to Robinson's suggestion, with the ancient MEGIDDO (*q.v.*). In the vicinity lie the ruins of Ta'annuk (Taanach), and farther SW. the great centre of Jenīn (see EN-GANNIM). From Acre there also runs a road directly E. over the mountains to Khān Jubb Yūsuf. The coast road from Acre northwards passes through ez-Zīb (Akhzib, Ecdippa) and by the two promontories of Rās en-Nāḳūra and Rās el-Abyaḍ (Scala Tyriorum), and so continues to the maritime plain of Tyre.

To return to the S., from Egypt (Suez, Arsinoe) the desert was crossed to Ruḥeibe (Rehoboth), Khalaṣa (Elusa), and Bir-es-Seba' (Beersheba), the route went northward to ed-Ḍāherīye (see ACHSAH) and el-Khalīl (Hebron). In like manner a road from Aila up the Arabah valley crossed the pass of eṣ-Ṣufāh (see HALAK, MOUNT) to Hebron.

One of the most frequented highways traverses the central mountain chain northwards, and, though somewhat difficult in various parts, connects some of the most important places of central Palestine. Starting from Hebron, it runs past er-Rāma and Ḥalḥūl through the Wādi el-Biār, and leaving Bethlehem on the right holds on to Jerusalem, where a branch strikes E. by Khān Ḥadrūr (probably there was once another route) to Jericho. From Jerusalem northwards it naturally continues by Sha'fāṭ past er-Rām (Rama) to el-Bīre (Beeroth), and then onwards by 'Ain el-Ḥaramīye (see BACA, VALLEY OF), Sinjil, and Khān Lubban through the Mukhna plain to Nābulus (Shechem). From this point a route runs down to the Jordan and es-Salṭ (Ramoth Gilead?); another passes by Ṭūbās (Thebez) north-eastward in the line of the Jordan valley to Beisān (Bethshean, Scythopolis). The road across the highlands passes a little to the E. of Sebasṭīye (Samaria, Sebaste), running along the W. side of the Merj-el-Gharaḳ and past Tell Dōthān (Dothan) to Jenīn. Thence the road northward to Nazareth skirts the E. side of the plain of Esdraelon, and from Nazareth a path strikes to Acre. The caravan route proper passes from el-'Afūle north-eastwards past Jebel eṭ-Ṭūr (Tabor) to Khān et-Tujjār (where several roads cross), and reaches the Lake of Tiberias near Mejdel (Magdala). It keeps by the shore only for a short distance. Having traversed the small plain of Gennesar, it begins again to climb the mountains where they approach the lake at Khān Minye (which, however, for many reasons, cannot be Capernaum [but see CAPERNAUM]), and then it goes on to Khān Jubb Yūsuf, strikes down again into the valley of the Jordan, and crossing the river at Jisr Benāt Ya'ḳūb holds on across Jebel Ḥīsh to Damascus.

The mountain district of Samaria is crossed by a great number of small roads; but none of them are true caravan routes or worth particular mention. An old caravan route once ran northwards up the Jordan valley from Jericho to Beisān; and from Beisān an important, now less frequented, road crossing the river at the bridge el-Mejāmi' struck NE. to Fīḳ, Tseil, and Nawa in Ḥaurān, and finally to Damascus.

In the country E. of Jordan a great highway of traffic ran from Petra (or really from the Elanitic Gulf) by Kerak (Kir Moab) to Rabba (Rabbath Moab, Areopolis); in front of Aroer ('Arā'ir) it crosses the Mōjib (Arnon) and runs northwards through the highlands to Ḥesbān (Heshbon), and thence to 'Ammān (Rabbath Ammon, Philadelphia). A route also led from Jericho to es-Salṭ (which could also be reached from Ḥesbān) and thence northwards to the Jabbok and Jerash (GERASA); then from Jerash one stretched NW. by Tibne to Mkēs (Gadara) and the valley of the Jordan, and another NE. to the Zumle and Ḥaurān or more precisely to Boṣra (Bostra), and so on to Damascus. It must also be mentioned that the great pilgrim's track direct from Damascus to Medina and Mecca skirts the eastern frontier of the country.

A great many roads await more detailed investigation; what has been said may suffice to show what lines of communication there were and still are between the more important places of Palestine. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

21. Population. There are no trustworthy estimates of the number of inhabitants in the country at any period of its history. Certain districts, such as Galilee, have, there is no doubt, from early times been much more populous than certain other districts; the desert of Judah and some portions of the country E. of Jordan must all along have been very sparsely peopled. The figures given in the book of Numbers indicate that the whole country contained about 2½ million souls,—it being assumed that the statistics do not refer to the time of the wandering in the wilderness, and that the details may be suspected of being artificially adjusted. The number 2½ to 3 millions may indeed be taken as a maximum; the population can hardly ever have been more than four times its present strength, which is estimated at 650,000 souls. Thus, in the most flourishing period, about 250 to 300 inhabitants would go to the square mile, whilst at present there may be about 65, a number which is rather above than below the mark.

The population of Palestine, even at an early date, was very mingled; for even at the time of the immigration the Israelites included foreign elements, and later they absorbed or were absorbed by the Canaanites. The Philistines, Moabites, and others in course of time were merged in the new nationality. From the period of the exile colonies from the E. settled in the country, and so powerful did the Aramæan contingent gradually grow that Aramæan became the popular tongue (HEBREW, § 7; ARAMAIC, § 2 *f.*). Next were added Greek and Roman colonies.

The Arabic element exerted considerable influence even before the days of Islam; with the Mohammedan conquest it became the dominant power, though it was only by slow degrees that it obtained numerical superiority. The Arab tribes transplanted to Palestine their old distinctions, especially that between northern and southern Arabs (Ḳais and Yemen). The Arab peasantry is still divided into clans; for example, the districts of the Beni Ḥasan and Beni Mālik to the W. of Jerusalem, those of the Beni Ḥārith, Beni Zeid, and Beni Murrā to the N., and that of Beni Sālim to the E. Till recently the relation of the separate clans of fellāḥīn was one of mutual hostility, and, unhindered by the Turkish government, they engaged in sanguinary conflicts.

In manners and in language (though Arabic is universally in vogue) the Palestine peasants retain much that is ancient. It is extravagant, however, to maintain from the traditions they preserve that primeval Canaanite elements survive among them. The prevalent type, in fact, is Syro-Arabic, or in many districts pure Arabic; and their superstitious customs are partly remains of Syrian beliefs, partly modern Arabic reproductions, under similar external conditions, of ancient superstitions. These remarks are applicable to the saint worship at present spread through the whole Oriental world. A. S. (§§ 1-14 *a*, 16-21); H. H. W. P. (§ 14 *b*); A. E. S. (§§ 14 *c-h*); W. M. M. (§ 15).

The older literature—down to 1878—is registered by R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palæstinæ* (1890). In the newer exploration of Palestine the credit of

22. Literature.

having effectively led the way is due to E. Robinson (*BR*, 1841; *Later Biblical Researches*, 1856). Of recent French work upon Palestine the most important is that of De Guérin (*Description de la Palestine*, 1868 *ff.*). The Palestine Exploration Society published in 1880 Conder and Kitchener's *Map of Western Palestine* (twenty-six sheets; in 1881 in six sheets). The maps themselves contain much that is precarious and doubtful; but on the other hand the Memoirs, Name Lists, etc., by which the larger map is accompanied, are of permanent value. G. A. Smith's *HG* is excellent and critical, and contains copious references to the literature of the subject. The *PEFQ St.* (from 1869 onwards), as also the *ZDPV* (from 1878) must also be mentioned.

On Fauna:—Brit. Mus. Cat. of Fishes, Reptiles; A. Heilprin, *Geographical and Geological Distribution of Animals*; G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*; H. B. Tristram, *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*, 1884; Trouessart, *Catalogus Mammalium*, 1898-99; A. R. Wallace, *Geographical Distribution of Animals*, 1876.

G. E. Post, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai.*

PALISADE (χαραξ), Lk. 19 43 RV^mg.. See SIEGE.

PALLU (פַּלּוּא; φαλλουc [BADFL]), one of the sons of REUBEN, Gen. 46 9 Ex. 6 14 Nu. 26 5 8 1 Ch. 5 3 (in Gen. φαλλουδ [A], φαλλου [L], in Nu. φαλλου [BAL, but φαυλου [B] in *v.* 8], in Ch. φαλλουε [L]). The gentilic, **Palluites** (פַּלֻּאִי, φαλλου[ε]ι [BAFL]), occurs in Nu. 26 5.

'Carmi' and 'Pallu' (sons of Reuben) both probably represent fragments of 'Jerahmeel,' viz., ירחם and ימאל. Cp PELEG.

T. K. C.

PALMA CHRISTI, PALMCRIST (קִיקָיוֹן), Jon. 4 6 EV^mg., EV GOURD (*q.v.*).

PALMER-WORM (גָּזָם, root meaning 'to cut off'; καμπη; *eruca*; ܩܡܨܐ ܙܠ), mentioned thrice in the OT (Joel 1 4 2 25 Am. 4 9†). Probably the leaf-eating larva of some lepidopterous insect was intended; like our word 'caterpillar,' the term was probably used vaguely.

The Greek κάμπη, which expresses the idea of 'bending' or 'looping,' may perhaps denote a looper or measuring worm—the larva of some geometric moth.

'Palmer-worm' in the sense of 'caterpillar' is said still to linger in some local dialects (*e.g.* in that of the New Forest).

A. E. S.

PALM TREE. 1. תָּמָר, *tāmār* (φοινιξ,[1] Ex. 15 27 Lev. 23 40 Nu. 33 9 Dt. 34 3 Judg. 1 16 3 13 2 Ch. 28 15 Neh. 8 15 Ps. 92 12 [13] Cant. 7 7 *f.* [8 *f.*] Joel 1 12; also Jn. 12 13 Rev. 7 9†).

1. The name.

In Hebrew, Syriac, and Ethiopic *tamar* is the name of *Phœnix dactylifera*, L.; in Arabic it denotes not the tree, but its fruit.

Arabic has two names for the tree—*daḳal* and *naḫl*; the former, which is also found in Aramaic and occurs in Gen. 10 27 as the name of an Arab tribe (see DIKLAH), has the special signification of a palm bearing plentiful dates, but of an inferior sort; whence Guidi (*Della Sede*, 20) has ingeniously conjectured that it is the *older* Arabic name, derived from a time when the palm received little or no cultivation, and bore inferior fruits. *Naḫl*, on the contrary, which is peculiar to Arabic, he connects with the sense of *excellence*, and supposes it came into use later to denote the cultivated tree which bore a larger and finer fruit. The history of the Hebrew word is obscure. Some scholars connect it with the verb *'itma'arra* 'to stand stiffly upright'; but a more probable suggestion is Guidi's (*l.c.*) that *tamr* is a dialectic variation of *thamar*, which means 'fruit' in general, and came to be specially applied early in the history of the Semitic languages to the palm and its fruit, as *the* fruit *par excellence*.

The fact that this word is common to Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic[2] proves it to be very ancient; its absence from Assyrian is one of the proofs on which von Kremer, Guidi, and Hommel base their theory that the Assyrians and Babylonians were the first of the Semitic nations to quit the parent stock.

2. Its cultivation.

As the camel among animals, so the palm tree among plants possesses primary importance in the life of desert people like the Arabs. It has existed since prehistoric times over a vast area 'in the dry, warm zone which extends from the Senegal to the basin of the Indus, chiefly between the 15th and 30th degrees of latitude' (De Candolle, *Origine*, 240). There has been much discussion as to where it was first cultivated (see esp. Th. Fischer's monograph *Die Dattelpalme*, Ergänzungsheft no. 64 zu Petermann's *Mittheilungen*); but it is enough to say that we have evidence of very early cultivation in Egypt, Babylonia, and (so far as we can indirectly infer in the absence of records) Arabia. Syria, on the other hand, lies somewhat N. of the proper latitude for the palm; and, with the exception of the famous palm-group at Jericho, the tree has probably never been common in Palestine, though the biblical references are sufficient to show that its appearance was not unfamiliar (note especially the 'palm tree of Deborah,' Judg. 4 5, and its mention in Joel 1 12 among common fruit-trees).[1]

As is well known, the palm flourishes best in a dry and even rainless atmosphere, provided that its roots can reach a supply of subterranean water. This has in some cases to be provided by artificial irrigation; in others the need is supplied by nature.[2] The twelve wells of Elim, beside which the seventy palm-trees grew, seem to point to early cultivation in that region (see ELIM). The place-names TAMAR (*q.v.*) and Hazezon-Tamar[3] (see EN-GEDI) confirm this inference, and though the title 'city of palm trees' was doubtless applied to different places (cp Bertheau on Judg. 1 16 [and especially Greene, *The Hebrew Migration from Egypt*, 273]), one of which was ZOAR (*q.v.*), no place bears it with so much justice as Jericho (Dt. 34 3 2 Ch. 28 15, and probably Judg. 1 16 3 13; but cp JERICHO, § 2). The group of palms at JERICHO (*q.v.*, § 10) which has now entirely disappeared, must in ancient times have been very large. It is referred to by Theophrastus, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, and of course also by Josephus, who remarks (*BJ* iv. 8 3) that the 'fatter' sort of palms, when pressed, yield a fairly good honey (see BEE).[4]

[The abundance of palm trees in Babylonia, and the veneration for sacred trees in the form of conventionalised palm trees, is naturally referred to under PARADISE (§ 11, col. 3579). Tylor and Haupt have described with much fulness of scientific and Assyriological knowledge the sacred ceremony of the artificial fecundation of the palm tree (*PSBA* 12 383 *ff.*; note in Toy's *Ezekiel*, transl., *SBOT* 182 *ff.*). Winckler's theory that the *tamar* in Palestinian place-names has a mythological explanation seems to be derived from the acute mythologist Stucken (*Astralmythen*, 73-75); according to him Tamar is the Palestinian counterpart of the Babylonian goddess Ištar (see, *e.g.*, Wi. *GI* 2 98 227). See, however, n. 3, and cp TAMAR.]

3. In poetry.

In Hebrew poetry the palm tree is an image of prosperous growth (Ps. 92 12 [13]) and tall comely stature (Cant. 7 7 *f.* [8 *f.*]). With the use of its branches at the feast of booths (Lev. 23 40 Neh. 8 15) we may connect the 'branches of palm trees' in Jn. 12 13; whence are derived the reference in Rev. 7 9, and the use of palms in the services of the Christian church. Much information as to statements about the palm in later Hebrew will be found in Löw, 109 *ff.*

The branches or date-stalks (AV 'boughs') of the palm are once referred to (Cant. 7 8 [9]) by the name סַנְסִנִּים. The corresponding Aramaic word *sīsānā* is likewise specially appropriated to the date-bearing stalks (Löw, 119).

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1 In Ex. 15 27 Nu. 33 9, 𝔊 has for תְּמָרִים, στελέχη φοινίκων.

2 Eth. *tamart* has by some scholars (*e.g.*, Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 412) been regarded also as an ancient word; but Guidi gives reasons for supposing that it is a comparatively late loan-word from Arabic.

1 [Palms grew in the Middle Ages at Tiberias, according to Maḳdisī (quoted by Del. *Ein Tag in Kapernaum*, 151), and probably grew in ancient times, as Tristram states that they still do, within Jerusalem (see FURNACE, 5)].

2 Trees naturally supplied are termed by the Arabs 'baal palm trees' (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 99).

3 [It is possible (see *Crit. Bib.*) that תָּמָר, 'palm tree,' and ירחמאל, 'Jerahmeel,' have sometimes been confounded by the scribes. This applies to Baal-tamar, Judg. 20 33, near Gibeah; to 'Ir hat-tĕmārīm, the city of palm trees; and to Hazezon-tamar, which should perhaps be read Kadesh-jerahmeel (=the En-gedi of 2 Ch. 20 2).]

4 See Schürer, *GVI*(2) 1 311-313.

2. Whereas תָּמָר, *tāmār*, occurs only as a noun in the absolute state, תֹּמֶר, *tōmer*, twice (Judg. 4 5 Jer. 10 5†) appears as a construct; it is difficult to believe that this traditional pointing really represents the true original form. On Judg. 4 5 see *Crit. Bib.*

3. תִּימֹרָה,[1] *tīmōrāh* (on the spelling see Baer on Ezek. 40 22), is repeatedly used (1 K. 6 etc.) for the palm as an architectural form. This tree played an important part in the development of Egyptian architecture (Fischer, *op. cit.* 5). See TEMPLE.

[4. נַחַל, *náḥal*, according to Perles (*JQR* 11 [1899] 688 *f.*), sometimes means 'palm tree'; so at any rate in Nu. 24 6 Ecclus. 50 12 (reading כעבתי נחל, 'like palm-branches,' cp 𝔊 of Ecclus. ὡς στελέχη φοινίκων, and see above, § 1, first note). Probably this is right; and, taking a hint from Schultens, who for a time took חוֹל, *ḥōl*, in Job 29 18 to mean 'palm tree' (*Liber Jobi*, 1737, p. 813 *b*; see PHŒNIX), we shall do well to read נחל for חול in Job (*l.c.*), rendering the whole passage,

And I said, I shall grow old like the cedar (עִם־אֶרֶז אֶזְקַן),

Like the palm tree (כַּנַּחַל) I shall multiply days.

On Nu. (*l.c.*)—where for כְּגַנֹּת read כַּנְּפָנִים—and Job (*l.c.*) see Cheyne, *Exp.T*, Dec. 1899, and for the older views see Dillmann.—T. K. C.] N. M.

PALTI (פַּלְטִי, § 52; φαλτ[ε]ι [BAL]). 1. Husband of MICHAL (*q.v.*), described as a 'son of LAISH,' that is to say, probably, a citizen of Laish or LAISHAH (read, however, 'Shalisha'), to which 1 S. 25 44 appends the gloss 'which was of GALLIM'—*i.e.*, of Beth-gilgal (1 S. 25 44 2 S. 3 15; φαλτιηλ [BA], φαλτιου [L, gen.]). In 2 S. 3 15 he is called PALTIEL. See BAHURIM.

Note (1) that both Gallim and Bahurim are probably distorted fragments of Jerahmeel (they are designations of the centre of a Jerahmeelite clan); (2) that Michal and Merab are very probably the same person, both names having sprung from Jeraḥme'elith, and consequently (3) that Palṭi (miswritten in 2 S. 3 15 Palṭiel) and ADRIEL (*q.v.*) are also the same person. Probably Palṭi comes from Palti or Pelethi (פְּלֵתִי)—a corruption of Ṣārephāthī (see PELETHITE), and 'Adriel from Jerahme'el. The names are virtual synonyms; in 1 Ch. 27 10 a Paltite is described as 'of the b'nē Jerahmeel' (crit. emend.; see PALTITE). See further MERAB, MEHOLATHITE, SAUL, § 6.

2. b. Raphu, a Benjamite chief, one of the twelve 'spies' (Nu. 13 9 [P]). Very possibly to be explained as no. 1; cp Japhleti, which may have a similar origin. RAPHU probably comes either from Jeraḥme'el or from Ṣārephathī; cp 1 Ch. 4 12, and see PASEAH, REPHAEL. T. K. C.

PALTIEL (פַּלְטִיאֵל, §§ 30 52; as if 'God's deliverance,' but see PALTI). 1. See PALTI (1). 2. b. Azzan, of Issachar, one of the 'princes' nominated to divide Canaan amongst the tribes (Nu. 34 26 [P]; φαλτ[ε]ιηλ [BALF^vid.^ (φα. τιηλ)]).

PALTITE (הַפַּלְטִי; ο κελωθει [B], ο φελλωνει [A], ο φαλτονι [L]), the designation of Helez (Hilleṣ?), one of David's thirty (2 S. 23 26), meaning, according to most scholars, a man of BETH-PALET (*q.v.*).

The 'Pelonite' (הַפְּלוֹנִי) of 1 Ch. 11 27 (ὁ φελωνει [Bℵ], ὁ φαλλωνι [A], ὁ φελλωνι [L]), 27 10 (ὁ ἐκ φαλλους [BA], ὁ φαλλωνι [L]), is, most commentators think, a corruption of 'Paltite' (so Kittel); Marquart (*Fund.* 19), however, would read 'Keilathite' (הקעלתי; cp B above) on the ground that 'man of Beth-palet' should strictly be בית הפלתי. But Paltite seems to be the name of the clan, and Beth-palet that of its chief settlement. In 1 Ch. 27 10 Helez is further described as 'of the bnē Ephraim'; perhaps (as in 1 S. 1 1) אפרים may be a corruption of ירחמא[ל]. PALTI (*q.v.*) seems ultimately to mean 'Zarephathite'; *i.e.*, the clan had a Zarephathite or Jerahmeelite connection. T. K. C.

PAMPHYLIA (παμφυλια, Acts 2 10 13 13 14 24 15 38 27 5, 'the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia'; 1 Macc. 15 23).

1. Description. Pamphylia was properly the strip of plain bordering the bay of *Adalia*, that remarkable indentation in the southern coast of Asia Minor between Capes *Chelidonia* and *Anamur*. The plain itself retreats like a bay into Mt. Taurus at its back, and at the eastern and western extremities of Pamphylia the hills advance and rise often sheer from the water (see PHASELIS). The narrowness of the territory of the Pamphylians is indicated by the fact that in 480 B.C. they provided only thirty ships to the fleet of Xerxes, as against fifty from Lycia and one hundred from Cilicia, the neighbouring territories on the E. and the W. (Herod. 7 91 *f.*).

The Romans put Pamphylia under the governor of Cilicia in 103 B.C.—Cilicia at this period 'being the

2. History. Roman term for a great, ill-defined, half-subdued agglomeration of lands, comprising parts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, and other regions' (Rams. *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, 103 *f.*).[1] Coming down to 36 B.C., we find Pamphylia—or rather the more inland mountainous part of it, which apparently had been under the surveillance of Polemon of Laodiceia (Rams. *op. cit.* 110)—added to the territories of the Galatian Amyntas (Dio Cass. 49 32; Strabo, 571). When Amyntas was slain by the Pisidians in 25 B.C. (see GALATIA, § 3) Pamphylia was not incorporated with the Province Galatia, but was treated as a separate governmental district,[2] and subordinated probably either to the governor of Galatia or to that of Syria and Cilicia. It was apparently not until 43 A.D., in the reign of Claudius, that Pamphylia and Lycia were combined as a separate imperial province (Dio Cass. 60 17: see LYCIA).

The character of the country, a narrow strip, about 80 m. long (640 *stades*, Strabo, 667) and never more than 20 m. wide, separated from the interior by the steep and lofty range of Taurus, accounted for the fact that none of the Pamphylian cities became important. 'The mountain wall of Taurus prevented all heavy traffic from crossing the short lines between the plateau and the southern sea, and turned it along the road that led to the Ægean' (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM*, 58). The climate also, with hot, damp, and stagnant air, was unfavourable to Greek settlers. Consequently Pamphylia never became completely Hellenised; the native element, oriental in its sympathies and character, triumphed over the Greek. The Pamphylians, in these circumstances, showed a backward civilisation (Strabo, 570: 'though living S. of the Taurus, they have not quite given up their robber-habits, and do not allow their neighbours to live at peace'). See SIDE.

Pamphylia was visited by Paul and his companions, in the regular course of their mission, after traversing

3. Paul's visit. Cyprus (Acts 13 13). Nevertheless, no work was done in the province; Paul passed on to Antioch in Pisidia (*v.* 14). Taking this fact in conjunction with the statement in Gal. 4 13, that through 'infirmity of the flesh' the Gospel was first preached to the Galatians, Ramsay has plausibly suggested that 'the sudden plunge into the enervating atmosphere of Pamphylia' brought upon Paul an attack of fever, and compelled him to go to the higher ground of the interior (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 93; *Church in the Rom. Emp.*^(5)^ 61 *f.*). This theory has the merit of satisfactorily explaining the refusal of John Mark to accompany Paul beyond the Taurus (*v.* 13, cp Acts 15 38). On the return journey mission work was attempted in Perga, apparently with slight success (Acts 14 25; cp NEAPOLIS). The only other Pamphylian town mentioned in the NT is Attaleia. That a considerable number of Jews were found in the country about 139 B.C., we learn from 1 Macc. 15 23, as well as from Acts 2 10; and, conversely, the slow progress made by Christianity here during this early period is evidenced by the fact that Pamphylia, as well as Lycia, does not occur in the list of 1 Pet. 1 1.

(Pamphylia, in part, is elaborately described in Lanckoronski's *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens.*) W. J. W.

PAN. For (1) סִיר, *sīr*, (2) כִּיּוֹר, *kiyyōr*, and (3) פָּרוּר, *pārūr*, see COOKING, § 5, i. *a*, *b*, and *c* (on *sīr* see also ALTAR, § 9 *a*). For (4) מַחֲבַת, *maḥăbath*, and (5) חֲבִתִּים, *ḥăbittīm*, see COOKING, § 7; for (6) מַרְחֶשֶׁת, *marḥešeth*, see COOKING, § 7; for (7) מַשְׂרֵת, *maśrēth* (2 S. 13 9 †) see COOKING, § 5, i. (where the reading is emended), and for צַלָּחָה, *ṣēlāḥah* (2 Ch. 35 13) see CRUSE, 3.

PANEL (מִסְגֶּרֶת), 1 K. 7 28 RV^mg.^, AV BORDER. See LAVER.

[1] Plur. תְּמֹרִים or תְּמֹרוֹת.

[1] Cp Cic. *Verr.* ii. 1 38, 'quomodo Lyciam, Pamphyliam, Pisidiam, Phrygiamque totam . . . afflixerit': summed up as provincia Cilicia, *id. op. cit.* chap. 17. This refers to 80 B.C.

[2] Dio Cass. 53 26, τά τε χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ Ἀμύντᾳ προσνεμηθέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη.

PANNAG (פַּנַּג; κα[c]cια [? BAQ]), in Ezek. 27 17 † is taken by AV apparently as a place-name and by RV as a common noun, untranslated, with the marginal note 'perhaps a kind of confection' (cp BAKEMEATS, § 3, end).

The text needs correction, as most critics allow. Cornill proposes to read דּוֹנַג, 'wax'; but almost certainly גֶּפֶן, 'vine' is the right word. For RV's 'and pannag, and honey,' read 'and grape-syrup' (וּדְבַשׁ גֶּפֶן). The Hebrew phrase is parallel to the Mishnic phrase for date-syrup (דְּבַשׁ תְּמָרִים). Bliss's view of the apparatus traceable at the wine-presses at Tell el-Ḥesy is thus confirmed. Cp HONEY, § 1 (3). Observe that נכאת (see STORAX) precedes, for so we should read for MT's מנית (see MINNITH); in Gen. 43 11 the very same products are mentioned together. Cp DABBESHETH. T. K. C.

PAPER (χαρτης), 2 Jn. 12†. See PAPYRI, § 2.

For the '**paper-reeds**,' RV 'meadows' (עָרוֹת) of Is. 19 7 † see REED, 2, and NILE.

PAPHOS (παφος, Acts 13 6 13). The town visited by Paul and Barnabas on the first missionary tour was

1. Site. New Paphos (mod. *Baffo*), originally the port of Old Paphos. The kingdom of Paphos, in the extent of its territory, its wealth, and its fame, was second only to that of SALAMIS (*q.v.*). It embraced the western part of Cyprus, touching on the N. the territory of Soli, on the S. that of Curium, and extending inland a distance of 20 m. as far as the range of Troodus. While under an independent king, its capital was Old Paphos (Παλαιὰ Πάφος, later Παλαίπαφος; cp Strabo, Paus.), the modern *Kuklia*, on the left bank of the Bocarus (mod. *Diórizo*), about 10 m. SW. of *Baffo*, and 2 m. from the sea (cp Strabo, 683, *ὅσον ἑνδέκα σταδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἱδρυμένη, ὕφορμον ἔχουσα*).

Paphos owed its celebrity to the temple and worship of the 'Paphian Queen' (*ἡ θεὰ ἡ Παφία*, or *ἡ Παφία*

2. Native cult. simply, in inscrr. also *Ϝάνασσα*. See *Samml. der gr. Dialekt-inschriften*, 1 1 *ff.*, 15 *ff.*) whom the Greeks identified with Aphrodite (see PERGA).

The temple was near Old Paphos (Paus. viii. 5 2), which thus became the religious capital of the island. The kings of Paphos, of the clan of the Cinyradæ, were also hereditary high priests of the temple, a dignity which they retained down to the annexation of the island by the Romans in 58 B.C.[1]

In course of time the old town lost its importance, and the port usurped its position and became the administrative capital of the island in Roman times (cp Acts 13 7);[2] but the wealth and greatness of the shrine of the goddess were not thereby impaired (cp Strabo, 683).

The cult was that of a nature-goddess similar in character to the Babylonian Ištar, the Phoenician Astarte. She was a native goddess of the Anatolian peninsula and the Ægean islands (cp Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 1 89 *ff.*; *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, 35 *f.*). As the result of long and close intercourse with Syria, this worship in Cyprus was overlaid with Phœnician elements.

The characteristic of the worship lay in the strongly organised college of priests or priestesses living, often in thousands, round the temple (cp Strabo, 558, of Comana Pontica; see DIANA), and the sensual excesses of the devotees, and their self-mutilation (cp Athan. *Contra Græc.* 10, *τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν θεοποιήσαντες προσκυνοῦσιν*, the Cyprian cultus the 'deification of lust'). As at other centres of the worship, the goddess was represented only by a conical stone (cp Max. Tyr., *τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἂν εἰκάσαις ἄλλῳ τῷ ἢ πυραμίδι λευκῇ*; Tac. *Hist.* 2 3. Cp Coins, and see PERGA. So also at Pessinus in Galatia).

Models of the image were sold as charms (Athen. 15 18; cp the 'silver shrines' at Ephesus, Acts 19 24, used somewhat differently). The fame of the Paphian shrine attracted costly gifts and distinguished pilgrims (for example, Titus visited it before undertaking his campaign against the Jews, Tac. *Hist.* 2 2 *f.*).

The apostles appear not to have come into direct conflict with this worship, as Paul was destined to do

3. Paul's visit. later at Ephesus. It should be remembered that an analogous cult must have been familiar to them at Antioch in Syria. Although a considerable time must be implied in the expression 'go through the isle' (Acts 13 6, AV, *διελθόντες ὅλην τὴν νῆσον*), this did not bring them into collision with the native priests as the work was confined to the Jewish synagogues (*v.* 5). The conflict with Elymas (Bar-Jesus) before the Proconsul was, on the face of it, a personal one. (See, further, BARJESUS, PAUL.)

See P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*; D. G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*. All that ancient authors say about Paphos gathered by M. R. James in *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 9 175 *ff.* For description of temple, excavations, etc., see *ibid.*, 158-215. W. J. W.

[1] The modern Primate of the island is entitled *μακαριώτατος*, and perhaps inherits his privileges from the pre-Christian priestly guild (Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, 172).

[2] New Paphos in its turn gave way to a new settlement about a mile to the N., the modern *Ktima*, the administrative capital of the district.

PAPYRI.[1] The use of papyrus as writing material is very ancient. According to Kenyon,[2] the oldest of

1. Papyrus as writing material. the written papyri that have come down to our day is a leaf containing accounts dating from the reign of King Assa of Egypt (about 3580-3536 B.C.). From these early times down to a late date in the Arabian period papyrus continued to be, in a very special sense, the characteristic writing material of Egypt. Although apparently at first sight brittle and perishable, it is in point of fact as indestructible as the pyramids and obelisks, and it is to the magnificent power of resistance possessed by the papyri that, to a large extent, we owe the revival of knowledge of ancient Egypt which has occurred in recent times.

As to the mode of preparation of papyrus leaves inaccurate statements are frequently met with. Very recently it has been said,[3] but incorrectly, that they were made from the 'bast' of the papyrus plant. The elder Pliny (*HN* 13 11-13) gives a description[4] of the process of manufacture which technical examination of extant papyri has made intelligible. It is thus explained by Kenyon:[5]—

'The pith of the stem of the papyrus plant was cut into thin strips, the width of which was of course determined by the thickness of the stem, while their length varied considerably . . . These strips (Lat. *philyræ*) were laid side by side to form a sheet. Each sheet was composed of two layers, in the one of which the strips ran horizontally while in the other they were perpendicular. The layers were attached to one another by glue, moistened with water—preferably, it would appear, the turbid water of the Nile, which was supposed to add strength to the glue. The sheets thus made were pressed, dried in the sun, and polished so as to remove unevenness in the surface; and they were then fit for use.'

The papyrus plant, from the pith of which the strips just spoken of were obtained, *Cyperus papyrus*, L., *Papyrus Antiquorum*, Willd., besides occurring in Egypt,[6] is met with in Sicily, especially near Syracuse, and also in Italy by the Thrasymene lake.[7]

The size of a papyrus leaf is, as ought never to have been questioned, variable. Kenyon[8] has brought together some measurements. For most writings of a non-literary nature (letters, bills, receipts, etc.) a single

[1] The etymology of the word 'papyrus' remains uncertain. See Nestle, *Einführung*(2), 41; Lagarde, *Mittheil.* 2 260. [For the etymology generally accepted among living Egyptologists, cp EGYPT, § 8. Bondi, starting from the Talmudic orthography פיפייור, was the first to propose to take the name papyrus as *ᵓa-p-yôr* (for the better form *yo'or*, cp NILE) 'the (thing or product) of the river'—*i.e.*, 'the river-plant.' This etymology is highly probable, or at least superior to all other etymological attempts.—W. M. M.]

[2] The *Palæography of Greek Papyri*, 14.

[3] Gregory, *Textkritik*, 1 7 (1900).

[4] This description has been popularised by G. Ebers in his *Kaiser Hadrian*. Cp also Ebers, 'The writing material of antiquity' in *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, New York, Nov. 1893 (Nestle(2), 40).

[5] *Palæography*, 15.

[6] B. de Montfaucon, 'Dissertation sur la plante appellée Papyrus' in *Mém. de l'Acad. royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 6 (1729) 592 *ff.*; Franz Woenig, *Die Pflanzen im alten Ægypten, ihre Heimat, Geschichte, Kultur*, 1886, pp. 74 *ff.* [Cp EGYPT, § 8; RUSH.]

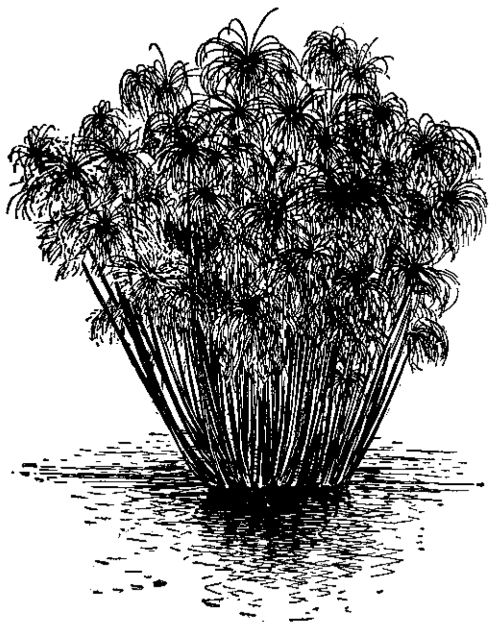
[7] See Hoskyns-Abrahall, *Acad.* 19th March 1887, 776 (Nestle(2), 40).

[8] *Palæography*, 16 *f.*

leaf was sufficient; for longer texts, especially of a literary character, the required number of leaves were glued together into a roll.[1] The papyrus-roll was the classical form in which literary productions appeared in antiquity. Ordinarily the writing was upon that side of the leaf on which the fibres run horizontally (*recto*); the back (*verso*) was made use of only on exceptional occasions.[2] If a papyrus leaf is found to be written on both sides and by different hands, it is, generally speaking, safe to assume that the writing on the recto side is the earlier. It is only in rare cases that the leaves of a papyrus roll are written on both sides.

Nestle[3] recalls Rev. 5 1 *βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν* where some MSS. have *ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν* or *ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν.*

In the later centuries of antiquity the papyrus book—the Codex—is met with as well as the papyrus-roll, and ultimately, as we know, the codex gained the upper



Papyrus Plant (from living specimen at Kew).

hand. It is not accurate to say that the transition from the roll to the codex began with the introduction of parchment.

A few examples will suffice. The British Museum possesses a fragment of a codex of the *Iliad* written upon papyrus and probably dating from the third century A.D.;[4] amongst the Oxyrhynchus Papyri there is a leaf from a codex of the Gospels or of the NT, containing Mt. 1 1-9 12 14-20 and dating from the third century; the same collection includes other biblical codex fragments. The Heidelberg University Library possesses twenty-seven papyrus leaves of a LXX codex dating from the sixth or the seventh century. The famous so-called Logia-fragment of Oxyrhynchus also comes from a codex.

2. Biblical references.

Even if there were no allusions to the papyrus in the OT, the immense importance of recent papyrus finds for the study of biblical and Christian antiquity would fully account for the existence of an article on the subject in a biblical encyclopædia. The Hebrew writers, however, do occasionally refer to the papyrus plant (גֹּמֶא, Is. 18 2 RV, Ex. 2 3 RVmg.; see RUSH), and as a writing material we find a reference to papyrus in 2 Jn. 12, where *χάρτης* (EV 'paper') clearly indicates a papyrus leaf. Again,

[1] Kenyon, *op. cit.* 17 *ff.*
[2] U. Wilcken, 'Recto oder verso,' *Hermes*, 22 (1887) 487 *ff.*
[3] *Einführung*(2), 41.
[4] Kenyon, *Palæography*, 27, where also other examples will be found.

in the well-known passage, 2 Tim. 4 13 (see PARCHMENT), we cannot doubt that by *τὰ βιβλία* papyrus books are intended.

3. Recent papyrus finds: their importance.

Since 1778 when an unknown European dealer in antiquities bought from Egyptian peasants an original papyrus roll of 191-2 A.D. and at the same time witnessed how they set fire to some fifty others and revelled in the aromatic perfume thus produced,[1] the lower valley of the Nile has yielded a vast wealth of papyri written in all possible languages and separated in time by thousands of years. Already in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century not a few papyri from Memphis and Setopolis in Middle Egypt, and from This, Panopolis, Thebes, Hermonthis, Elephantinė, and Syenė in Upper Egypt, had reached our European museums, though noticed by few, and read and studied by still fewer scholars. Then, to leave out of account various single finds in other years, came the great discoveries in the province of el-Faiyūm (see EGYPT, § 50) in 1877, when the heaps of ruins to the N. of Medīnet-el-Faiyūm (*ἡ τῶν Κροκοδείλων πόλις*, afterwards called *ἡ τῶν Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλις*) yielded hundreds and thousands of precious leaves and fragments of leaves. Since that date find has succeeded find with great rapidity. The most remarkable point to notice is that most of the papyri have been unearthed with the spade. From this we gain a most valuable hint as to the light in which these documents of antiquity are to be viewed. In the papyri which come to us from the Faiyūm, from Oxyrhynchus (el-Behnesa), and elsewhere we are not to see the remains of great collections of archives, but only what has survived from ancient waste-paper-baskets and rubbish heaps to which had been consigned old minute-books and ledgers from public or private offices, second-hand and worn-out books which were destined after a long slumber in oblivion to possess in the far future an importance never dreamed of by their writers.

The great mass of the papyri is non-literary. Law-papers of the most various kinds—leases and loans, bills and discharges, marriage-contracts and wills, certificates, magisterial orders, advertisements and notices of penalties, minutes of law proceedings, assessments in large numbers; besides letters and notes, school exercises, magical texts, horoscopes, day-books, and so forth. The contents of these non-literary writings are as manifold in their variety as life itself. Those in Greek, numbering many thousands, cover a period of about a thousand years. The oldest go back to the early Ptolemies and thus to the third century B.C.; there are others that bring us down far into Byzantine times. The whole shifting scene of Greek and Roman history in Egypt during this long interval passes in these leaves before our eyes. Of the significance of these Greek documents alone—not to speak of the abundance of others in Coptic, Arabic, Latin, as well as other languages—for our knowledge of antiquity in the largest sense of that word there can be but one opinion. They mean a resuscitation for us of a large part of ancient life. They bear witness to the conditions of the past with an accuracy, a warmth, and a fidelity such as can be predicated of no ancient author and of only a very few of the ancient inscriptions. The tradition handed down to us by the writers of antiquity is always, even at its best, secondary; it is always more or less artificial and sophisticated. The inscriptions are often cold and dead things like the marble on which they are carved. The papyrus leaf is alive; one sees autographs, individual peculiarities of penmanship—in a word, men; manifold glimpses are given into inmost nooks and crannies of personal life for which history has no eyes and historians have no glasses. These insignificant-looking scraps give a vitality that was previously

[1] Wilcken, *Die griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, 10; cp also with what follows.

wanting to the history of law in the first instance, but also to the history of human culture in general, and in a very marked degree to the study of historical philology. It may seem a paradox; but it can safely be affirmed that the unliterary papyri are more important in these respects than the literary. The peculiar treasures of science which lie hidden in those new fields are not the fragments of ancient art and literature which they may perchance contain, but the fragments of living, palpitating actuality which we may hope to recover from them. It will be a matter of regret if, while every scrap of any ancient book is forthwith treated as a sacred relic and published in facsimile whatever its inherent merit, the non-literary remains are only partially made known. Any trivial lease, for example, may perhaps contain a form of expression which supplies the long sought missing link between a form of the *κοινή* in its beginnings and another of a neo-Grecian dialect that has been developed therefrom.

4. Biblical and old-Christian papyri.

(*a*) In the prevalent tendency to over-value the literary element it is not surprising that theological research should have found its chief enrichment in the fragments of biblical and old-Christian books which have been recovered. It is certainly true that we have abundant cause to be thankful for every addition to our knowledge in what concerns texts and sources. The most important of the recent discoveries—at least so far as Greek is concerned—may be here briefly enumerated. Inexhaustive lists are given by C. Häberlin[1] and F. G. Kenyon.[2]

A. Septuagint.

1. Gen. 14 17, Brit. Mus. Pap. 212.
2. Genesis-fragments in Archduke Rainer Collection, Vienna.
3. Ps. 10 [11] 2-18 [19] 6 and 20 [21] 14-34 [35] 6 Brit. Mus. Pap. 37.
4. Ps. 11 [12] 7-14 [15] 4, Brit. Mus. Pap. 230.
5. Ps. 39 [40] 16-40 [41] 4, Berlin Museum.
6. Fragments of Ps. 5 108 118 135 138-140 in the Amherst Papyri, nos. 5, 6.
7. Fragments of psalms in Archduke Rainer Collection, Vienna.[3]
8. Job 1 21-22 and 2 3 in the Amherst Papyri, no. 4.
9. Cant. 1 6-9, Oxford Bodleian MS. Gr. Bibl. g. 1 (P).
10. Is. 38 3-5 13-16, Archduke Rainer Collection, Inv. no. 8024 (Guide, no. 536).
11. Ezek. 5 12-6 3 with the diacritical marks of Origen, Oxford Bodl. MS. Gr. Bibl. d. 4 (P).
12. Zech. 4-14 and Mal. 1-4, twenty-seven leaves written on both sides formerly in the possession of Theodor Graf, and now in the Heidelberg University Library.[4]

B. Septuagint and Aquila.

13. Gen. 1 1-5, Amherst Papyri, no. 3*c*.

C. Judaica.

14. Several fragments bearing on the history of Judaism in Egypt: in Berlin, Paris, London, Gizeh, and in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri; see *TLZ* 23 (1898) 602 *f.*
15. Fragments of Philo in the Bibliothèque[5] Nationale, Paris.

D. New Testament.[6]

16. Mt. 1 1-9 12 14-20, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, no. 2.
17. Fragments of Mt. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at the end of the Philo Papyrus.
18. Fragments of Mt. in the Archduke Rainer Collection, Vienna.
19. Lk. 5 30-6 4 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at the end of the Philo Papyrus.
20. Lk. 7 36-43 and 10 38-42, in Archduke Rainer Collection, Vienna, Inv. no. 8021 (Guide, no. 539).
21. Jn. 1 23-31 and 33-41, and 20 11-17 and 19-25, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, no. 208.
22. Fragments of the Gospels in Archduke Rainer Collection; see Häberlin, no. 168 *a* and *b*.
23. Rom. 1 1-7, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, no. 209.
24. 1 Cor. 1 17-20 6 13-18 7 3 4 10-14, in the library of Bishop Porfiri Uspensky at Kieff.
25. 1 Cor. 1 25-27 2 6-8 3 8-10 and 20, Sinai.
26. Heb. 1 1, Amherst Papyri, 3*b*.[1]
27. An amulet containing passages from Ps. 90 [91], 𝕲, Rom. 12 and Jn. 2, in Archduke Rainer Collection, Inv. no. 8032 (Guide, no. 528).

E. Other Old-Christian Literary Texts.

28. Fragments of an extra-canonical Gospel (?), in the Archduke Rainer Collection: portions of the narrative of Peter's denial. A full discussion of this fragment with careful reference to the voluminous literature that has appeared regarding it will shortly be published by Dr. H. Müller of Paderborn.
29. The so-called Logia-Fragment, Oxyrhynchus Papyrus no. 1, published also separately as Λογια Ιησου: *Sayings of Our Lord from an early Greek Papyrus discovered and edited, with Translation and Commentary, by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt*, Lond., 1897. This fragment also has been the subject of a voluminous literature of which it is impossible to give an account here; an exposition of the questions which have been raised by this important discovery would far exceed the limits of our space. This, however, may be remarked: the crucial question is not as to the origin of the leaf (whether from the Egyptian or some other extra-canonical gospel or from some other writing) but simply as to the genuineness of the words of Jesus which it records—a question to be answered only on internal grounds. The present writer takes a more favourable view of them in this regard than is done by most of his fellow-workers.
30. Fragments of a Hebrew-Greek *Onomasticon sacrum* in the Heidelberg University Library.[2]
31. The Shepherd of Hermas, *Sim.* 2 7-10 u. 4 2-5, Berlin Museum.
32. Fragment of a book (by Melito of Sardes ?) upon Prophecy with a citation from the Shepherd of Hermas, *Mand.* 11 9 *f.*,[3] Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no. 5.
33. Fragment of a Gnostic (Valentinian ?) writing, Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, no. 4 verso.
34. Fragments of Basil of Cæsarea *epp.* 5, 6, 293, 150, 2, Berlin Museum.
35. Fragments of Gregory of Nyssa *θεωρία εἰς τὸν τοῦ Μωυσέως βίον*, Berlin Museum.
36. *Vitæ Sanctorum*, Paris Musées Nationaux, no. 7403, 7404, 7405, 7408, and Fond du Faioum, no. 261.
37. Theological Fragments in Brit. Mus. Pap. no. 455.
38. *Ibid.* no. 113; neither this nor the preceding has as yet been fully determined.
39. Fragments of Cyril of Alexandria, *de adoratione in spiritu et veritate*, Dublin.
40. Cyril-fragments in the Archduke Rainer Collection.
41. Letter of a Patriarch of Alexandria to the churches of Egypt, with citations from the commentary of Cyril on the Gospel according to John, Brit. Mus. Pap. no 729.

To this list have to be added several liturgical and homiletical fragments.

For theology great importance attaches also to the fragments, in Coptic, of biblical, gnostic, and other old Christian writings —such as the *Acta Pauli* in the Heidelberg University Library now being published by Carl Schmidt.

(*b*) The non-literary papyri also supply matter which is of direct importance for the study of Christian antiquity. This remark applies, to take one example, to those documents—ranging from the period of the Ptolemies down to the late Cæsars—which name Jewish inhabitants of the most various places in Egypt and thus contribute to our statistical knowledge of that cosmopolitan Judaism which so powerfully affected the spread of Christianity. Or again, those papyri which enable us to settle the chronology of the prefect Munatius Felix and thus to fix the date of an important work of Justin Martyr's (Ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν); once more, the famous Libelli of certain libellatici which have reached us from the days of the Decian persecution are highly important documents from a great period rich in martyrs. Then, too, we have many private letters of otherwise unknown Christians which have long been published, but have never as yet received the attention they are well entitled to claim. Even the legal documents belonging to the Christian period contain in their formulas, and occasionally also in details of their varied

[1] 'Griechische Papyri' in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 14 1 *ff.*
[2] *Palæography*, 131 *ff.*
[3] The Louvre and the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris also possess papyrus fragments of psalms, which have not yet been edited.
[4] Will shortly be edited by the present writer.
[5] Kenyon, *Palæography*, 145, describes them as belonging to the museum of Gizeh.
[6] The fragments Mt. 15 12-16 18 Mk. 15 29-38 Jn. 1 29 spoken of by Kenyon, *Palæography*, 132, are not on papyrus but on parchment. The library of St. Mark's, Venice, possessed a Book of the Gospels on papyrus; see Häberlin, no. 166.

[1] The Louvre, Paris, possesses an as yet unedited fragment of the Epistle of Jude.
[2] About to be edited by the present writer.
[3] So A. Harnack (*SBA*, 1898, 516-520). In Kenyon, *Palæography*, 137, the fragment is given as a portion of the Pastor Hermæ itself.

contents, many fresh contributions towards the history of Christianity.

In speaking in some detail of the importance these non-literary papyri have for the biblical student, their value for Greek philology in general—and especially for the study of the Greek OT and NT—is what requires mention first.

5. Subsidiary utility.

Until the papyri were discovered there were practically no other contemporary documents to illustrate that phase and form of the Greek language which comes before us in the LXX and NT. In those writings, broadly, what we have, both as regards vocabulary and morphology, and not seldom as regards syntax as well, is the Greek of ordinary intercourse as spoken in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, not the artificial Greek of the rhetoricians and litterateurs, strictly bound as it was by technical rules. This language of ordinary life, this cosmopolitan Greek, shows unmistakable traces of a process of development that was still going on, and in many characteristic respects differs from the older dialects, as from the classical Attic. It is true that a few extra-biblical specimens of this later Greek were not wholly wanting; there were for example inscriptions dating from the period of the Diadochi and Roman emperors, the vocabulary of which often shows surprising affinities with that of the OT and the NT. Hardly any attention was given to these, however, with the result that a widespread opinion arose—it may be said to be the prevailing opinion even now—that the Bible or at least the NT is written in a special kind of Greek—called 'biblical' or 'New Testament' Greek. Prof. F. Blass, as recently as 1894,[1] laid it down that NT Greek 'is to be regarded as something by itself and following laws of its own.' This thesis is a factor of great potency in exegesis, especially in that of the NT, and at the same time a refuge and shelter for everything that is arbitrary and devoid of method. It will not, however, be able to hold its ground long in presence of the papyri. It is one of the pre-eminently valuable results of the recent finds—with which we may also group the ostraka[2] and inscriptions, that they correlate the Greek OT and NT with other contemporary texts, and compel what used to be called Philologia Sacra to become in the best sense of the word secular.

A few special points may be particularised.

(*a*) The papyri render possible a full realisation of the fact that the LXX is an Egyptian book. The fact itself of course is not new; but it is by the unearthing of these hundreds of leaves which we now possess, written under the same sky, in the same air and at the same time with the venerable Bible of the Jewish Dispersion and of the most ancient Christianity, that we are able in imagination to restore the book once more to its original home. Every translation involves alteration. Luther's Bible is a German Bible not merely because it is a rendering in German but also because it could not pass through the mediating mind and genius of its great translator without receiving some impress of his personality. So in like manner the LXX was not merely a rendering into Greek, it is also an Egyptianising of the OT.

If in the MT of Gen. 50 2 *f.* we read of 'physicians' who embalmed the body of Jacob and the translator has called them 'embalmers' we see in this an added detail due to the influence of their surroundings; ἐνταφιαστής was, as a papyrus dating from 99 B.C. informs us, the technical name for the functionary whose business it was to embalm.[3] Or when אֲפִיקֵי מַיִם in Joel 1 20, and פַּלְגֵי מַיִם in Lam. 3 47 are rendered ἀφέσεις ὑδάτων we have again an Egyptianising trait: a papyrus of 258 B.C. shows us that ἄφεσις τοῦ ὕδατος was the technical expression for the freeing of water by opening the Nile sluices; the translators lead the Egyptian reader who knows no water-courses to think of canals.[4]

[1] *Theol. Lit.-Ztg.* 19 [1894] 338.

[2] U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten u. Nubien*, 2 vols., 1899. Cp *Theol. Lit.-Ztg.* 26 (1901) 65 *ff.*

[3] Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 117 (ET *Bible Studies*, 120 *f.*).

[4] *Ib.*, *op. cit.* 94 *ff.* (98 *ff.*).

(*b*) The papyri render possible a more accurate investigation of the orthographical problems which come before the editor of the canonical texts.

For copious illustrations on this point, see Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 9 *ff.* (= *Bible Studies*, 181 *ff.*) and Moulton (*Grammatical Notes from the Papyri*, 31 *ff.*; *Notes from the Papyri*, 281).

(*c*) The same remark applies to the morphological problems (Deissm. *Neue Bibelstudien*, 14 *ff.*, ET 186 *ff.*; Moulton, *Gramm. Notes*, 34 *ff.*; *Notes*, 281 *f.*).

(*d*) The syntax also of the biblical texts is brought into a clearer light (Deissm. *op. cit.* 22 *f.* 194 *ff.* and Moulton, *op. cit.* 282).

For instance, we know[1] from the NT of the manner of expressing a distributive by a repetition of the cardinal number: καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο (Mk. 6 7). This usage, which we find Blass[2] still declaring to be Semitic, can be traced back to pre-Christian times: we find δύο δύο already in the LXX (Gen. 7 15 and often[3]). The same usage survives in new Greek. But Karl Dieterich[4] in adducing an instance from the long interval between NT times and the period of the rise of the New Greek from the *Apophth. Patr.* (500 A.D.) desiderates some instance from inscriptions or papyri. An Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (no. 121) now supplies the missing link: a certain Isidorus writes to a certain Aurelius that he is to tie the twigs into bundles of three apiece (εἶνα δήσῃ τρία τρία).

(*e*) Most notably of all is the Lexicon of the LXX and NT enriched by the new discoveries. In this region the unhistorical conception of 'biblical' or 'New Testament' Greek characterised above is still very widely prevalent. One of the main supports of such a conception has been the existence of so many 'biblical' or 'New Testament' ἅπαξ εἰρημένα. These words, so it is asserted, make it abundantly clear that the language of every-day life was inadequate for the needs of the apostolic preaching; Christianity had to coin new words. Now, it is of course self-evident, from the point of view of scientific philology, that Christianity, like any other new movement affecting civilisation, must have produced an effect upon language by the formation of new ideas and the modification of old ones. But we are not on that account forthwith justified in isolating a biblical or Christian 'Græcitas.' Many of the so-called biblical ἅπαξ εἰρημένα are, as might have been conjectured before, merely ἅπαξ εὑρημένα which remained so only until an inscription, a papyrus, or a passage formerly overlooked happened to show the anxiously treasured word-jewel to have been the property of 'profane' Greek as well.

The following words still stand in the Lexica as special biblical words, but as recent study informs us, are not so in point of fact: ἀγάπη, ἀκατάγνωστος, ἀντιλήμπτωρ, ἐλαιών, ἔναντι, ἐνώπιον, εὐάρεστος, εὔϊλατος, ἱερατεύω, καθαρίζω, κυριακός, λειτουργικός, λογεία, νεόφυτος, ὀφειλή, περιδέξιον, ἀπὸ πέρυσι, προσευχή, πυρράκης, σιτομέτριον, φιλοπρωτεύω, φρεναπάτης.[5] This list could even now be enlarged.

It is further to be observed that a large number of words to which it has been customary[6] to give specifically 'biblical' or 'Christian' special meaning can now be shown to bear the same meaning also in contemporary extra-biblical sources. In particular, the category of lexical 'Hebraisms' must, in the light of the knowledge now available, be subjected to a careful revision.[7]

(*f*) There is yet another aspect of the value of the papyri for the student of the OT and NT and of early Christianity on which a word or two ought to be said: their value, namely, as illustrating the character of a considerable part of the field in which the first missionaries in the discharge of their world-mission first sowed their seed. The men of the period of the 'fulness of the time' Gal. 4 4) are made to live again before our eyes in these

[1] Cp *Theol. Lit.-Ztg.* 23 (1898) 630 *f.*

[2] *Gramm. des NTlichen Griechisch*, 141.

[3] Winer-Lünemann, *Gramm. des NTlichen Sprachidioms*, 234, refers to Æsch. *Pers.* 981: μυρία μυρία = κατὰ μυριάδας.

[4] *Untersuch. zur Gesch. der Griechischen Sprache* = *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 1 188 (Leipsic, 1898).

[5] The proofs will be found for the most part in Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien.*

[6] See, for example, Hermann Cremer.

[7] See art. 'Hellenistisches Griechisch' in *PRE*(3) 7 627-639, especially 637 *f.*

priceless leaves; with their toil and their cares, their farness from God and their yearning after him;—especially the men of the middle and lower class, to whom the gospel was chiefly addressed and amongst whom it won its chief triumphs. If the Bible student has more than a merely philological interest in what he studies, and has an eye capable of discerning more than the merely superficial aspects of things, he will find himself a large gainer by the study of the papyri in all that relates to the history of Christian religion and civilisation. The value of such gain does not need to be insisted on here

6. Literature. An excellent introduction to the study of the papyri will be found in the little work of Ulrich Wilcken (*Die griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, 1897). For the palæography see F. G. Kenyon, *Pal.*, 1899. For the history of papyrus as writing-material see K. Dziatzko, *Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens*, 1900; Th. Birt, 'Zur Gesch. d. antiken Buchw.' in *Centralblatt für das Bibliothekswesen*, 17 (1900) 545-565; R. Wünsch, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 21 (1901) 684-692. The most careful account of the Papyri publications and of the literature connected with them is that of Paul Viereck ('Bericht über die ältere Papyruslitteratur' in *Jahresber. ü. d. Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, vol. 98 (1898), 3 135-186, and 'Die Papyruslitteratur von den 70er Jahren bis 1898' in the same work, vol. 102 (1899), 3 244-311). Everything further that may be required will be found in the *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung u. verwandte Gebiete*, edited by Ulrich Wilcken (1900 *ff.*). In their biblical aspects the Papyri are discussed by G. Adolf Deissmann (*Bibelstudien*, 1895, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 1897; both done into English by A. Grieve in *Bible Studies: contributions chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions to the history of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity*, 1901). Further similar studies were given by J. H. Moulton in 'Grammatical Notes from the Papyri' in *The Classical Review*, 15 (1901), 31-38 and in 'Notes from the Papyri' in *The Expositor*, April, 1901, 271-282. Cp also G. A. Deissmann, *Die sprachliche Erforschung der griechischen Bibel, ihr gegenwärtiger Stand und ihre Aufgaben*, 1898.

G. A. D.

PARABLES. [The wide use of 'parable' implied in the EV of Nu. 23 7 (וַיִּשָּׂא מְשָׁלוֹ, 'and he took up his parable')

1. Meaning of word. is unfortunate. מָשָׁל (*māšāl*) is an elastic word, and will not bear a single rendering. It was a pointed, versing speech that Balaam pronounced, with the authority of a soothsayer, not a 'parable.' What is a 'parable'? It is easier to define than *māšāl*, and yet a single definition will hardly cover all phenomena. König, in his instructive work, *Stylistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die Biblische Litteratur* (1900), defines it as a narrative whose subject is personal but unnamed, and which is feigned in order to present something [didactically important] with special vividness (89). In this sense five sections of the OT are, according to him parables, viz. 2 S. 12 1-4 14 6 *f.* 1 K. 20 39 *f.* Is. 5 1-6 28 24-28 (but the last is no narrative). Ezekiel's 'parables' are expressly called מְשָׁלִים (*mĕšālim*); see Ezek. 20 49 24 3*a*, and though in the latter passage the Tg. renders by נְבוּאָה, 'a prophecy,' there can be no doubt that 24 3*b*-5 is virtually a narrative; the commands are given to an unnamed person, who is of course supposed to carry them out. Parabolic actions do in fact come as close as possible to narratives; 24 3*b*-5 may fitly be grouped with 3 24*b*-26, and 4 1 *ff.* (see EZEKIEL, BOOK OF, § 9). It is worth noticing that the Syriac *mathlā*, which exactly corresponds to *māšāl*, is used for παραβολή in Mt. 13 18 31 33, etc., 21 45 Mk. 4 2, etc., Lk. 5 36 6 39 14 7 etc., and the use of משל in this sense is frequent in the Talmud. It is not, however, of the OT parables, nor yet of those of the Talmud, that the reader will be thinking when he turns to the present article, but of those of the NT, with which, if opportunity permitted, it would be helpful to compare the highly original parables (*e.g.*, those of the sower and the mustard-seed) of the Buddhist literature.]

2. Types. The word 'parable' occurs twice in the NT (Heb. 9 9 and 11 19) in a sense almost synonymous with type, or antitype, or figure—the lesser thing or event whereby some greater future thing or event is foreshadowed. Abraham by faith receives back in a 'parable' his son Isaac whom he has offered in sacrifice, that is to say, he receives him as a prophecy of the risen Christ; and the tabernacle was but a 'parable' of the time that is now, a type of the era of salvation. In both passages παραβολή is used as a terminus technicus of that artificial exegesis which by application of an allegorising method discovered a new and deeper meaning in the persons and events of the OT: comp. Gal. 4 21 *ff.*, where Hagar and Sarah, without any implied denial of their historical existence as wives of Abraham, are understood as signifying respectively the covenant of Sinai, of which the essence is bondage, and the new covenant with its heavenly freedom.

3. Parables of the Synoptists. The remaining passages of the NT where the word parable occurs are all in the Synoptic Gospels: Mk. 4 Mt. 13 Lk. 8 make it clear that these evangelists regarded the parable as a form of teaching largely used by Jesus. Twenty utterances—three common to all and two common to two—are expressly called parables by the Synoptists; but the omission of the designation in connection with other similar utterances is only accidental: some interpreters have chosen to find as many as 100 parables in the gospels, and even a cautious enumeration brings the number up to about 60. Alike in compass and in character they vary greatly; from the short saying, such as (Lk. 4 23) 'Physician heal thyself,' up to the story of the Prodigal Son, contained in twenty-two verses of Lk. 15, all sorts are represented.

4. Evangelists' conception. The element they possess in common, according to the evangelists, is their figurative, metaphorical character,—the fact that they signify something different, something deeper, than the words at first sight convey,—that, accordingly, like the allegory taken up in Gal. 4 21 *ff.*, they need an explanation, a key. An example of such explanation is offered in Mk. 4 14 *ff.* Mt. 13 18 *ff.* Lk. 8 11 *ff.*, in connection with the parable of the sower, according to which the seed *is* the word of God, those by the wayside *are* the hearers out of whose hearts Satan snatches away that which has been sown as soon as it has been heard, and so forth. Still more striking is the interpretation of the parable of the tares which is given at the disciples' request, Mt. 13 37 *ff.*: the sower is the son of man, the field is the world, the good seed are the children of the kingdom, etc.; trait after trait in the parable is referred back to its true meaning which lies concealed behind the words when taken literally. Exactly the same thing is intended in Jn. 16 25 29 where Jesus is represented as speaking to his disciples in similitudes (ἐν παροιμίαις), and as indicating that frank utterance is reserved for a coming time; the similitude (παροιμία) of Jn. 10 6 (of the door and the shepherd), as also the figure of the vine and the branches (15 1 *ff.*), are regarded by the fourth evangelist as identical in nature with the parables of the synoptists. It is worth noticing, however, that, according to him, Jesus employed this form of figurative speech in speaking to his disciples; whilst, according to Mk. 4 Mt. 13 Lk. 8, it was exclusively reserved for the unresponsive masses—'without a parable spake he not unto them'—but when they were alone he explained all to his disciples (Mk. 4 34); the parable is of the nature of a riddle spoken so that it may not be too easily understood, it is intended to hinder conversion—in fact, to harden (Mk. 4 11 *f.*).

Mt. after his fashion finds this purpose already indicated prophetically in Is. 6 9 *f.* and, of parabolic speech generally, in Ps. 78 2; but he cannot express its hardening tendency more bluntly than it had already been expressed in Mk.

It is plain, however, that we have to do here with an artificial construction [cp GOSPELS, § 128 *g*, col. 1866].

5. Real purpose. In fact there survive in Mk. 4 33 traces of another view, however Mk. himself may have understood the words: 'with many such words spake he the word to them *as they were able to hear it*,' that is to say, by means of the parable he condescends to make it easier for them to understand the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. Indeed, the evangelists are betrayed into self-contradiction, for they by no means represent Jesus as speaking to the masses of the people only in parables; see, among other instances, Mt. 5-7 23; further, according to Mt. 21 45, for example, the high priests and Pharisees, who surely deserved no better treatment than the common people,

are represented as having 'understood' the parables that were addressed to them; and, lastly, Jesus often enough avails himself of the parable within the circle of his disciples, as, for example, even in Mt. 13 44 *ff.* 47 *ff.*; and no more, in those cases, than in Mk. 2 19-22 where he seeks to justify his disciples for their omission of the observance of fasting, can it have been his purpose to conceal his meaning. Moreover it is inconceivable that Jesus who, in the parable of the sower, whilst recognising the existence of very different kinds of hearers, sees among them none who ought to be unable to understand at all, should have desired thus rigidly to exclude the masses from salvation—the masses who flocked to him so eagerly for the word, who, moreover, according to Mt. 21 46 held him for a prophet (so ardently, that the Pharisees out of fear of them were compelled to hesitate in their plans for his death), and (Mt. 22 33) were 'astonished at his doctrine'—it is inconceivable that he should have so desired when, as we read in Mk. 6 34, moved by compassion for the sheep having no shepherd, he 'began to teach them many things.'

If, however, the evangelist's conception of the end for which the parables of Jesus were used must be given up as unhistorical, so also, along with it, must we abandon their views of the nature of these parables.

6. Nature of the parables.

If Jesus did not make use of parables with the sole purpose of veiling his meaning, but rather precisely in order to make it clear, elucidating new truth by means of the familiar and commonly known, then the parable does not belong to the same region of things as the allegory, where an interpretation is requisite, but comes under the same category as the similitude and the fable; it is, as the etymological meaning of the word implies, that form of speech in which two statements or series of statements, resembling one another yet drawn from distinct spheres of observation, are laid alongside of one another.

The parable, in fact, is an amplified comparison. When Jesus (Mt. 10 16) said, 'be ye wise as serpents,' or (17 20) spoke of having 'faith as a grain of mustard seed,' it was not to set his hearers a-searching for some deeper occult meaning of the words 'serpent' or 'mustard seed,' but only to bring these familiar images vividly before their minds so that, thus helped, their imagination might be better able to realise the amount of wisdom and the degree of faith he meant to suggest. If in Mk. 19 24, in order to give a vivid impression of the difficulty the rich man has to overcome in entering the kingdom of God, Jesus hyperbolically compares it with the difficulty of a camel (see CAMEL, § 5) in passing through the eye of a needle, it is precisely in the same manner and with the same effect that in Mk. 13 28 *ff.* he uses the parable of the fig tree; the certainty with which the observer is able to conclude from the appearance of the young and tender shoots of the fig tree that summer is coming, is paralleled by the certainty with which we may be sure that the signs of the coming parousia will be followed immediately by the parousia itself. It is not meant that the parousia is like summer, or that the tender shoots of the fig tree have any resemblance to the troubles of the last days; the point is that the symptoms of the coming irresistibly lead to the coming itself; the law with which every one is familiar in its relation to summer ought to be applied also with reference to the parousia. A 'similitude'—and half the gospel parables are simply similitudes—is simply consideration of *one* thing or *one* aspect, extended by way of comparison to the relation of *two* things or aspects. It is not necessary that the two halves of a comparison, both of which require to be understood, should each of them admit of being in every case elaborated with scrupulous minuteness.

In Mk. 2 17 it is true that the proposition enforced—namely, that Jesus came into the world not for the righteous but for sinners—falls into exact parallelism with the corresponding proposition that the physician exists not for those who are well, but for those who are ill. But for Mk. 2 19 one must first go to *v.* 18 for the parallel to the thesis about the children of the bridechamber not fasting as long as the bridegroom is with them; in the two parables of the old cloth on the new garment and of the new wine also (*vv.* 21 *f.*), it is left to the reader himself to exercise his own intelligence in finding out why the folly of patching a new garment with an old rag is brought thus vividly before him.

Sometimes there is simply a general indication of a sphere of things wherein the course of events is similar and where similar laws prevail, as, for example, the familiar sphere of husbandry (Mk. 4 26 *f.*: the kingdom of God is as if a man, etc.; Mk. 4 30 *f.*: whereto shall we liken it? It is like a grain, etc.) where the formulas that are used indicate clearly enough the simple point of comparison that lies at the root of the parable.

Again, a large number of the parables of Jesus are in narrative form—*e.g.*, Mk. 4 3 (the sower), Mk. 12 1 *ff.* (the wicked husbandmen), and especially some of those which are peculiar to Lk. (15-19). These last, indeed, admit of being classed by themselves as a separate group; they are exactly what in profane literature are usually called fables. The desire for visual presentation here goes one step farther than in the ordinary similitude; the law which is represented in the latter as being, within its own field, of general validity, is in the other case individualised, in the living form of a story that makes a deeper impression; it is set forth in a concrete instance which helps it to carry conviction to the mind in the higher sphere of religious truth.

7. Narrative parables.

Here the parable does not speak of old wine or new bottles in general, but of a certain father who had two sons, and who passed through certain experiences which are described, of a certain nobleman who went into a far country and handed over his monies to be managed for him by his servants in his absence, and so forth. Here again the nobleman, his talents, his servants, and the rest, do not mean anything different from what the words ordinarily convey, but the same judgment as we are led to form on hearing the story we are called on to extend to similar conditions of things in the religious sphere; from the lower we must learn to ascend to the higher truth.

A special variety of this second form of parable is represented in four examples in Lk.: the Good Samaritan (10 30 *ff.*), the Foolish Rich Man (12 16 *ff.*), the Rich Man and Lazarus (16 19 *ff.*), the Pharisee and the Publican (18 9 *ff.*). Like the others they are narratives; but here the narrative moves from the beginning on the higher religious and ethical plane, the laws of which are to be set forth; the story is itself an instance of the proposition to be demonstrated. Here there is neither comparison nor allegory, there is no 'laying alongside' of two things that they may be compared; if we are precluded from using the word 'parable' we must call them illustrative instances which establish an abstract religious or ethical truth by the evidence of a concrete case. But any one finding parabolic stories in which the comparison with the higher reality was entirely left to the imagination of the readers placed in close juxtaposition with illustrative instances which in outward form are not distinguishable from them (cp Lk. 15 11-32 and Lk. 18 9 *ff.*) might very easily regard the two sorts as identical.

8. Illustrative instances.

The frequent omission of the second half of the parable—the half in which the precise 'mystery of the kingdom of heaven' which it sets forth is explicitly defined—also explains why it was that the character and object of the parables of Jesus was so early misunderstood. Men found it impossible to imagine that the Saviour of the world should have indulged in long narratives drawn from the events of everyday life, and even narratives of the triumph of unrighteousness if only it is associated with cleverness (Lk. 16 1 *ff.*), almost (it would appear) for mere purposes of entertainment, or that he should have seriously directed the thoughts of men to such trifling matters. With him, it was thought, every word ought to speak of the kingdom of heaven, and of the way to everlasting life. In this way a second meaning came to be attached to his parabolic utterances; they were allegorised so that they no longer (in spite of the words) spoke of husbandry or fishing, but of God and his word; that which in the intention of the speaker

9. Mistaken exegesis.

was to be suggested by them and thought of in connection with them, was actually introduced into them. Having thus been turned into dark and mysterious utterances, they now had assigned to them quite a different purpose from that which they had fulfilled when they were used as aids to clear understanding and to conviction: the purpose, namely, of concealing the truth from the uninitiated.

By this misapprehension endless difficulties for the understanding of the parables were created; the history of the exegesis of the gospels from the earliest antiquity downwards to the present day hardly anywhere shows so great confusion, and so immense a variety of interpretations, as it does in the case of the parables.

Whilst some interpreters, following the example of interpretation (which is due to the evangelist only) given in Mt. 13 37 *ff.*, exercised all their ingenuity in discovering in a rigorously consistent manner the deeper meaning of even the smallest detail—as, for example, in Lk. 15 22, to find the spiritual significance of the robe, the ring, and the shoe—the exegetic tact of others perceives the futility of such an undertaking and contents itself with giving the meaning of the essential features; but in doing so the parable is made a bizarre and inartistic mixture of literal and figurative speech.[1]

10. Genuineness. Here again, as in so many other points, it is possible for us to reject the synoptists' view of the matter and yet retain our confidence in the trustworthiness of their tradition. That they have handed down to us fully and without alteration the parables as spoken by Jesus is indeed a proposition that no one will venture to maintain. That there must have been at least some alteration is conclusively shown by the variations observed in the parallel traditions preserved by different evangelists: for example, in Lk. 15 4 *ff.* as compared with Mt. 18 12 *ff.*, or in Lk. 19 12 *ff.* as compared with Mt. 25 14 *ff.* The very fact, however, that the parables, as given by the evangelists, have retained so much that is absolutely incompatible with their theory about them, proves conclusively how conservative has been the evangelists' treatment of the materials lying to their hand; the same thing is evidenced by the admirable clearness, the lively and vivid naturalness, which distinguish the gospel parables as soon as they are correctly apprehended, and cleared of some accretions due to those through whom they have been handed down. Most of them unmistakably declare themselves to be creations of a unique originality, and what makes them of very special importance for us is that almost throughout they bear unmistakable evidence of genuineness, and thus tell us with no uncertain voice that which lay nearest to the very heart of Jesus.

11. Literature. Among older exegetes the palm for textual elucidation is carried off by Chrysostom, Calvin, and the Jesuit Maldonatus. Of recent monographs the following may be mentioned. (*German*): F. L. Steinmeyer, *Die Parabeln des Herrn*, 1884 (strongly allegorising, but original); F. Göbel, *Die P. Jesu methodisch ausgelegt*, 1879-80 (steers an intermediate course); A. Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, i.(2) [generally] 1899; ii. [expository], 1899. (*Dutch*): C. E. Van Koetsveld, *De Gelijkenissen van den Zaligmaker*, 1869, 2 vols. fol. (an exposition distinguished by learning and fineness of conception, but unfortunately without criticism of the evangelical tradition). (*English*): E. Greswell, *An Exposition of the Parables of our Lord*, 5 vols, 1834 *ff.* (vast accumulation of materials); R. C. Trench, *Notes on the Parables of our Lord*(1), 1841; (14), 1880 (very able, but does not keep within the limits itself lays down); A. B. Bruce, *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, 1882 (sounder in exegesis than Trench, yet hardly clear enough in principle). A. J.

PARACLETE. The word ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟϹ is met with, in the NT, only in the Johannine writings (Jn. 14 16 26 15 26 16 7 1 Jn. 2 1).

In Job 16 2 Aq. and Theod. use it to render מְנַחֵם, while 𝔊 has παρακλήτωρ (see below § 3); and in Zach. 1 13 𝔊 renders נחום by παρακλητικός.

[1] B. Weiss, in his commentaries on Mk. and Mt. (1872, 1876) was the first to break with this method in principle; but unfortunately he failed to see clearly enough the impossibility of holding to the theory of a hardening tendency as applied to a form of speech which was expressly designed to make the subject-matter plainer.

1. The term. From its form (cp κλητός, ἐκλεκτός) the word can only have a passive meaning: 'called in,' 'summoned to help.' The Itala translates *advocatus*, and in classical Greek—it does not occur in the LXX—it usually signifies one who defends before the judgment seat, the counsel for the defence; it has even found its way into the Targum and into Talmudic Hebrew. One of the examples of its use in the Targum is specially interesting, because it suggests a point of contact between the NT expression and a late portion of the OT. In the speech of Elihu (a late insertion in a late book—see JOB [BOOK] § 12), we find that in order to produce repentance, and so to 'redeem a man from going down to the pit,' a special angelic agency is required—that of a 'mediator' or 'interpreter'[1] (Job 33 23 *f.*). For this 'interpreter' the Targum has פרקליטא (=παράκλητος). The opposite agent in the Talmud is קטיגור (=κατήγωρ, κατήγορος).

2. Usage. In 1 Jn. 2 1 the rendering 'advocate' for παράκλητος is demanded by the context: 'if any man sin' (and so has exposed himself to the condemnation of the divine Judge), 'we have an advocate with the Father, one to speak for us, even Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is a propitiation for our sins'—a mode of representation that would very naturally present itself as soon as the idea of the atoning death of Jesus, along with that of his return to the right hand of the Father, had begun to bear its fruit in the consciousness of believers.

In the Fourth Gospel, however, it is not Christ who is designated as the Paraclete; on the contrary, Christ distinguishes the Paraclete in the clearest possible way from himself as well as from the Father; the word there is a name (of which no further explanation is given) for the Spirit of Truth, or the Holy Spirit, which the exalted Redeemer is to send to his disciples 'from the Father'—*i.e.*, from the place where the Father is ('who cometh forth from the Father,' 15 26 16 7), or, otherwise, whom the Father is to bestow on the disciples, at his intercession and in his name, as an enduring possession. This Spirit the world will be unable either to see or to know; unlike the Son he will descend unseen, and his remaining with the disciples is more precisely spoken of as an indwelling in their hearts (14 17). His work—as spirit of truth, it could not be otherwise—is to testify of Christ (15 26), to bring to the remembrance of the disciples all the words of Christ, and to instruct them in all things; in other words, to carry on Christ's work uninterruptedly during the period that intervenes between his lifting up and their final reunion with him; indeed, to bring that work to perfection on a higher level—according to 16 13 to lead the disciples into all truth—inasmuch as Jesus, while with them, out of consideration for their weakness had been compelled to leave much unsaid (16 12). The counterpart of his exalted work in the disciples is that which he exercises towards the world, where he has the function of an ἐλέγχων (AV 'reprove,' RV 'convict') which he executes in three decisive points—sin, righteousness, judgment. A further indication of the magnificence of the part assigned to the Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel is given in 7 38 *f.* although the use of the name is there avoided.

3. Interpretation. Why now does this Holy Spirit, through whom, though dependent on the Son as well as on the Father, the work of God in believers is to be brought to its completion, receive the name of Paraclete? The evangelist cannot merely have taken over the name from some source or other without further consideration as to its meaning; in 14 16, the place where it first occurs, he speaks of him as another Paraclete; this does not necessarily imply that he wished to keep the title of παράκλητος for Christ also, but he must have meant at least that this other Paraclete was now to begin discharging in a fuller measure the functions of a παράκλητος towards the disciples, whose fear is that they are about to be left orphans. In this there is not any idea of a vicarious presence of Jesus, any more than

[1] See Delitzsch, *Hiob*(2), 441; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 44 *f.* [See JOB (BOOK), § 12, col. 2484. Whatever the original reading may have been, the author of the present reading thought of an angelic Paraclete.]

there is of his being God's representative with men; God never needs any advocate or spokesman. Older and better grounded is the interpretation of παράκλητος as meaning Comforter, or more generally, Exhorter, 'one whose office is παράκλησις.' In the farewell discourses of the Master the reference to a Comforter as about to be sent would be indeed appropriate, and from Origen onwards many Greek exegetes have advocated this interpretation. Since Aquila and Theodotion actually substitute for the παρακλήτορες of Job 16 2 παράκλητοι, it seems to be made out that in late Greek usage the lexical impossibility involved—that of taking παράκλητος actively, just as if it were παρακαλῶν—had actually become possible. We have no reason, however, for expecting to find in Jn. any other meaning of the word παράκλητος than that which it has elsewhere. It is indeed true that in no place does he point at the work of the Spirit as being to defend believers in the judgment,[1] in the manner in which we find this attributed to the son in 1 Jn. 2 1; but just as the Latin *Advocatus* often occurs in a more generalised sense as equivalent to 'helper' or 'protector,' we find similar instances also in the case of παράκλητος; in Philo, who frequently makes use of the word, it is sometimes to be taken in the broader and sometimes in the narrower sense (see Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 1889, *p. 82 f.*); *in De mundi opif. 6, the only* feasible meaning is even something like 'instructor,' 'adviser.' Just so is the word employed in the gospel; in place of the Son about to return to the Father, the seemingly forsaken disciples are to receive the *patronus*, the 'helper' κατ' ἐξοχήν, the spirit of truth, who will take them up and lead them on, in the struggle for light and life, step by step, from victory to victory.[2] A. J.

PARADISE

The Hebrew *Pardēs*, פַּרְדֵּס (Syr. *pardaisâ*, Gk. παραδεισος) is from Old Pers. *pairidaêza*, 'an enclosure, a place walled in' (see Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*).

The word occurs in Neh. 2 8 Cant. 4 13 Eccles. 2 5 in the sense of 'park'; in 𝕲 παραδ. = גַּן, 'garden' (see GARDEN, begin.).

1. Expressions. Evidently παραδ. suggested the idea of abundance of water (cp Ecclus. 24 30 *f.*; Susan. 15 [Theod.]); the 'tree of life' and the 'water of life' naturally go together. On the occurrence of the word *pardesu* in Assyrian, see *PSBA*, Dec. 1896; *ZA* 6 290, and on the late non-literary Greek usage, cp Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 146. At the present day, τὸ παραδίσι is still the popular term for the valley descending southward from the sacred hill-forest at Idalion in Cyprus (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 110).

[1] B. W. Bacon (*JBL*, 1896, pp. 64 *ff.*) thinks that παρακλ. in Jn. 15 26 (the first occurrence of the word, according to his theory of the displacement of Jn. 14) may have the ordinary sense of an advocate, or helper, before a human tribunal. He regards Jn. 15 18-16 4 as a recast or paraphrase of Mt. 10 16-25. In the opposition which the Church will encounter from the world in her witnessing for Christ, she will be assisted by a divine Paraclete, who 'will testify' of Jesus; 'for it is not ye that speak, but the spirit of your Father which speaketh in you' (Mt. 10 20).

[2] Following up a suggestion of Gunkel, Zimmern (in *Vater, Sohn, u. Fürsprecher in der babylonischen Gottesvorstellung*, 1896; see especially p. 13, n. 1) has recently raised the question whether the Jewish-Christian doctrine of the Paraclete may not contain elements of Oriental speculation; he recalls what the Babylonian fire-god does, acting as the advocate of men at the instance of Ea and Marduk. It is to be remarked, however, that the idea of a heavenly being engaging in the work of intercession for men is of such wide diffusion (see, *e.g.*, Job 33 24, quoted already, which certainly looks like a purely Jewish passage) that we cannot take the Babylonian Nusku as its source; and, moreover, in the Fourth Gospel no intercessory function is attributed to the Paraclete. The name Paraclete, at any rate, will certainly not be of Babylonian origin; Jn.'s employment of it is sufficiently explained, if explanation is needed, from his acquaintance with Philo or with the Philonic theology; in Philo, however, it occurs (*Vit. Mos.* 3 14), not as the designation of a third person in the Godhead, but as a predicate alongside of τελειότατος τὴν ἀρετὴν υἱός, which reminds us only of 1 Jn. 2 1.

PARADISE

A 'paradise' is properly a garden or orchard; but we shall here restrict ourselves to what we may quite simply and naturally call the mythical Paradise, a belief in which sprang up ages before the birth of history, and the significance of which is independent of historical criticism. There are many mythic paradises; the region in which that of the Hebrews was located bears the name of עֵדֶן, 'Eden,' Gen. 2 8 10 4 16 (εδεμ[1]). Hence Paradise itself is called גַּן־עֵדֶן, 'the garden of Eden,' 2 15 (παράδεισος), 3 23 *f.* (παράδ. τῆς τρυφῆς, so 𝕲ᴸ in 2 15), Ezek. 36 35 (κῆπος τρ.), Joel 2 3 (π. τρ.), or more shortly עֵדֶן, 'Eden,' Is. 51 3 (παράδ.), Ezek. 28 13 31 9 16 18 (ἡ τρυφή). In Ecclus. 40 27 the Heb. text says that the fear of God is 'like Eden a blessing'—*i.e.*, full of blessing (כעדן ברכה). We also find Paradise described by the phrases גַּן־יהוה (אלהים), 'the garden of Yahwè' (or 'of God'), Gen. 13 10 Is. 51 3 Ezek. 28 13; and 'the holy mountain of God,' Ezek. 28 14.

Sound critical method requires us to begin by ascertaining the form or forms of the Hebrew tradition, and in order to do this we must examine the classical passages respecting Paradise in Ezekiel and in Genesis. We can build to some extent on what has been already said in other articles (see CHERUB, §§ 2, 6; CREATION, § 20; DELUGE, § 17), and here as elsewhere the amount of reference to modern scholars and investigators is no measure of our obligations to them for stimulus and instruction. It has been necessary, however, to do all the critical work afresh from the first. A mere register of what is stated in books is not illuminative; in a continually advancing study we cannot be bound by authorities.

2. Method of inquiry.

At the point which we have now, as a body of workers, reached, an enlargement of our methods is enforced upon us. It is our slowness to act upon this which is almost the chief hindrance to our progress in biblical study. Old methods, where sound, must not indeed be renounced, but new methods must be applied, and that on an extensive scale (to avoid hasty conclusions), for it must be confessed that even critics whom one could not justly call unmethodical, have often gone astray through relying too much on a single method, and deciding questions before the whole body of facts lay spread out before them.

3. Ezekiel's Eden. (*a*) As to Ezekiel. In certain very remarkable passages of this prophet,[2] two royal personages are stated to have been (metaphorically) in 'Eden, the garden of Elohim'—the wise and wealthy king of Tyre (28 12 *f.*) and Pharaoh, king of Egypt (31 8 *f.* 11 16 18). Why this metaphorical description is selected for these two kings is not clear. The king of Egypt, in particular, seems misplaced there, for the Jews cannot be supposed to have known that the Egyptians had their own very full conception of the supernal Paradise,[3] and geographically the OT Paradise is specially Asiatic. And why too should it be said that the king (or 'prince,' as he is strangely called in 28 2) of Tyre was perfect in wisdom (*vv.* 3-5 7 12 17)? The explanation we can offer is one which would be very surprising if there were not parallels for it both in the prophetic and in the narrative books. The prophecies in Ezek. 26-32 have probably been edited by some later writer than Ezekiel, and made to refer to Tyre and Egypt, whereas originally they referred to the king (or prince) and people of the N. Arabian Muṣri.[4] The case is precisely similar to

[1] Cp αβειρων, אבירם; αιθαμ, איתן.

[2] Cp the commentaries of Smend, Bertholet, Kraetzschmar; also Toy's Hebrew Text and new translation in *SBOT*. See also Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 146; *Genesis*, 30 *f.*

[3] The Field of Ialu (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 168, 180 *f.*, 183, 196).

[4] צר has been altered from מָצֹר, and מִצְרַיִם should be pointed מִצְרִים—see MIZRAIM, PATHROS.

that of Jer. 46-51, and (as we shall see) to that of Gen. 2 10-14, as in *Critica Biblica* we shall develop at some length. We can now understand the wisdom ascribed to the divinely favoured king in Ezek. 28. The Misrites, like the Edomites, enjoyed a high reputation for wisdom; to say that Solomon was wiser than the Jerahmeelites and the Misrites was the highest possible eulogy[1] (1 K. 4 30). Of course in his original perfectness the king of Missur was just as exceptionally wise as Solomon; he was indeed the equal of the 'sons of God'; for he dwelt in the mountain and garden of Elohim (see CHERUB, § 2). No Babylonian monarch could be more conscious of his supernatural privileges than this king. There he walked to and fro in his 'holiness,' like the first man before he yielded to temptation. His 'guilty acts,' however, or, more precisely, his 'unrighteous traffic'—here we pass from allegory into history—offended Yahwè, and the cherub (the mythic allegory resumed) which guarded the sacred mountain and its precious stones, destroyed him, by casting him, like the Etana of a Babylonian legend (see ETHAN), with his 'holiness profaned'[2] to the lower earth; or, to leave mythology, a fire came forth from the very midst of his kingdom which consumed him.

To understand this passage it will be well to compare it with Is. 14 4-20, which, as is pointed out elsewhere,[3] refers not to some Babylonian or Assyrian king but to the king of Jerahmeel in N. Arabia, by whom in the Chaldæan period the Jews were oppressed. In *v.* 12 this king is called, not 'Lucifer' or 'the daystar,' but 'Jerahmeel,'[4] and the 'mount of congregation' (הר מועד—*i.e.*, the mountain of Elohim) where he claims to dwell, but from which (cp Ezek. 28 16) he shall be cast out, is described as being בירכתי צפון—*i.e.*, probably, 'in the recesses of Ṣāfōn (Ṣāfān)' which seems to have been a name nearly equivalent to Missur (the ethnic belonging to it is *Ṣefoni* = Ṣefani); cp SHAPHAN, ZAPHON, ZEPHANIAH. It is not impossible that a very unlikely phrase in Ezek. 28 14 (EV, 'thou art, or wast, the anointed cherub that covereth')[5] should, by critical emendation, be read '(thy dwelling was) in the recesses of Cusham [see CUSH, 2]; thy throne (thou exaltest).'

4. Is. 14 4-20.

See further *Crit. Bib.* It may be noted here that a particular phrase (בְּלֵב יַמִּים) which at first sight appears destructive of the above hypothesis is corrupt. Any one can see this in Ezek. 28 2, where 'I sit in a seat of God in the heart of the seas' cannot be right. But if one passage in the group is corrupt, all the other passages are so too—*i.e.*, the original prophecy became corrupt in one place, and because it suited the editor's interest to read 'Tyre' for 'Missur,' he harmonised the other passages (27 4[6] 25 27 28 8) with it. The original reading most probably was בְּזְבֻל אֱלֹהִים, 'in the mansion of God,' except in 28 8, where we must read וְתָמוּת יְרַחְמְאֵל מִזְּבֻל אֵל, 'and thou shalt die, O Jerahmeel, (cast out) from the mansion of God.' There is also corruption in Is. 14 8, which in its original form referred probably to the songs of the cities of Benjamin, which had suffered so greatly from the raids of the Cherethites (*i.e.*, Rehobothites), a section of the Jerahmeelites.

This form of the Paradise-story is remarkable for its mention of the divine *mountain* in Eden with its garden or grove (on the summit?) and its 'stones of fire' (*i.e.*, precious stones; see CHERUB, § 2, n. 2), also from its affirmation of the original blamelessness of the man who dwelt in Eden. This important feature of the story may perhaps refer to the time when the Kenites were the tutors of the Israelites in the worship of Yahwè (see MOSES, § 14). The 'unrighteous traffic' by which the Misrite king provoked Yahwè may be the traffic in Israelite slaves—captives of war (Am. 1 9, reading מִצְּר for צֹר). Plainly the garden of Eden was, according to Ezekiel, in the Jerahmeelite land—*i.e.*, in N. Arabia.

(*b*) As to Genesis. The writer of Gen. 2 4*b*-3 assumed that the original occupation of man was agriculture;[1] but in 2 4*b*-7 he imagines a time before the commencement of agriculture, and he is apparently indebted to an older and fuller narrative which began with a description, only slightly exaggerated, of the physical phenomena witnessed by the first colonists of Babylonia (see col. 949). Gunkel, it is true, thinks that the mention of 'bushes' (שִׂיחַ) and 'herbs' (עֵשֶׂב) in *v.* 5 points specially to Palestine. But שִׂיחַ הַשָּׂדֶה is almost certainly a corruption[2] of חָצִיר, 'grass' (cp Is. 15 6; Ps. 37 2). 'Grass' and 'herbs'—the only natural parallels—are as appropriate in Babylonia as in Palestine, while אֵד (if rightly explained as = Bab. *edû* 'flood'[3]) must come directly from a Babylonian story. Instead of מִן־הארץ, 'from the earth,' we should perhaps with Haupt read עַל־ה׳, 'upon the earth';[4] so the full Babylonian colouring is restored.

5. Gen. 2 *f.*; text examined.

Like Holzinger (see below) the present writer was once inclined to read עַיִן for אֵד (𝔊, Pesh., Vg., actually render 'fountain'), and הַגָּן for הָאֲדָמָה. He rejected this solution, however, (1) because the explanation given on col. 949 (not considered by Holz.) is perfectly valid, (2) because he hopes to have made it probable that the substratum of *vv.* 10-14 is not secondary, and (3) for the reason mentioned above. Holzinger thinks that the mention of the want of rain and of the drenching flood (אֵד) side by side is incongruous. If there was a 'flood, plants would surely have appeared. But such an excessive flood as is supposed was a poor substitute for orderly rain, and it is admitted on col. 949 that water-plants must have appeared for a time—in short, the description is not without some mythic exaggeration.

Of course, something which the narrator has omitted must be supplied mentally; the 'flood' spoken of must have been subjugated by Yahwè before he planted the garden or park in Eden, and we should expect a reference (such as we find in one of the Babylonian myths[5]) to the setting of the streams 'in their places.' We have now to study the great geographical enigma in 2 10-14. The passage is rendered thus in RV:

'And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads. The name of the first is Pishon; that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah [rather Haḥavilah], where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good; there is bdellium and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cush. And the name of

[1] In 1 K. 4 30 Solomon is said to have been 'wiser than the sons (son?) of Jerahmeel' (see MAHOL, SOLOMON). In Ezek. 28 3 (emended text) we read, 'Behold, thou art wiser than Jerahmeel; (even) those of Ḥaluṣah cannot reach thee' (הִנֵּה חָכָם אַתָּה מִירַחְמְאֵל חֲלֻצִתִים לֹא יִמְצָאוּךָ). Cornill's correction חַרְטֻמִּים, 'magicians,' is brillant, but ח׳ itself is a suspicious word. Kraetzschmar keeps MT's כָּל־סָתוּם, but emends עֲמָמוּךָ into עֲלָפוּךָ, which is not very plausible. A historical key was wanted for a satisfactory emendation. Ḥalūṣah (see ISAAC, § 1, ZIKLAG) was a city in the Negeb renowned in the Jerahmeelite and Hebrew religious legends.

[2] Read קרשך (*v.* 18) with Toy.

[3] The view given in ISAIAH ii., § 9 (9), with which the views of Marti and Dillm.-Kittel may be compared, plausible and reasonable as it is, needs rectification. The passage thus becomes a member of a large group of passages, the obscurities of which can now for the first time be fully removed. See *Crit. Bib.*

[4] Read ירחמאל for הֵילֵל; see LUCIFER.

[5] 'O covering cherub' (*v.* 16, EV) is due to an absurd error of the text. הסוכך מתוך אבני אש is a corruption of מסכתך אבני אש, 'thy coverings were stones of fire'—*i.e.*, precious stones; this is a repetition of the clause at the end of *v.* 14 (a similar correction).

[6] In 27 4 Cornill most wisely reads גִּבְּלוּךְ for MT's גבוליך, but omits the corresponding correction בִּזְבֻל, for בלב.

[1] This is enough to show that the Paradise-story did not originate either among the Hebrews or among the Jerahmeelites. Cp Wellh. *Prol.* 324, n. 1.

[2] Note the warning Paseḳ. השדה springs from חציר, an early correction of שיח.

[3] See CREATION, § 20 *c*, with n. 3; GARDEN, § 5; Ball's note in 'Genesis,' *SBOT* Heb. 47, and Haupt's, *ibid.*, 118.

[4] *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1896, pp. 158 *ff.*

[5] See CREATION, § 5.

the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth in front of Assyria.[1] And the fourth river is Euphrates.'

Most recent critics agree in thinking that this is not a part of the original narrative (so Ew., Di., Bu., Toy, Bacon, *Oxf. Hex.*, Holz., Gunkel; cp GARDEN, § 5). They remark that it is too learned for its context and interrupts the story, and Holzinger thinks that the contents are, partly at least, a creation of the writer's fancy. This able critic also thinks that *v.* 6 once stood somewhere after *v.* 8, in the description of the garden. Of these suggestions, the easiest to deal with is the last, which indeed has also occurred to the present writer (see above). The objection to placing *v.* 6 elsewhere is that it needs to be explained how Yahwè could get the trees to grow; in perfectly dry soil this would of course be impossible. As for the 'learning' of the passage, the word must at any rate be used in a qualified sense. It is presumably meant that the writer reports the fantastic geographical notions which have reached him; and certainly Delitzsch, Haupt, and Sayce have done their best (see below) to make this view acceptable. But textual criticism must precede and clear the way for archæology, and it is in textual criticism that we are still somewhat behind. The signs of probable corruption in *vv.* 10-14 are so striking (in *v.* 10 they have been pointed out already by Holz.) that we are bound to apply the methods of correcting the text which have already served us so well in many other cases. Verse 11 *f.* has been emended elsewhere (GOLD, § 1; TOPAZ); but the form of text there proposed can only represent the intermediate stage between the original and the present text. Verses 10-14, in their original form, probably ran nearly as follows:—

'And a stream went out from Eden to water the garden, and afterwards it spread itself out[2] and watered the whole of Misrite Arabia' (וּמִשָּׁם יִפָּרֵד וְהִשְׁקָה אֶת־כָּל־עֲרָב מִצְרִים).

By a mistake such as occurs again and again,[3] עֲרָב, 'Arabia,' was misread אַרְבָּעָה, 'four'; רָאשִׁים (which our dictionaries boldly render 'arms' or 'branches') comes from אַשֻּׁרִים; אַשּׁוּר is frequently substituted in the traditional text for מִצּוּר or גְּשׁוּר (one cannot always be quite sure which is right). When the 'four heads' had thus been brought into existence, it only remained to identify them. The old Babylonian myth had been naturalised in Jerahmeel, and, even when adopted by the Hebrews, its geography long continued to be purely Jerahmeelite. Consequently, if Jerahmeel, as known to the editor of the corrupt text, could not furnish the requisite four streams, all that could be done was to imagine that, at a distant period, while the enchanted garden existed, there were four streams. The following may be nearly what the editor, and the interpolator who followed him,[4] wrote in explanation of the partly misread words in *v.* 10, 'it spread itself and became four heads':—

'The name of the first is Pishon; that is it which encircles the whole land of Haḥavilah [the land of Cusham, Miṣṣur, Jeraḥmeel, and the bnē Ishmael]. And the name of the second stream is Reḥobothon; that is it which encircles the whole land of Cush. And the name of the third stream is Jerahmeel; that is it which flows E. of Geshur (or Miṣṣur?), and the fourth stream is Ephrath.'[5]

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[1] קִדְמַת אַשּׁוּר. AV and RVmg. 'toward the east of Assyria,' so Aq., Targums, Dillm.(1), Del., Kautzsch, Reuss, Gunkel; AVmg. 'eastward to Ass.'; Strack, 'in front of Ass.', cp κατέναντι; Kautzsch-Socin(1), 'along Ass.'; Kau.-Socin(2), 'hitherward from Ass.' Whitehouse (*Expos.* 7 [1888] 135) follows 𝔊. Dillm.(2) and Holzinger are uncertain. Evidently there is some error in the text; the suspicious word is אַשּׁוּר.

[2] The same sense as in Ezek. 1 11 (פְּרֻדוֹת). See BDB, and Ges.-Bu., *s.v.* פרד.

[3] Usually עַרְבִים (Arabians) is misread אַרְבָּעִים, 'forty.' So in Gen. 7 4, where read 'on the land of the Arabians and the Jerahmeelites'; 1 K. 19 8, where Elijah's journey is described as 'in the road (?) of the Arabians and Jerahmeelites'; also the passages, quoted in MOSES, § 11, to which we may doubtless add Gen. 15 13 (reading 'and the Arabians and Jerahmeelites shall afflict them'; עֲבָדוּם[ו]=עַרְבִים).

[4] The interpolated gloss is placed in square brackets.

[5] Ephrath is one of the popular distortions of Jerahmeel (cp RACHEL). Why has the fourth stream no geographical description? Either because it was so well known (was it the so-called RIVER OF EGYPT?), or because no fresh variation of the previous description appeared possible; 'Jerahmeel' and 'Ephrath' are in fact the same.

We shall return presently to the very different form of text which now represents this early insertion. What it is most important to call attention to just now is the fact that the early Hebrew legends are predominantly Jerahmeelite.

6. Jerahmeelite form of story.

We do not of course deny the potent influence of Babylon, which indeed we have already pointed out in 2 4*b*-7. We also affirm the probability of a revival of Babylonian influence on Hebrew traditions at a later period (cp CREATION, § 23). But we assert that the original Hebrew legends were received from the Jerahmeelites, among whom, both on the N. Arabian border and in Palestine itself, the early Israelites lived. The Jerahmeelite colouring of the Hebrew legends may have been injured by scribes, but by no means have all traces of it been effaced. Thus the traditional text may tell us that 'Yahwè [Elohim] planted a garden in Eden eastward' (Gen. 2 8); but it is certain that קדם and רקם are common corruptions of ירחמאל; and with the Paradise-story of Ezekiel before us we cannot hesitate to read, 'Yahwè [Elohim] planted a garden in Eden of Jerahmeel.' A recent writer,[1] noticing features of the Paradise-story 'which every scholar feels never originated on Jewish soil, and for which Babylonian lore fails to account,' asks what inland country in or near a desert like Arabia can have been the source of the narrative. It may be hoped that this question has been answered.

So too, it is plausible to hold that the deluge was originally described as overwhelming the land of the Jerahmeelites (see col. 3573, n. 3), and the ark as settling on 'the mountains of Jerahmeel' (ירחמאל, partly miswritten, partly emended in the traditional text as אררט, 'Ararat'). So too 'the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was Jerahmeel' (on this reading of Gen. 10 10 see NIMROD), and it was 'as they journeyed in Jerahmeel' (Gen. 11 2, text, מקדם[2]—*i.e.*, (1) eastwards, Dillmann; (2) in the E., Kalisch, Kautzsch, Holzinger; (3) from the E., Gunkel; cp 𝔊 ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν) that the primitive men 'found a plain in the land of Geshur' (text, SHINAR, *q.v.*). So too the warlike story in Gen. 14 is largely concerned with 'Jerahmeel,' and the region chosen by Lot (13 10 *f.*), where lay the cities destroyed by a judgment, was originally placed in Jerahmeel (ככר and כל ככר in *vv.* 10 *f.* and מקדם in *v.* 11 being corruptions of [ב]ירחמאל; see SODOM, MELCHIZEDEK).

We have still to ask, How does the name Eden fit into our present theory? According to Reuss and Dillmann it is a purely symbolic name invented by the Hebrew narrator, and meaning 'pleasure' (τρυφή).[3]

7. Name 'Eden.'

Certainly we can easily imagine that later Hebrew writers (but hardly Ezekiel) gave the name this interpretation (cp 4 Esd. 7 53), and both Delitzsch and Duhm have seen an allusion to this meaning in the phrase (not, it is to be feared, beyond critical questioning) נחל עֲדָנֶיךָ, 'the stream of thy pleasures,' in Ps. 36 9 [8]. But purely symbolic names in ancient myths are improbable; נוֹד (Nod) may suggest the sense of 'wandering,' and 'Eden' that of 'pleasure,' but the names were originally geographical. The 'father of Assyriology' (Sir H. Rawlinson) conjectured that Gan-Eden was a popular Hebraised form of Gunduniš = Kar-duniâš. This is the name of an extremely fruitful territory which, like Frd. Delitzsch in 1881, Rawlinson supposed to be

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[1] Worcester, *The Book of Genesis*, etc. (1901), p. 157.

[2] Kalisch supports the rendering 'in the east' by a reference to 13 11 Is. 9 11 [12]; but in both places ירחמאל is surely the right reading. The corruption, however, is an early one, and Jensen (*Kosmol.* 214, *n.* 1) even thinks that this מִקֶּדֶם has influenced the view of the situation of Paradise given by Cosmas Indicopleustes, πέρι[ξ] δὲ πάλιν τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ τὴν γῆν τὴν πέραν ἔνθα καὶ ὁ παράδεισος κατὰ ἀνατολὰς κεῖται. Similarly, according to Kohut (*JQR* 2 224 *f.* [1890]), the statement in the Vendidad (2 24) that Yima, the first man, went 'to meet the sun,' is suggested by מִקֶּדֶם.

[3] Reuss (*La Bible*) would emend גַּן־בְּעֵדֶן into גַּן־עֵדֶן, 'a garden of pleasure.'

close to Babylon, but which, as Tiele and Winckler have shown,[1] was in S. Babylonia, close to the Persian Gulf, and means Kaldi-land. Obviously this will not accord with our present theory; but who any longer defends it? We might, however, if no better course presented itself, accept Frd. Delitzsch's comparison of the Bab. word *edinu*, a synonym of *ṣêru*, meaning 'field, plain, desert' (*Par.* 79). 'Eden-jerahmeel' in the text as restored above would then mean 'the desert of Jerahmeel,' and we might venture to compare Gen. 11 1, where we should not improbably read, 'Now the whole human people was (of) one speech in the wilderness of the Jerahmeelites' (במדבר ירחמאלים for ודברים אחדים).[2] The explanation is nevertheless almost certainly wrong; 'Eden' is the name of a part of N. Arabia, and virtually equivalent to Cush or Miṣṣur, or perhaps (see Che. *Ps.*(2) on Ps. 74 15) to Ethan. There is a difficult passage in Amos (1 4 *f.*), which has hitherto not been satisfactorily explained,[3] but which becomes clear if the Hazael mentioned is a N. Arabian king (see Schr. *KAT*(2), 207), and if 'Dammešek' (as in 1 K. 19 15) is miswritten for 'Cusham,' and 'Aven' for 'On' (as in Hab. 3 7); in this case 'Beth-eden' will of course be on the N. Arabian border, and 'Aram' will be = 'Jerahmeel.' See also 2 Ch. 29 12, where 'Eden' (עֶדֶן) ben Joaḥ is a Gershonite, and cp the name Adonijah (אדניה), which is at any rate most probably an expanded ethnic.[4]

Here it is necessary to guard ourselves against misconception. We have no objection whatever to explain *vv.* 10-14 in their present form in the light of Babylonian lore so far as we can. The nucleus of these verses had come down to their second (?) editor in a corrupt form, and he edited it presumably in the same way as Gen. 11 1-9—*i.e.*, on the theory that it had some reference to Babylonia. He had probably heard of the Babylonian belief, expressed at the end of the great Deluge-story, in a terrestrial Paradise 'at the mouth of the streams' (*ina pî nârâti*); see DELUGE, §§ 2, 15, 17. These streams were, according to Jensen (*Kosmol.* 213), no other than the Tigris and the Euphrates.[5] It is reasonable to suppose that a Hebrew editor of Gen. 2 10-14 would (like the writer or compiler of Dan. 10)[6] identify 'Hiddekel' with the Tigris, in spite of the initial Ḥi [see HIDDEKEL], and 'Pĕrāth' with the Euphrates. Thus he would provide himself with two out of the four streams required by *v.* 10, as he read it. The present writer cannot satisfy himself that he attempted anything more than this. Still, when we consider that Alexander the Great supposed at first that the sources of the Egyptian Nile were in NW. India, it becomes barely conceivable that a Hebrew writer might regard the imaginary upper course of the Nile in Asia as one of the streams of Paradise, and connect the (corrupt) name Gihon with it.[7] We can even imagine with

8. Babylonian theories.

[1] Tiele, *BAG* 79 *f.*; Winckler, *Unters.* 135 *f.*

[2] 𝔊 gets over the difficulty of the traditional text by a paraphrase, καὶ φωνὴ μία πᾶσιν; Dillmann renders, 'the same words, or expressions.' Holzinger admits the harshness of the phrase. Can we acquiesce in it when אחר and אחרים (or the like) are obviously such common corruptions of ירחמאל and ירחמאלים?

[3] See Driver in the *Cambridge Bible* and Nowack in *HK*, *ad loc.*

[4] A close inspection of the names of David's sons will justify the statement. See special articles.

[5] According to the Bundahiš (ch. 20 in West's translation) two chief rivers, called the Arag and the Vêh, rise in the Iranian sacred mountain Albûrz, but also eighteen other streams, the list of which begins with the Diglat (Tigris) and the Frât (Euphrates). Albûrz is the later contraction of Hara-berezaiti, above which (for there is no favouritism as in Babylonia) the souls of all the righteous go up (Vend. 19 30).

[6] Very possibly, however, in a document used and misunderstood by the editor of Daniel, Hiddekel may have been corrupted out of 'Jerahmeel.' Cp PURIM, § 6 (end).

[7] Halévy, however (*Revue sémitique*, 1893, p. 33), identifies the Persian Gulf, continued westward towards the Red Sea, with the Gihon, which 'compasses the whole land of Cush.'

Haupt[1] that he might connect the remaining (corrupt) name Pishon with the Persian Gulf (the Bab. *nâru marrâtu*; see MERATHAIM), or rather with the Persian Gulf joined to the Red Sea, which, he may have thought, formed one great river encircling the whole of Hahavilah (*i.e.*, Arabia[2] except the northern part), and springing from the same source as the (supposed) Asiatic upper course of the Nile.

To complete our account of Haupt's theory, it should be added that he lays great stress on the phrase in Is. 14 13 which we have translated above 'in the recesses of Ṣāphōn'; like other scholars, he adheres to the usual rendering of צָפוֹן, 'north,' and, to explain this phrase as well as that in Ps. 48 3 [2],[3] supposes (with Hitzig, Stade, and Smend) that the Jewish exiles in Babylonia believed that Yahwè dwelt in the N., not (as of old) at Horeb. As a consequence, he thinks that the exiles transferred the gan-Eden to Armenia (*i.e.*, the NE.), near the common source of the Euphrates and the Tigris. From this great body of water, according to Haupt, the Jews believed two other streams—viz., the Asiatic course of the Nile and the Persian Gulf—to have branched off, to the E. of the Tigris. But the exegetical and critical objections to this view of the transferred dwelling-place of Yahwè (for some of which see Kraetzschmar, *Ezech.* 9) are insuperable.

A brief mention must also be given to the view of Frd. Delitzsch in 1881 (in his *Wo lag das Paradies?*) which for a time attracted Prof. Sayce.[4] Taking the Heb. *'eden* as = Bab. *edinu* 'plain,' he locates Paradise in the plain of Babylonia, the northern part of which is watered exclusively by the Euphrates. The Pishon and the Gihon he identifies with the Pallacopas (the nār Pallukat of the inscriptions) and the Shaṭṭ en-Nīl canals,[5] which may have been river-beds before they were made subservient to Babylonian irrigation. But Delitzsch's attempt to explain the names PISHON [*q.v.*] from *pisan(n)u* and Gihon from *Gug'âna* or *Guḫâna*, a name of the Araḫtu, is admitted to have been unsuccessful. Sayce therefore (*Crit. Mon.* 101) would now place the garden of Eden in the neighbourhood of Eridu, the sacred city of Ea. This is certainly plausible. Eridu (now *Abu Shahrein*), though at present far inland, was once on the sea-coast, and Jensen (*Kosmol.* 213) refers to a place in the inscriptions where the 'mouth of the streams' is mentioned in connection with Eridu. It is here that we should most probably place the enchanted island where Par-napištim, the hero of the Deluge-story, was placed by the gods, and where, according to a hymn or incantation, a magic palm grew, with precious stones for fruits (cp Ezekiel's 'stones of fire' = precious stones). Sayce thinks that the river of the Hebrew Paradise is the Persian Gulf, into which four streams flowed—viz., the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Kercha (= Choaspes), and the Pallakopas canal. Unfortunately for this theory, there appear to be no Babylonian names for the last two of these streams from which 'Pishon' and 'Gihon' might fairly be derived.

With regard to Lenormant's theory (*Les origines*, vol. i.) that the primitive Paradise lay where Zend tradition placed it, in the highlands of the Hindu Kush, it may safely be said that whatever resemblances there may be between Gen. 2 *f.* and the account in Fargard 2 of the Vendidad, are much more likely to be due to borrowing (possibly at more than one period) on the part of the Iranians, than to the derivation of both accounts from a common Aryan source. Babylon must be the parent of the Paradise-myth as known to the Iranians, the Jerahmeelites, and the Hebrews; otherwise, why should this myth have been known only to a favoured few of the Aryan and the Semitic peoples?

The theories which make the Hebrew Paradise-story

[1] *Wo lag das Paradies?* (from *Ueber Land und Meer*, 1894-95, no. 15), 7 *f.* Haupt adopts Nestle's etymology of PISHON [*q.v.*], and explains it as 'the stream with high waves.'

[2] It is significant, however, that we never hear again of the gold of Haḥavilah.

[3] On this much misunderstood passage see CONGREGATION (MOUNT OF). When will Bredenkamp's aspiration (*Gesetz u. Propheten*, 145) be fulfilled, and the 'fatal mountain of the gods' be banished from the hymn-book of Israel?

[4] See review of Del.'s *Paradies* in *Acad.*, Nov. 5, 1881, p. 349.

[5] Delitzsch identifies the Shaṭṭ en-Nīl with the ancient canal called Araḫtu; but according to Haupt (note in Toy's *Ezekiel*, Eng. ed., *SBOT* 93 *f.*), the Araḫtu was to the N. of Babylon, and the Shaṭṭ en-Nīl is probably the (nāru) Kabaru, at Nippur (see CHEBAR).

simply a loan from Babylonia having failed, we return to the hypothesis of a partly Babylonian, partly Jerahmeelite tradition. The Jerahmeelites, from whom the Israelites took the story, probably located Paradise sometimes on a vastly high mountain, sometimes in a garden (at its foot?), in some part of the Jerahmeelite territory. Cp Che. *Ps.*(2) on Ps. 74_{15}. The mountain (with a sacred grove on its summit) has dropped out of the story in Gen. 2 *f.*, but is attested in Ezek., and in the Eth. Enoch 24 *f.* (cp 18_{6-9}) the tree of life is placed in a mountain-range in the S.[1] As to the locality, if it be correct that by the Hebrew phrase ארץ זבת חלב, ודבש, 'a land flowing with milk and honey,' a part of the Negeb was originally meant (Nu. $13_{23\ 27}$, on which see NEGEB, § 7), we might infer that this fruitful land, with its vines, pomegranate-trees, and *fig-trees* (cp Gen. 3_7), had once upon a time been the Jerahmeelite Paradise. The phrase quoted from Nu. 13_{27} may seem an exaggeration; but we can hardly doubt that the river of milk and honey which (cp 'Secrets of Enoch,' ch. 8) flowed through Paradise is the earthly antitype (the ancients would have said, the continuation) of the river which flowed through the Elysian fields of the Milky Way[2] (cp col. 2104, n. 3).

9. Eden in Jerahmeel.

This view is in essential agreement with that of Sayce—that the four rivers of Paradise were originally the rivers of the four regions of the earth, which were fed by the ocean-stream that girdled the earth and descended from the sky (*Acad.*, Oct. 7, 1882, p. 263). The Paradise-myth belongs in fact to the same cycle as the Creation and Deluge stories. All these narratives come from Babylonia; but in spite of their present scenery, all are connected with sky-myths, the first men being originally viewed as divine men, the companions of the sky-god, and the flood, equally with the great ocean-stream, being the counterpart of the heavenly ocean (cp DELUGE, § 18).

At the same time we must bear in mind that Paradise is, by its very conception, an enchanted land. From a mythical point of view, it was quite conceivable that more distant parts of N. Arabia than that referred to above, though bleak and bare afterwards, might, in the world's childhood, have been covered with pleasant trees. Certainly the language of Is. 14_{13} (end), which may well be drawn from tradition, would seem to suggest a somewhat remote part of the region called Ṣāphōn.

10. Gunkel's theory.

Gunkel's theory (*Gen.* 33) is unsatisfactory in so far as it places the 'mountain of Elohim' in the far N., identifying it with the north pole[3] (the 'station' of Bel in Babylonian cosmology). Another part of it, however, is well worth considering—viz., the view that the Paradise of the Hebrew writer is no narrower region than the earth itself. This may indeed be, strictly regarded, an exaggeration; but it contains an important truth which is often overlooked. It is true that, just as the upper river of milk and honey belonged to the whole sky, so far as it was inhabited by gods and by blessed souls, so the river of Paradise belonged, theoretically, to nothing of less magnitude than the earth; originally indeed the earth, viewed as a great mountain, may have been the *har ĕlōhīm*. The Hebrew story itself (see the short form of *vv.* 10-14, § 5) by no means states that the course of the river was confined to the garden. Thanks to this beneficent stream, N. Arabia (the representative of the outside world) was delightful as compared with the earlier time described in Gen. 2_5. Thus room was left for other myth-makers to devise different geographies of Paradise. The myth is at home, not only among the Iranians (who derived it from Babylon, but modified it to suit themselves), but also 'among the American Indians, the Sioux and the Aztecs, the Mayas, the Polynesians.' Brinton, who points this out, adds, with theoretical accuracy, that 'the four rivers are the celestial streams from the four corners of the earth, watering the tree as the emblem of life.'[1]

[1] Charles (Enoch, p. 98) expresses surprise that the tree should be in the S. From the old Hebrew point of view, however, it is not wonderful. It is the moderns who have confused our ideas through false inferences (see §§ 8, 10).

[2] Cp Hymn to the Nile (Guieysse's transl., *RP*(2), 3 48), 'Watering the orchards created by Ra, to cause all the cattle to live, thou givest the earth to drink, inexhaustible one! path that descendest from the sky'; cp Gunkel, *Genesis*, 33.

[3] Cp EARTH (FOUR QUARTERS), § 2; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 25. But the Babylonian Paradise was in the *south*, and so too is Horeb, the 'mountain of Elohim.'

11. The two trees; the serpent.

We now pass on to other details. Chief among the trees of the garden were 'the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil' (2_{9b}). Of any of the trees the man who was placed in the garden was permitted by Yahwè to eat, except (as the text now stands) of 'the tree of knowledge of good and evil.' It is obvious (though Winckler[2] apparently thinks otherwise) that there must have been an earlier form of the Hebrew myth in which only one tree was specially named. Budde and Gunkel agree in fixing upon 'the tree of knowledge of good and evil'; Kuenen, more wisely (*Th. T* 18 136), prefers the tree of life. Of course, as Budde remarks, 'the original narrator cannot possibly have reported that the man had been permitted to eat of the tree of life as well as of the other trees of the garden.'[3] Consequently, it being probable on various grounds (see, *e.g.*, 3_{23} *f.*, and cp Gunkel) that our present narrative is composite, it is assumed (at least by Gunkel) that in one of the literary sources only one tree—that mentioned above—was specially named, whilst in the other two trees were mentioned.[4] There is much to be said for this theory. Still, it must be confessed, not only that the closing words of 2_9 appear to drag,[5] but that the phrase 'the tree of knowledge of good and evil' is both obscure and (in a myth like this) improbable. The worthiest, but at the same time the least defensible, interpretation is no doubt that of Jastrow (*Rel. Bab. and Ass.* 553, note)—viz., that 'good and evil' means our 'everything,' or the Babylonian 'secrets of heaven and earth.' The poorest, and yet on the whole the easiest, is that 'knowing good and evil' means the art of living smoothly—*e.g.*, with reference to the sexual distinction. But can we believe that any good Hebrew writer would have devised such a phrase as this out of his own head? In all such cases textual corruption is the root of the evil.

The narrative in its present form does not require emendation; even the repellent phrases in $3_{5\ 22}$ have to stand. But in the original narrative the words which closed 2_9 were probably parallel to בְּתוֹךְ הַגָּן, 'in the midst of the garden.' Is there any probable Hebrew phrase which can underlie ועץ הדעת טוב ורע, having regard to the habits and dangers of the scribes? There is—one may very plausibly read בְּטַבּוּר הָאָרֶץ,[6] 'in the navel of

[1] *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, 126. Cp Sayce, review of Lenormant's *Les origines*, vol. ii., *Acad.*, Oct. 7, 1882, p. 263.

[2] In the Alexander legend Alexander receives his oracle from two special trees in a παράδεισος. Winckler (*GI* 2 108) compares these two oracular trees with the two trees in the Hebrew Paradise, both called (according to him) 'tree of the knowledge of good and evil.' One of them, he says, became the tree of life, by a confusion with the (Babylonian) plant of life (see § 12). May we not rather say that the original tree of life declined into a plant in the S. Babylonian myth, as with the Hindoos it shrivelled up into the lotus-flower on which Brahma rests?

[3] *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, 53. It may be noted that from a feeling of the inconsistency of magic with moral religion all mention of the magic tree of immortality—the Gaokerena—is excluded from the ancient Zoroastrian hymns called the Gâthâs. Cp *OPs.* 400 439.

[4] This view is at any rate simpler than that given by Budde in 1883.

[5] Driver has made a gallant attempt (*Hebraica*, Oct. 1885, p. 33) to save the text; he quotes a number of examples to show that 'the order is quite regular and natural.' But is it quite natural in this context? It is certainly awkward not to be told expressly whether the 'tree of knowledge of good and evil' was in the centre of the garden, or elsewhere. Kautzsch and Socin (*Genesis*(2), 4) remark, 'One cannot help noticing that these words drag; one of the two trees seems to be alien to the original context.'

[6] ועץ הדעת comes from ראצהרבט; טוב ורע from טרבהרא[ץ]. The uncommon phrase טַבּוּר הארץ was dittographed; corruption followed.

the earth.' In the Book of Jubilees, chap. 8, Jerusalem the holy city is called the navel or ὀμφαλός of the earth (like Delphi in Greece); cp also Eth. Enoch 26 1, with Charles's note. It is quite probable that the centre of the Jerahmeelite Paradise was similarly described, and that it was marked out by the tree of life—*i.e.*, everlasting life[1]—which grew there. The editor had before him a corrupt text, and instead of inventing he made the best possible sense of his doubtful material, using the very gentlest manipulation.

The sense which the editor put upon his text was in fact not unnatural if he knew of another form of the Paradise-story, according to which Yahwè, like Ea in the Adapa myth, endowed his creature man with wisdom (Job 15 7; cp CREATION, § 21), but denied him immortality. This parallel story may at least have given him the idea of a tree of knowledge, though the range of knowledge had to be limited. He did his little best with the text, and—what is more important—he sought to lift up the story in its revised form to a higher level. Though the serpent accuses Yahwè of deception (Gen. 3 4 *f.*), and though deception on the part of Yahwè was very possibly asserted in the original myth, the narrator does not mean us to admit the truth of the accusation. The penalty of death may be delayed; it is not removed. The narrator also gives no hint as to the kind of tree meant by the tree of life—information which might perhaps have been injurious to the interests of religion.

Can we go behind the narrative, and try to identify the trees? From the mention of 'fig-leaves' (3 7) one may perhaps infer that the narrator (*i.e.*, the editor) meant the fig-tree, one of the most valued trees of Palestine, and also, as it happens, one of the sacred trees of Babylonia.[2] The tree of life might well, in Palestine, have been the terebinth; the sacred tree of MAMRE (*q.v.*) was a terebinth. But in any Babylonian version of the myth the tree of life would naturally be the date-palm. 'Here' (*i.e.*, in Babylonia), says Sir G. Birdwood,[3] 'if I may judge from the banks of the Shaṭṭ el-'Arab, along which I botanised for more than a week in 1856, the only true native tree is the date-palm.' Its fruit in antiquity formed the staple food of the people, and date-wine was their drink.[4] It was also chief among the sacred trees; the famous mythic palm-tree of Eridu has been referred to already. In Enoch (24 4) we read of the tree of life that 'its fruit was like the dates of the palm'; this was the most natural way of supplementing the old Hebrew story.

The result at which we have arrived removes some serious difficulties. It is satisfactory to have reason to believe that 'life' and 'wisdom' were not in the original story regarded as separate. 'Knowledge,' no doubt, has different meanings. But it was a true insight which dictated the statement that Enoch passed away from earthly view, because God had taken him (Gen. 5 24). He who shared God's wisdom (see ENOCH) ought also to share his immortality, a statement which, in the fulness of time, becomes transfigured into the truth, 'This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God.'

But can no fresh light be thrown on the serpent, who is classed among the 'beasts of the field' (3 1), and yet possesses such extraordinary faculties? We are only able as yet to express suspicions, and this can best be done in the form of questions (cp SERPENT). Was the serpent originally the semi-divine guardian of the tree of life, like the dragon of the garden of the Hesperides? Was the 'temptation' in the primitive story a friendly counsel, which presupposed indeed that the words of Yahwè were deceptive (cp the Adapa-myth), but which is not to be judged as a deliberate act of rebellion against the supreme Will? We know not. But we may at least reject a recent theory ascribed by Jastrow to Haupt, based on the interpretation of חַוָּה (Eve) as

1 The limitation of 'life' in Eth. Enoch (see 25 6) is not in accordance with Gen. 2-3. The divine beings themselves eat of the fruit of this tree, and certainly they live for ever (לְעֹלָם, 3 22, not 'for a long time').

2 See the sacred tree (a conventionalised fig-tree) represented on p. 182 of Toy's *Ezekiel*, translation, *SBOT*.

3 *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1886, p. 41.

4 Cp Lenormant, *Les origines*, 1 81 *f.*; Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.*, 555 *f.*

'serpent' (see col. 61, n. 3)—viz., that 'the serpent' was originally the woman, 'who, by arousing the sexual passion, leads man to a "knowledge of good and evil."' Surely the speaking serpent[1] is no afterthought, but a primitive element in the story. That the curse pronounced on the serpent is primitive is not equally clear, and it is perhaps all the more permissible to allegorise it for edification. Nor can we add anything fresh on the cherub and on the flashing sword (on both, see CHERUB).

12. Babylonian illustrations.

No Babylonian tree of wisdom is known to us. But (*a*) in the Babylonian earthly Paradise there was both water of life[2] and a 'plant which makes the old young'[3]—a plant which is presumably the original both of the Hebrew tree of life and of the Iranian tree of immortality called Gaokerena.[4] And when Par-napištim and his wife were placed in the Babylonian Paradise, it followed that they had free access to both.[5] (*b*) This was not the case with the hero of another remarkable myth, named Adapa, who, though permitted to see the secrets of heaven and earth, was prevented by his divine father Ea from partaking of the 'food of life' and the 'water of life.' 'When thou comest before Anu,' said Ea, 'they will offer thee food of death. Do not eat. They will offer thee waters of death. Do not drink.' Adapa obeyed his commands; but it was a deception on Ea's part, and the sky-god Anu is represented as being 'astonished' (or 'grieved'?) that Adapa should have foregone the privilege offered to him.[6] Sayce (*Crit. Mon.* 94, and elsewhere) has considerably exaggerated the illustrative value of this myth, and there is a 'great gulf fixed' between 'Adapa' and 'Adama.' It is quite possible, however, that the threat of death as the penalty for eating the forbidden fruit was suggested by the speech of Ea to Adapa, quoted above; at the very least, the two tales are too much akin not to have a common source.

(*c*) Another story which deserves to be mentioned is that of Eabani. But beyond the point already used as an illustration (the formation of Eabani out of clay, CREATION, § 20, n. 4) it appears unsafe to venture. Jastrow's use of the comparative method has perhaps led him to some serious misinterpretations of the story of 'Adam and Eve.'[7] Into these we need not here enter. But two points on which he has suggested a new theory can hardly be passed over. (1) As to the naming of the animals (Gen. 2 19 *f.*). Is this really a euphemism to be illustrated by the story of Eabani (but cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.*, 576 *ff.*)? The passage in Gen. is no doubt difficult, but only through its present context. It seems to have come from another Paradise-story according to which the first man was endowed with extraordinary intelligence. It has, properly speaking, no connection with the creation of 'Eve.' The passage should probably run thus, 'And out of the ground . . . and brought them to the man, but for man (?) he found no help corresponding to him.' The naming of the

1 The Book of Jubilees says (contrary to the spirit of the underlying myth) that all animals spoke before the Fall.

2 See Zimmern, 'Lebensbrot und Lebenswasser im Babylonischen und in der Bibel,' *Archiv für Relig.-wissenschaft*, Bd. 2; Jeremias, *Die Bab.-ass. Vorstellungen*, etc. 91 *ff.* The Hebrew story must also once have referred to this water; see Prov. 10 11 13 14 14 27, and cp Rev. 22 1 *f.*, 17. Elsewhere, too, the tree and the fountain of life go together (*e.g.*, according to Schirren, in New Zealand), and every sacred tree, properly, has near it a sacred fountain.

3 On Winckler's theory see col. 3578, n. 2.

4 This was a white Haoma tree, said to grow in the middle of the mythic sea Vouru-kasha. By drinking of its juice on the day of the resurrection men would become immortal. The Haoma plant used in the sacrifices was the yellow Haoma which grows on the mountains. See *Yast*, 2 3; *Yasna*, 10 6-10; *Zend-avesta* (*SBE*), i., Introd. lxix.

5 Cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 227, 383; Jeremias, *op. cit.* 87-95.

6 Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.*, 549, 552; cp Zimmern in Gunk. *Schöpf.* 420 *ff.*; Jensen, *KB*, 6 1, 93 *ff.*

7 'Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature,' *AJSL*, July 1899, 193 *ff.*

PARADISE

animals is a mark partly of the wisdom of the first man, partly of his lordship over the animals (cp NAME, NAMES). We are reminded of the version of the Paradise-story in Ezekiel, where the first man has also a splendid state-dress (not a mere coat of skins), and who, if he sins, sins in a grand way. (2) As to the name of the first woman. Jastrow connects חַוָּה, Ḥawwā, with Ukhat in the story of Eabani, but prematurely (as well as most unsuitably). Before we try to account for the name we must apply criticism to the text. Now אם כל-חי (EV 'the mother of all living') in Gen. 3_{20} is just as corrupt as באר לחי ראי (EV Beer-lahai-roi) in 16_{14}. The passage probably ran originally, 'And Jerahmeel called the name of his wife Ḥōrīth (חרת), that is, a Jerahmeelitess '[1] (הוא יְרַחְמְאֵלִית). 'Jerahmeel' and 'Ḥorith'—the original first men—became Ha-adam and Ḥavvah (AV, Adam and Eve). Almost throughout, the story has been adapted to the new reading האדם (instead of ירחמאל), but here and there passages occur which have become hopelessly obscure through the alteration.

And what, we may now ask, is the object of the beautiful Hebrew story of Paradise? As it now stands,

13. Object of present story.

it gives an account of the origin of the gravest phenomena of human life. We see the toiling man, the subject woman, the pains of childbirth, the sad farewell of death. Yet we know that the man was 'God's son' (Lk. 3_{38}) and dwelt in his garden; how is it that paradise joys and paradise simplicity have disappeared? The sense of shame, too, so specially human, how is this to be accounted for? And the serpent—how comes it to be at once so intelligent (𝔊 φρονιμώτατος; cp Mt. 10_{16}, φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις) and so hostile and dangerous to man? It is all owing to fateful events which occurred in the primitive age. The narrator has no special curiosity about sin. He only brings in the sin of the first man to explain the expulsion from Paradise and the rest. Of course, we do not accuse the narrator of being indifferent to sin. In a style which is far more impressive than that of a preacher he inculcates the fear of God and obedience to his commandments, and he acquiesces in the justice of the punishment of the offenders. But the existence of sin is not one of his problems; there is an intellectual chasm between him and Paul. One must admit that there is also a difference between this somewhat pessimistic story and many of the narratives which follow. Abraham especially is, in the eyes of the narrators, no sinner, and is very near and dear to God. One may venture to add that the illusion which tempted the first man was a relatively modest one—it was not to become God (the exaggerated aspiration of the Indian), but to become as God in a single point; and that, after his doom had been pronounced, he exhibited no Titanic insolence, but, as Milton has rightly noticed, was humble and resigned towards the supreme will.

Such is the primary object of the story of Paradise, and such is the explanation. But the primitive myth—

14. Object of original myth.

had that no object? and was the original object wholly lost through being elevated morally by the Hebrew narrator? No. The original object was partly to put man on his guard against exciting the φθόνος of the Deity, partly to cheer him by describing the felicity of the golden age, which golden age may and must in the drama of history return (cp 4 Esd. 8_{52}, but also Is. 11_{6-9} 65_{25} 51_{3}). Look where we will, we find 'that man has ever looked on this present world as a passing scene in the shifting panorama of time, to be ended by some cataclysm, and to be followed by some period of millennial glory.'[2] This millennial glory is the restoration of Paradise (cp MILLENNIUM). The φθόνος of the Deity is not indeed a Christian conception; but something slightly resembling it is not wanting elsewhere in the OT (see, *e.g.*, Gen. 11_{6} *f.*, Is. 2_{12-21}). The restoration of Paradise, however, is thoroughly congenial to the Christian; only it is to the heavenly, not the earthly Paradise, that he aspires—'to enjoy God and be with him for ever.'

That the details of the Paradise-story took hold of the later Jews is obvious; we cannot, however, show that

15. Influence of story on Jews.

it exerted any influence on the pre-exilic Israelites. It may, nevertheless, in some form, have been widely known at any rate in Judah, though the prophets apparently did not think it important to refer to the story.

Among the later references Job 15_{7} *f.* can hardly be quoted; it is not the same but a parallel myth that we there have before us (CREATION, § 21). The 'fountain of life' in Proverbs (see above, col. 3580, n. 2) is a detail not found in Genesis; Proverbs (3_{18} 11_{30} 13_{12} 15_{4}), however, also refers to the 'tree of life,' though accidentally the expression is simply a figurative synonym.[1]

In Enoch the tree of life and that of wisdom (φρόνησις) are separately described. The tree of life is represented as one of a number of fragrant trees, encircling the throne of God, which throne is the middle and highest of seven mountains in the south (24_{3}-25_{7}; cp § 9, n. 1). 'The tree of wisdom (φρόνησις) in the garden of righteousness is like the carob tree (see HUSKS); it imparts great wisdom to those who eat of it'; Rufael expressly identifies it with the tree of which Adam and Eve ate (32). In the 'Secrets of Enoch' (8) we again hear of the tree of life. It is in Paradise, which, as in 2 Cor. $12_{2\ 4}$, is placed in the third heaven. It is further described as 'in that place in which God rests when he comes into Paradise,' and as 'on all sides in appearance like gold and crimson, and transparent as fire,' and as covering everything.

For the different statements of the Ethiopic Enoch as to Paradise, see Charles's note on 60_{8}. It is a remarkable illustration of the permanence of mythic phraseology that in the book *Secrets of Enoch* (8_{5} *f.*) we read of four (or two) streams going forth, which pour honey and milk, oil and wine,[2] and are separated in four directions, and go down to the Paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility, and thence go along the earth. To Moses, too, the 'greatness of Paradise' is revealed in the Apocalypse of Baruch (59_{8}); cp *Ta'ănith*, 10*a*. See also 4 Esd. 7_{53} 8_{52}; Test. Levi 18; and note the gloss upon 'as the days of the tree' (Is. 65_{22}) in 𝔊 and the Targum. Lastly, note a fine passage in the Psalms of Solomon (14_{3b}), ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ κυρίου, τά ξύλα τῆς ζωῆς, ὅσιοι αὐτοῦ. The magic element is here entirely removed.

The NT references are Lk. 23_{43} 2 Cor. 12_{4} Rev. 2_{7}. Here παραδεισος is used in a technical sense (not so פרדס in MH). On Paul's reference see above, and on the heavenly Paradise as the abode of the righteous see Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 344 *ff.* The Midrash on the Psalms says that the dwellers in Paradise see the face of God; they are indeed nearer than the angels. It is the antithesis to Gehinnom, and was created before the world. See ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 20, 63, 75, 79, 103; and on the Reformation antipathy to allegory, on the NT treatment of the Paradise-story, on the story itself, and on the names of the first two human beings, ADAM AND EVE.

While this article was passing through the press, appeared an essay by Hommel entitled *Vier neue Landschaftsnamen im AT, nebst einem Nachtrag über die vier Paradiesesflüsse in altbab. u. altarab. Ueberlieferung* (also to be found in *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, 3_{1}), in which it is maintained that the Babylonians knew four Paradise-rivers, analogous to the four Paradise-rivers of the Hebrews. These rivers Hommel localises (cp *AHT* 314 *ff.*) in northern and central Arabia, the כוש and אשור of Gen. being, according to him, central Arabia and Edom respectively. Hommel, however, equally with Winckler, fails to notice the strong evidence of a Jeraḥmeelite origin of the

[1] הוא ירח' is a perfectly correct gloss, חרי being probably a fragment of ירחמאלי. Cp the name of Esau's wife, Gen. 26_{34} (emended under JUDITH)

[2] Brinton, *op. cit.*, 122.

[1] Cp Budde, *Die bibl. Urgesch.* 85.

[2] Charles well compares *Koran*, Sur. 47_{15} where Paradise is described as having rivers of incorruptible water, milk of changeless taste, delicious wine, and clarified honey.

story of Paradise and other related narratives in the early part of Genesis.

A complete bibliography for Gen. 2 4*b*-3 and the questions which this section has produced would be a contribution to the history of exegesis but would not greatly help the pursuit of critical truth. Besides the important works referred to in the article we may mention a few articles or portions of books which might easily be overlooked.

16. Literature.

Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, 1 473 *ff.* 522 *ff.*; Schrader, *JPT* 1 124 *f.*; Baudissin, *Studien zur semit. Rel.-gesch.* 2 189 *f.*; Glaser, *Skizze*, 323 *ff.* 341 *ff.*; Hommel, *Neue kirchl. Zt.* 2 893 *ff.*; Stade, *GVI* 1 632 *f.*; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*(4), 310; Smend, *Lehrbuch der AT Rel.-gesch.*(2) 119 *ff.*; Guidi, 'Sopra Gen. 2 19.' in *Transactions of 9th International Congress of Orientalists*, 2 64-67; Stade, 'Gen. 2 20 23 3 14,' *ZATW* 17 207-212 [1897]; Toy, 'Analysis of Gen. 2 3,' *JBL* 10 1-19 [1891], Kuenen, *Th.T* 18 130-140 [1884], (on Budde's theories); Nestle, *Marginalien*, pp. 4-6 [1893]; Worcester, *The Book of Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, pp. 148-256 [1901]. T. K. C.

PARAH (הַפָּרָה, *i.e.*, 'the cow'? ; φαρα [B], αφαρ [A], αφρα [L]), a town in the territory of Benjamin mentioned with OPHRAH ('fawn'?), Josh. 18 23. Identified by Guérin with the ruins called *Fāra*, in the lower part of the *W. Fāra*, on a hill in the middle of the valley, about 3 m. NE. of Anathoth. The valley is always fresh and green from the beautiful 'Ain Fāra (see EUPHRATES, 2), and though to-day nothing is more austere than this savage gorge, haunted by birds of prey, and at evening by wild beasts from the mountains, numerous relics of ancient buildings are visible (Guérin, *Judée*, 3 71-73; *PEFM* 3 174). There is another Fāra, SW. of Kedesh-Naphtali, not far from Kefr-Bir'im. The name Parah or Happārah is scarcely in its original form. Probably the article is prefixed to the Benjamite Parah to distinguish it from the other Parah (Fāra).

PARAN (פָּארָן; cp the Arab tribal names, *farrān*, *fārān* [Ges.-Bu.]; Wetzstein, in Del. *Gen.*(4) 587 n., derives from √פאר, 'to dig out'; φαραν [Bℵ*ADFQL]). It is not easy to understand all the OT passages relative to Paran. Most scholars will agree, however, in identifying the wilderness of Paran with the lofty tableland of limestone called et-Tīh, which is bounded on the S. by Jebel et-Tīh, on the W. by the Jebel Helāl and the Jebel Yeleḳ (towards the Wādy el-'Arīš), on the N. by the 'Azāzimeh mountain plateau (see ZIN), and on the E. by th Arābāh. In a larger sense it appears also to have inc uded the wilderness of Zin in which Kadesh is located (Nu. 20 1, etc.), and therefore to have stretched up to the NEGEB (*q.v.*). This wider sense is presupposed in Gen. 21 21, 'and he (Ishmael) dwelt in the wilderness of Paran, and his mother took for him a wife from the land of Miṣrim.' The narrator means that Paran and Miṣrim are virtually synonymous, so that if Miṣrim included Kadesh (which has been elsewhere—see MIZRAIM—assumed), Kadesh can be said with equal justice to have been in the wilderness of Zin and in that of Paran. In fact, Nu. 13 26 states that the spies came to Moses 'to the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh.' Here, it is true, קָדֵשָׁה, 'to Kadesh,' is a redactional insertion (Rₚ, see Bacon); but the insertion is geographically correct.

Dt. 33 1 *f.*, 'Yahwè came from Sinai, and beamed forth from Seir upon them; he shone brightly from Mt. Paran, and came from Meribath-Kadesh' (see KADESH, § 2, MASSAH, § 2 *f.*). The passage only becomes perfectly clear when we admit that Kadesh and Paran are geographically connected. 1 S. 24 1, 'Behold, David is in the wilderness of En-Kadesh' (so we should probably read, for "En-gedi":[1] see KADESH [Barnea]); 25 1, 'And David arose and went down to the wilderness of Paran.' Most critics (*e.g.*, We., Dr., but not H. P. Smith) follow 𝔊B in emending MT's פארן into מָעוֹן, which occurs in the next verse (cp MAON). But the harder reading is to be preferred. From the wilderness of Kadesh David went down to the wilderness of Paran (in the narrower sense). It should be noticed that 25 1*b* and *v.* 2 *ff.* come from different sources.

Nu. 20 1 27 14 (= Dt. 32 51) 33 36 34 4 (cp Josh. 15 3); in these passages (all P or Rₚ) Kadesh is distinctly said to be in the wilderness of Zin (Nu. 33 36 even says, 'in the wilderness of Zin, that is, Kadesh'). Nu. 10 12 12 16 13 3 26 (all P) place Paran between Sinai and the Negeb. In Dt. 1 1 a new usage (but on the text see SUPH) appears. Paran may here designate a locality in the wilderness of Paran (Buhl, etc.); so, too, if the text is right, in 1 K. 11 18, but here פארן is very possibly miswritten for מצרן or מצרים—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Miṣrim (see HADAD, MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*).

The description of Paran given by Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 298 64 122 28) is surprising. Pharan is a town over against Arabia southward, three days' journey from Aila eastward. Horeb, too, according to Eusebius (*OS* 301 40), was beyond Arabia, and Jerome adds (112 23) that it was near the mountain and the desert of the Saracens called Pharan. Eusebius and Jerome were evidently misled by the name, Feirān, of the principal wādy in the Sinaitic peninsula, on the N. side of the Jebel Serbāl. Rephidim, they say (*OS* 287 86 145 25), is near Pharan—*i.e.*, near the walled episcopal city of Pharan (cp REPHIDIM). It is very strange that Greene (*Hebrew Migration*, 319) should think this tradition defensible. The Mountain of Elohim, he says, was 'indifferently called Sinai, Horeb, Paran.' Cp SINAI.

Mt. Paran is mentioned twice: Dt. 33 2 (see above), and Hab. 3 3 (‖ TEMAN). The latter passage favours the view of Buhl that 'Mt. Paran' means 'the range of hills between Sinai and Seir, which stretches beside the Elamitic Gulf as far as Aila (Elath).' This very late passage, however, is merely a new and condensed edition of Dt. 33 2, where Mt. Paran is parallel to Kadesh. It is better to explain 'Mt. Paran' in accordance with this earlier passage as meaning Jebel Maḳrah[1] (Palmer's Magrah), an extensive plateau which, though intersected by several broad wādys, runs northwards, without any break, to a point within a few miles of Wādy es-Seba'. It may be added that, as Holland discovered in 1878, the Jebel Maḳrah and the Jebel Jerāfeh (SE. of the 'Azāzimeh mountains) do not form one continuous ridge, but are separated by a wādy, and that this wādy is probably the 'road of Mt. Seir' mentioned in Dt. 1 2.[2] This enables us to understand better how Teman (= Edom) and Mt. Paran could be regarded as parallel, though they are less strictly parallel than Mt. Paran and Kadesh.

We also meet, in Gen. 14 6, with **El-Paran** (אֵיל פָּארָן, ἕως [τῆς] τερ[ε]μ[β]ίνθου τῆς φαραν; Onk. Sam. 'plain [מישרא] of Paran' [see MOREH, PLAIN OF]), a point described as being עַל־המדבר, 'by the wilderness,' at which, according to the present text, Chedorlaomer 'turned' in order to reach En-mishpat or Kadesh, and the country of the Amalekites and of certain Amorites. It is usually identified with the famous ELATH (אילת) at the N. end of the Elanitic Gulf. This is not unplausible, according to the geographical view suggested by the present text. Still, the assumption that the full name of Elath was El-Paran ('palm(s) of Paran'?) is by no means likely; we should have expected Eloth-Arābāh. That the wilderness of Paran was considered to extend to the Elanitic Gulf, is also unlikely. It is probable that we have here one of the many corruptions which disfigure the text of Gen. 14. The point intended may have been somewhere in the low hills near the Wādies Ghamr and Jerāfeh, in the ancient 'road of Mt. Seir' (see above, also Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus* 424.). But cp SODOM. T. K. C.

PARAS, EV **Persia** (פָּרָס; περσαι [BAQ]; Ezek. 27 10 38 5), according to Dillmann (Schenkel's *BL* 4 470) a N. African people; he compares the Perorsi and Pharusii of Pliny (5 8). EV cannot be right; certainly, too, Ezekiel mentions 'Paras' in connection with 'Lud' and 'Put' which Dillmann regards as N. African peoples (in Ezek. 38 5 'Lud' may have accidentally dropped out of the text; cp 𝔊A). When, however, we consider the frequent errors of MT, we have no right

[1] Greene (*Hebrew Migration from Egypt*, 1879, p. 271) sees very clearly that the *midbar* of Paran and that of 'En-gedi' were not far apart. He also (273) suggests that En-gedi may be a corruption of En-Kadesh. We cannot, however, with Greene abolish the traditional 'En-gedi' altogether.

[1] Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 510.
[2] Guthe, *ZDPV* 8 218 (1885); cp Palmer, *op. cit.* 421.

to suppose the reference to be to a people nowhere else mentioned in OT. According to Grätz, in 27 10 פרס is simply a corruption of כוש, whilst in 38 5 the word was also by an error written twice over (dittographed). Elsewhere (see PARADISE, § 3, and PROPHET, § 27) the present writer has maintained that certain prophecies of Ezek. have been recast so as to refer to peoples not meant by the prophet. If so, פרס and פוט will both be corruptions of צרפת, ZAREPHATH (*q.v.*). Cp PUT.

This is of importance, because Winckler bases his denial of Ezekiel's authorship of 38 *f.* partly on the incorrect geography implied in 'Paras, Cush, and Put' (*AOF* 2 165.) T. K. C.

PARBAR (פַּרְבָּר) and PARVARIM (AV 'suburbs,' RV 'precints, פַּרְוָרִים; φαρουρειμ [BAL], φρουριον [Sym.]; פרודא [Pesh.]). These two names, which occur in 1 Ch. 26 18 and 2 K. 23 11 respectively, are usually identified.

1. 'Suburbs' or 'mules'?

It is pointed out that פְּרְוָר (פַּרְוָר) in New Hebrew means 'suburbs' and 'precincts,' and that פַּרְוָר[א] is used in Tg. for Heb. מִגְרָשׁ, etc., and from Ezek. 41 12 15 it is inferred that there were outbuildings on the W. of the temple. In the temple of Herod two of the gates on the W. are said to have led to the *προάστειον* (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11 15). This explanation of Parvarim is certainly rather incomplete, and the question arises whether scholars have not been too hasty in assuming that אשר בפרורים describes the situation of the chamber of Nathan-melech and does not rather complete the very imperfect description of Nathan-melech's office. It has also perhaps been premature to assume that the horses which the kings of Judah 'gave to the sun' were of bronze, when one considers the pointed way in which it is stated that the 'chariots of the sun' were 'burned with fire.' Of the horses, in fact, it is only said that Josiah put them down (וַיַּשְׁבֵּת). It has also not been adequately noticed that מבא is corrupt, and that if the position of the horses of bronze (?) had been described at all, a more precise expression than מְבֹא (so Kittel) would probably have been used. The most obvious new explanation is to emend מבא into מַעֲרַב, 'on the west of,' and בפרורים into בַּפְּרָדִים. The passage then becomes, 'And he put down the horses which the kings of Judah had given to the sun, on the W. of Yahwè's house towards the chamber of Nathan-melech, the official, who was occupied with the mules' (the king's riding animals), 'and he burned the chariots of the sun with fire.' See NATHAN-MELECH. We have thus obtained fresh light on a passage of much interest for Jewish history; but we have lost a supposed source of light for the 'Parbar' of 1 Ch. 26 18, and we shall now hardly be bold enough to compare the Pers. *parwâr* or *parbâr* (both forms, besides fifteen others, are given in Richardson's Persian Dictionary), which means 'an open gallery or balcony on the top of a house, an upper room open on all sides to the air,' etc. (see Ball on 1 Ch. *l.c.*, in Ellicott's OT Commentary, vol. iii. [1883]).

2. Ancient versions.

The word לפרבר was apparently unknown to 𝔊, and, where it occurs first, appears to be a corrupt dittogram of למערב.

It still remains to consider the readings of the ancient versions.

The readings *in cellulis janitorum* [Vg.] and כלפי ברא [Tg., dividing ל(א)פי בר, so Levy, *Targ. HWB* 367] are guesses. Pesh. simply transliterates. In *vv.* 16-18 𝔊 presents here and there a simpler text than the MT, and *v.* 18 (the opening words *εἰς διαδεχομένους* apparently belong to *v.* 17) consists of a repetition of 16-17 followed by *καὶ πρὸς δυσμαῖς τέσσαρες, καὶ εἰς τὸν τρίβον δύο διαδεχομένους.* The last two words represent שנים שנים (so read in *v.* 18*b*). The repetition of Parbar in one verse is unaccountable, and unless it is the corruption of some gloss upon שנים שנים and therefore expressed in the *διαδεχομένους* (in which case the first mention of it belongs to the end of *v.* 17), it would appear that it has been ignored or not read by 𝔊.

T. K. C. § 1; S. A. C. § 2.

PARCHED CORN. See FOOD, § 1.

PARCHMENT (τα βιβλια μαλιστα τας μεμβρανας; *libros, maxime autem membranas*: 2. Tim. 4 13).

Parchment was prepared from the skins of goats, sheep, calves, asses, swine, and antelopes; the codex Sinaiticus is written on the finest prepared antelope skins. It owes its name (*περγαμηνή, charta pergamena*) to Eumenes II., king of Pergamum (197-159 B.C.), who revived the ancient use of skins, and improved the method of their preparation. Pliny's story (*HN* 13 11), for which he claims the authority of Varro, is that Eumenes wished to found a library in his capital which should rival that of Alexandria. To prevent this Ptolemy Epiphanes forbade the export of papyrus, and so compelled him to revert to the ancient custom. The new material was prepared in such a way as to be fit to receive writing on both sides, and thus be conveniently made up into book-form, the *σωμάτιον*. The name *pergamena* first occurs in Diocletian's Price-list and in Jerome. The earlier word was *διφθέραι* (Herod. 5 58), or *δέρρεις* (cp Mk. 16 in cod. D), or *μεμβράναι* (Lat. *membranæ*); gradually parchment supplanted papyrus, and with this came also the change from the roll to the 'codex.' The first scholar to possess a whole library in 'codices' was Jerome; and shortly before his time the library of Origen had to be rewritten in parchment volumes by two priests. What the *βιβλία* (*i.e.*, papyrus-rolls) or the more valuable *μεμβράναι* mentioned by Paul (in a section which may possibly have formed part of a genuine letter of the apostle) actually were it is impossible to say. What they may have been can easily be conjectured; but the hypotheses of scholars differ. Thiersch thinks of notes on the life of Jesus, Maier of portions of the OT, Bahnsen of apocryphal writings, Wieseler of legal documents, Baumgarten of works of Greek literature (cp von Soden, *ad loc.*).

Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*; Sanday, *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, 3 234 *ff.*; Nestle, *Einführung in das Griechische NT* (1899), 39 *f.* (=ET, 40 *f.*).

PARK (פַּרְדֵּס), Neh. 2 8, RVmg., Eccl. 2 5, RV. See GARDEN, PARADISE.

PARLOUR (עֲלִיָּה, etc.), Judg. 3 20, etc. See CHAMBER, HOUSE.

PARMASHTA (פַּרְמַשְׁתָּא; μαρμασιμα [BL*β*], *μαρμασιμ* [א], *μαρμασιμνα* [A]; *phermesta* [Vg.]), son of HAMAN, Est. 9 9. For the name some compare Sansk. *parameshta*, 'chief' (Benary). An old Pers. original would be better; but see PURIM.

PARMENAS (παρμενας [Ti. WH]) = Parmenides, one of the 'Seven,' Acts 6 5.

The list of the Pseudo-Hippolytus makes him bishop of Soli; in that of the Pseudo-Dorotheus he is said to have 'died in his deaconship in the presence of the apostles.'

PARNACH (פַּרְנָךְ; φαρναχ [BAF], φαραναχ [L]). Elizaphan, *nāsī* of Zebulon, is called *ben Parnach* (Nu. 34 25†, P).

The name can hardly be 'the land of Parnak' mentioned by Esarhaddon (*KB* 2 128) in connection with Tul-Ašur (*i.e.*, TELASSAR [*q.v.*]). See Del. *Par.* 265; Wi. *GBA* 269.

PAROSH (פַּרְעֹשׁ, § 68, 'flea,' cp Ass. *paršu'u*, 'flea,' also a personal name, Del. *Ass. HWB*, 546; for a more attractive explanation, see below; usually φορος or φαρες [L], whence PHOROS in EV of Esd., but in Ezra 2 3 [B] and 10 25 [א c.a] φαρες, and in Neh. 3 25 φορεως [L], and 10 15 φορες [L]), the name of the most eminent non-Levitical 'father's house' in the post-exilic Judæan community, Neh. 10 14 [15], elsewhere called 'sons of Parosh' (Ezra 2 3 = Neh. 7 8 = 1 Esd. 5 9, and Ezra 8 3 [AV PHAROSH] = 1 Esd. 8 30 [AV PHAREZ]). One of their number had a share in the building of the wall under Nehemiah (Neh. 3 25, see PEDAIAH); and certain B'nê Parosh took part in the league against alien marriages (Ezra 10 25 = 1 Esd. 9 26). Meyer (*Entst. d. Jud.* 157) thinks that the family was of pre-exilic origin. This is probable, but not on the

ground which he gives. For the Assyrian parallel mentioned by Delitzsch seems to show that Par'osh may really have been a personal name among the Israelites. Meyer's right course would have been to deny that a family called the 'Flea-clan,' can have been the first family in the land. He might then have gone on to propose a better explanation of the name. ש and ת being phonetically akin, פרעש may be miswritten for פרעת, Pir'ath or Par'ath, a name which is presupposed by PIR'ATHON (*q.v.*) mentioned in Judges.[1]

Cp FLEA, where it is maintained that the insect is nowhere expressly mentioned in the OT. T. K. C.

PARSHANDATHA (פַּרְשַׁנְדָּתָא; ΦΑΡCΑΝ ΚΑΙ *νεσταιν* [B], *φαρσαννεσταν* [א* vid.], *-ταιν* [א^c.a], *φαρσανεσταν* [AL^β]), eldest son of HAMAN (*q.v.*) Esth. 9 7. For the name compare perhaps Old Persian *fraçna data* 'granted by prayer' (Benfey).

PARTHIANS (ΠΑΡΘΟΙ), Acts 2 10†. See PERSIA.

PARTRIDGE (קוֹרֵא, *ḳōrē*), 1 S. 26 20 (ΝΥΚΤΙΚΟΡΑΞ, but see below), Jer. 17 11 and Eccles. 11 30 (ΠΕΡΔΙΞ).

1. Species. No one could be surprised to find the partridge referred to in the OT. The *Caccabis chukar* (a sub-species of the more widely-distributed *Caccabis saxatilis*) is the commonest game-bird in Palestine. A smaller species, *Ammoperdix heyi*, takes the place of the *C. chukar* in the Dead Sea area and the Jordan valley, where it is abundantly represented. A third kind, *Francolinus vulgaris*, the black partridge of N. India, occurs in several parts of Palestine, but is not numerous, and another species of Caccabis, *C. melanocephala*, is found in SW. Arabia.

It is certainly a thoroughly natural expression that is assigned to David in 1 S. 26 20. Of the *Caccabis chukar* it is said that its ringing call-note may be heard everywhere in the hill-country of Judah. When hunted, these cheery birds scud up the hills with great rapidity; at last, wearied out, they can be knocked over with a stick. More generally, however, they are captured by 'long narrow runs, carefully formed of brushwood, leading to the cave in which the decoy-bird is concealed' (Tristram); often indeed partridges themselves are the decoy-birds (as is mentioned, for classic antiquity, by Aristotle and Ælian); cp Ecclus. 11 30, and see FOWL, § 10 *f.*

2. OT references. One of the three passages of EV in which 'partridge' occurs gives a perfectly satisfactory sense. In Ecclus. 11 30 the guile of a proud man is compared to a decoy partridge in a cage and to a spy. In 1 S. 26 20, however, we have a slight feeling of surprise that Saul's pursuit of David should be compared to nothing nobler or harder than the chase of partridges, and in Jer. 17 11 the reference (in RV) to a partridge 'that gathereth young which she hath not brought forth' has met with no adequate explanation. The partridge has far too many eggs of her own to care to steal the eggs of other birds. No popular superstition suggestive of such an idea as that given in the prevalent version of Jer. 17 11 is in the least likely to have arisen among such observant people as the Israelites; we may safely let Bochart's *Hierozoicon* repose on its shelf.

A doubt will naturally arise as to the state of the text, more especially when we find in Judg. 15 19 the term Ēn-hakkōrē, which, against the context, is explained by some 'Partridge-spring,' but which must either be 'Well of him that called' or be a corruption (in combination with Lehi) of 'Jerahmeel' (see LEHI).

In 1 S. 26 20 our choice seems to lie between inserting נֵץ, 'a hawk' (as suggested by a marginal note to Tg. Jon. in Lag. *Proph.* xviii), so that Saul would be compared to a hawk and David to a partridge, or (since רדף is not the right verb to be coupled with נֵץ) changing קרא into פֶּרֶא, a 'wild ass,' in accordance with the critically emended text of 1 S. 24 15 [14] (see FLEA, col. 1533 foot). In Jer. 17 11 a more searching examination of the text is required. Cornill (*SBOT*, *Jer.*, Heb.) says that this is one of those passages which have been misplaced by an error of the scribes, whilst Giesebrecht denies it to Jeremiah altogether. We may indeed reasonably deny it to Jeremiah (see JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 18, col. 2389); but we must not deny its connection with *vv.* 5-8. It is in fact parallel to *vv.* 5 *f.*, and should probably run, 'Cursed is the pernicious man who acquires riches, but not rightfully,' etc.—*i.e.*, קרא דגר ולא ילד is corrupted out of אָרוּר גֶּבֶר בְּלִיַּעַל. It is surely better to try to restore what the prophetic writer may have said than to spend time in seeking to explain what no Hebrew writer can have said.

In 1 S. 26 20, H. P. Smith (*Samuel*, 233), after Klost., would emend כאשר into כַּנֶּשֶׁר ('as the eagle hunts the partridge'). But (1) רדף is the wrong verb; (2) *νυκτικόραξ* (𝔊) nowhere else represents נשר; and (3) the vulture (נשר) is a carrion-feeding bird. T. K. C.—A. E. S.

[1] We must not compare Parsua, the name of a land in W. Media.

PARUAH (פָּרוּחַ; ΦΑΡΡΟΥ [A], ΒΑΡCΑΟΥΧ [L], ΦΟΥΑCΟΥΔ [B]), the father or clan of the prefect of ISSACHAR (§ 4, n. 4) under Solomon (1 K. 4 17).

If 'Jehoshaphat' is really a late transformation of Zephathi (see SHAPHAT), 'Paruah' probably comes from Hareph (חָרֵף), or Haruph (חרוף), a Calebite clan-name (1 Ch. 2 51). Note that in 1 Ch. 12 5 Shephatiah (*i.e.*, Zephathi) is called 'a Haruphite.' Paruah ('blooming,' NAMES, § 57) is surely miswritten. T. K. C.

PARVAIM (פַּרְוָיִם; ΦΑΡΟΥΑΙΜ [BA], -ΕΙΜ [L]; Vg. Pesh. Ar. take it as an adj. *decore multo*, etc.). 2 Ch. 3 6 states that Solomon 'overlaid (ויצף) the house, or temple, with אבן יקרה or costly stones, for adornment, and the gold was gold of Parvaim.' The statement respecting the gold is unconnected with what precedes. We must, however, resist the easy hypothesis of a gloss, and seek for a solution of the problem which brings the clause into relation with the immediate context. Investigation leads to the theory that Parvaim is a corruption of *bĕrōšim* 'fir-trees,' whilst 'and the gold was gold of' must be changed to 'and covered (it) with timber of.' The passage belongs to the Chronicler's account of the building of the temple.

The Pasek after ואת in *v.* 5 indicates that the text is in some disorder, and the fact that closely similar words recur at intervals in *vv.* 4-7 suggests that corruption and dittography may very possibly have combined to produce the present text. לתפארת, being such an unnecessary appendage, is specially suspicious. תפארת certainly comes from בְּרוֹשִׁ[ם], 'fir-trees.' This appears originally to have stood in the margin as a correction of פרוים, for which we should also read בְּר[ו]שִׁם; it is dittographed from *v.* 5*a* which suggests that והזהב זהב is probably corrupted from וַיְחַף עֲצֵי. From ויחפהו to ושרשרת must evidently be transferred to *v.* 4 (the opening words are of the nature of a dittogram). *v.* 5 *f.* may have been nearly as follows,—'and he covered the greater house with costly stones (?) and with fir-timber.' All besides is either misplaced or dittographed.

If the rest of the text of 2 Ch. 3 6 were sounder, Glaser's identification of Parvaim (*Skizze*, 2 347) with Sak-el-Farwain, of which we hear from the Arabian geographer Hamdāni, would be more plausible. T. K. C.

PASACH (פָּסַךְ; ΒΑΙCΗΧΙ [B], ΦΕCΗΧΙ [A], ΦΑCΕΧ [L]), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.* § 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 33†.

PAS-DAMMIM (פַּס־דַּמִּים; ΦΑCΟΔΟΜΗ [BA], -ΙΝ [A] ΤΟΙC CΕΡΡΑΝ [L], ܦܣܣ ܕܡܝܢ [Pesh.], *phesdomim* [Vg.]), the place where Eleazar ben Dodo (Dodai) performed an exploit during the war with the Philistines, 1 Ch. 11 13. The ‖ passage (2 S. 23 9) has בחרפם ('when they defied,' so 𝔊^BA *ἐν τῷ ὀνειδίσαι*; *εν σερραμ* [L]). The original reading was probably either בעמק רפאים, 'in the valley of Rephaim' (Marq. *Fund.* 17), or בְּעֵמֶק אֲרַמִּים, 'in the valley of the Arammites (= Jerahmeelites),' or more probably both readings were current (Che.). See *Crit. Bib.*, and cp REPHAIM, VALLEY OF, and cp EPHESDAMMIM, LEHI.

PASEAH (פָּסֵחַ, § 66 'halting,' *i.q.* Claudius).

1. Brother of Beth-rapha (from 'Beth-ṣārephathīm'?) and TEHINNAH [*q.v.*] in a Calebite genealogy, 1 Ch. 4 12. 'Paseah' is possibly a corruption of JERAHME'EL [Che.]; cp Pisseāḥ, an assumed link in the develop-

ment of MEPHIBOSHETH (*q.v.*) out of Jeraḥme'el (βεσσηε [B], φεσση [A], φασσε [L]).

2. The B'ne Paseah are mentioned among the post-exilic Nethinim; Ezra 2 49 (φισον [B], φαση [A], φασσα [L]); Neh. 7 51 (*Phaseah* [AV], φεση [B], φαιση [א], φεσση [A], φασσα [L]). In 1 Esd. 5 31 the name appears as PHINOE (φινοε [BA], so RV, but AV PHINEES).

3. Father of Jehoiada, 3: Neh. 3 6 (φασεκ [BאA], φεσσε [L]).

PASHHUR; so RV, but AV PASHUR (פַּשְׁחוּר; πασχωρ ελευθεροс, *OS* 204, 25; 𝔊 πασχωρ generally). It is natural to compare ASHHUR [*q.v.*],[1] but some of 𝔊L's readings (see 3) suggest a corruption of PEDAHZUR [Che.]; cp Jer. 20 3. See also HAPPIZZEZ.

1. Pashhur, one of the B'ne IMMER (*q.v.*), was chief officer in the temple in Jeremiah's time, probably therefore second only to the chief priest[2] (Jer. 20 1-6). He was also a prophet, but of quite another type from Jeremiah (*v.* 6*b*; cp *v.* 31), whom he caused to be put into the stocks for his prophecies of woe, and thereupon received the name MAGOR-MISSABIB (contrasting with Pedahzur, 'God hath ransomed'), and the warning that he would share the general fate of captivity. He is identified by some with the father of another opponent of Jeremiah, named Gedaliah (Jer. 38 1), but on no special grounds.

2. Pashhur b. Malchiah was one of two sent by Zedekiah to Jeremiah imploring him to inquire of Yahwè on behalf of the nation (Jer. 21 1 38 1). Some identify him with the Pashhur b. Malchiah, mentioned in a document of the age of Nehemiah which forms the basis of 1 Ch. 9 3-17 and Neh. 11 4-19: 1 Ch. 9 12 (φασχωρ [A], φασεουρ [L]); Neh. 11 12 (φασσουρ [B], φασεουρ [אA], φασουρ [L]). That personage certainly belonged to a priestly family; but since Pashhur is not called so in 21 1 we may assume that he did not exercise priestly functions. It may be doubted whether Pashhur was properly a personal name (see 3); identifications are therefore uncertain.

3. The B'ne Pashhur, a post-exilic family: Neh. 7 41 (φασεδουρ [B], φασεουρ [אA], φαδασσουρ [L]) = Ezra 2 38 (φασσουρ [B?], φασσουρα [B*], φασουρ [A], φαδδας, [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 25, PHASSARON, RV PHASSURUS (φασσορου [B], φασσουρου [A], φαδασσουρ [L]). Six of their number are mentioned as having married foreign wives, Ezra 10 22 (φασουρ [BאA], φαρσουρ [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 22, PHAISUR (φαισουρ [B], φαισου [A], φαδασσουρ [L]); the family itself is referred to at the closing festival under Nehemiah (Neh. 10 3 φασουρ [BאA], φασσουρ [L]).

PASS, PASSAGE, PASSAGES. In 1 S. 13 23 *ma'ăbār*, מַעֲבָר, and in 1 S. 14 4 Is. 10 29 *ma'bārāh*, מַעְבָּרָה, is in AV 'passage'; in all three cases RV has 'pass.' See MICHMASH. In Gen. 32 22 [23], Josh. 2 7 Judg. 3 28 Is. 16 2 EV gives 'ford' for (מעבר(ה, as also does RV in Judg. 12 5 *f.* where AV has 'passages.' See FORD. RVmg. also has 'fords' in Jer. 51 32 where EV has 'passages' (of Babylon). On Jer. 22 20 (AV 'passages' RV 'Abarim') see ABARIM.

PASSOVER
and
FEAST OF UNLEAVENED BREAD

Harvest festival (§ 1).	'Sacrifice of first-born' theory (§ 8).
Unleavened (§ 2).	Pésah ritual (§ 9).
The offering (§ 3).	Meaning of blood rite (§ 10).
Canaanitish origin (§ 4).	Why an evening rite (§ 11).
A *ḥag*; no fixed day (§ 5).	Course of development (§§ 12-17).
Commemoration theory (§ 6).	Literature (§ 18).
Passover (§ 7).	

1. Harvest festival.

The old legislation in the so-called 'Decalogue of J' (Ex. 34 18-26: see DECALOGUE) and in E (Ex. 23 14-16) gives the first place among the great feasts of the year to the feast of unleavened bread.

Many scholars, however, regard Ex. 34 18, the verse of primary importance in connection with the present subject, as not original (see for example Steuernagel on Dt. 16 1). According to Steuernagel J knows nothing of a feast of unleavened bread (maṣṣōth) but only (*v.* 25) of a passover festival in which the firstlings of the herd and of the flock were sacrificed. Even on literary grounds, however, we cannot accept this view. According to *v.* 23 J knows of three annual festivals. If *v.* 18 is deleted only two of these are named and the third distinguished only by the character of its offerings. The structure of *v.* 23, however, quite plainly presupposes that this last also has been named, and that, too, in the first place and before *v.* 19. We shall have to suppose, accordingly, that originally the passover festival was named in *v.* 18, which according to J also had reference to the Exodus, and that at a later date the maṣṣōth festival was introduced in its place from Ex. 23. No substantial reason for such a correction can be suggested; for the idea of seeking to supersede the passover festival by the maṣṣōth festival could never have occurred to anyone; nor yet can the purely literary motive—that of bringing into line with Ex. 23 14 *f.*—be alleged here, for as will be shown immediately it is Ex. 23 14-16 that has been itself corrected, or, let us say, supplemented by the addition of *vv.* 17 *f.* and thus again brought into agreement with J. Finally, it is exceedingly doubtful whether in Ex. 34 25 (J) the name *pésaḥ* for the festival in question is original (see below, § 7); if it is an insertion, it is doubly difficult to understand why it should previously have been deleted in *v.* 18. The tendency of the redaction, as of the whole development, is much rather in the direction of placing the passover, as distinguished from the feast of unleavened bread, more and more in the foreground (see below, § 12 *f.*).

On the questions as to whether Ex. 23 14-19 belongs to the Book of the Covenant and to E generally, and as to the relations between these verses and Ex. 34 18-26, no agreement has as yet been arrived at. It is often supposed that the passage in the Book of the Covenant is not original but a later introduction from J (Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch*, 52 *f.* 99 *f.*; Kautzsch, *HS*; and others). Ex. 23 14-19, however, is not a unity; *vv.* 14-16 are to be held separate from *vv.* 17-19. This appears immediately from a comparison of *vv.* 14 and 17, which are doublets though they do not say quite the same thing. Still more clearly does this appear when the phraseology is compared with that of J. *Vv.* 17-19 are, apart from the absence of the word *pésaḥ*, word for word coincident with Ex. 34 23 25 26; *vv.* 15 *f.* on the other hand, diverge from J not only by their omission of the precept about firstlings but also expressly by their designations of the festival in *v.* 16, whilst *v.* 14 is altogether absent from J. Thus, whilst there is everything to suggest that *vv.* 17-19 are taken from J, *vv.* 14-16 cannot possibly have come from that source, but must belong to E. In the present case, therefore, it is E that has been subsequently brought into conformity with J by introduction of the precepts of *vv.* 17-19, which were foreign to the original law. If this be so, we must go back for the form of these verses to their original form in Ex. 34 23 *f.*—in other words, the name *pésaḥ* was not originally used in Ex. 34 25. In taking over the verses nothing, it is certain, was changed, for the very object of the transference was to correct E in accordance with J.

The name of the feast of 'unleavened bread' (חַג הַמַּצּוֹת, ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων [Lk. 22 1, Jos. *BJ* 2 1 2], ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων [Acts 12 3 20 6], *festus* [or *dies*] *azymorum*) has reference to the *maṣṣōth*[1] which were eaten while the festival lasted. For the meaning of the feast in the passages just cited we must look to the connection with the two other great annual feasts—that of 'weeks' and that of the 'ingathering'—in which it is there found. These last are quite unmistakably connected with husbandry (see PENTECOST; also TABERNACLES, § 1). This establishes an antecedent probability that the third feast also had the same underlying idea—was, in fact, the festival of the beginning of harvest. The date, in the month of Abib—though no doubt it may have been a later addition to the law—points to the same conclusion. This interpretation of the feast comes still more clearly to the front in Dt., where the law as regards all three festivals is (Dt. 16 16 *f.*) that the celebrants 'shall not appear before Yahwè empty-handed; every man shall give as he is able according to the blessing which Yahwè thy God has given thee.' The offerings of the maṣṣōth-festival are thus, according to D, thank-offerings for harvest blessings just as are those of the other great feasts. Dt. 16 9 tells us, more precisely, that the maṣṣōth festival was the festival of putting the sickle to the standing corn. It fixes the date of the feast of weeks, so called because celebrated seven weeks after maṣṣōth (see PENTECOST, § 1), by the formula 'seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee from the time that thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing corn'; cp also Lev. 23 15, where the day from which these seven weeks are to be reckoned is still more accurately fixed (see below, § 14). That its relation to the harvest was

[1] [Names with *paš* (earlier form *pašš*) 'portion' (*i.e.*, property) of a divinity (*Manet*, Isis, *Me'it*?? Liebl. 25 25) are far from being uncommon in Egyptian.—W. M. M.]

[2] Zephaniah, who in Jer. 29 26 is called an 'officer' (פקיד), in 52 24 is called 'second priest' (כהן המשנה).

[1] מַצּוֹת is the opposite of חמץ (*ḥāmēṣ*); see LEAVEN. The original meaning of the word is uncertain. Ges. explains it as = 'sweet,' Bochart (*Hieroz.* 1 689 *f.*) as = 'clean, pure,' Fleischer (see Levy, *NHWB* 3 315) as = 'exhausted,' 'strengthless,' 'desiccated.'

not incidental merely is shown by the ritual of the feast, as still presented in Lev. 23 9 (H), by which the people are enjoined to bring a sheaf of the first fruits with sacrifices on the day after the first Sabbath of harvest (see below, § 14). Before this date it was not lawful to eat either bread or parched corn or fresh ears (*v.* 14). This offering of the first fruit sheaf is so fully regarded as the characteristic and main rite of the festival, and the day of its presentation as that of the proper feast, that the seven weeks to Pentecost are reckoned from it (*v.* 15).

The characteristic custom of eating only unleavened bread at the festival is thus explained easily and naturally.

2. Unleavened. The maṣṣōth are upon the same plane with the parched corn (קָלִי, *ḳālī*, see FOOD, § 1), a favourite food during harvest (cp Ruth 2 14 Lev. 23 14), the use of which at this season still survives in Palestine. In the midst of the labours of the harvest-field, when the first barley sheaves were being reaped, people did not take time to wait for the slow process of leavening the dough, but baked their bread from unleavened dough, just as at other times unleavened cakes were wont to be baked when time pressed (cp Gen. 18 6 19 3). In Ex. 12 33 *ff.* [J] also the practice of eating maṣṣōth and the customs connected therewith are traced back to the Exodus, and the narrative still retains the right conception of this unleavened bread as being bread of haste. In Josh. 5 1 *f.*, where the first passover of the Israelites in Western Palestine is described, the eating of unleavened bread is mentioned in conjunction with that of parched corn as both belonging to the festival: it is the first of the fruit of the land to be eaten after that has been sanctified by the preceding *pésaḥ;* henceforth the manna ceases and the people live on the produce of the land.

Thus the meaning of the festival in all its details becomes transparent; of the new harvest nothing was eaten

3. The offering. until a consecration sheaf had been presented to Yahwè and thus the whole crop had been sanctified (see TAXATION). This once done, no time was lost in proceeding to enjoy God's gift. The only point about which any uncertainty can still be felt is as to whether the presentation of a sheaf at the sanctuary, mentioned in Lev. 23 10, is the oldest form of the celebration, or whether perhaps the consecration gift did not originally consist of unleavened barley cakes. The latter view is suggested by the parallel case in which unleavened wheaten cakes were presented at the close of the harvest at pentecost (Lev. 23 17; cp PENTECOST, § 3); as also by the fact that in later times there still subsisted the custom of presenting to Yahwè, as a meal-offering of the firstfruits, 'corn in the ear parched with fire, bruised corn of the fresh ear' (Lev. 2 14). There is also a more general consideration which tends to the same result; in the oldest period we find the usual gifts to the deity consisting of various kinds of food, and these in the form in which the human offerers were in the habit of using them; leavened bread, wine, oil, boiled flesh. The offering was a meal for the deity—the 'food of Yahwè,' as the expression still runs in Lev. 3 11 (cp Benzinger, *HA* 432 *f.*; also SACRIFICE). When accordingly the old law of Ex. 34 18 lays special stress upon the eating of unleavened bread, the sacrificial presentation of maṣṣōth at this festival may almost be assumed as a matter of course. In process of time a more delicate material was preferred; unleavened bread was presented instead of leavened, and in many cases the place of bread is altogether taken by meal (Benz. *HA* 450 *f.*). The substitution of a first-fruit sheaf for the maṣṣōth would admit of ready explanation from the course of this development.

In what has been said we have at the same time

4. Canaanitish origin. reached a secure conclusion as to the origin of the maṣṣōth festival. As a harvest feast with the ritual presentation of first-fruits of the barley harvest, the feast of maṣṣōth presupposes agriculture and a settled life in Canaan. Elsewhere (see FEASTS, § 3) expression has been given to the conjecture that maṣṣōth, as well as the other feasts, was of Canaanitish origin. We have, it is true, no direct evidence of the existence among the Canaanites of any such spring festival; but a thanksgiving harvest festival is attested in Judg 9 27, and to presume a corresponding festival at the beginning of harvest is not too hazardous. The Israelites themselves, as will be shown immediately (§ 7), brought with them out of the wilderness an entirely different festival which they subsequently combined with that of maṣṣōth. The very fact that their passover was not changed into a harvest festival, that the harvest festival as an independent feast was combined with the passover, points conspicuously to the conclusion that this spring festival was not an institution which the Israelites had developed on their own account—that it had been found by them when they came, and taken over by them, as an old-established custom. They learned all the practices of agriculture from the Canaanites, and so also in the forefront of these the custom of presenting to the deity their tribute of the produce of the soil. Elsewhere (PENTECOST, § 6) the conjecture is offered that originally perhaps the Canaanites and the Israelites had only one harvest festival in spring, with the meaning just indicated, and that this spring festival divided itself into two only in the course of the subsequent development.

It is obvious that, thus interpreted, the maṣṣōth festival could not originally have been connected with

5. A *ḥag*; no fixed day. any definite day. In the ancient ordinances of J and E, referred to at the beginning of this article (§ 1), it is assigned, in a quite general way, simply to the month Abib ('green-ears month,' or 'harvest month'). Neither is it a festival celebrated in common by the entire people at once. In Palestine harvest falls at very different dates according to the locality.

In the Jordan valley it may occasionally begin as early as in the end of March, and normally in the beginning of April; in the hill country and on the coast it falls, on an average, some eight to ten days later, whilst in the colder and more elevated districts, such as those about Jerusalem, it may be even three or four weeks later. Cp AGRICULTURE, § 1.

Thus, the feast of the beginning of harvest was celebrated at very different dates at the various sanctuaries throughout the land; but in every case it was celebrated as a *ḥag—i.e.*, as a mirthful festival with dances and processions and joyous sacrificial meal (see FEASTS). As distinguished from the family festivals, properly so called, which were celebrated within the domestic circle, and from the clan festivals which were attended only by the members of the clan, this festival was, like the two other great feasts of the year, a public one which brought together the entire community of the place. Hence also the precept in J, that all the males are to appear before Yahwè. An appearance 'before Yahwè' could not be made at every village or on every *bāmāh* (see HIGH-PLACE) where perchance some sacrifice had at one time or another been offered; it could be made only at one of the greater sanctuaries where there was a *bēth Yahwè*, a 'house of Yahwè' of some sort, with an ephod or other sacred object, as, for example, at Shiloh. In the older time, it is true, pilgrimage was wont to be made only once a year to such a sanctuary (1 S. 1 3); in this respect therefore the precept of J expresses not the oldest prevailing custom but a later development.

Alongside of this explanation of the feast as a harvest one, there arose also, at a comparatively early date,

6. Commemoration theory. another which interpreted it as commemorative of the Exodus. In Ex. 34 18, indeed, the more precise specification of the date of celebration ('in the month Abib, for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt') is by many scholars attributed to the deuteronomic redaction (Wellh. *CH*(2) 331 *f.* (3) 333 *f.*: in this case the same will apply to Ex. 23 15). Still, even should this be so,

the fact remains that J[1] in Ex. 12 34 relates how the Israelites in the hurry of their departure had no time to leaven their dough but had to carry it with them, unleavened, in their kneading troughs. The reference here to the maṣṣōth festival and its characteristic feature is unmistakable. Thus in the addition to Ex. 34 18 substantially all that can be attributed to D is merely the extension of the celebration over a period of seven days.

In the preceding paragraphs the maṣṣōth festival has been, so far, disposed of; not so the entire spring festival as it had come to be celebrated at the beginning of harvest, even at so early a date as that of the old legislation. For this spring festival, as is explained elsewhere (FEASTS, § 2) had belonging to it another integral part, with another name, other rites, and another meaning—to wit, the feast of the passover.

7. Passover.

In the old legislation of E (Ex. 23 14-16) this latter feast is not expressly mentioned by the name passover. In the festal legislation of J (Ex. 34), the passover feast is indeed named in *v.* 25, but only by a later interpolation (see above, § 1). It would be premature to conclude that the thing itself, or even the name, was not known till the time of D. In D's ordinance (Dt. 16 1 *f.* 5 *ff.*) what has to be regarded as an innovation upon previous custom is undoubtedly the injunction not to keep the passover at home, since it is accompanied by the presentation of offerings such as is lawful only at the sanctuary. What has to be offered is indicated only vaguely (sheep and cattle), the amount being left undetermined. For greater precision we may turn to the precept of J (Ex. 34 19 *f.*), where in immediate connection with the appointment of the maṣṣōth festival in the month Abib the sacrifice of the firstlings of cattle and the redemption of the human firstborn is enjoined. The existence of a real inner connection between the festival and the offering of the firstborn is attested by Ex. 13 12 *f.*, a passage which is perhaps older than Dt., and at any rate has been heavily redacted in a deuteronomic sense. There the offering of the firstborn is explained by reference to the slaying of the firstborn of Egypt and the sparing of the firstborn of Israel at the Exodus.

8. 'Sacrifice of firstborn' theory.

On the strength of these various indications the passover is accordingly now explained by the majority of modern scholars (W. R. Smith, *RS*(2) 463 *f.*; Wellh. *Prol.*(4), 86 *f.*, Nowack, *HA* 2 147, and others) as a sacrifice of the firstlings of the herd. Dt. undoubtedly also has this view of the meaning of the festival, and therefore finds it unnecessary to say anything further as to the offerings to be offered. So also J, who for the same reason does not require to mention the passover expressly at all alongside of the maṣṣōth festival, but regards it as coincident with the festival of spring. In the case of E, on the other hand, it is possible to ask whether this is really his view. Here we have rather, as regards the offerings of firstlings of the herd, the quite differently conceived precept (Ex. 22 29*b*) that these animals are in each case to be given to Yahwè on the eighth day after birth. In view of this it has been suggested (*e.g.*, by Nowack, *HA* 2 147 n.) that this regulation is a later addition, in accordance with Lev. 22 27, made when passover and sacrifice of firstlings had at last come to be completely separated (see below, § 15). The possibility, however, that E should indeed have been acquainted with the passover, yet not with the passover as the feast of the sacrifice of the firstborn but only in a different meaning, and that this is the reason why he does not cite it at all as belonging to the three great harvest festivals, must be left open.

[1] True, the assignment of this passage to J is not undisputed; it is assigned also to E. The case is not substantially altered, however, by this; it makes relatively but little difference in point of time whether we decide that the view in question first finds expression in J or in E.

This view of the festival as being the sacrifice of the firstborn does not, however, give any satisfying explanation of its origin. For the inferences usually drawn in this connection from the meaning of the festival seem on other grounds to be insecure. It is usually assumed that the sacrifice of the firstborn of the herd means for a pastoral people quite the same thing as the offering of the firstfruits of the field in the case of an agricultural people, and that therefore also this passover festival reaches back into the primitive period of Israel's history before the settlement in Canaan. A trace of this is found in Ex. 10 9 and in other passages of similar import (in J and in E), where it is related that the custom of holding a spring feast to Yahwè gave the occasion for the Exodus. In these passages, however, an essential point is left out—namely, the proof that an offering of firstborn was here in question.

Wellhausen (as above) has sought to show this from the connection of the entire narrative of JE, interpreting the course of the thought as follows: 'Yahwè has a claim to the human firstborn in Israel (who are to be redeemed) and to the firstborn of cattle. The Egyptians hinder Israel from offering the firstborn to Yahwè; in compensation for this privation Yahwè takes to himself all the firstborn of Egypt.' If it is afterwards said that the passover is observed in commemoration of this act of God, all that is meant is that the passover is in full harmony with that old festival and continues it.

Such a connection, however, of the early spring festival with the passover, and of both with the idea of a sacrifice of firstborn, is by no means necessarily implied in the text itself, however well it may harmonise with it, and it will therefore have to be given up as soon as from more general considerations it is found to be improbable. Considerations of this sort are set forth with some fulness elsewhere (TAXATION). Of chief importance is what W. R. Smith (*RS*(2) 463) has emphasised—that the idea of a payment of tribute, a due to the deity such as finds expression in the offering of the firstlings, is wholly foreign to the original worship of Israel, and did not arise till after the settlement in Canaan. A yearly offering of the firstborn in which this idea is expressed is thus quite improbable for the earliest period. Robertson Smith, it is true, has sought, in order to escape this difficulty, to explain the offering of the firstborn of cattle in a wholly different way, namely from the sacred (taboo) character attaching to the first birth. That, however, is quite superfluous labour, for we have no evidence of any other offerings of firstborn from the time before the immigration besides the passover itself, and in the case of the passover there are further reasons—to be mentioned immediately (§ 9)—which make this very explanation impossible for the period in question.

Neither does the parallel with the Arabian spring festival compel us to adopt the explanation of the passover as a sacrifice of firstborn.

Formerly Ewald (*Alt.*(2) 467) and more recently W. R. Smith (*RS*(2) 227 *f.* 465) connected the passover with the yearly offering of the *'atāir* among the ancient Arabians in the month Rajab which corresponds to the spring month Abib. It is, however, by no means absolutely certain that in the case of this Arabian sacrifice we are dealing at all with a regular sacrifice of firstborn, even if it be the case that in Arabia the time of bearing is in spring (W. R. Smith, as above).

Even if, therefore, at the time of D and even earlier, the passover was unhesitatingly regarded as an offering of the firstborn, we still have no evidence of the existence of such an offering for the period before the immigration, nor can it be established as a probability. Much rather is it probable that the custom of offering the firstlings was only a secondary extension of the practice of offering the fruits of the field. If therefore the passover was an ancient Hebrew festival, as Ex. 12 21-27 and all Israelite tradition assume, it must have had another meaning.

9. Pésaḥ ritual.

In order to see that it had another meaning we have only to turn to the characteristic ritual of the *pésaḥ* festival, which has no appropriateness in connection with a celebration of the offering of first-fruits and does not admit of explana-

tion by means of this conception. The ritual, as prescribed in Ex. 12 21-27, is as follows:—The Israelites are to take a sheep (*ṣōn*, צאן; πρόβατον; Vg. *animal*) according to their families and kill it as the passover (הַפֶּסַח). Then with a bunch of 'hyssop' some of the blood is to be struck upon the lintel and door-posts—the sign for [the angel of] Yahwè (see DESTROYER) of an Israelite dwelling. This is to be observed as an ordinance for ever.

The age and literary constitution of this passage has been much discussed (cp Budde, *ZATW* 11 197 *f.* [1891]). Whilst some maintain it to be old and assign it to J, others (*e.g.*, Wellhausen) regard it as of late date and an appendix to the preceding narrative of P. Here also, however, the literary question is again unimportant, for in substance the ritual is certainly more ancient than that given in Ex. 12 2-20 [P]. For in P the rite that is to be kept up consists in the eating of the paschal lamb (שֶׂה; πρόβατον; *agnus*), for which minute directions are given, whilst the sprinkling of the lintel and door-posts with the blood is relegated to a quite subordinate place. In Ex. 12 21-27, on the other hand, the chief emphasis is laid precisely upon this sprinkling as the rite to be repeated every year, and the eating of the sacrificial flesh is not enjoined at all; plainly, with the framer of this law it did not require to be mentioned, being regarded as quite a matter of course.

There can, however, be no doubt that this rite as depicted in Ex. 12 21 *f.* was very old, even although there is no mention of it elsewhere in J, E, and D. Practices of this kind can never have been the free inventions of a later time; indeed, the whole rite from the point of view of P and the later age was obviously something weird and unintelligible. In P ceremonies with sacrificial blood can be performed only by the priest and at the sanctuary, not in private houses by laymen; and this is the reason why P represents the entire ceremony as valid only for the first passover in Egypt, and makes the celebration for all subsequent time to consist in the solemn eating of the paschal lamb.

10. Meaning of blood rite. Obviously, the rite in question can have nothing whatever to do with the conception of an offering of first-fruits, and has to be explained, if explained at all, in some other way. The narrative itself in Ex. 12 21 *f.* offers the explanation we need. Here the sprinkling with the blood is represented as the means by which the Israelites were protected from the 'Destroyer.'

The narrative will also have it that the name *pésaḥ* comes from *pāsaḥ* because 'Yahwè will *pass over* (וּפָסַח י׳) the door, and will not suffer the Destroyer to come into your houses' (*v.* 23). On this view the passover was not originally a regular spring festival, but rather a solemn observance by which it was sought to gain protection in times of pestilence and the like (so also Marti, *Gesch. Israelit. Rel.*(3) 40 *f.*). The idea lying at its foundation is quite the same as in the case of sacrifice in general; by means of the blood-rite is to be re-established that close fellowship with the deity by which just at such times as these the most effective protection is secured. The sprinkling of the blood upon the door-posts and lintel rather than elsewhere may perhaps have had its origin in the thought that there the household gods whose protection it was sought to secure had their seat. The ceremony observed in the case of the slave who voluntarily chose to continue in his master's service points also in the same direction: his master shall bring him to the *'ĕlōhīm* and place him at the door or door-posts (Ex. 21 6); by the *'ĕlōhīm* we ought probably here also to understand the household gods.

We have the less reason for declining this explanation of the passover, laid to our hand by the narrative itself, since similar usages are met with also in ancient Arabia. Marti (*op. cit.*) justly points to the custom there of sprinkling the tents of an army setting out on its march with blood, as also to the practice of the Bedouins, in time of pestilence, of besprinkling their camels on the neck and side with sacrificial blood in order to protect their herds.

Another possible interpretation[1] of the passover would be that put forward by Ewald (*Alt.*(3) 460 *f.*) and others, that it was a sacrifice of propitiation and purification (which preceded [so Ew.] this offering of the first-fruits). In support of this view reference is naturally made to the fact that 'hyssop' is employed elsewhere in connection with purification ceremonies (Lev. 14 6 49 *f.* Nu. 19 6, cp Ps. 51 9 [7]). Here too analogous rites among the Bedouins can be pointed to (sprinkling with blood a rite of lustration, Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, 118; Goldziher, *Le culte des saints chez les Musulmans*, 31). It does not seem necessary, however, to travel beyond the account given in Ex. 12 21 *f.* itself for an explanation.

11. Why an evening rite. One other point in the ritual demands particular notice: viz., the fact that the *pésaḥ* has to be slain in the evening—a regulation which does not occur in the case of any other sacrifice. True, this regulation is first met with in D (Dt. 16 6); but the custom as such was certainly ancient, and the narrative of Ex. 12 21 *f.* also makes it clear that evening was the proper time for the paschal sacrifice (cp *v.* 22*b*), and Ex. 12 42*a* may be cited in addition, to the same effect. Here what is being said is that the night is to be for Israel a לֵיל שִׁמֻּרִים. In 42*b* the rendering 'night of vigil of Yahwè,' etc., is questionable, indeed, as also is the other point whether this half of the verse comes from the ancient source. The importance attached to the observance of this time-determination in Dt. 16 6 shows that the matter is not merely secondary but is essentially connected with the observance of the festival, and thus with its fundamental significance. The custom accordingly can have its origin only in this, that the festival was somehow connected with the phases of the moon, doubtless in the sense that the practices were carried out at new moon or at full moon, and were then held to have special efficacy.

Let us briefly summarise our results as to the development of the great spring festival down to the time of D.

12. Result: early development. Among the ancient nomad Hebrews it had been the practice on special occasions, for protection against pestilence and the like, to sprinkle the door-posts (tent-poles) with the blood of a sheep. The custom afterwards became fixed; every year in spring such a sacrifice came to be offered by each separate family. In this transformation the meaning of the custom of course came to be obscured, and it is always possible that the idea of a lustration gave new contents to it. In any case the passover was, and continued to be in the first instance for some time after the immigration into Canaan, a family festival—having absolutely nothing of the character of a popular festival, a *ḥag*. In Palestine the immigrating Israelites found among the agricultural Canaanites the custom of consecrating to the *bá'al* of the district, every spring at the beginning of harvest, the first-fruits of the corn, and of celebrating a festival in this connection. The idea lying at the foundation of the observance—that the first-fruits belong to Yahwè—was soon carried over by them to the firstlings of the herd also. In offering these first-born the practice does not seem to have been in the first instance uniform; whilst the Book of the Covenant enjoins that

[1] A complete list of explanations of the passover (*pésaḥ*) cannot be attempted here. A few may be singled out. Chr. Baur (*Tüb. Ztschr. f. Theol.* 1832, p. 40 *f.*) regarded it as a propitiatory sacrifice, connected with the spring festival, which was offered to God as a substitution for the human male first-born. Vatke (*Rel. d. AT* 492 *f.*) and others bring the passover into line with the spring festival held among many peoples at the time of the equinox: *pésaḥ* (=passing over, transit) according to this view means the triumphant passage of the sun through the equinoctial point into the sign of Aries. [According to Toy (*JBL* 16 178 *f.* [1897]), פֶּסַח, from פסח, to 'leap, limp,' denotes properly a peculiar ritual dance, and hence became the designation of the old nomadic Hebrew spring festival. The lamb offered would thus be 'the lamb or sacrifice of the pésaḥ,' and finally the term פסח would come to designate the feast or the lamb. Cp DANCE, §§ 4, 5.] On dogmatic grounds, so as better to controvert the Roman Catholic doctrine of the sacrificial character of the eucharist, the sacrificial character of the passover has often been denied altogether (Lundius, *Jüdische Heiligtümer*, 5 12 80; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*(2), 1 270, and others); but this certainly cannot be maintained, as can be seen even from the expression used in Ex. 12 27 ('the sacrifice of Yahwè's passover').

the offering be made always on the eighth day after birth (see above, § 8), J orders that offerings of this description are to be made yearly at the spring festival, the feast of maṣṣōth. At the same time also, or perhaps even at an earlier date, this spring festival is changed from being a mere harvest celebration to being a feast commemorative of the Exodus. This last change happened also, contemporaneously or perhaps even earlier, in the case of the passover feast. As early as the time of J at any rate we find it already interpreted n this commemorative sense and the characteristic customs explained by this reference (Ex. 12 21 *f.*).

Thus in the time of J there were two adjacent festivals: (1) a popular *ḥag*, the feast of *maṣṣōth*, at which also the firstlings of cattle were offered, and (2) a sacrifice celebrated within the family circle, the *pésaḥ*, at which the sacrificial victim was slain with a specially solemn ritual. Both festivals fell approximately at the same time, the beginning of spring; both were commemorative of the Exodus; and thus it becomes easy to understand how the two should ultimately have been brought into immediate connection and the *pésaḥ* slain at the beginning of the maṣṣōth feast. Then followed quite easily and naturally the fourth step—that of bringing the offering of the first-born into connection with the *pésaḥ*, which then came to be taken quite generally as a firstling-sacrifice, but, of course, with retention of the ancient ritual. If at this stage it was still desired to retain the commemorative association with the Exodus, it became expedient to substitute for the old reference to the 'sparing' of the people the new explanation that all the first-born belonged to Yahwè because at the Exodus he had slain the first-born of the Egyptians, but spared the Israelites.

We find this last step, with all the features we have mentioned, in D as we now have it in Dt. 16 1 *f.* (The question whether this whole passage is of one and the same origin need not be gone into here, for if we assume that it is not, the union of the two festivals will in any case have to be placed soon after the date of original D.) The stage immediately preceding this is represented by J, and the Book of the Covenant indicates the still earlier steps in the development.

In our attempt to picture to ourselves the course of the development we must not, however, forget that we are unable to pronounce with certainty and in detail as to the transition from one to another of the various conceptions of the two festivals.

It is, for example, quite possible to imagine another course of the development from the stage which we find in E, where the passover as well as the sacrifice of the first-born both still appear as distinct from the maṣṣōth feast; the next step may have been that the passover was first brought into connection with the offering of the firstlings of the herd, and only subsequently, after receiving this interpretation, became amalgamated with the maṣṣōth feast. What specially stands in the way of any more accurate knowledge of the intermediate stages of this development is our ignorance as to the exact form of the legislation of J. The rest of the older literature is silent altogether as to the passover; and we are expressly informed that the passover as enjoined in D was felt to be something wholly new at the time of the finding of the law: 'surely there was not kept such a passover from the days of the judges' (2 K. 23 21 *f.*).

After the amalgamation of the two feasts, the ritual of the spring festival is laid down in D as follows:—

13. Ritual in D. The festival begins with the *pésaḥ*; sheep and cattle (צֹאן וּבָקָר) are to be sacrificed at the sanctuary at even. No leaven is to be eaten, nor may any of the flesh sacrificed at the sanctuary remain over until morning; it is to be eaten there, boiled, that same night. The day after, the participant is free to go home. At home the festival is continued; for seven days no leaven is to be seen, on the seventh day there is to be another festal gathering, and, as being a special festival, this day is to be observed by Sabbatic rest (Dt. 16 1-8). The extension of the festival over seven days we may safely take to be an innovation on J and E.

The development of D's fundamental idea—that of the centralisation of the worship—is seen more plainly here than in the case of the other great feasts. The passover completely loses its specific and characteristic rite—that of the sprinkling of the lintel and door-posts with blood. With a celebration no longer at the separate home but at the common sanctuary, this rite ceases to be practicable. Precisely here, however, we must not regard it as impossible that this particular piece of ritual may already have fallen into abeyance before the time of D. If the conception of the passover as an offering of the first-born may be presumed to have arisen before the time of D, the rite in question must already have lost its peculiar importance. Another inevitable consequence of the centralisation of the worship is the fixing of the date of the feast; as early as Ezekiel we find the fourteenth day of the first month already presupposed as fixed (Ezek. 45 21). In other respects the feast participated in the general changes which resulted from the centralisation of the worship (FEASTS, § 9 *f.*); but the change entitled to special prominence is that it has to be observed at the sanctuary.

The development subsequent to D is clear. Ezekiel does not deal with the ritual in detail, determining only

14. After D. what the sacrifices are to be. On the 14th day of the month (first of the festival), the prince is to slaughter, for himself and all the people, a bullock for a sin-offering, and then on each of the seven days of the feast a he-goat for a sin-offering, seven bullocks and seven rams for a burnt-offering, each with the appropriate meal-offering, an ephah of meal and a hin of oil for every bullock and every ram.

Singularly enough, H has nothing to say about the passover (Lev. 23 9-14). It speaks only of maṣṣōth, as an agricultural festival at which the first-fruit sheaf is to be brought to the priest, who 'shall wave the sheaf before Yahwè to make you acceptable.' This is to be done 'on the morrow after the sabbath,' and on the day of the waving a yearling lamb is to be offered as a burnt-offering, along with a meal-offering of two-tenths of an ephah of fine flour mingled with oil and the fourth part of a hin of oil as a drink-offering. The specifications of this law go back accordingly to a period earlier in time than the amalgamation of *pésaḥ* and *maṣṣōth*, which we now find in the existing text of D. Verses 4-8 are a later addition to H from P.

In P, finally, the amalgamation of the two feasts is complete, quite as in D; but in one noteworthy point

15. In P. the law of P marks a retrogression from D. The passover is again made a domestic festival. The regulations laid down in connection with the narrative of the Exodus are given in Ex. 12 1-20 43-50 (cp Lev. 23 4-8 Nu. 9 10-14).

On the tenth day of the first month every Israelite family is to provide for itself a yearling lamb or kid without blemish. If the household is too small for a lamb, neighbours are to be called in to make up the deficiency. The festival, properly so-called, is to begin on 14th of Nisan, when the lamb is to be slaughtered at even. The lintels and door-posts of the houses are to be sprinkled with the blood; the flesh must be eaten the same night—roasted, not raw or sodden with water. No bone of it is to be broken, and the head must not be severed; nothing of the flesh may be carried from the house. It is to be eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; all participants are to present themselves at the meal equipped as for a journey. Of the flesh nothing must remain over till the morning; anything that happens to remain uneaten must be burnt.

The meaning of some of these details is no longer clear. We do not know, for example, why the lamb had to be chosen exactly on the tenth day of the month. Dillmann (*ad loc.*) suggests that the tenth day, generally, had a certain sacred character in ancient times—traces of which sanctity still survive in Islam. That the lamb has now to be roasted, not boiled as in D, is merely a particular instance of the general principle by which sacrificial flesh ceased to be boiled (Benzinger, *Archäol.* 451; see further, SACRIFICE). The injunction that no bone is to be broken, nor the head severed, may perhaps be intended to symbolise the oneness of all participants

in the meal. The command to burn whatsoever remains over doubtless has in view the keeping of what is sacrosanct from profanation (cp the precept with reference to the flesh of the sin offering, Lev. 8 17). The bitter herbs at first meant only that such herbs were the usual condiments accompanying a meal; the custom, without any particular meaning in itself, ultimately rose to the dignity of a law. 𝔊 renders πικρίδες, wild lettuce (cp Plin. *HN* 8 41) or endive (*Dioscor.* 2 160, Theophr. *H.Pl.* 7 11). Both herbs are found in Egypt and Syria. Cp further BITTER HERBS.

Participation in the passover was strictly enjoined on every male Israelite (according to later usage, from the fourteenth year onwards). All participants had of course to be ceremonially pure. So much weight is laid on this participation by every individual, that special regulations are given for cases in which participation was impossible.

The individual who is unclean or on a journey is bidden to observe the rite on the fourteenth day of the second month; but unless these sufficient reasons can be alleged the penalty of omitting the observance is that of 'cutting off' (see CUTTING OFF). No foreigner is allowed to eat the passover; but the circumcised slave may, and indeed, all non-Israelites who have accepted circumcision.

The main difference from the old ritual lies in the fact that the characteristic rite with the blood which formerly was the central one is no longer so. Looking at the letter of the law one can even doubt whether this particular rite was ever intended to be observed for all time. In the first instance, it is enjoined only for the first celebration of the passover, whilst in the detailed regulations as to the manner of eating, it is continually repeated that they are to be constantly observed. On the other hand, the eating now so much emphasised, for which quite precise instructions are given, is not so much as mentioned in the old legislation. It need hardly be added that the passover is now divested of its sacrificial character; it is henceforward to be slain no longer at the temple but at home.

The *maṣṣōth* feast likewise is conjoined with the passover in a manner differing somewhat from that of D. It begins on the day after the passover (not with the passover itself), so that henceforward passover and maṣṣōth together extend over eight days, whilst in Exodus and D they last only for seven (Nu. 28 17 Ex. 12 18). The main thing in the maṣṣōth feast is the eating of unleavened bread.

No leaven may be seen in Israelite houses during all these days, and whoso even eats leaven during this period is to be 'cut off.' On the first and on the seventh day of the feast a solemn assembly is to be held at the sanctuary and a sabbath rest observed. For each of the seven days sacrifices are enjoined on a large scale (Nu. 28 17 *ff.*), daily two bullocks, one ram, seven yearling lambs without blemish as a burnt offering, besides one he-goat as a sin offering; the accompanying meal-offerings are three-tenths of an ephah of fine flour with oil for the bullocks, two-tenth parts for the ram, one-tenth for the lamb—all this of course over and above the daily burnt-offering and drink-offering.

In one part of the ritual we still find a trace of the original meaning of the feast—in that part, namely, where the sheaf of first-fruits is offered on the day after the sabbath (Lev. 23 9). Which day is here meant is much disputed.

The prevailing view of Jewish tradition is that the 'sabbath' means the first day of the festival itself, in other words the day after the slaying of the passover lamb—*i.e.*, the 15th of Nisan. It is held to be called a sabbath as being a principal feast-day. Such a designation for the days of the feast, it must however be observed, is nowhere else met with. The Sadducees and Karaites, on the other hand (*Mĕnāch.* 65 *a*, *Ta'ănīth* 1, 2) understand by the expression the first ordinary sabbath day falling within the period of the festival, with this difference, that the Karaites when the first day of maṣṣōth is a 'day after the sabbath'—*i.e.*, a Sunday—cause the offering of the sheaf to be brought, whilst the Sadducees in this case hold the seventh maṣṣōth day to be the sabbath of the law, and postpone the offering of the sheaf till the day after: both alike are inconsistent with the letter and the meaning of the law.

To interpret the law, we must not take it in connection with the other regulations of P which fix a definite date, for the law itself determines the occurrence of the feast only in accordance with the beginning of harvest. If we are not to resort to violence, we can therefore only understand the sabbath as meaning the first sabbath in harvest. As the harvest, of course, never began on a sabbath, the offering of the sheaf could never fall outside the period of the maṣṣōth feast. This last is a possible eventuality in the interpretation of Nowack and others, according to which the first day of the harvest week, that is, of the week on which the harvest begins, is intended. See further, Dillmann on Lev. 23 11, and Nowack, *HA* 2 176 *ff.*

16. Later.

In the later observance of the feast it is a remarkable fact that not P but D was followed—at least in the main point, that of the slaying of the lamb at the temple. As early as in 2 Ch. 35 1 *f.* at Josiah's passover we find the slaughtering represented as being done in the court of the temple and by the hands of the Levites. The blood of the paschal lambs is as in the case of every other sacrifice sprinkled by the priests on the altar and the fat burnt; besides the paschal lambs other animals also are sacrificed as burnt offerings. It will hardly be assuming too much to suppose that the Chronicler here had in view the passover celebration as it was in his own time. The sacrificing of the passover by Levites and priests is confirmed also by Ezra 6 19 for the time which it covers, and by the practice of later Judaism (cp *Pes.* 5 1 *ff.* 6 3 4).

17. Time of Christ.

The celebration at the time of Christ was in this wise. The passover could be slain only at Jerusalem; this brought an immense concourse together. Josephus (*BJ* vi. 9 3) tells us that on one occasion (some years before the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans) the number of paschal lambs rose to 256,500; as at least ten men must be reckoned to each lamb this would give us more than two millions and a half of men, not counting those who were ceremonially disqualified. Plainly this is a great exaggeration. Still it is certain that the concourse was so great as to make it impossible for it to find room within the city itself. Till midday on 14th Nisan the houses were being rid of all leaven (*Pes.* 1 3 *f.* 3 6). In the afternoon the paschal lambs were slaughtered in various quarters of the town, their blood poured out by the priests at the altar, and the sacrificial portions offered. Then the lambs were again taken back by the several families to their homes. Not fewer than ten men and not more than twenty ate one lamb together. The bitter herbs and unleavened cakes were dipped into a kind of sweet sauce called *ḥarōseth*.[1] The meal began with a cup of red wine, blessed by the head of the house. The eldest son then asked the father what was meant by this feast and the answer was given by the father or, it might be, by the person who read the narrative of the institution. The Hallēl (Pss. 113-114) was then sung, the second cup was drunk, and thereupon the meal strictly so-called was eaten. This over, with a prayer of thanksgiving the third cup was brought forward, and blessed as before by the head of the house. While Pss. 115-118 were being sung, a fourth cup was drunk. The Samaritans have preserved a survival of the ancient blood-rite in so far as they mark the foreheads of their children with the blood (cp the description of the Samaritan celebration in Baed. *Pal.*(2) 226 *ff.*).

18. Literature.

Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (1663), 1 551 *ff.*; Spencer, *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus* (1685); Hitzig, *Ostern und Pfingsten* (1837-'38); Bähr, *Symbolik des mosaischen Kultus*, 2 (1839) 613 *ff* 627 *ff.*; Hupfeld, *Comment. de primitiva et vera festorum apud Hebræos ratione*, 1-3 (1852 *f.*); Redslob, *Die biblischen Angaben über d. Stiftung der Passahfeier* (1856); Bachmann, *Die Festgesetze des Pent.* (1858); Kurtz, *Der ATliche Opferkultus* (1862), 307 *ff.*; Franz Delitzsch, in *Z. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben* (1880), 337-347; Wellhausen, *Prol.* 82 *ff.*; Stade, *GVI* 1 498-503; Green, *Hebrew Feasts in*

1 [A cake of fruit beaten up and mingled with vinegar (cp Ar. *ḥurāšat*); cp *Pes.* 40*b f.* 116*a*.]

rel. to rec. crit. hypotheses concerning Pent. (1885); J. Müller, *Versuch. üb. d. Urspr. u. die geschichtl. Entwickl. des Pesach-Mazzot-Festes* (1883); R. Schäfer, *Das Passah-Mazzot-Fest nach seinem Ursprung u. s. w.* (1900); Trumbull, *The Blood-covenant* (1893), 230-238; *The Threshold Covenant* (1896), 203-222; the Commentaries on Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy; the Archæologies of Saalschütz, De Wette, Ewald, Keil, Benzinger, Nowack, De Visser; the relative sections in the works on biblical theology by Vatke, Oehler, Schultz, Smend, Marti, Riehm; the article 'Passah' in the dictionaries of Wiener, Schenkel (Dillmann), Riehm (Delitzsch), Herzog. For the later Jewish customs see Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica* (1657 *ff.*), 2 736 *ff.*; Lund, *Die alten jüdischen Heiligtümer, herausgegeben von Muhl* (1704), 991 *ff.*; Otho, *Lex. rabbin.*; Schröder, *Satzungen und Gebräuche des talmudisch-rabbinischen Judentums* (1851); Franz Delitzsch, 'Der Passahritus zur Zeit des zweiten Tempels' in *Ztschr. für luth. Theol. und Kirche* (1855), 257 *ff.* I. B.

PASTOR. See SHEPHERD, MINISTRY, § 47.

PASTORAL EPISTLES, the name given to three epistles which bear the name of Paul, and of which two are addressed to Timothy and one to Titus. They are marked off from the other Pauline epistles by certain common characteristics of language and subject-matter, and are called 'pastoral' because they consist almost exclusively of admonitions for the pastoral administration of Christian communities. None of the Pauline epistles have given greater ground for discussion. As they now stand, they are commonly denied by modern critics to Paul, though efforts are being made to find some partial justification of the church tradition (cp EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 7, n. 2; col. 1327). See TIMOTHY (EPISTLES), TITUS (EPISTLE).

PATARA (ΠΑΤΑΡΑ,[1] Acts 21 1). Patara is described as a 'great city with a harbour, and temples of Apollo' (Strabo, 666). It lay 5 or 6 m. SE. of the mouth of the river Xanthus, and was, in fact, the port of the city of Xanthus which lay 10 stades up the river (Appian, *BC* 4 81, Βροῦτος ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ξάνθου κατῄει, πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινείῳ Ξανθίων). It gained its importance from its situation on the SW. coast of Lycia, due E. of Rhodes, and consequently on the track of ships trading between the Ægean and the Levant. Therefore Paul, after passing Rhodes, came to Patara, voyaging from Macedonia to Palestine, and there found 'a ship sailing over unto Phœnicia.'[2] The course thence was S. of Cyprus directly to Tyre (*v.* 3). It would seem that, for ships sailing to Syria, Patara was the point of departure for the direct run through the open sea (correct force of διαπερῶν in *v.* 2); whilst, for those going in the opposite direction, Myra, which lay about 35 m. to the E., was the point at which the Karamanian coast was struck (cp Acts 27 5). A good parallel to the entire voyage of Paul on this occasion is found in Livy 37 16,[3] for this must at all times have been the highway of maritime traffic. The connection of Patara with Phœnicia is illustrated by the fact that, during the war of Rome with Antiochus (190 B.C.), C. Livius was stationed there in order to intercept the Syrian fleet (Livy, 37 15).

Owing to its commercial importance, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt improved the city, and renamed it 'the Lycian Arsinoe' (Ἀρσινόη ἡ ἐν Λυκίᾳ, Strabo, 666); but this title soon fell into disuse. The temple and oracle of Apollo at Patara were celebrated (cp the later coin-types, and Herod. 1 182, Verg. *Æn.* 4 143, Hor. *Od.* iii. 4 64, Paus. ix. 41 1). A large triumphal arch with three openings, still standing, bears the inscription 'Patara, the metropolis of the Lycian nation'; and there are many other remains, including those of baths built by Vespasian.

For description, see Beaufort, *Karamania*, 5 *f.*; Spratt and Forbes, *Travels*, 1 30 *f.*, Fellows, *Lycia*, 179 *f.* 416 *f.*, Benndorf and Niemann, *Lykia*. W. J. W.

[1] Pliny 5 100, *Patara, quæ prius Pataros.* On coins *pttarazē*; cp Kalinka's 'Zur historischen Topographie Lykiens,' in Kiepert's *Festschrift*, 1898, p. 161 *f.* The coins begin about 440 B.C. Πάταρα is, of course, a neuter plural.

[2] The reason for Paul's transshipment at Patara lay in the fact that 'he hasted, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost' (Acts 20 16). The ship in which he had come to Patara was either going no farther, or was intending to call at the Pamphylian and Cilician ports.

[3] *Civitates, quas prætervectus est, Miletus Myndus Halicarnassus Cnidus Cous. Rhodum ut est ventum . . . navigat Patara.*

PATHEUS (παθαιος [B]), 1 Esd. 9 23 = Ezra 10 23, PETHAHIAH, 2.

PATHROS (פַּתְרוֹס) is referred to in four passages: Is. 11 11 (βαβυλωνιας [BℵAQ], *Phethros*); Jer. 44 1 (παθουρης [gen.] [BℵAQ]), *v.* 15 (παθουρη [*ib.* -θυρη, ℵ*], γη παθουρης [Q], *Phatures*); Ezek. 29 14 (φαθωρης [gen.] [BQ], παθουρης [A], *adnot.* ψωμον πατημα [Qmg.]), 30 14† (φαθωρης [B], παθουρης [A], φαθουρης [Q], *Phathures*).

It is usually held that Pathros (= Eg. *p3 t3 rsii*, 'the south land,' Copt. *pto rēs* or *pteres*; Ass. *paturisi*) means Upper Egypt (see EGYPT, § 43; GEOGRAPHY, § 15 [6]; Erman, *ZATW* 10 118 [1890]; Del. *Par.* 310; Schr. *KGF* 283 *f.*). Plausible as the theory is, it must be re-examined in the light of the belief[1] that prophecies as well as narratives have sometimes been so edited as to obtain a new and very different geographical and historical reference. That 'Pathros' means 'upper Egypt' in the passages as they now stand, cannot be denied; but it has yet to be ascertained whether the original writer really had 'upper Egypt' in his mind. (*a*) In the first passage (Is. 11 11) there is clearly no certainty that this is the case. Now that it has been maintained that there was probably an Edomite captivity of the Jews (see OBADIAH [BOOK], § 7), and that 'Asshur' is not unfrequently miswritten for 'Geshur,' and 'Babel' and 'Elam' for 'Jerahmeel,' and also that in Gen. 10 14 PATHRUSIM [*q.v.*] is most probably a distortion of Ṣārĕphāthīm, it becomes, to say the least, possible that the original reading of Is. 11 11 was, 'from Geshur and from Miṣrim, and from *Zarephath*, and from Cush, and from Jeraḥmeel, and from the Zarḥites, and from the Arabians' (cp 𝕲's βαβυλωνιας = בבל = ירחמאל, and see *Crit. Bib.*). (*b*) In Jer. 44 1 we read of 'all the Jews who dwelt in the land of מצרים, who dwelt at Migdol, and at Tahpanhes, and at Noph, and in the country of Pathros,' and in *v.* 15 of 'all the people that dwelt in the land of מצרים, in Pathros.' Beke, however, has already expressed the view (*Orig. Bib.* 1 307) that the places referred to are in a N. Arabian מצרים. This appears to be correct; only it must be added that the names, except Migdol, have been corrupted. Migdol (a common Hebrew term) is not improbably the Migdal-cusham which underlies the Migdal-shechem of Judg. 9 46 (see SHECHEM, TOWER OF); Tahpanhes and Noph have arisen out of NAPHTUHIM [*q.v.*]; Pathros = Zarephath. (*c*) Ezek. 29 14 occurs in a prophecy which (like that in Jer. 46) has not improbably been altered and expanded from a prophecy on Miṣrim (Muṣur in N. Arabia); cp PARADISE, § 1. The original reading must have been very different from what now stands in MT, and very possibly was, 'and I will cause them to return to the land of Zarephath, to the land of Jerahmeel.' (*d*) In Ezek. 30 14 the traditional text reads 'Pathros, Zoan, No.' But the original reading of the second name was probably 'Zoar'—*i.e.*, 'Miṣṣur' (see ZOAR), whilst 'No-[amon]' seems to have come from 'Ammon' (a not uncommon corruption of Jerahmeel), and 'Pathros' from 'Zarephath.' Cp PI-BESETH, TAHPANHES. The student will remember that when the ancient editors have been proved to have used much uncritical conjecture, it is the duty of modern critics to employ the ordinary means of critical restoration of the original text. T. K. C.

PATHRUSIM (פַּתְרֻסִים), a 'son' of Mizraim, Gen. 10 14 (πατροσωνιειμ [A and Aa? in 1 Ch.], πατροσονοειμ [E], -ιειμ [L]), 1 Ch. 1 12† (φαθερωσειμ [L, om. B]). If, however, we are to point מִצְרִים, Miṣrim, 'פת will be a corruption of צָרְפָתִים, Ṣārĕphāthīm (the list containing only S. Palestine peoples). See MIZRAIM, § 2*b*.

[1] See *Crit. Bib.*, and cp GILEAD, MERATHAIM, PARADISE, SHECHEM, TYRE.

Marquart (*Fund.* 26) would read פתרסים in Jer. 46 9*b* for the superfluous חפשי. If so, it would be best to go a step farther and read צרפתים, and suppose that a prophecy against Miṣrim has been altered and expanded into a prophecy against Mizraim. Cp PROPHET, § 45. T. K. C.

PATMOS (Η ΠΑΤΜΟϹ; Rev. 1 9). Patmos, now called *Patino*, is a barren rocky island, about 10 m. long and 5 m. wide (Pliny, *HN* 4 23, *Patmos, circuitu triginta millia passuum*), in that section of the Ægean which was called the Icarian Sea, between Samos and Cos (Strabo, 488). It would, therefore, be a feature in the scene viewed by Paul in his voyage from Samos, 20 m. to the N., to Cos (Acts 20 15 21 1; cp E. D. Clark, *Travels*, 2 194). It is first mentioned by Thucydides (3 33 = 428 B.C.)—its sole appearance in ancient history, though the ruins of the Hellenic town on the height between the inlets of *La Scala* (E.) and *Merika* (W.) would point to a certain degree of prosperity, of which we have otherwise no hint. The island must, in fact, have been of some importance, as its harbour is one of the safest in all the Greek islands.

1. Site.

In the Middle Ages also it flourished, and from its palms was known as *Palmosa*: the degradation of the vegetation is somewhat foolishly attributed to Turkish rule. The northern and southern portions of the island are united by two isthmuses, only a few hundred yards wide, between which rises the ruin-crowned height above mentioned. On the E. of the southernmost isthmus lies the port: the town is farther S., round the Monastery of St. John.

Patmos owes its celebrity in NT history entirely to the mention of it in Rev. 1 9. Under the Empire, islands were largely used as places of banishment—*e.g.*, Domitian banished Flavia Domitilla, suspected of being a Christian, to Pontia (Eus. *HE* iii. 18 5; Dio Cass. 67 14).[1] It has been suggested by some writers that the influence of the natural features of the view from the highest summit of the island may be traced in the imagery of the Apocalypse: references to the sea are unusually frequent (Rev. 4 6 6 14 13 1 15 2 16 20). [But see APOCALYPSE; also JOHN (SON OF ZEBEDEE), § 9.]

2. Relation to John.

The entire southern section of the island belongs to the Monastery of St. John the Divine (founded by St. Christodulos in 1088, on the site of an ancient temple), on the summit of the highest hill (*St. Elias*, about 800 ft.). Lower down is a second monastery, that of the Apocalypse, in which is shown the cave (τὸ σπήλαιον τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως) wherein the Revelation was delivered. The cave is now a chapel: 'in one part of the roof a rent is pointed out, where the rock was broken at the commencement of the Revelation, and from a somewhat deeper cleft in this the Divine voice is said to have proceeded' (Tozer, *The Islands of the Ægean*, 178 *f.*).

For description of Hellenic ruins, see *Memoirs Relating to Turkey*, ed. Walpole, 2 29 43 *f.*; H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Ægean*, 1890, p. 178 *f.* Most complete account by V. Guérin, in his *Description de l'Ile de Patmos et de Samos*, 1856; with map of the island. For the legends of St. John at Patmos, see the MS of the monastery, entitled Αἱ περίοδοι τοῦ Θεολόγου, composed by Prochorus his disciple (analysed by Guérin, *op. cit.* 20 *f.*; it contains the composition of the Gospel only, not the Apocalypse). W. J. W.

PATRIARCH (ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗϹ, *i.e.*, head of a ΠΑΤΡΙΑ or family), a designation applied in NT to Abraham (Heb. 7 4), to the twelve sons of Jacob (Acts 7 8 *f.*), and to David (Acts 2 29). In 4 Macc. 7 19 mention is made of οἱ πατριάρχαι ἡμῶν Ἀβρααμ, Ισαακ, Ιακωβ, and in 4 Macc. 16 25 of A. καὶ I. καὶ I. καὶ πάντες οἱ πατριάρχαι. In 1 Ch. 24 31 𝔊 אָבוֹת הָרֹאשׁ ('principal fathers') is represented by πατριάρχαι Αρααβ [B], πατριαι Αρως [A], πατριὰ τοῦ πρώτου [L]; in 2 Ch. 19 8 26 12 πατριάρχαι (οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν πατριῶν [L] in 2 Ch. 26 12) renders ראשׁ האבות (AV 'chief of the fathers,' RV 'head of fathers' [houses]'), in 1 Ch. 27 22 שׂרים (AV 'princes,' RV 'captains,' οἱ ἄρχοντες [L]), in 2 Ch. 23 20 שׂרי המאות (EV 'captains of hundreds,' τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχους [L]).

PATROBAS (ΠΑΤΡΟΒΑϹ, abbrev. from Patrobius) is one of five who with 'the brethren that are with them' are saluted in Rom. 16 14. They seem to have been heads of Christian households, or perhaps class leaders of some sort.

The lists of Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus represent Patrobas as bishop of Puteoli. Cp ROMANS.

The name was borne by a contemporary of Nero, a freedman; cp Tac. *Hist.* 1 49 2 95.

PATROCLUS (ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΟΥ [AV]), the father of NICANOR [*q.v.*] (2 Macc. 8 9).

PAU (פָּעוּ; ΦΟΓΩΡ [ADEL]), Gen. 36 39, or PAI[1] (פָּעִי; ΦΟΓΩΡ [BA], ΦΑΟΥΑ [L]), 1 Ch. 1 50, the name of the city of Hadad, a king of Edom. Probably we should follow 𝔊 and read פְּעוֹר, Pĕ'ōr (so Ball). See BELA, 2, HADAD (2), PEOR.

PAUL

CONTENTS

Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, though not one of the original twelve, but only at a later date added by the Lord himself to the circle of his more intimate followers, soon became one of the most zealous, if not the most zealous, of them all. A Jew by birth, brought up in accordance with the strictest precepts of the law, bitterly opposed to the Christianity then beginning to emerge into prominence, as a youth he was one of the witnesses of the martyrdom of Stephen (Acts 7 58-8 3). Anon, while 'breathing threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord' (Acts 9 1), his career is arrested and he is converted on the road to Damascus (Acts 9 2-8). Once a preacher of the gospel, he hence-

1. The older view.

[1] Especially so used were the islands of Gyara (Gyaros) and Seriphos in the Ægean (cp Tac. *Ann.* 3 68 4 30 15 71: Juv. *Sat.* 1 73, *aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum*, and *id.* 6 563 10 170).

[1] The reading is certainly false. Targ., Pesh., Vg., and many Heb. MSS read פעו.

forth, without hesitation or delay, devotes to its service for all the rest of his life all his rare gifts of intellect and heart, his unmatched courage, his immovable fidelity. Finally, after long and indefatigable wanderings, including three great (missionary) journeys, probably about the year 64 A.D., while still in the full vigour of manhood, he suffered martyrdom at Rome. Further details will be found in the Acts of the Apostles, and in his 13 (14) canonical epistles. Apart from one or two comparatively unimportant traditions, these are our sole and abundantly sufficient sources of information.

So thought and spoke almost all scholars of all schools, whether Protestant or Catholic, down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. All that was left for scholarship was to determine as exactly as possible the precise order of the events in detail and the proper light in which to view them, so as to gain a picture as faithful and complete as possible of the great apostle's life and activities. That Acts and the Epistles might be regarded, on the whole, as credible throughout, was questioned by no one.

2. Criticism in first half of nineteenth century. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the situation was completely altered. Criticism had learned to concern itself seriously with the contents of Acts, and to inquire as to the genuineness of certain of the 13 (14) Pauline epistles as read in the NT.

The epistle to the Hebrews had already been excluded from the group by Carlstadt (1520), and among those who followed him in this were Luther, Calvin, Grotius (*ob.* 1681), and Semler (*ob.* 1791). E. Evanson in 1792 raised some doubts as to the Pauline origin of Romans, Ephesians, Colossians; J. E. C. Schmidt in 1798 as to that of 1 and 2 Thessalonians; Eichhorn (1804), Schleiermacher (1807), de Wette (1826) as to Timothy and Titus; Usteri in 1824, as also de Wette and Schleiermacher, following Evanson, as to Ephesians. By 1835 F. C. von Baur had given the *coup de grace* to the 'so-called Pastoral Epistles,' Kern to 2 Thessalonians in 1839; Semler in 1776, followed by others, denied the unity of 2 Corinthians.

Baur, incidentally in his *Pastoralbriefe* (p. 79), declared that we possess only four letters of Paul with regard to the genuineness of which there can be no reasonable doubt—Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans. This thesis became the corner-stone of the new building.

3. Baur. F. C. von Baur, the founder of what was called, from the university in which he taught, the Tübingen school, laid the foundation in his *Paulus* (1845; (2), after the author's death in 1860, by E. Zeller, 1866-1867; ET by Menzies, 2 vols., 1873-1875). In Baur's view, Acts, and also such epistles as were not from the pen of Paul (Peter, or James) himself, ought to be regarded as 'tendency'-writings, designed to make peace or to establish it, as between Peter and Paul, the assumed heads of two parties or schools in early Christianity which were called by their names—Petrinists and Paulinists, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians; parties which he held to have lived, like Peter and Paul themselves, and for a considerable time after the decease of these great leaders, in bitter hostility towards one another until, so far as they did not lose themselves in various heresies to right or to left, they became merged in one another in the bosom of the Catholic church. For the historian the all-important task now became that of discerning clearly the unquestionably genuine element in the Pauline Epistles, on which alone weight could be laid. With them could be combined only those elements in Acts which were seen not to be in contradiction with the epistles.

This standpoint, if we leave out of account divergences of subordinate importance, was accepted in Germany and Switzerland by many scholars; among others by E. Zeller, A. Schwegler, K. R. Köstlin, K. Planck, A. Ritschl (1849),[1] A. Hilgenfeld, G. Volkmar, H. Lang, A. Hausrath, K. Holsten, R. A. Lipsius, C. Weizsäcker, H. J. Holtzmann, O. Pfleiderer—we may safely say, in short, by the entire 'old guard' of liberal theology—so, too, in France; in Holland also, until quite recently, by the whole modern school; and in England among others by W. R. Cassells, the long anonymous author of *Supernatural Religion* (vols. 1 and 2, 1874; vol. 3, 1877), and by S. Davidson (*Introduction to the Study of the NT*, 2 vols.; (3), 1894).

This also was, on the whole, the point of view occupied by E. Hatch when he contributed to *Ency. Brit.*(9), 18 (1885), the article 'Paul,' from which the following §§ (4-32) of the present article are taken, a few short notes only being added within square brackets.

W. C. v. M.

[1] In the second edition of his *Entstehung*, however, Ritschl abandoned the Tübingen position.

A. Earlier (*i.e.*, Tübingen) Criticism.

4. Origin and name. 'Saul, who is also (called) Paul' [Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, Acts 13 9] was a 'Hebrew of the Hebrews'—*i.e.*, of pure Jewish descent unmixed with Gentile blood—of the tribe of Benjamin (Rom. 11 1 2 Cor. 11 22 Phil. 3 5). In Acts it is stated that he was born at Tarsus in Cilicia (9 11 21 39 22 3); but in the fourth century there still lingered a tradition that his birthplace was Giscala, the last of the fortress-towns of Galilee which held out against Rome (Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* 100 5; *Ad Philem.* 5 23).[1]

The fact that Paul was called by two names has been accounted for in various ways. Saul (the Aramaic form, used only as a vocative, and in the narratives of his conversion, Acts 9 4 17 22 7 13 26 14; elsewhere the Hellenised form, Σαῦλος) was a natural name for a Benjamite to give to his son, in memory of the first of Jewish kings; Paul is more difficult of explanation. It is first found in the narrative of the conversion of Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus (Acts 13 7), and it has sometimes been supposed either that Paul himself adopted the name in compliment to his first Gentile convert of distinction, or that the writer of Acts intended to imply that it was so adopted. Others have thought that it was assumed by Paul himself after the beginning of his ministry, and that it is derived from the Latin *paulus* in the sense either of 'least among the apostles,' or 'little of stature.' These and many similar conjectures, however, may probably be set aside in favour of the supposition that there was a double name from the first, one Aramaic or Hebrew, and the other Latin or Greek, like Simon Peter, John Mark, Simeon Niger, Joseph Justus; this supposition is confirmed by the fact [that in those days many people had in Greek and Latin two or more names, of which there are many examples in the *Oxyr. Pap.* i. ii.; and] that Paul was not an uncommon name in Syria and the eastern parts of Asia Minor (instances will be found in the *Index Nominum* to Boeckh's *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* [*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. 98 205, *bis*, ii. 9 308]). Whatever be its origin, Paul is the only name used by himself, or used of him by others when once he had entered into the Roman world outside Palestine. Acts speaks of his having been a Roman citizen ['Ρωμαῖος, like Attalus ὁ Χριστιανός, condemned to be thrown before the wild animals at Lyons, Eus. *HE* v. 1 44 47 50] by birth (Acts 22 28; cp 16 37 23 27), a statement which also has given rise to several conjectures, because there is no clue to the ground upon which his claim to citizenship was based. Some modern writers question the fact, considering the statement to be part of the general colouring which the writer of Acts is supposed to give to his narrative; and some also question the fact, which is generally considered to support it, of the appeal to the emperor.

That Paul received part of his education at Tarsus,

[1] It was an Ebionite slander that he was not a Jew at all, but a Greek [who wished to marry a Jewish priest's daughter at Jerusalem, for that reason became a proselyte and had himself circumcised, but, when the girl refused to marry him, got angry and began to write against circumcision, the Sabbath, and the whole law] (Epiphan. *Hær.* 30 16).

which was a great seat of learning, is a possible inference from his use of some of the technical terms which were current in the Greek schools of rhetoric and philosophy; but, since the cultivation of a correct grammatical and rhetorical style was one of the chief studies of those schools, Paul's imperfect command of Greek syntax seems to show that this education did not go very far [cp HELLENISM, § 9]. That he received the main part of his education from Jewish sources is not only probable from the fact that his family were Pharisees, but certain from the whole tone and character of his writings [though his language and style betray the genuine Greek; cp W. C. van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 186-190 3 156-160; A. Deissmann, *GGA*, 1896, pp. 767-769; E. L. Hicks, *Stud. bibl.* 5 (1896), pp. 1-14]. According to Acts, his teacher was GAMALIEL, who, as the grandson of Hillel, took a natural place as the head of the moderate school of Jewish theologians; nor, in spite of the objection that the fanaticism of the disciple was at variance with the moderation of the master, does the statement seem in itself improbable. A more important difficulty in the way of accepting the statement that Jerusalem was the place of Paul's education is the fact that in that case his education must have been going on at the time of the preaching and death of Jesus Christ. That he had not seen Jesus Christ during his ministry seems to be clear, for a comparison of 1 Cor. 9 1 with 15 8 appears to limit his sight of him to that which he had at his conversion, and the 'knowing Christ after the flesh' of 2 Cor. 5 16 is used not of personal acquaintance but of 'carnal' as opposed to 'spiritual' understanding; nor does the difficulty seem to be altogether adequately explained away by the hypothesis which some writers have adopted, that Paul was temporarily absent from Jerusalem at the times when Jesus Christ was there. Like all Jewish boys, Paul learnt a trade, that of tent-making; this was a natural employment for one of Cilician origin, since the hair of the Cilician goat was used to make a canvas (*cilicia*) which was specially adapted for the tents used by travellers on the great routes of commerce, or by soldiers on their campaigns (cp Philo, *De anim. idon. sacrif.* i. 2 238 ed. Mang.; and see CILICIA, § 3, end). Whether he was married or not is a question which has been disputed from very early times; the expressions in 1 Cor. 7 8 9 5 were taken by Tertullian to imply that he was not, and by Clement of Alexandria and Origen to imply that he had once been, but had become a widower.

5. Education.

6. Inner life.

The beginning of Paul's active life was doubtless like its maturity; it was charged with emotion. He himself gives a graphic sketch of its inner history. His conversion to Christianity was not the first great change that he had undergone. 'I was alive without the law once' (Rom. 7 9). He had lived in his youth a pure and guileless life. He had felt that which is at once the charm and the force of such a life, the unconsciousness of wrong. But, while his fellow-disciples in the rabbinical schools had been content to dissect the text of the sacred code with a minute anatomy, the vision of a law of God which transcended both text and comment had loomed upon him like a new revelation. With the sense of law had come the sense of sin. It was like the first dawn of conscience. He awoke as from a dream. The commandment came.' It was intended to be 'unto life,' but he found it to be 'unto death'; for it opened up to him infinite possibilities of sinning: 'I had not known lust except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust.' The possibilities of sinning became lures which drew him on to forbidden and hated ground: 'sin, finding occasion through the commandment, beguiled me and through it slew me' (Rom. 7 7-11). This was his inner life, and no man has ever analysed it with a more penetrating and graphic power.

7. Outward life.

In his outward life this sense of the law of God became to Paul an overpowering stimulus. The stronger the consciousness of his personal failure, the greater the impulse of his zeal. The vindication of the honour of God by persecuting heretics, which was an obligation upon all pious Jews, was for him a supreme duty. He became not only a persecutor but a leader among persecutors (Gal. 1 14).

What Paul felt was a very frenzy of hate; he 'breathed threatening and slaughter,' like the snorting of a war-horse before a battle, against the renegade Jews who believed in a false Messiah (Acts 9 1 26 11). His enthusiasm had been known before the popular outbreak which led to Stephen's death, for the witnesses to the martyr's stoning 'laid down their clothes' at his feet (Acts 7 58), and he took a prominent place in the persecution which followed. He himself speaks of having 'made havoc' of the community at Jerusalem, spoiling it like a captured city (Gal. 1 13 23); in the more detailed account of Acts he went from house to house to search out and drag forth to punishment the adherents of the new heresy (8 3). When his victims came before the Jewish courts he tried, probably by scourging, to force them to apostatise (26 11); in some cases he voted for their death (22 4 26 10).

The persecution spread from Jerusalem to Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee (9 31); but Paul, with the same spirit of enterprise which afterwards showed itself in his missionary journeys, was not content with the limits of Palestine. He sought and obtained from the synagogue authorities at Jerusalem letters similar to those which, in the thirteenth century, the popes gave to the 'militia Jesu Christi contra hæreticos.' The ordinary jurisdiction of the synagogues was for the time set aside; the special commissioner was empowered to take as prisoners to Jerusalem any whom he found to belong to 'The Way.' Of the great cities which lay near Palestine, Damascus was the most promising, if not the only field for such a commission. At Antioch and at Alexandria, though the Jews, of whom there were very many, enjoyed a large amount of independence and had their own governor, the Roman authorities would probably have interfered to prevent the extreme measures which Paul demanded. At Damascus, where also the Jews were many and possibly had their own civil governor (2 Cor. 11 32), the Arabian prince Aretas (Ḥāritha), who then held the city, might naturally be disposed to let an influential section of the population deal as they pleased with their refractory members.

8. Conversion.

On Paul's way to Damascus occurred an event which has proved to be of transcendent importance for the religious history of mankind. He became a Christian by what he believed to be the personal revelation of Jesus Christ. Paul's own accounts of the event are brief; but they are at the same time emphatic and uniform.

'It pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me' (Gal. 1 16); 'have I not seen Jesus our Lord' (1 Cor. 9 1); 'last of all he was seen of me also as of one born out of due time' (1 Cor. 15 8, where ὤφθη κἀμοί must be read in the sense of the parallel expressions ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, etc.; in other words, Paul puts the appearance to himself on a level with the appearances to the apostles after the resurrection). These accounts give no details of the circumstances. Paul's estimate of the importance of such details was probably different from that which has been attached to them in later times.

The accounts in Acts are more elaborate; they are three, one in the continuous narrative (9 3-19), a second in the address on the temple stairs (22 6-21), a third in the speech to Agrippa (26 12-18); they all differ in details, they all agree in substance; the differences are fatal to the stricter theories of verbal inspiration, but they do not constitute a valid argument against the general truth of the narrative.

It is natural to find that the accounts of an event which lies so far outside the ordinary experience of men have been the object of much hostile criticism. The earliest denial of its reality is found in the Judæo-Christian writings known as the *Clementine Homilies*, where Simon Magus is told that visions and dreams may come from demons as well as from God (*Clem. Hom.* 17 13-19). The most important of later denials

are those of the Tübingen school, which explain the narratives in Acts either as a translation into the language of historical fact of the figurative expressions of the manifestation of Christ to the soul, and the consequent change from spiritual darkness to light (*e.g.*, Baur, *Paul*, ET 1 76; Zeller, *Acts*, ET 1 289), or as an ecstatic vision (Holsten, *Zum Evangelium d. Paulus u. d. Petrus*, 3-114). But against all the difficulties and apparent incredibilities of the narratives there stand out the clear and indisputable facts that the persecutor was suddenly transformed into a believer, and that to his dying day he never ceased to believe and to preach that he had 'seen Jesus.'

9. Mission. Nor was it only that Paul had seen Jesus; the gospel which he preached, as well as the call to preach it, was due to this revelation. It had 'pleased God to reveal his Son in him' that he 'might preach him among the Gentiles' (Gal. 1 12 15 *f.*). He had received the special mark of God's favour, which consisted in his apostleship, that all nations might obey and believe the gospel (Rom. 1 5, cp 12 3 15 15 *f.*). He had been entrusted with a secret (μυστήριον) which had 'been kept in silence through times eternal,' but which it was now his special office to make known (Rom. 11 25 16 25 *f.*; and even more prominently in the later epistles, Eph. 1 9 3 2-9 6 19 Col. 1 26 *f.* 4 3). This secret was that 'the Gentiles are fellow-heirs, and fellow-members of the body, and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel.' This is the key to all Paul's subsequent history. He was the 'apostle of the Gentiles,' and that 'not from men, neither through man' (Gal. 1 1); and so thoroughly was the conviction of his special mission wrought into the fibres of his nature, that it is difficult to give full credence to statements which appear to be at variance with it.

10. Autobiography. Of his life immediately after his conversion Paul himself gives a clear account: 'I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but I went away into Arabia' (Gal. 1 16 *f.*). The reason of his retirement, to whatever place it may have been[1] (see ARABIA, § 4), is not far to seek. A great mental, no less than a great bodily, convulsion naturally calls for a period of rest; and the consequences of his new position had to be drawn out and realised before he could properly enter upon the mission-work which lay before him. From 'Arabia' he returned to Damascus (Gal. 1 17), and there began not only his preaching of the gospel but also the long series of 'perils from his own countrymen,' which constitute so large a part of the circumstances of his subsequent history (Acts 9 23-25 2 Cor. 11 26 32 *f.*).

It was not until 'after three years,' though it is uncertain whether the reckoning begins from his conversion or from his return to Damascus, that he went up to Jerusalem; his purpose in going was to become acquainted with Peter, and he stayed with him fifteen days (Gal. 1 18). Of his life at Jerusalem on this occasion there appear to have been erroneous accounts current even in Paul's own lifetime, for he adds the emphatic attestation, as of a witness on his oath, that the account which he gives is true (Gal. 1 20). The point on which he seems to lay emphasis is that, in pursuance of his policy not to 'confer with flesh and blood,' he saw none of the apostles except Peter and James, and that even some years afterwards he was still unknown by face to the churches of Judæa which were in Christ.[2]

[1] To Haurān (Renan), to the Sinaitic peninsula (Holsten). [Fries (*ZNTW*, 1901, 150 *f.*) thinks that what Paul wrote was Ἄραβα, and that the place intended was the ערב of the Talmud, the Ἄραβα of Josephus (Neubauer, *Géogr.* 204 *f.*; Jos. *Vit.* 51). Fries points out that the Great Rabbi Johanan b. Zakkai taught for several years at this Araba; and that according to one tradition Paul himself was a Galilean, born at Gischala.]

[2] A different account of this visit to Jerusalem is given in Acts 9 26-30 26 20; the account of the trance in the temple, Acts 22 17-21, is in entire harmony with Paul's own words.

11. Supplemented by Acts. From Jerusalem Paul went 'into the regions of Syria and Cilicia,' preaching the gospel (Gal. 1 21 23). How much that brief expression covers is uncertain; it may refer only to the first few months after his departure from Jerusalem, or it may be a summary of many travels, of which that which is commonly known as his 'first missionary journey' is a type. The form of expression in Gal. 2 1 makes it probable that he purposely leaves an interval between the events which immediately succeeded his conversion and the conference at Jerusalem. For this interval, assuming it to exist, or in any case for the detail of its history, we have to depend on the accounts in Acts 11 20-30 12 25-14 28. These accounts possibly cover only a small part of the whole period, and they are so limited to Paul's relations with Barnabas as to make it probable that they were derived from a lost 'Acts of Barnabas.' This supposition would probably account for the fact that in them the conversion of the Gentiles is to a great extent in the background.

The chief features of these accounts are (i.) the formation of a new centre of Christian life at Antioch (§ 12), and (ii.) a journey which Paul, Barnabas, and for part of the way John Mark took through Cyprus and Asia Minor (§ 14).

12. Affairs at Antioch. The first of these facts has a significance which has sometimes been overlooked for the history not only of Paul himself but also of Christianity in general. It is that the mingling together, in that splendid capital of the civilised East, of Jews and Syrians on the one hand, and Greeks and Romans on the other, furnished the conditions which made a Gentile Christianity possible. The religion of Jesus Christ emerged from its obscurity into the full glare of contemporary life. Its adherents attracted enough attention to receive in the common talk and intercourse of men a distinctive name. They were treated, not as a Jewish sect, but as a political party. To the Greek equivalent for the Hebrew 'Messiah,' which was probably considered to be not a title but a proper name, was added the termination which had been employed for the followers of Sulla, of Pompey, and of Cæsar [see CHRISTIAN, § 4]. It is improbable that this would have been the case unless the Christian community at Antioch had had a large Gentile element; and it is an even more certain and more important fact that in this first great mixed community the first and greatest of all the problems of early Christian communities had been solved, and Jews and Gentiles lived a common life (Gal. 2 12).

13. Paul's position. What place Paul himself had in the formation of this community can only be conjectured. In Acts he is less prominent than Barnabas; and although it must be gathered from the Epistle to the Galatians that he took a leading part in the controversies which arose, it is to be noted that he never elsewhere mentions Antioch in his epistles, and that he never visited it except casually in his travels. It may be supposed that from an early period he sought and found a wider field for his activity. The spirit of the Pharisees who 'compassed sea and land to make one proselyte' was still strong within him. The zeal for God which had made him a persecutor had changed its direction but not its force. His conversion was but an overpowering call to a new sphere of work. It is consequently difficult to believe that he was content to take his place as merely one of a band of teachers elected by the community or appointed by the Twelve. The sense of a special mission never passed away from him. 'Necessity was laid upon him' (1 Cor. 9 16). Inferior to the Twelve in regard to the fact that he had once 'persecuted the church of God,' he was 'not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles' (2 Cor. 11 5) in regard to both the reality and the privileges of his commission, and to the truth of what he preached (1 Cor. 9 1-6 2 Cor. 3 1-9 Gal. 1 12). It is also difficult

to believe that he went out with Barnabas simply as the delegate of the Antiochean community; whatever significance the laying on of hands may have had for him (Acts 13 3), it would be contrary to the tenor of all his writings to suppose that he regarded it as giving him his commission to preach the gospel.

ii. The narrative of the incidents of the single journey which is recorded in detail, and which possibly did not occupy more than one summer, has given rise to much controversy. Its general credibility is supported by the probability that in the first instance Paul would follow an ordinary commercial route, on which Jewish missionaries as well as Jewish merchants had been his pioneers. For his letters to his Gentile converts all presuppose their acquaintance with the elements of Judaism. They do not prove monotheism; they assume it.

14. Journey to Cyprus.

According to the narrative Paul and his companions went first to Cyprus, the native country of Barnabas, and travelled through the island from its eastern port, Salamis, to its capital, Paphos. At Paphos a Jewish sorcerer, Bar-jesus, was struck with blindness, and the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, was converted. From Cyprus, still following a common route of trade, they went into the SE. districts of Asia Minor, through Pamphylia to Antioch in Pisidia. At Antioch, on two successive Sabbaths, Paul spoke in the synagogue; the genuineness of the addresses which are recorded in Acts has been disputed, chiefly because the second of them seems to imply that he 'turned to the Gentiles' (Acts 13 46), not as a primary and unconditional obligation, but owing to the rejection of the Gospel by the Jews [cp ACTS, § 4]. Expelled from Antioch, they went on to Iconium (where the apocryphal 'Acts of Paul and Thecla' place the scene of that improbable but not ungraceful romance), and thence to Lystra, where the healing of a cripple caused the simple and superstitious Lycaonians to take them for gods. Their farthest point was the neighbouring town of Derbe, whence they returned by the route by which they had come to the sea-coast, and thence to Antioch in Syria.

Although the general features of the narrative may be accepted as true, especially if, as suggested above (§ 11), its basis is a memoir or itinerary not of Paul but of Barnabas, it must be conceded that this portion of Acts has large omissions. It is difficult to believe that the passionate zeal of an apostle who was urged by the stimulus of a special call of Jesus Christ was satisfied, for the long period of at least eleven years, with one short missionary journey, and that, with the exception of a brief visit to Jerusalem (Acts 11 30), he remained quietly at Tarsus or at Antioch (11 25 13 1 14 28). In this period must fall at least a portion of the experiences which are recorded in 2 Cor. 11 23-27, for which no place can be found in the interval between the conference at Jerusalem and the writing of that epistle. The scourging in the synagogues, the beating with the lictors' rods in the Roman courts, the shipwrecks, the 'night and day in the deep,' the 'perils of robbers' and 'perils in the wilderness,' belong no doubt to some of the unrecorded journeys of these first years of Paul's apostolic life. A more important omission is that of some of the more distinctive features of his preaching. It is impossible to account for his attitude towards the original apostles in his interview with them at Jerusalem (Gal. 2 1-10) except on the supposition that before that interview, no less than after it, he was that which he had been specially called to be, the 'apostle of the Gentiles' and the preacher of the 'gospel of the uncircumcision.'

15. Value of narrative.

At the end of fourteen years, either from his conversion or from his visit to Peter at Jerusalem [see CHRONOLOGY, § 73], the question of the relation of the communities which he had formed, and of the gospel which he preached, to the original Christian communities, and to the gospel of the Twelve, came to a crisis. His position was unique. He owed neither his knowledge of the gospel nor his commission to preach it to any human authority (Gal. 1 11 *f.*). As Jesus Christ had taught and sent forth the Twelve, so had he taught and sent forth Paul; Paul was on equal terms with the Twelve. Until a revelation came to him he was apparently at no pains to co-operate with them. Between their respective disciples, on the other hand, there was evidently a sharp contention. The Jewish party, the original disciples and first converts, maintained the continued obligation of the Mosaic law and the limitation of the promises to those who observed it; the Pauline party asserted the abrogation of the law and the free justification of all who believed in Jesus Christ.

16. Paul's relation to the Twelve.

The controversy narrowed itself to the one point of circumcision. If the Gentiles were, without circumcision, members of the kingdom of God, why was the law obligatory on the Jews? If, on the other hand, the Gentiles had to be circumcised, the gospel had but a secondary importance. It seemed for a time as though Christianity would be broken up into two sharply-divided sects, and that between the Jewish Christianity, with its seat at Jerusalem, which insisted on circumcision, and the Gentile Christianity, with its seat at Antioch, which rejected circumcision, there would be an irreconcilable antagonism. It was consequently 'by revelation' (Gal. 2 2) that Paul and Barnabas, with the Gentile convert Titus as their 'minister' or secretary, went to confer with the leaders among the original disciples, the 'pillars' or 'them who were of repute,' 'James, and Cephas, and John.'

Paul put the question to them: Was it possible that he was spending or had spent his labour in vain? (μήπως . . . ἔδραμον in Gal. 2 2 form a direct question depending on ἀνεθέμην). He laid before them the 'gospel of the uncircumcision.' They made no addition to it (Paul says of himself ἀνεθέμην, and of 'them who were of repute' οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, Gal. 2 2 6), but accepted it as Paul preached it, recognising it as being a special work of God, and as being on the same level of authority with their own (Gal. 2 7-9). The opposition was no doubt strong; there were 'false brethren' who refused to emancipate the Gentile world from the bondage of the law; and there was also apparently a party of compromise which, admitting Paul's general contention, maintained the necessity of circumcision in certain cases, of which the case of Titus, for reasons which are no longer apparent, was typical. But Paul would have no compromise. From his point of view compromise was impossible. 'Justification' was either 'of faith' or 'by the works of the law'; it was inconceivable that it could be partly by the one and partly by the other.

Paul succeeded in maintaining his position at all points. He received 'the right hand of fellowship,' and went back to Antioch the recognised head and preacher of the 'gospel of the uncircumcision.' Within his own sphere he had perfect freedom of action; the only tie between his converts and the original community at Jerusalem was the tie of benevolence. Jew and Gentile were so far 'one body in Christ' that the wealthier Gentile communities should 'remember the poor.'[1]

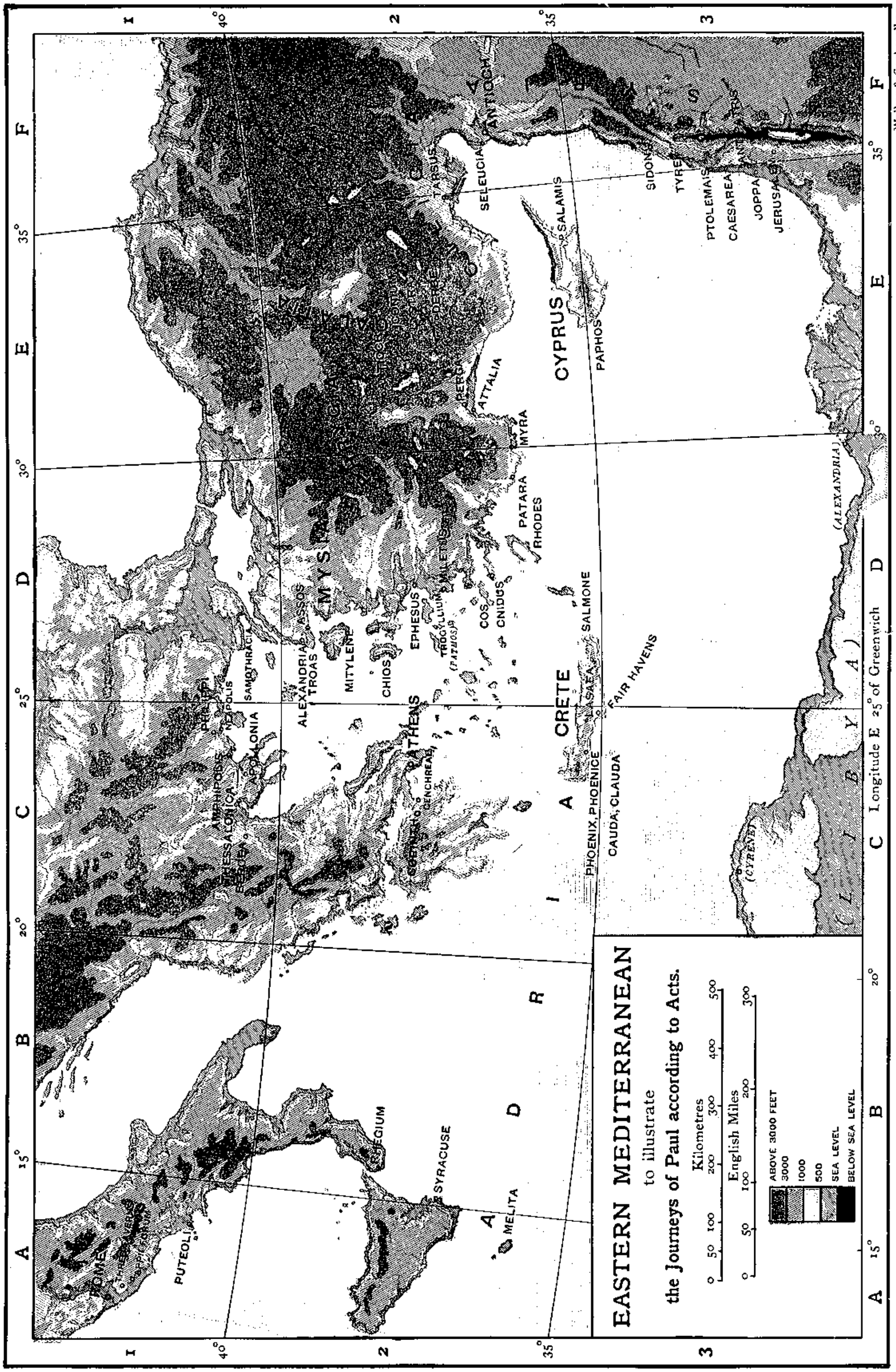
When Paul returned to Antioch, Peter followed him, and for a time the two apostles lived in harmony. Peter 'did eat with the Gentiles.' He shared the common table at which the Jewish distinctions of meats were disregarded. He thereby accepted Paul's position. When, however, 'certain came from James' he drew back [φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς, Gal. 2 12. Barnabas and the whole of the Jewish party at Antioch followed him]. Paul showed that the position of Peter was illogical, and that he was self-convicted (κατεγνωσμένος ἦν, Gal. 2 11).

17. Peter and Paul at Antioch.

Paul's argument was that the freedom from the law was

[1] Few passages of the NT have been more keenly debated during the second part of the nineteenth century [cp COUNCIL] than the accounts of this conference at Jerusalem in Acts 15 4-29 and Gal. 2 1-10. Almost all writers agree in thinking that the two accounts refer to the same event; but no two writers precisely agree as to the extent to which they can be reconciled. The main points of difficulty in the two accounts are these:—(1) Acts says that Paul went up by appointment of the brethren at Antioch; Paul himself says that he went up 'by revelation.' (2) In Acts Paul has a subordinate position; in his own account he treats with 'the three' on equal terms. (3) In Acts Peter and James are on Paul's side from the first; in Galatians they are so only at the end of the conference, and after a discussion. (4) Acts makes the conference result in a decree, in which certain observances are imposed upon the Gentiles; Paul himself expressly declares that the only injunction was that they 'should remember the poor.'

PAUL'S JOURNEYS ACCORDING TO ACTS.



complete, and that to attach merit to obedience to the law was to make disobedience to the law a sin, and, by causing those who sought to be justified by faith alone to be transgressors, to make Christ a 'minister of sin.' Obedience to any part of the law involved recognition of the whole of it as obligatory (Gal. 5 3), and consequently 'made void the grace of God.'

The schism in the community at Antioch was probably never healed. It is not probable that Paul's contention was there victorious; for, whilst Paul never again speaks of that city, Peter seems to have remained there [?], and he was looked upon in later times as the founder of its church.

This failure at Antioch served Paul as the occasion for carrying out a bolder conception. The horizon of his mission widened before him. The 'fulness of the Gentiles' had to be brought in. His diocese was no longer Antioch; it was the whole of the Roman empire. The years that followed were almost wholly spent among its great cities, 'preaching among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ' (Eph. 3 8).

18. Paul's missionary labours.

Paul became the spiritual father of many communities, and he watched over them with a father's constant care. He gathered round him a company of faithful disciples, sharers in his missionary work, whom he sent sometimes to break new ground, sometimes to arrange disputes, sometimes to gather contributions, sometimes to examine and report. Of his travels, whether with them or alone, no complete record has been preserved; some of them are minutely described in Acts, others within the same period are known only or chiefly from his epistles. In giving an account of them it is necessary to change to some extent the historical perspective which is presented in Acts; for, in working up fragments of itineraries of Paul's companions into a consecutive narrative, many things are made to come into the foreground which Paul himself would probably have disregarded, and many things are omitted or thrown into the shade to which, from his letters, he appears to have attached a primary importance.[1]

19. In Galatia.

The first scene of Paul's new activity, if indeed it be allowable to consider the conference at Jerusalem and the subsequent dispute at Antioch as having given occasion for a new departure, was probably eastern Asia Minor, more particularly Galatia. Some of it he had visited before; and from the fact that the Galatians, though they had been heathens (Gal. 4 8), were evidently acquainted with the law, it may be inferred that Paul still went on the track of Jewish missionaries, and that here, as elsewhere, Judaism had prepared the way for Christianity [though it was resolved that he should go to the Gentiles only, Gal. 1 16 2 2 8 9]. Of his preaching Paul himself gives a brief summary; it was the vivid setting forth before their eyes of Jesus as the crucified Messiah, and it was confirmed by evident signs of the working of the Spirit (Gal. 3 1 5). The new converts received it with enthusiasm; Paul felt for them as a father; and an illness (some thought, from the form of expression in Gal. 4 15, that it was an acute ophthalmia) which came upon him (on the assumption that this was his first visit) intensified their mutual affection. What we learn specially of the Galatians is probably true also of the other Gentiles who received him; some of them were baptized (Gal. 3 27), they were formed into communities (Gal. 1 2), and they were so far organised as to have a distinction between teachers and taught (Gal. 6 6).

20. In Macedonia.

An imperative call summoned Paul to Europe. The western part of Asia Minor, in which afterwards were formed the important churches of Ephesus, Colossæ, Hierapolis, and Laodicea, was for the present left alone. Paul passed on into Macedonia. The change was more than a passage from Asia to Europe. Hitherto, if Antioch be excepted, he had preached only in small provincial towns. Henceforward he preached chiefly, and at last exclusively, in the great centres of population. He began with Philippi, which was at once a great military post and the wealthy entrepôt of the gold and silver mines of the neighbouring Mount Pangæus. The testimony of the eyewitness whose account is incorporated in Acts 16 12-18 tells us that his first convert was a Jewish proselyte, named Lydia (see LYDIA); and Paul himself mentions other women converts (Phil. 4 2). About the community which soon grew up there is the special interest that it was organised after the manner of the guilds, of which there were many both at Philippi and in other towns of Macedonia, and that its administrative officers were entitled, probably from the analogy of those guilds, 'bishops' and 'deacons.' [Cp MINISTRY, § 57.]

In Europe, as in Asia, persecution attended him. He was 'shamefully entreated' at Philippi (1 Thess. 2 2), and according to Acts the ill-treatment came not from the Jews but from the Gentile employers of a frenzied prophetess, who saw in Paul's preaching an element of danger to their craft. Consequently he left Philippi, and passing over Amphipolis, the political capital of the province, but the seat rather of the official classes than of trade, he went on to the great seaport and commercial city of Thessalonica. His converts there seem to have been chiefly among the Gentile workmen (1 Thess. 4 11 2 Thess. 3 10-12), and he himself became one of them. Knowing as he did the scanty wages of their toil, he 'worked night and day that he might not burden any of them' (1 Thess. 2 9 2 Thess. 3 8). For all his working, however, he does not seem to have earned enough to support his little company; he was constrained both once and again to accept help from Philippi (Phil. 4 16). He was determined that, whatever he might have to endure, no sordid thought should enter into his relations with the Thessalonians; he would be to them only what a father is to his children, behaving himself 'holily and righteously and unblameably,' and exhorting them to walk worthily of God who had called them (1 Thess. 2 10-12). There, as elsewhere, his preaching was 'in much conflict.' The Jews were actively hostile. According to the account in Acts (17 5-9), they at last hounded on the lazzaroni of the city, who were doubtless moved as easily as a Moslem crowd in modern times by any cry of treason or infidelity, to attack the house of Jason (possibly one of Paul's kinsmen, Rom. 16 21), either because Paul himself was lodging there, or because it was the meeting-place of the community. Paul and Silas were not there, and so escaped; but it was thought prudent that they should go at once and secretly to the neighbouring small town of Berœa. Thither, however, the fanatical Jews of Thessalonica pursued them; and Paul, leaving his companions Silas and Timothy at Berœa, gave up his preaching in Macedonia for a time and went southwards to Athens.

21. At Athens.

The narrative which Acts gives of Paul's stay at Athens is one of the most striking, and at the same time one of the most difficult, episodes in the book. What is the meaning of the inscription on the altar? [see UNKNOWN GOD]. What is the Areopagus? How far does the reported speech give Paul's actual words? What did the Athenians understand by the Resurrection? These are examples of questions on which it is easy to argue, but which, with our present knowledge, it is impossible to decide. One point seems to be clear, both from the absence of any further mention of the city in Paul's writings, and from the absence of any permanent results of his visit: his visit was a comparative failure. It was almost inevitable that it should be so. Athens was the educational centre of Greece. It was a great university city. For its students and professors the Christianity which Paul preached had only an intellectual interest.

[1] The most important instance of this is probably the almost entire omission of an account of his relations with the community at Corinth; one of his visits is entirely omitted, another is also omitted, though it may be inferred from the general expression 'he came into Greece' (20 2); and of the disputes in the community, and Paul's relations to them, there is not a single word.

They were not conscious of the need, which Christianity presupposes, of a great moral reformation; nor indeed was it until many years afterwards, when Christianity had added to itself certain philosophical elements and become not only a religion but also a theology, that the educated Greek mind, whether at Athens or elsewhere, took serious hold of it.

Of Paul's own inner life at Athens we learn, not from Acts, but from one of his epistles. His thoughts were not with the philosophers but with the communities of Macedonia and the converts among whom he had preached with such different success. He cared far less for the world of mocking critics and procrastinating idlers in the chief seat of culture than he did for the enthusiastic artisans of Thessalonica, to whom it was a burning question of dispute how soon the Second Advent would be, and what would be the relation of the living members of the church to those who had fallen asleep. Paul would fain have gone back to them; but 'Satan hindered him' (1 Thess. 2_{17} *f.*); and he sent Timothy in his stead 'to comfort them as concerning their faith,' and to prevent their relapsing, as probably other converts did, under the pressure of persecution (1 Thess. 3_{2} *f.*).

From Athens Paul went to Corinth, the capital of the Roman province of Achaia, and the real centre of the busy life of Greece. It was not the ancient Greek city with Greek inhabitants, but a new city which had grown up in Roman times, with a vast population of mingled races, who had added to the traditional worship of Aphrodite the still more sensuous cults of the East. Never before had Paul had so vast or so promising a field for his preaching; for alike the filthy sensuality of its wealthy classes and the intense wretchedness of its half-million of paupers and slaves (*τὴν βδελυρίαν τῶν ἐκεῖσε πλουσίων καὶ τῶν πενήτων ἀθλιότητα*, Alciphr. 3_{60}) were prepared ground upon which his preaching could sow the seed, in the one case of moral reaction, and in the other of hope. At first the greatness of his task appalled him: 'I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling' (1 Cor. 2_{3}). He laid down for himself from the first, however, the fixed principle that he would preach nothing but 'Jesus Christ, and him crucified' (1 Cor. 2_{2}), compromising with neither the Jews, to whom 'the word of the cross'—*i.e.*, the doctrine of a crucified Messiah—was 'a stumbling-block,' nor with the Gentile philosophers, to whom it was 'foolishness' (1 Cor. $1_{18\ 23}$). It is probable that there were other preachers of the gospel at Corinth, especially among the Jews, since soon afterwards there was a Judaising party; Paul's own converts seem to have been chiefly among the Gentiles (1 Cor. 12_{2}). Some of them apparently belonged to the luxurious classes (1 Cor. 6_{11}), a few of them to the influential and literary classes (1 Cor. 1_{26}); but the majority were from the lowest classes, the 'foolish,' the 'weak,' the 'base,' and the 'despised' (1 Cor. 1_{27} *f.*). Among the poor Paul lived a poor man's life. It was his special 'glorying' (1 Cor. 9_{15} 2 Cor. 11_{10}) that he would not be burdensome to any of them (1 Cor. 9_{12} 2 Cor. 11_{9} 12_{13}): he worked at his trade of tent-making. It was a hard sad life; his trade was precarious, and did not suffice for even his scanty needs (2 Cor. 11_{9}). Beneath the enthusiasm of the preacher was the physical distress of hunger and cold and ill-usage (1 Cor. 4_{11}). In 'all his distress and affliction,' however, he was comforted by the good news which Timothy brought him of the steadfastness of the Thessalonian converts; the sense of depression which preceded it is indicated by the graphic phrase, 'Now we *live*, if ye stand fast in the Lord' (1 Thess. 3_{6-8}). With Timothy came Silas, both of them bringing help for his material needs from the communities of Macedonia (2 Cor. 11_{9} Acts 18_{5}; perhaps only from Philippi, Phil. 4_{15}), and it was apparently after their coming that the active preaching (2 Cor. 1_{19}) which roused the Jews to a more open hostility began.

22. At Corinth.

Of that hostility an interesting incident is recorded in Acts 18_{12-16}; but a more important fact in Paul's life was the sending of a letter, the earliest of all his letters which have come down to us, to the community which he had founded at Thessalonica. Its genuineness, though perhaps not beyond dispute, is almost certain. Part of it is a renewed exhortation to steadfastness in face of persecutions, to purity of life, and to brotherly love; part of it is apparently an answer to a question which had arisen among the converts when some of their number had died before the Parousia; and part of it is a general summary of their duties as members of a Christian community. It was probably followed, some months afterwards, by a second letter; but the genuineness of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians has been much disputed. It proceeds upon the same general lines as the first, but appears to correct the misapprehensions which the first had caused as to the nearness of the Parousia.

23. First and Second Thess.

After having lived probably about two years at Corinth Paul resolved, for reasons to which he himself gives no clue, to change the centre of his activity from Corinth to Ephesus.

24. At Ephesus.

Like Corinth, Ephesus was a great commercial city with a vast mixed population; it afforded a similar field for preaching, and it probably gave him increased facilities for communicating with the communities to which he was a spiritual father. It is clear from his epistles that his activity at Ephesus was on a much larger scale than the Acts of the Apostles indicates. Probably the author of the memoirs from which this part of the narrative in Acts was compiled was not at this time with him; consequently there remain only fragmentary and for the most part unimportant anecdotes.

Paul's real life at this time is vividly pictured in the Epistles to the Corinthians. It was a life of hardship and danger and anxiety.

'Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and we toil, working with our own hands; being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we endure; being defamed, we entreat; we are made as the filth of the world, the offscouring of all things, even until now' (1 Cor. 4_{11-13}). It was almost more than he could bear: 'We were weighed down exceedingly, beyond our power, insomuch that we despaired even of life' (2 Cor. 1_{8}). He went about like one condemned to die, upon whom the sentence might at any moment be carried out (2 Cor. 1_{9}). Once, at least, it seemed as though the end had actually come, for he had to fight with beasts in the arena (1 Cor. 15_{32}); and once, if not on the same occasion, he was only saved by Prisca and Aquila, 'who for his life laid down their own necks' (Rom. 16_{4}).

What filled a larger place in Paul's thoughts than the 'perils' of either the past or the present was the 'care of all the churches.' He was the centre round which a system of communities revolved; and partly by letters, partly by sending his companions, and partly by personal visits, he kept himself informed of their varied concerns, and endeavoured to give a direction to their life.

Paul probably went from Ephesus to the churches of Galatia and others in Asia Minor. He wrote the Epistle to the Galatians and the first to the Corinthians. About the particulars, however, of his relations with these communities at this time there are differences of opinion. Seldom do we find more than two of the better known authors agreeing on any view.

25. Leaves Ephesus.

An *émeute* which occurred at Ephesus was, according to Acts, the occasion if not the cause of his leaving that city; 'a great door and effectual had been opened for him' there (1 Cor. 16_{9}), and the growth of the new religion had caused an appreciable diminution in the trade of those who profited by the zeal of the worshippers at the temple (Acts 19_{23} to 20_{1}). Paul went overland to Troas, where, as at Ephesus, 'a door was opened unto him in the Lord' (2 Cor. 2_{12}); but the thought of Corinth was stronger than the wish to make a new community. He was eager to meet Titus, and to hear of the effect of his (now lost) letter; and he went on into Macedonia. It is at this point of his life more than at any other that he reveals to us his inner history. At Ephesus he had been hunted almost to death; he had carried his life in his hand; and, 'even when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no relief, but we were afflicted on every side; without were fightings, within were fears' (2 Cor. 7_{5}). But though the 'outward man was decaying, the inward man was renewed day by day'; and the climax of splendid paradoxes which he wrote soon afterwards to the

Corinthians (2 Cor. 6 3-10) was not a rhetorical ideal, but the story of his actual life. After a time Titus came with news which gladdened Paul's heart (2 Cor. 7 7). He had been well received at Corinth. The letter had made a deep impression. The admonitions had been listened to. The Corinthians had repented of their conduct. They had rid themselves of 'him that did the wrong,' and Paul was 'of good courage concerning them' (2 Cor. 7 8-16). He then wrote the second of his extant letters to them, which was sent by Titus and the unknown 'brother whose praise in the gospel is spread through all the churches,' and who had been elected by the churches to travel with Paul and his company (2 Cor. 8 18 *f.*).

It was probably in the course of this journey that Paul went beyond the borders of Macedonia into the neighbouring province of Illyricum (Rom. 15 19); but his real goal was Corinth. For the third time he went there, and, overcoming the scruples of his earlier visits, he was the guest of Gaius, in whose house the meetings of the community were held (Rom. 16 23).

26. At Corinth again: 'Romans.'

Of the incidents of Paul's visit to Corinth no record remains; Acts does not even mention it. It was the culminating point, however, of his intellectual activity; for in the course of it he wrote the greatest of all his letters, the Epistle to the Romans. As the body of that epistle throws an invaluable light upon the tenor of his preaching at this time to the communities, among which that of Rome can hardly have been singular, so the salutations at the end, whether they be assumed to be an integral part of the whole or not, are a wonderful revelation of the breadth and intimacy of his relations with the individual members of those communities. But that which was as much in his mind as either the great question of the relation of faith to the law or the needs of individual converts in the Christian communities was the collection of alms 'for the poor among the saints that were at Jerusalem' (Rom. 15 26). The communities of Palestine had probably never ceased to be what the first disciples were, communities of paupers in a pauperised country, and consequently dependent upon external help.

27. Alms for Christian poor.

All through his missionary journeys Paul had remembered the injunction which had sealed his compact with 'the three' (Gal. 2 10). In Galatia (1 Cor. 16 1), among the poor and persecuted churches of Macedonia (Rom. 15 26 2 Cor. 8 1-4), at Corinth, and in Achaia (1 Cor. 16 1-14 2 Cor. 8 and 9), the Gentiles who had been made partakers with the Jews in spiritual things had been effectually told that 'they owed to them also to minister unto them in carnal things' (Rom. 15 27).

The contributions were evidently on a large scale; and Paul, to prevent the charges of malversation which were sometimes made against him, associated with himself 'in the matter of this grace' a person chosen by the churches themselves (2 Cor. 8 19-21 12 17 *f.*); some have thought that all the persons whose names are mentioned in Acts 20 4 were delegates of their respective churches for this purpose.

Paul resolved to go to Jerusalem himself with this material testimony of the brotherly feeling of the Gentile communities, and then, 'having no more any place' in Greece, to go to the new mission fields of Rome and the still farther West (Rom. 15 23-25). He was not certain that his peace-offering would be acceptable to the Jewish Christians, and he had reason to apprehend violence from the unbelieving Jews. His departure from Corinth, like that from Ephesus, was probably hastened by danger to his life; and, instead of going direct to Jerusalem (an intention which seems to be implied in Rom. 15 25), he and his companions took a circuitous route round the coasts of the Ægean Sea. His course lay through Philippi, Troas, Assos, Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Miletus, where he took farewell of the elders of the community at Ephesus in an address of which some reminiscences are probably preserved in Acts 20 18-35. Thence he went, by what was probably an ordinary route of commerce, to the Syrian coast, and at last he reached Jerusalem.

28. Sets out for Jerusalem.

The narrative which Acts gives of the incidents of Paul's life at Jerusalem is full of grave difficulties. It leaves altogether in the background what Paul himself mentions as his chief reason for making the visit; and it relates that he accepted the advice which was given him to avail himself of the custom of vicarious vows, in order to show, by his conformity to prevalent usages, that 'there was no truth' in the reports that he had told the Jews 'not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs' (Acts 21 20-26). If this narrative be judged by the principles which Paul proclaims in the Epistle to the Galatians, it seems hardly credible. He had broken with Judaism, and his whole preaching was a preaching of the 'righteousness which is of faith,' as an antithesis to, and as superseding, the 'righteousness which is of the law.' Now he is represented as resting his defence on his conformity to the law, on his being 'a Pharisee and the son of Pharisees,' who was called in question for the one point only that he believed, as other Pharisees believed, in the resurrection of the dead.

29. Account in Acts.

What colouring of a later time, derived from later controversies, has been spread over the original outline of the history cannot now be told. Whilst on the one hand the difficulties of the narrative as it stands cannot be overlooked, on the other hand no faithful historian will undertake, in the absence of all collateral evidence, the task of discriminating that which belongs to a contemporary testimony and that which belongs to a subsequent recension. From this uncertainty the general concurrence of even adverse critics excepts the 'we' section (Acts 27 1 28 16); whoever may have been the author of those 'we' sections, and whatever may be the amount of revision to which they have been subjected, they seem to have for their basis the diary or itinerary of a companion of Paul, and the account of the voyage contains at least the indisputable fact that Paul went to Rome.

Paul's life at Rome and all the rest of his history are enveloped in mists from which no single gleam of certain light emerges. Almost every writer, whether apologetic or sceptical, has some new hypothesis respecting it; and the number and variety of the hypotheses which have been already framed is a warning, until new evidence appears, against adding to their number. The preliminary questions which have to be solved before any hypothesis can be said to have a foundation in fact are themselves extremely intricate; and their solution depends upon considerations to which, in the absence of positive and determining evidence, different minds tend inevitably to give different interpretations. The chief of these preliminary questions is the genuineness of the epistles bearing Paul's name, which, if they be his, must be assigned to the later period of his life—viz., those to the Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians, to Philemon, to Timothy, and to Titus. As these epistles do not stand or fall together, but give rise in each case to separate discussion, the theories vary according as they are severally thought to be genuine or false. The least disputed is the Epistle to Philemon; but it is also the least fruitful in either doctrine or biographical details. Next to it in the order of general acceptance is the Epistle to the Philippians. The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians have given rise to disputes which cannot easily be settled in the absence of collateral evidence, since they mainly turn partly on the historical probability of the rapid growth in those communities of certain forms of theological speculation, and partly on the psychological probability of the almost sudden development in Paul's own mind of new methods of conceiving and presenting Christian doctrine. The pastoral epistles—viz., those to Timothy and to Titus—have given rise to still graver questions, and are probably even less defensible.

30. Doubtful epistles.

Even if this preliminary question of the genuineness

of the several epistles be decided in each instance in the affirmative, there remains the further question whether they or any of them belong to the period of Paul's imprisonment at Rome, and, if so, what they imply as to his history. It is held by many writers that they all belong to an earlier period of his life, especially to his stay at Cæsarea (Acts 24 23 27). It is held by other writers that they were all sent from Rome, and with some such writers it has become almost an article of faith that he was imprisoned there not once but twice. It is sometimes further supposed that in the interval between the first and second imprisonments he made his intended journey to Spain (Rom. 15 24; it is apparently regarded as an accomplished fact by the author of the Muratorian fragment); and that either before or after his journey to Spain he visited again the communities of the Ægean seaboard which are mentioned in the pastoral epistles.

31. Later life.

The place and manner and occasion of Paul's death are not less uncertain than the facts of his later life. The only fragment of approximately contemporary evidence is a vague and rhetorical passage in the letter of Clement of Rome (100 5): 'Paul . . . having taught the whole world righteousness, and having come to the goal of the West (ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως), and having borne witness (μαρτυρήσας) before the rulers, so was released from the world and went to the Holy Place, having become the greatest example of patience.' The two material points in this passage (1) 'the limit of the West,' (2) 'having borne witness,' are fruitful sources of controversy. The one may mean either Rome or Spain, the other may mean either 'having testified' or 'having suffered martyrdom.' It is not until towards the end of the second century, after many causes had operated both to create and to crush traditions, that mention is made of Paul as having suffered about the same time as Peter at Rome; but the credibility of the assertion is weakened by its connection in the same sentence with the [rhetorical] statement that Peter and Paul [both taught in Italy in the same spirit as they planted and taught in Corinth] (Dionysius of Corinth, quoted by Eusebius, *HE* 2 25). A Roman presbyter named Gaius speaks, a few years later, of the martyr-tombs of the two apostles being visible at Rome (quoted by Eusebius, *l.c.*); but neither this testimony nor that of Tertullian (*De præscr.* 36, *Scorp.* 15, *Adv. Marc.* 4 5) is sufficient to establish more than the general probability that Paul suffered martyrdom. There is no warrant for going beyond this, as almost all Paul's biographers have done, and finding an actual date for his martyrdom in the so-called Neronian persecution of 64 A.D.[1]

The chronology of the rest of Paul's life is as uncertain as the date of his death. We have no means of knowing when he was born, or how long he lived, or at what dates the several events of his life took place.

The nearest approach to a fixed point from which the dates of some events may be calculated is that of the death of Festus, which may probably, though by no means certainly, be placed in 62 A.D.; even if this date were certainly known, new evidence would be required to determine the length of time during which he held office; all that can or could be said is that Paul was sent to Rome some time before the death of Festus in 62 A.D. (cp further CHRONOLOGY, §§ 64-84).[2]

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[1] The 'Martyrium Pauli' in Zacagni, *Coll. mon. vet. eccl.*, Rome, 1698, p. 535, gives not only details but also an exact date—viz., 29th June 66 A.D.; the day has been adopted by the Latin Church as the common anniversary of St. Peter and St. Paul. All the early evidence which bears upon the point has been collected by Kunze, *Præcipua patrum ecclesiasticorum testimonia quæ ad mortem Pauli apostoli spectant*, Göttingen, 1848 [cp Harnack, *Chronologie* (1897), pp. 240-3].

[2] How widely opinions differ as to the rest of the chronology may be seen by a reference to the chronological table which is given by Meyer in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Acts*, and after him by Farrar, *St. Paul*, vol. ii. 624. The literature of the subject is extensive; the most convenient summary of the discussions, for English readers, will be found in the introduction to Meyer's *Commentary* just mentioned of which there is an ET [cp Harnack, *Chron.* pp. 233-9; Meyer-Wendt, *Kommentar AG*(8) 1899, pp. 53-60; Th. Zahn, *Einl. in das NT*(2) ii. (1900) 629-47]; and CHRONOLOGY, §§ 64-84.]

Of his personality Paul himself tells us as much as need be known when he quotes the adverse remarks of his opponents at Corinth: 'his letters, they say, are weighty and strong; but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no account' (2 Cor. 10 10). The Christian romance-writer elaborated the picture, of which some traits may have come to him from tradition: 'a man small in stature, bald-headed, bow-legged, stout, close-browed, with a slightly prominent nose, full of grace; for at one time he seemed like a man, at another time he had the face of an angel' ('Acta Pauli et Theclæ,' 100 3; Tisch. *Acta Apost. Apocr.* 41); and the pagan caricaturist speaks of him in similar terms, as 'bald in front, with a slightly prominent nose, who had taken an aerial journey into the third heaven' (pseudo-Lucian, *Philopatris*, 100 12).[1]

32. His personality.

That Paul was sometimes stricken down by illness is clear from Gal. 4 13 (some have thought also from 2 Cor. 2 4); and at his moments of greatest exaltation [not only did he enjoy visions and revelations, being elevated into the third heaven, paradise, where he heard inexpressible words; but also] 'there was given to him a stake in the flesh . . . that he should not be exalted overmuch' (2 Cor. 12 7). The nature of this special weakness has given rise to many conjectures; the most probable is that it was one of those obscure nervous disorders which are allied to epilepsy and sometimes mistaken for it.[2]

E. H.

B. Later Criticism.

From the first, both in Germany and elsewhere, the Tübingen criticism met with strong opposition as well as with cordial acceptance. The right wing, which protested against it on behalf of tradition, spared (and continues to spare) no effort to recover the invaded territory and to protect it, so far as may be, from further attack. The most powerful champion of this conservative attitude in recent years has been Th. Zahn, author of the *Einleitung in das neue Testament* (2 vols. 1897-99, (2) 1900).

33. Transitional views.

Those who were not so timid about breaking with traditional views or with opinions that had been judged to be no longer tenable, inclined, nevertheless, especially in recent years, to consider that Baur had gone to the extreme limit of criticism and to think that some retreat, along part of the line at least, from his 'extravagances' was necessary. They did not shut their eyes to the great merits of the Tübingen school; but neither would they be blind to their faults and shortcomings which seemed to admit of being summed up in the single word 'exaggeration.' They called themselves by choice the critical school, and could appropriately enough be described as indeed 'moderately' so. Those who have in recent years gone farthest in this reactionary direction (or, let us call it, retrogression) are, in practice, A. Jülicher in his *Einleitung in das NT*, 1894, 1901(3), and, in theory, A. Harnack in the 'Preface' (which is not to be confounded with the contents which follow) to his *Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur* (=*ACL* 2 1, 1897).

Later criticism that may fairly enough be called 'advanced,' in the sense that its conclusions differ

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[1] Some early representations of him on gilded glasses and sarcophagi still remain; accounts of them will be found in Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. Chr. Ant.* 2 1621; Schultze, *Die Katakomben*, Leipsic, 1882, p. 149.

[2] See Krenkel, 'Das körperliche Leiden des Paulus,' in the *ZWT*, 1873, p. 238, and in *Beiträge z. Aufhellung d. Gesch. u. d. Briefe des Ap. Paulus* (1890), 4, 'der Dorn im Fleische,' 47-125; and for various views, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 1892, p. 186; Farrar, *St. Paul*, vol. i., Excurs. 10 652 [van Manen, *Paulus*, 3 284; Meyer-Heinrici, *Kommentar*, 2 *Cor.*(8) 1900, pp. 397-402; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*,(4) 1898, 94 *ff.* ('a species of chronic malaria fever')]. Cp EYE, DISEASES OF, § 4.

more than those of others from traditional opinion starts from the same principles as the 'critical school,' though its opponents prefer such expressions for it as 'scepticism,' the 'radical' or the 'Dutch school,' 'hypercriticism,' 'uncriticism' or (as Jülicher has it recently) 'pseudo-criticism.' The way for it was prepared, not to speak of Evanson (1792), by Bruno Bauer, A. Pierson, S. A. Naber, and others.

34. A new school.

By Bruno Bauer in his three volumes entitled *Kritik der paulinischen Briefe* (1850-52), and again after a silence of many years in his *Christus und die Caesaren* (1877; see especially pp. 371-387); by A. Pierson in *De Bergrede en andere synoptische fragmenten* (1878; pp. 98-110); by him and Naber in their *Verisimilia* (1886); by others in dissertations and discourses on various public occasions in Holland of which some account is to be found in *JPT*, 1883, pp. 593-618; 1884, pp. 562-3; 1886, pp. 418-444 (Dutch: W. C. van Manen, *Het Nieuwe Testament sedert* 1859, 1886, pp. 89-126, 225-7, 265).

The Pauline question, however, was first brought forward in a strictly scientific form by A. D. Loman of Amsterdam in his 'Quæstiones Paulinæ,' published in *Th. T* in 1882, 1883, 1886. This broadly-based study, however, in the beginning still intimately connected with the writer's much discussed hypothesis of the symbolical character of the Gospel history and the person of Jesus, Loman did not live to complete. The portions published by him were the 'Prolegomena' to a book on the principal epistles of Paul, in which the necessity for a revision of the foundations of our knowledge of the original Paulinism and the expediency, for this purpose, of starting from the Epistle to the Galatians are fully set forth (1882, pp. 141-185, cp 593-616); a first chapter in which the external evidence for and against the genuineness of that Epistle is exhaustively discussed (1882, pp. 302-328, 452-487; 1883, pp. 14-57; 1886, pp. 42-55), and a second chapter in which the same question is considered in the light of the Canon (1886, pp. 55-113, cp 319-349, 387-406). At a later date an unfinished study, *De Brief aan de Galatiers*, was posthumously added to these as *Loman*'s *Nalatenschap* (1899). Meanwhile various scholars—J. C. Matthes, J. van Loon, H. U. Meyboom, J. A. Bruins —had signified their agreement with him wholly or partially, and he was followed in the path of advancing criticism he had opened up, as regards the question of the sources of our knowledge of Paul, his life and his work, though without for a moment committing themselves to Loman's hypothesis respecting the gospel history, by Rudolf Steck of Bern, D. E. J. Völter of Amsterdam, and W. C. van Manen of Leyden.

Steck's well-written book *Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht, nebst kritischen Bemerkungen aus den paulinischen Hauptbriefen* was published in 1888; Völter's 'Ein Votum zur Frage nach der Echtheit, Integrität u. Composition der vier paulinischen Hauptbriefe' was published in *Th. T* in 1889 (pp. 265-325), but still remains unfinished in its revised form *Die Komposition der paulinischen Hauptbriefe: 1. Der Römer- u. Galaterbrief* (1890). Van Manen, as yet hesitatingly in 1886-87, but decidedly in 1888 as a contributor to *Th. T* and other periodicals, and subsequently in connection with his academical work, has participated largely in the present discussions.[1]

See especially his *Paulus* in three parts: *De Handelingen der Apostelen* (Acts), 1890; *De brief aan de Romeinen*, 1891; *De brieven aan de Korinthiers*, 1896; followed by a condensed summary of the results arrived at in his *Handleiding voor de Oudchristelyke letterkunde*, 1900. For a somewhat fuller survey of the earlier history of this criticism and of the reception it met with in the learned world the reader may consult his articles entitled 'A Wave of Hypercriticism' in *Exp. T* 9, 1898, pp. 205-211, 257-9, 314-9.

The same critical principles of the 'later criticism'—recently adopted also by Prof. W. B. Smith of Tulane University, New Orleans (see ROMANS)—have likewise been in some measure followed, however unconsciously in the main, by all those who at one time or another have sought, by postulating redactions, interpolations, and additions, to escape from the difficulties in the way of accepting the Pauline authorship of one or more of the 'principal epistles.'

35. Its relation to 'redaction' and 'interpolation' hypotheses.

It will suffice to mention (1) with regard to all the four epistles: the view of J. H. A. Michelsen (*Th. T*, 1873, p. 421) that in these we have the original epistles of Paul published after his death with elucidations and notes; also conjectures by Straatman, Baljon (1884) and Sulze (*Prot. Kirch.-Ztg.*, 1888, pp. 978-85).

(2) So far as Romans is concerned, we have the conjecture of Semler, Baur, and others, that chaps. 15 16, wholly or in part, do not belong to the fourteen preceding chapters, and, according to many, are not from the hand of Paul; that of C. H. Weisse, that chaps. 9-11, of Straatman, that chaps. 12-14, do not belong to the original epistle; of Laurent (1866), that the epistle at a later date was furnished with a number of marginal glosses; of Renan, that it was issued by Paul in more than one form (*e.g.*, 1-11 + 15, 1-14 + part of 16); of Michelsen (*Th. T*, 1886-7) that we have to distinguish five or six editions in the original text; of E. Spitta (1893) that it is a combination of two letters written by Paul at different times to the Christians of Rome, one before and one after his visit to that city.

(3) With respect to 1 and 2 Corinthians, we have the conjecture of Semler (1776), E. J. Greve (1794), Weber (1798), C. H. Weisse (1855), Hausrath (1870), Michelsen (1873), Baljon (1884), O. Pfleiderer (1887), W. Brückner (1890), M. Krenkel (1890), P. W. Schmiedel (1892), J. Cramer (1893), A. Halmel (1894), J. Weiss (1894), H. J. Holtzmann (1894), H. Lisco (1896) that 2 Cor. is made up of two or more pieces which originally did not belong to one another; of Lipsius (1873), Hagge (1876), Spitta (1893), Clemen (1894) that the same holds true of 1 Cor.; and of Straatman (1863-5) and J. A. Bruins (1892) that both epistles contain a vast number of interpolations.

(4) As regards Gal., the same opinion has been held by Weisse, Sulze, Baljon (1889) and Cramer (1890)—the last two in their commentaries.

Yet, however obvious in all this be the unconscious preparation for and transition to the criticism spoken of in § 34, this last does not occupy itself with such conjectures as those just suggested (in § 35), unless perhaps in special cases, and never with the definite object of escaping by such means from difficulties touching what is called the genuineness of the Epistles. It is ready to submit all such hypotheses to a candid examination, but does not value expedients whereby objections can be silenced temporarily. It does not start from the belief that the *non plus ultra* of critical emancipation has been realised by the Tübingen school; but neither does it think that that school went too far. For it, there is nothing *a priori* 'too far' in this field; and it believes that criticism is ever in duty bound to criticise its own work and to repair its defects. It recognises no theoretical limit whatsoever that can reasonably be fixed. It ranks the critical labours of Baur and his school, notwithstanding all shortcomings and defects, far above those of older and less critically moulded scholars. It wishes nothing better than, *mutatis mutandis*, to continue the research pursued by the Tübingen school, and, standing on the shoulders of Baur and others, and thus presumably with the prospect of seeing clearer and farther, to advance another stage, as long a stage as possible, towards a real knowledge of Christian antiquity.

36. Its proposed task.

That is not to be attained, in the judgment of this school of critics, by a simple return to the old views, by accepting the opinions of those scholars who busied themselves with researches of this kind before Baur (in the first decades of the 19th century or in the last of the 18th), nor yet by adopting the traditional conceptions current at a still earlier period whether amongst

[[1] To such an extent indeed as would justify him in saying without immodesty *quorum pars magna fui*.]

candid Protestants or thinking Roman Catholics. No error committed by a younger generation can ever make to be true anything in the opinions of an older generation which has once been discovered to have been false.

Still less does the criticism with which we are now dealing cherish hopes from any mediating policy of 'give and take.' It has found that it does not avail, in estimating the Tübingen theory, in one point or another, to plead 'extenuating circumstances' in favour of tradition whether churchly or scientific, and to offer here or there an amendment on the sketch drawn by Baur (or others after him) of the state of schools and parties in Old Christianity, or to extend the number of the 'indisputably genuine' epistles of Paul from four to six or seven (the 'principal epistles' + Philippians, Philemon and 1 Thess.), eight (+2 Thess. or Col.), nine (+both 2 Thess. and Col.), ten (+Eph.), if not even augmented by genuine Pauline fragments in the Pastoral Epistles. The defects of the 'tendency criticism' passed upon the NT writings and other documents of early Christianity which have come down to us, whether the criticism in which Baur led the way or that of others like Volkmar, Holsten, S. Davidson, Hatch (who followed Baur, while introducing into his criticism corrections more or less far-reaching), demand a more drastic course. It is needful to break not only with the dogma of the 'principal epistles' in the order suggested by Baur and afterwards accepted by Hatch—Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Rom.—but also with the dogma of there being four epistles of Paul in any order with regard to the genuineness of which no question ought to be entertained. It was a great defect in the criticism of the Tübingen school that it set out from this assumption without thinking of justifying it. It can be urged in excuse, that at the time no one doubted its justice; Evanson was forgotten and Bruno Bauer had not yet arisen; but none the less the defect cannot be regarded as other than serious. It has wrought much mischief and must be held responsible for the song of triumph now being prematurely uttered even by those whose opposition to criticism is by no means trenchant, the burden of which is, 'Tübingen itself has alleged nothing against these epistles.' The latest school of advanced criticism has learned not to rejoice over this but to regret an unfinished piece of work that ought to have been taken in hand long ago and demands to be taken up now. It regrets that Baur and his followers should not have stopped to consider the origin of the 'principal epistles.' It holds that criticism should investigate, not only those books which have been doubted for a longer or shorter period, but also even those that hitherto—it may even be, by every one—have been held to be beyond all doubt, whether they be canonical or uncanonical, sacred or profane. Criticism is not at liberty to set out from the genuineness—or the spuriousness—of any writing that is to be used as evidence in historical research as long as the necessary light has not been thrown upon it, and least of all may it do so after some or many writings of the same class have already been actually found to be pseudepigrapha. It was and is in the highest degree a one-sided and arbitrary proceeding to go with Baur upon the *assumption* of the genuineness of the 'principal epistles' as fully established, and in accordance with this to assume that Acts must take a subordinate place in comparison with them. It is not *a priori* established that Paul cannot be mistaken, at least as long as we do not know with certainty whether he and the writer of the epistles that have come down to us under his name are indeed one and the same. The investigation of Acts must be carried on independently of that of the Epistles, just as that of the Epistles must be independent of that of Acts. This rule must be applied in the case of every epistle separately as well as in connection with the other epistles which we have learned to recognise as belonging to the same group. The four 'principal epistles' are not a fixed datum by which Acts and other Pauline writings can be tested unless one is previously able to prove their genuineness. This point has not been taken into account by the Tübingen school—greatly to their loss. As soon as it is observed, it becomes the task of criticism to subject to a strict examination the principal epistles one by one, from this point of view. What, then, is the criterion which may be employed in this investigation? None of the so-called external evidences. These do not avail here, however valuable may be what they have to tell us often as to the opinion of antiquity concerning these writings. So much Baur and his followers had already long ago learned to recognise. The 'critical school' had confessed it, even by the mouth of those among its adherents who had found themselves nearest to the thorough-going defenders of tradition. Where then must the determining consideration be looked for? In the direction where in such circumstances it is always wont to be found: in the so-called 'internal' evidence. It is internal criticism that must speak the last, the so far as possible conclusive, word.

The demand seemed to many too hard, as regarded the 'principal epistles.' The Tübingen school and the 'critical' school alike shrank from making it. The 'progressive' criticism which had meanwhile come into being, submitted to the inevitable. It addressed itself to the task imposed. To the question, with what result? the answer, unfortunately, cannot be said to be wholly unanimous. True, this is a disadvantage under which the opposing party labours no less than the other. There is no criticism in the judgments of which no trace can be found of what can be called a subjective side.

37. Its view of Acts.

Viewed broadly, and with divergences in points of detail left out of account, what the recent criticism now described has to say regarding Acts is in substance as follows. The book professes to be a sequel to the third canonical gospel, designed in common with it to inform a certain Theophilus otherwise unknown to us, or in his person any recent convert to Christianity, more precisely with regard to the things in which he has been instructed (Acts 1 1-5, cp Lk. 1 1-4 24 36-53). We find in it in accordance with this, a by no means complete, yet at the same time (at least, in some measure) an orderly and continuous sketch of the fortunes of the disciples of Jesus, after his resurrection and ascension; of their appearances in Jerusalem and elsewhere; and in particular, of the life and work of Peter, in the first part (Acts 1-12), and more fully and amply of the life and work of Paul, in the second part (13-28).

Even leaving aside any comparison with the Pauline epistles, we cannot regard the contents of Acts, viewed as a whole, and on their own merits, as a true and credible first-hand narrative of what had actually occurred, nor yet as the ripe fruit of earnest historical research—not even where, in favourable circumstances, the author might occasionally have been in a condition to give this. The book bears in part a legendary-historical, in part an edifying and apologetical character. The writer's intention is to instruct Theophilus concerning the old Christian past, as that presented itself to his own mind after repeated examination, to increase the regard and affection of his readers for Christianity, and at the same time to show forth how from the first, although hated by the Jews, this religion met with encouragement on the part of the Romans. Of a 'tendency,' in the strict sense of the word, as understood by the Tübingen school, there is nothing to be seen. The book does not aim at the reconciliation of conflicting parties, Petrinists and Paulinists, nor yet at the exaltation of Paul or at casting his Jewish adversaries into the shade, or at placing him on a level with Peter.

Of the substantial unity of the work there can be no question. We have not here any loose aggregation of fragments derived from various sources. Still less,

however, can we fail to recognise that older authorities have been used in its composition. Amongst these are prominent two books which we may appropriately call (*a*) Acts of Paul, and (*b*) Acts of Peter. From *a* is derived in the main what we now read in 1 23 (D). 4 36-37 6 1-15 7 51-8 3 9 1-30 11 19-30 13-28; from *b*, more particularly, much of chaps. 1-12.

(*a*) The first and older of the two books included mainly a sketch of the life and work of Paul, according to the ideas of those Christians who placed him high, and who, as compared with others, deserve to be called progressive. With this was worked in—but not incorporated without change (unless the corrections which can still be traced are to be laid to the account of the author of Acts)—a journey narrative, very possibly the work of Luke the companion of Paul. See 11 27 (D), 16 10-17 20 5-15 21 1-18 27 1-28 16.

(*b*) The second book, written in view of the Acts of Paul just described, was an attempt to allow more justice to be done to tradition and more light to be thrown upon Peter.

Perhaps the author of the entire work, as we now know it, in addition to oral tradition, had still other means of information at his disposal (such as Flavius Josephus) and borrowed here and there a detail, but certainly not much, from the Pauline epistles.

Alternately free and fettered in relation to his authorities, the author sometimes used their language, yet, as a rule, employed his own. He followed in their footsteps for the most part, yet frequently went his own way, transposing and correcting, supplementing and abridging what he had found in others. To ascertain the details of the process in every case is no longer possible. On the chief points, a fuller discussion will be found in W. C. van Manen, *Paulus: I. De Handelingen der Apostelen*, 1890.

The spirit in which Lk. set about his work is that of budding Catholicism, which has room alike for 'Paul' and for 'Peter,' and does not shrink from bringing to the notice of the faithful a writing—the Acts of Paul just referred to—devoted to the commemoration and glorification of the 'apostle of the heretics' as Tertullian still called him, albeit clothed in a new dress whereby at the same time reverent homage is rendered to the tradition of the ancients.

Lk.'s true name remains unknown. His home was probably in Rome; but perhaps it may have been somewhere in Asia Minor. He flourished about the second quarter of the second century. There is no necessity for doubting the correctness of the representation that he is one and the same with the author of the Third Gospel.

In the days when the contents of sacred books were held exempt from criticism, the historical value of Acts was much overrated; more recently under the influence of Tübingen criticism it has been unduly depreciated. It is entitled to recognition in so far as it is a rich source of information as to how the Christianity of the first 30 or 35 years after the crucifixion was spoken about, estimated, and taught, in influential circles, about the years 130-150 A.D. It is entitled to recognition also, in so far as we are still in a position to trace, in what has been taken over with or without alteration from older works, how it was that men of that period thought about implied, or expressly mentioned persons, things, and relations. In estimating the value of details, it is incumbent on us always, so far as possible, to distinguish between the original historical datum, the valuable substance of a trustworthy tradition, and the one-fold, two-fold, threefold, or it may be manifold clothing with which this has been invested by later views and opinions, and in too many cases, unfortunately, concealed by them, in such a manner that it is not always possible, even for the keenest eye, to discriminate as could be wished between truth and fiction.

38. Of the epistles.

With respect to the canonical Pauline epistles, the later criticism here under consideration has learned to recognise that they are none of them by Paul; neither fourteen, nor thirteen, nor nine or ten, nor seven or eight, nor yet even the four so long 'universally' regarded as unassailable. They are all, without distinction, pseudepigrapha (this, of course, not implying the least depreciation of their contents). The history of criticism, the breaking up of the group which began as early as 1520, already pointed in this direction. No distinction can any longer be allowed between 'principal epistles' and minor or deutero-Pauline ones. The separation is purely arbitrary, with no foundation in the nature of the things here dealt with. The group—not to speak of Hebrews at present—when compared with the Johannine epistles, with those of James, Jude, Ignatius, Clement, with the gospel of Matthew, or the martyrdom of Polycarp, bears obvious marks of a certain unity—of having originated in one circle, at one time, in one environment; but not of unity of authorship, even if a term of years—were it even ten or twenty—be allowed. It is impossible, on any reasonable principle, to separate one or more pieces from the rest. One could immediately with equal right pronounce an opposite judgment and condemn—*e.g.*, Romans or Corinthians, compared with the rest, as under suspicion. Every partition is arbitrary. However one may divide them, there will always remain (within the limits of each group, and on a comparison of the contents of any two or three assumed classes), apart from corrections of subordinate importance, clearly visible traces of agreement and of divergence—even on a careful examination of the famous four: Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal. There is no less distinction in language, style, religious or ethical contents between 1 and 2 Cor. on the one hand, and Rom. and Gal. on the other, than there is between Rom. and Phil., Col. and Philem. On the contrary, in the last two cases the agreement is undeniably greater.

Tradition does not assert the Pauline origin of the 'principal epistles' more loudly than it does that of the pastoral or of the 'minor' epistles. External evidences plead at least as strongly, or, to speak more accurately, just as weakly, for the latter as for the former. The internal point just as strongly in the case of Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., and Gal., as they do elsewhere to the one conclusion that they are not the work of Paul. This deliverance rests mainly on the following considerations, each of them a conclusion resulting from independent yet intimately connected researches.

39. Their form.

The 'principal epistles,' like all the rest of the group, present themselves to us as epistles; but this is not their real character in the ordinary and literary meaning of the word. They are not letters originally intended for definite persons, despatched to these, and afterwards by publication made the common property of all. On the contrary, they were, from the first, books; treatises for instruction, and especially for edification, written in the form of letters in a tone of authority as from the pen of Paul and other men of note who belonged to his entourage: 1 Cor. by Paul and Sosthenes, 2 Cor. by Paul and Timothy, Gal. (at least in the exordium) by Paul and all the brethren who were with him; so also Phil., Col. and Philem., by Paul and Timothy, 1 and 2 Thess. by Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy. The object is to make it appear as if these persons were still living at the time of composition of the writings, though in point of fact they belonged to an earlier generation. Their 'epistles' accordingly, even in the circle of their first readers, gave themselves out as voices from the past. They were from the outset intended to exert an influence in as wide a circle as possible; more particularly, to be read aloud at the religious meetings for the edification of the church, or to serve as a standard for doctrine and morals. Hence it comes that, among other consequences, we never come upon any trace in tradition of the impression which the supposed letters of Paul may have made—though, of course, each of them must, if genuine, have produced its own impression—upon the Christians at Rome, at Corinth, in Galatia; and the same can be said of all the other canonical epistles of Paul. Hence, also, the surprising and otherwise unaccountable features in the addresses of the epistles: 'to all that are in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints' (Rom. 1 7), 'to the church of God which is at Corinth, them that are

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sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, ***with all*** who invoke the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in all places, theirs and ours' (1 Cor. 1 2); 'to the church of God which is at Corinth, ***with*** all the saints in the whole of Achaia' (2 Cor. 1 1), 'to *the* churches of Galatia' (Gal. 1 2). The artificial character of the epistolary form comes further to light with special clearness when we direct our attention to the composition of the writings. In such manner real letters are never written.

i. In a very special degree does this hold true no doubt of 2 Cor. Many scholars, belonging in other respects to very different schools, have been convinced for more than a century and have sought to persuade others that this epistle was not written at one gush or even at intervals; that it consists of an aggregation of fragments which had not originally the same destination.

ii. 1 Cor. allows us to see no less clearly that there underlie the finished epistle as known to us several greater or smaller treatises, having such subjects as the following:—parties and divisions in the church (1 10-3 23), the authority of the apostles (4), unchastity (5-6), married and unmarried life (7), the eating of that which has been offered to idols (8-11 1), the veiling of women (11 2-15 [16]), love feasts (11 17-34), spiritual gifts (12-14), the resurrection (15), a collection for the saints (16 1-4)—other passages being introduced relating to the superiority of the preaching of the cross above the wisdom of this world (1 18-31), the spirit in which Paul had laboured (2 1-16), the right of litigation between Christians (6 1-11), circumcised and uncircumcised, bond and free (7 18-24), the apostolic service (9), Christian love (13).

iii. With regard to Rom. it is even more obvious that the author accomplished his task with the help of writings, perhaps older 'epistles,' treatises, sayings handed down whether orally or in writing—although we must admit, as in the case of so many other books, both older and more recent, that we are not in a position to indicate with any detail what has been borrowed from this source and what from that, or what has been derived from no previous source whatever, and is the exclusive property of the author, editor, or adapter.

iv. With Gal. the case is in some respects different, and various reasons lead us, so far as the canonical text is concerned, to think of a catholic adaptation of a letter previously read in the circle of the Marcionites, although we are no longer in a position to restore the older form. We have in view the employment of such words as Peter (Πέτρος) alongside of Cephas (Κηφᾶς), of two forms of the name Jerusalem (Ἱεροσόλυμα alongside of Ἰερουσαλήμ), the presence of discrepant views (as in 3 7 29 and 3 16) of Abraham's seed; the zeal against circumcision in 5 2-4 6 12-13 alongside of the frank recognition that it is of no significance (5 6 6 15)—the cases in which the ancients charged Marcion with having falsified the text, though the textual criticism of modern times has found it necessary to invert the accusation.

There are to be detected, accordingly, in the composition of the 'principal epistles' phenomena which, whatever be the exact explanation arrived at in each case, all point at least to a peculiarity in the manner of origin of these writings which one is not accustomed to find, and which indeed is hardly conceivable, in ordinary letters.

40. Their contents: Paulinism.[1]

The contents of the epistles, no less than the results of an attentive consideration of their form, lead to the conclusion that the 'principal epistles' cannot be the work of the apostle Paul.

i. Is it likely that Paul, a man of authority and recognised as such at the time, would have written to the Christians at Rome—men who were personally unknown to him—what, on the assumption of the genuineness of the epistle, we must infer he did write? That he would have taken so exalted a tone, whilst at the same time forcing himself to all kinds of shifts in writing to his spiritual children at Corinth and in Galatia? One cannot form to oneself any intelligible conception of his attitude either to the one or to the other; nor yet of the mutual relations of the parties and schools which we must conceive to have been present and to some extent in violent conflict with one another if Paul really thought and said about them what we find in the 'principal epistles.'

ii. Even if we set all this aside, however, the doctrinal and religious-ethical contents betoken a development in Christian life and thought of such magnitude and depth as Paul could not possibly have reached within a few years after the crucifixion. So large an experience, so great a widening of the field of vision, so high a degree of spiritual power as would have been required for this it is impossible to attribute to him within so limited a time.

It does not avail as a way of escape from this difficulty to assume, as some do, a slow development in the case of Paul whereby it becomes conceivable that when he wrote the 'principal epistles' he had reached a height which he had not yet attained fourteen or twenty years previously. There is no evidence of any such slow development as is thus assumed. It exists only in the imagination of exegetes who perceive the necessity of some expedient to remove difficulties that are felt though not acknowledged. Moreover, the texts speak too plainly in a diametrically opposite sense. It is only necessary to read the narrative of Paul's conversion as given by himself according to Gal. 1 10-16 in order to see this. The bigoted zealot for the law who persecuted the infant church to the death did not first of all attach himself to those who professed the new religion in order to become by little and little a reformer of their ideas and intuitions. On the contrary, on the very instant that he had suddenly been brought to a breach with his Jewish past, he publicly and at once came forward with all that was specially great and new in his preaching. The gospel he preached was one which he had received directly. It was not the glad tidings of the Messiah, the long expected One, who was to come to bless his people Israel; it was the preaching of a new divine revelation, and this not communicated to him through or by man, but immediately from above, from God himself, God's Son revealed *in him*. With this revelation was at the same time given to him the clear insight and the call to go forth as a preacher to the Gentiles.

iii. Underlying the principal epistles there is, amongst other things, a definite spiritual tendency, an inherited type of doctrine (Rom. 6 17)—let us say the older Paulinism—with which the supposed readers had long been familiar. They are wont to follow it, now in childlike simplicity, now with eager enthusiasm, or to assail it, not seldom obstinately, with all sorts of weapons and from various sides. Some have already got beyond this and look upon Paulinism more as if it were a past stage, a surmounted point of view. One might designate them technically as Hyperpaulinists. They are met with especially amongst Paul's opponents at Corinth according to 1 and 2 Cor. Others remain in the rear or have returned to the old view, the Jewish or Jewish-Christian view which had preceded Paulinism. They are the Judaisers against whom above all others the Galatians are warned and armed. Both are groups which one can hardly imagine to oneself as subsisting, at least in the strength here supposed, during the lifetime of Paul. Plainly Paul is not a contemporary, but a figure of the past. He is the object or, if you will, the central point of all their zeal and all their efforts.

iv. Paulinism itself, as it is held up and defended in the 'principal epistles,' apart from diversities in the elaboration of details by the various writers, is nothing more or less than the fruit of a thorough-going reformation of the older form of Christianity. Before it could be reached the original expectations of the first disciples of Jesus had to be wholly or partly given up. The conception of Jesus as the Messiah in the old Jewish meaning of the word had to give place to a more spiritual conception of the Christ the Son of God; the old divine revelation given in the sacred writings of Israel had to make way for the newer revelation vouchsafed immediately by God, in dreams and visions, by day and by night, and through the mediation, if mediation it can be called, of the Holy Ghost: the law had to yield to the gospel. For these things time—no little time—was needed, even in days of high spiritual tension such as must have been those in which the first Christians lived and in which many are so ready to take refuge in

[1] Cp § 47.

order to be able to think it possible that the 'principal epistles,' with their highly varied contents could have been written so soon after the death of Jesus as the theory of Pauline authorship compels us to assume.

v. Writers and readers, as we infer from the contents, live in the midst of problems which—most of them at all events—when carefully considered are seen not to belong to the first twenty or thirty years after the death of Jesus. We refer to questions as to the proper relation between law and gospel, justification by faith or by works, election and reprobation, Christ according to the flesh and Christ according to the Spirit, this Jesus or another, the value of circumcision, the use of clean or unclean things, sacrificial flesh, common flesh and other ordinary foods and drinks, the Sabbath and other holy days, revelations and visions, the married and the unmarried condition, the authority of the apostles, the marks of true apostleship and a multitude of others.

We must not be taken in by superficial appearances. Though Paul is represented as speaking, in reality he himself and his fellow apostles alike are no longer alive. Everywhere there is a retrospective tone. It is always possible to look back upon them and upon the work they achieved.

Paul has planted, another has watered (1 Cor. 3 6). He as a wise master-builder has laid the foundation; another has built thereupon (3 10). He himself is not to come again (4 18). He and his fellow-apostles have already 'been made a spectacle unto the world, both to angels and to men,' God has 'set them forth as men doomed to death, lowest and last'—*i.e.*, given them the appearance of being persons of the lowest sort (4 9). Their fight has been fought, their sufferings endured. It is already possible to judge as to the share of each in the great work. Paul, to whom Christ appeared after his resurrection 'last of all,' 'the least of the apostles,' has 'laboured more abundantly than they all' (15 8-10); he has run his course in the appointed way (9 26 *f.*), a follower of Christ (even as others may be followers of himself, 11 1), whose walk in the world can readily stand comparison with that of others, even the most highly placed in Christian circles (2 Cor. 1 12 11 5 12 11), who has been ever victorious, whom God has always led in triumph, making manifest the savour of his knowledge by him in every place; 'unto God a sweet savour of Christ,' by his coming forward testifying, as in the sight of God, of the sacrifice made by Christ in his death; sufficient for all things (2 14-16); a pattern of long-suffering, patience, and perseverance, who had more to endure than any other man (4 8-10 6 4-5 7 5 11 23-27), an ideal form whose sufferings have accrued to the benefit of others and been a source of comfort to many (4 10 *f.* 1 4-7).

vi. A special kind of Christian gnosis, a wisdom that far transcends the simplicity of the first disciples and their absorption with Messianic expectations haunts and occupies many of the more highly-developed minds (1 Cor. 1 17-31 2 6 16 and elsewhere). In Rom. 9-11 the rejection of Israel is spoken of in a manner that cannot be thought to have been possible before the fall of the Jewish state in 70 A.D. The church is already conceived of as exposed to bloody persecutions, whereas, during Paul's lifetime, so far as is known to us, no such had as yet arisen (Rom. 5 3-5 8 17-39 12 12 14 2 Cor. 1 3-7); she has undoubtedly been in existence for more than a few years merely, as is usually assumed, and indeed requires to be assumed, on the assumption of the genuineness of the epistles.

The church has already, from being in a state of spiritual poverty, come to be rich (1 Cor. 1 5). Originally in no position to sound the depths, consisting of a company of but little developed persons, the majority of its members though still in a certain sense 'carnal' are able to follow profound discussions on questions so difficult as those of speaking with tongues, prophecy, or the resurrection (1 Cor. 12-15). There are already 'perfect' ones who can be spoken to about the matters of the higher wisdom; spiritual ones who can digest strong nourishment; understanding ones who have knowledge (2 6-16 3 1-3 10 15). The church is in possession of their traditions (11 2 23 15 3): epistles of Paul which presented a picture of him different from the current tradition received from those who had associated with him (2 Cor. 1 13 10 10). There is an ordered church life to the following of which the members are held bound. There are fixed and definite customs and usages—such as regular collections of charitable gifts (2 Cor. 9 13) or the setting apart, when required, of persons whose names were in good repute, and who had been chosen, by the laying on of hands (8 18 *f.*).

In a word, the church has existed not for a few years merely. The historical background of the epistles, even of the principal epistles, is a later age. The Christianity therein professed, presupposed, and avowed, in a number of its details does not admit of being explained by reference to the period preceding the date of Paul's captivity or even that of his death in 64 A.D. Everything points to later days—at least the close of the first or the beginning of the second century.

Necessary limitations of space do not allow of fuller elucidations here. The reader who wishes to do real justice to the view here taken of the question as to the genuineness of Paul's epistles will not stop at the short sketch given here, but will consult the following works among others:—

(*a*) On the subject as a whole, Loman, 'Quæstiones Paulinæ' in *Th.T*, 1882, pp. 141-185; cp 593-616, 1886, 55-113; cp 319-349 and 387-406; Steck, *Galaterbrief*, 1-23, 152-386. (*b*) On Rom. and Cor., Van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 and 3. (*c*) On Gal., Steck, *Galaterbrief*; cp Loman, 'Quæst. Paul.' in *Th.T*, 1882, pp. 302-328, 452-487; 1883, pp. 14-57; 1886, pp. 42-55; and Loman's *Nalatenschap*, 1899; (*d*) for a general survey of the entire Pauline group, Van Manen, *Handleiding*, iii., §§ 1-98 (pp. 30-63).

To the question as to the bearing of the conclusions of criticism upon our knowledge of the life and activity of Paul, the answer must frankly be that in the first instance the result is of a purely negative character. In truth, this is common to all the results of criticism when seriously applied. Criticism must always begin by pulling down everything that has no solid or enduring foundation.

41. Paul's life and work: negative results.

Thus all the representations formerly current—alike in Roman Catholic and Protestant circles—particularly during the nineteenth century—regarding the life and work of Paul the apostle of Jesus Christ, of the Lord, of the Gentiles, must be set aside, in so far as they rest upon the illusory belief that we can implicitly rely on what we read in Acts and the 13 (14) epistles of Paul, or in the epistles alone whether in their entirety or in a restricted group of them. These representations are very many and—let it be added in passing—very various and discrepant in character: far from showing any resemblance to one another, they exhibit the most inconsistent proportions and features. But, however different they were, they all of them have disappeared; they rested upon a foundation not of solid rock, but of shifting sand.

So, too, with all those surveys of Paulinism, the 'ideas,' the 'theology,' the 'system' of Paul, set forth in accordance with the voice of tradition, as derived from a careful study of the contents of Acts and the epistles, whether taken in their entirety or curtailed or limited to the 'principal epistles' alone. Irrevocably passed away, never more to be employed for their original purpose, are such sketches, whether on a large or on a smaller scale, whether large or narrow in their scope, sketches among which are many highly important studies, especially within the last fifty years. Henceforward, they possess only a historical interest as examples of the scientific work of an older school. They do not and could not give any faithful image or just account of the life and teaching of Paul, the right foundation being wanting.

This, however, does not mean, as some would have us believe, that the later criticism has driven history from the lists, banished Paul from the world of realities, and robbed us even of the scanty light which a somewhat older criticism had allowed us, to drive away the darkness as to the past of early Christianity. These are impossibilities. No serious critic has ever attempted them or sought to obscure any light that really shone. The question was and is simply this: what is it that can be truly called history? Where does the light shine? To see that one has been mistaken in one's manner of apprehending the past is not a loss but a gain. It is always better, safer, and more profitable, to know that one does not know, than to go on building on a basis that is imaginary.

The results of criticism, even of the most relentless

criticism, thus appear to be after all not purely negative.

42. Positive results. Foundations. Though at first sight they may, and indeed must, seem to be negative, they are not less positive in contents and tendency. The ultimate task of criticism is to build up, to diffuse light, to bring to men's knowledge the things that have really happened. As regards Paul's life and work, now that the foundations have been changed, it teaches us in many respects to judge in another sense than we have been accustomed to do. Far from banishing his personality beyond the pale of history, criticism seeks to place him and his labours in the juster light of a better knowledge. For this it is unable any longer in all simplicity to hold by the canonical Acts and epistles, or even to the epistles solely, or yet to a selection of them. The conclusion it has to reckon with is this :—(*a*) That we possess no epistles of Paul ; that the writings which bear his name are pseudepigrapha containing seemingly historical data from the life and labours of the apostle, which nevertheless must not be accepted as correct without closer examination, and are probably, at least for the most part, borrowed from 'Acts of Paul' which also underlie our canonical book of Acts (see above, § 37). (*b*) Still less does the Acts of the Apostles give us, however incompletely, an absolutely historical narrative of Paul's career ; what it gives is a variety of narratives concerning him, differing in their dates and also in respect of the influences under which they were written. Historical criticism must, as far as lies in its power, learn to estimate the value of what has come down to us through both channels, Acts and the epistles, to compare them, to arrange them and bring them into consistent and orderly connection. On these conditions and with the help of these materials, the attempt may be made to frame some living conception of the life and work of the apostle, and of the manner in which the figure of the apostle was repeatedly recast in forms which superseded one another in rapid succession.

Towards this important work little more than first essays have hitherto been made. The harvest promises to be plentiful ; but the labourers as yet are too few. We must, for the time being, content ourselves with indicating briefly what seem to be the main conclusions.

Paul was the somewhat younger contemporary of Peter and other disciples of Jesus, and probably a Jew by birth, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia.

43. The historical Paul. At first his attitude towards the disciples was one of hostility. Later, originally a tentmaker by calling, he cast in his lot with the followers of Jesus, and, in the service of the higher truth revealed through them, spent the remainder of a life of vicissitude as a wandering preacher. In the course of his travels he visited various lands : Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy. Tradition adds to the list a journey to Spain, then back to the East again, and once more westwards till at last his career ended in martyrdom at Rome. With regard to his journeys, we can in strictness speak with reasonable certainty and with some detail only of one great journey which he undertook towards the end of his life : from Troas to Philippi, back to Troas, Assos, Mitylene, Samos, Miletus, Rhodes, Patara, Tyre, Ptolemais, Cæsarea, Jerusalem, back to Cæsarea, Sidon, Myra, Fair Havens, Melita, Syracuse, Rhegium, Puteoli, Rome (Acts 16 10-17 20 5-15 21 1-18 27 1-28 16).

Perhaps at an earlier date he had been one of the first who, along with others of Cyprus and Cyrene, proclaimed to Jews and Gentiles outside of Palestine the principles and the hopes of the disciples of Jesus (Acts 11 19 *f.*). Possibly, indeed probably, we may infer further details of the same sort from what Lk. and the authors of the epistles have borrowed from the 'Acts of Paul,' as to the places visited by Paul, and the measure of his success in each ; in which of them he met with opposition, in which with indifference ; what particular discouragements and adventures he encountered ; such facts as that he seldom or never came into contact with the disciples in Palestine ; that even after years had passed he was still practically a stranger to the brethren dwelling in Jerusalem ; that on a visit there he but narrowly escaped suffering the penalty of death on a charge of contempt for the temple, which would show in how bad odour he had long been with many.

As regards all these details, however, we have no certain knowledge. The Acts of Paul, so far as known to us, already contained both truth and fiction. In no case did it claim to give in any sense a complete account of the doings and sufferings of the apostle in the years of his preaching activity. The principal source which underlies it, the journey narrative, the so-called 'We-source,' is exceedingly scanty in its information. It says not much more, apart from what has been already indicated about the great Troas-Philippi-Troas-Rome journey, than that Paul, sometimes alone, sometimes in company with others, visited many regions, and preached in all of them for at least some days, in some cases for a longer period.

It does not appear that Paul's ideas differed widely from those of the other 'disciples,' or that he had emancipated himself from Judaism or had outgrown the law more than they. Rather do one or two expressions of the writer of the journey-narrative tend to justify the supposition that, in his circle, there was as yet no idea of any breach with Judaism. At any rate, the writer gives his dates by the Jewish calendar and speaks of 'the days of unleavened bread' (*i.e.*, after the passover), Acts 20 6, and of 'the fast' (*i.e.*, the great day of atonement in the end of September), 27 9. He is a 'disciple' among the 'disciples.' What he preaches is substantially nothing else than what their mind and heart are full of, 'the things concerning Jesus' (τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ). It may be that Paul's journeyings, his protracted sojourn outside of Palestine, his intercourse in foreign parts with converted Jews and former heathen, may have emancipated him (as it did so many other Jews of the dispersion), without his knowing it, more or less—perhaps in essence completely—from circumcision and other Jewish religious duties, customs, and rites. But even so he had not broken with these. He had, like all the other disciples, remained in his own consciousness a Jew, a faithful attender of temple or synagogue, only in this one thing distinguished from the children of Abraham, that he held and preached 'the things concerning Jesus,' and in connection with this devoted himself specially to a strict life and the promotion of mutual love. What afterwards became 'Paulinism,' 'the theology of Paul,' was not yet. Still less does it ever transpire that Paul was a writer of epistles of any importance ; least of all, of epistles so extensive and weighty as those now met with in the Canon. So also there is no word, nor any trace, of any essential difference as regards faith and life between him and other disciples. He is and remains their spiritual kinsman ; their 'brother,' although moving in freedom and living for the most part in another circle.

For doubting, as is done by E. Johnson, the formerly anonymous writer of *Antiqua Mater* (1887), the historical existence of Paul and his activity as an itinerant preacher outside the limits of Palestine, there is no reason. Such doubt has no support in any ancient document, nor in anything in the journey-narrative that, in itself considered, ought to be regarded as improbable ; on the other hand, it is sufficiently refuted by the universality of the tradition among all parties regarding Paul's life and work (cp Van Manen, *Paulus*, 1 192-200).

It is true that the picture of Paul drawn by later times differs utterly in more or fewer of its details from the original. Legend has made itself master of his person. The simple truth has been mixed up with invention ; Paul has become the hero of an admiring band

of the more highly developed Christians; the centre, at the same time, of a great movement in the line of the development of the faith and expectations of the first disciples; the father of Paulinism — that system which, at first wholly unnoticed by the majority, or treated with scorn and contempt (cp § 4, n. 2), soon met with general appreciation, and finally found world-wide fame, however at all times imperfectly understood.

44. The legendary Paul.

It is difficult, or almost impossible, to indicate with distinctness how far Paul himself, by his personal influence and testimony, gave occasion for the formation of that which afterwards came to be associated with his name, and which thenceforward for centuries—indeed inseparably for all time, it might seem—has continued to be so conjoined, though very probably, if not certainly, it had another origin. We find ourselves here confronted with a question involving a problem similar to that relating to the connection between John, originally a simple fisherman of Galilee, one of the first disciples of Jesus, and John the Divine, the father of the illustrious Johannine school which speaks to us in the Fourth Gospel and in the three epistles bearing his name.

45. In Acts of Paul.

The following seems certain: Paul, of whom so little in detail is known, the artisan-preacher, who travelled so widely for the advancement and diffusion of those principles which, once he had embraced them, he held so dear, was portrayed in a no longer extant work which can most suitably be named after him Acts of Paul, based partly on legend, partly on a trustworthy tradition to which the well-known journey-narrative may be reckoned. There he comes before us, now enveloped in clouds and now standing out in clear light; now a man among men, and now an ideal figure who is admired but not understood. At once the younger contemporary of the first disciples, and yet as it seems already reverentially placed at a distance apart from them; a 'disciple' like them, yet exercising his immediate activity far outside their circle; full of quite other thoughts; in a special sense guided by the Holy Spirit; a 'Christian' who bows the knee before the Son of God and is entrusted with 'the gospel of the grace of God' (Acts 20 24); in the main, perhaps, so far as his wanderings and outward fortunes are concerned, drawn from the life, yet at the same time, even in that case, in such a manner that the reader at every point is conscious of inaccuracy and exaggeration, and finds himself compelled to withhold his assent where he comes across what is manifestly legendary.

So in the story of Paul's conversion, his seeing of Jesus in heaven, his hearing of Jesus' voice, his receiving of a mandate from him (Acts 22 21 26 16-18); the word to Ananias that he is to be instructed by Jesus himself and filled with the Holy Ghost (9 16-17); the representation of Paul as receiving visions and revelations (22 17-21 16 9 *f.* 18 9 *f.* 27 23); the record of how he was wont to be led by the Holy Spirit (13 4 16 6 *f.* 19 21 20 22 21 4 10-12); the description of his controversy with Elymas Barjesus, whom he vanquishes and punishes with blindness (13 6-12); the healing of the lame man at Lystra and the deification that followed (14 8-18); the vision of the man of Macedonia at Troas (16 9); the casting out of the evil spirit at Philippi (16 16-18); the liberation from prison at the same place (16 25-34); the imparting of the Holy Ghost to disciples of the old school at Ephesus by the laying on of hands (19 1-7); the cures there wrought and castings out of evil spirits (19 11 *f.*); the vengeance of the evil spirit who recognises indeed the superiority of Paul, but not that of other men (19 16); the giving up and burning of precious books at Ephesus (19 19); perhaps also the affair of Eutychus at Troas (20 7-12), and the details respecting Paul's sojourn at Melita (28 1-10).[1]

We are here already a good distance along the road upon which a younger generation, full of admiration for its great men, yet not too historically accurate, is moving, setting itself to describe the lives of Peter, Paul, Thomas, John, and others, in the so-called apocryphal Acts, or, more particularly (Gnostic), 'circuits' (Περίοδοι).

[1] For a fuller list see Van Manen, *Paulus*, 1 176-192.

Lk. also moves in the same direction, but with this difference, that his Paul (see Van Manen, *Paulus*, 1 164-169), under the influence of the current in which his spiritual life is lived, stands nearer again to Peter, yet in such a manner that it is still more impossible to present before one's mind an image of anything recorded of him among the often discrepant and mutually conflicting details, not a few of which are manifestly incorrect (*id.*, *l.c.* 169-176).

The writer of the Acts of Paul never shows any acquaintance with epistles of Paul, however much one might expect the opposite when his way of thinking is taken into account. On the contrary, the 'historical details' in the epistles, or at least a good part of them, appear themselves to be taken from the Acts of Paul, since they are not always in agreement with what Lk. relates in his second book, although they are manifestly speaking of the same things. Lk. must have modified, rearranged, supplemented, perhaps also in some cases more accurately preserved, what he and the writers of the epistles had read in the book consulted by them, a work lost to us, or, if you will, surviving in a kind of second edition as the Acts of the Apostles. In this lost Acts of Paul, Paul had become (in contrast to what, even by the admission of the journey-narrative, he really was) the hero of a reforming movement, the exponent of wholly new principles in the circle of those who wrought for the emancipation of Christianity from the bonds of Judaism and its development into a universal religion.

46. Home of Paulinism.

Where that circle, under the patronage of 'Paul,' must be looked for cannot be said with certainty. Probably it was in Syria, more particularly in Antioch; yet it may have been somewhere in Asia Minor. We may be practically certain, at all events, that it was not in Palestine; it was in an environment where no obstruction was in the first instance encountered from the Jews or, perhaps still worse, from the 'disciples' too closely resembling them; where men as friends of gnosis, of speculation, and of mysticism, probably under the influence of Greek and, more especially, Alexandrian philosophy, had learned to cease to regard themselves as bound by tradition, and felt themselves free to extend their flight in every direction. To avail ourselves of a somewhat later expression: it was among the heretics. The epistles first came to be placed on the list among the gnostics. The oldest witnesses to their existence, as Meyer and other critics with a somewhat wonderful unanimity have been declaring for more than half a century, are Basilides, Valentinus, Heracleon. Marcion is the first in whom, as we learn from Tertullian, traces are to be found of an authoritative group of epistles of Paul. Tertullian still calls him 'hæreticorum apostolus' (*adv. Marc.* 3 5) and (addressing Marcion) 'apostolus vester' (1 15).

47. Paulinism:[1] characteristic of epistles.

Whencesoever coming, however, the Paulinism of the lost Acts of Paul and of our best authority for that way of thinking, our canonical epistles of Paul, is not the 'theology,' the 'system' of the historical Paul, although it ultimately came to be, and in most quarters still is, identified with it. It is the later development of a school, or, if the expression is preferred, of a circle, of progressive believers who named themselves after Paul and placed themselves as it were under his ægis. The epistles explain this movement from different sides, apart from what some of them, by incorporating and working up older materials, tell us in addition as to its historical development and the varying contents of its doctrines.

i. Romans, with its account of what the gospel, regarded as a religious doctrine, is (1 18-11 36), and of what those who profess it are exhorted to (12-15 13), throws a striking light upon what

[1] Cp § 40.

Paulinism is, both dogmatically and ethically, for the Christian faith and life.

ii. 1 Cor. shows in a special way how deeply and in what sense Paulinism has at heart the practice of the Christian life, as regards, for example, parties and disputes within the church (1 10-3 23), the valid authority in it (4), purity of morals (5 and 6 12-20), the judging of matters of dispute between Christians (6 1-11), their mutual relations, such as those of the circumcised and the uncircumcised, of bondmen and freemen (7 18-24); the married and the unmarried life (8-11 1), the veiling of women (11 2-15 [16]), the love feasts (11 17-34), spiritual gifts (12-14), and the collection for the saints (16 1-4), along with which only one subject of a more doctrinal nature is treated: the resurrection (15).

iii. 2 Cor. gives above all else the impression how the person and work of 'Paul' in the circle addressed, or, rather, throughout the Christian world, had to be defended and glorified (1 3-7 16 10-13 10); and, in a passage introduced between its two main portions, how the manifestation of mutual love, by the gathering of collections for the saints, must not be neglected (8 *f.*).

iv. Gal. gives us an earnest argument on behalf of 'Paul' and the view of Christianity set forth by him, particularly his doctrine of justification by faith, not by the works of the law; as also for the necessity for a complete breach with Judaism.

v. In Eph. it is the edification of 'Pauline' Christians that comes most into prominence. So also in Phil., although here we have also a bitter attack on the apostle's enemies, and, in close connection with this, a glorification of his person and work (3 1-4 1). In Col., along with edification and exhortation, the doctrinal significance of Christ is expatiated upon (1 13-22 2 11-15); also that of 'Paul' (1 23-2 5); and an earnest warning is given against doctrinal errors (2 6-23).

vi. In 1 and 2 Thess., respectively, the condition of those who have fallen asleep (1 Thess. 4 13-18) and the exact time of the parousia (5 1-11) on the one hand, and the things which may yet have to precede that event (2 Thess. 2 1-12), on the other, are discussed.

vii. The Pastoral Epistles occupy themselves chiefly with the various affairs of the churches within 'Pauline' circles; Philemon with the relations which ought to subsist between slaves and their masters in the same circles.

Here we have variety enough, and many historical traits which, once arranged in proper order, can supply us with a conception of what 'Paul,' through all the vicissitudes of earnest opposition and equally earnest support among Christians, finally became—first in narrower, anon in wider circles, and at last in the whole catholic world—the apostle (ὁ Ἀπόστολος), the equal of Peter, or, strictly speaking, his superior.

48. History of Paulinism.

At the outset we find 'Paul' standing outside the circle of the Catholic church just coming into being, but held in honour by Marcion and his followers. Already, however, Lk., in virtue of the right he exercises of curtailing, expanding, modifying aught that may not suit his purpose in the material he has derived from other sources, has in Acts given 'Paul' a position of pre-eminence. Older fragments, whether of the nature of 'acts' or of the nature of 'epistles,' that had passed into circulation under Paul's name were, in whole or in part, taken up into writings on a larger scale, and remodelled into what are now our canonical 'Epistles of Paul.' A Justin can still, it would seem, pass him over, although spiritually Justin stands very close to Paul and shows acquaintance with him. Irenæus in his turn has no difficulty in using the Pauline group of Epistles, at least twelve of the thirteen—Philemon is not spoken of, nor is there as yet any word of Hebrews—as canonical, although not from predilection for their contents, but simply because he wishes to vanquish his great enemies, the gnostics, with their own weapons. That in doing so he frequently had failed to understand 'Paul' is clearly manifest (see Werner, *Der Paulinismus des Irenæus*, 1889). Tertullian advances along the path opened by Irenæus. Without really having much heart for the Paul of the Pauline Epistles, he brings out the 'apostle of the heretics' against the heretics, though, as regards 'history,' he holds to the older view that Christianity owed its diffusion among the nations to the activity of the Twelve. In association with these in their solitary greatness no one deserves for a moment to be mentioned, not even the historical Paul, unless, indeed, as their somewhat younger contemporary, 'posterior apostolus,' who might be regarded as having sat at their feet (*adv. Marc.* 4 2 5 2; see van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 262-276). In the so-called Muratorian Canon, among the authoritative writings of the NT, thirteen epistles of Paul are enumerated. Apollonius, about the year 210, brings it against the Montanist Themiso as a particularly serious charge that some forty years previously he had ventured to write an epistle in imitation of the apostle (μιμούμενος τὸν Ἀπόστολον; *i.e.*, Paul; Eus. *HE* v. 18 5). In truth, from that time onwards, in orthodox circles no one doubted any longer the high authority of 'Paul' the assumed writer of the thirteen (fourteen) epistles. It was only with regard to Hebrews that a few continued to hesitate for some time longer.

For our knowledge of Paulinism the thirteen epistles are of inestimable value. They are, when thus regarded, no less important than they were when they were considered—all of them, or some of them—as unimpeachable witnesses for the life and activities, especially the Christian thoughts and feelings, of the historical Paul, the only slightly younger contemporary of Peter and other original disciples of Jesus.

49. Post-'Pauline' Epistles.

In a complete study of Paulinism there come into consideration also Heb. 1 Pet. Ja. and other writings which breathe more or less the same spirit, or, as the case may be, take a polemical attitude towards it.

i. Hebrews, as being the expression of an interesting variation from the older Paulinism; a doctrinal treatise, rich in earnest exhortations, given forth as a 'word of exhortation' (λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως, 13 22) in the form of an Epistle of Paul, though not bearing his name.

ii. 1 Pet., as being a remarkable evidence of attachment to 'Paul' among people who know that the group of letters associated with his name is closed, although they desire to bear witness in his spirit; in point of fact, a letter of consolation written for those who stand exposed to persecution and suffering.

iii. James, as an instance of seriously-meant imitation of a Pauline epistle, written by some one who had misunderstood and was seeking to controvert Paul's view of the connection between faith and works (2 14-26).

50. Apocryphal Epistles, Acts, etc.

On the other hand, there is a great deal that must be regarded as the product of a later time, and, however closely associated with the name of Paul, as lying beyond the scope of the present article.

i. (*a*) *Epistle to the Laodiceans.*—Antiquity knew of such an epistle, alongside of (*b*) the epistle *ad Alexandrinos*, mentioned in the Muratorian Canon (63-65) with the words added 'Pauli nomine fictæ ad hæresem Marcionis,' 'feigned in the name of Paul to the use of the heresy of Marcion.' This epistle to the Laodiceans, mentioned also in Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 5, and elsewhere) was very probably our Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, just as that to the Alexandrians was probably our Epistle to the Hebrews, or, it may be, a Marcionite redaction of it.

(*c*) Another Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans occurs in many Latin MSS of the NT, and in old printed editions of the NT; in Luther's Bible, Worms, 1529; in the Dutch of 1560 by L.D.K.—probably Leendert der Kinderen; in 1600, after a copy by Nicolaus Biestkens van Diest; in 1614, Dordrecht, Isaack Jansz. Canin; and in English, cp Harnack, *ACL* 1 (1893) 33-37. See, further, Anger, *Ueber den Laodicenerbrief* (1843), and Lightf. *Colossians*, 274, who also gives a convenient summary of the views which have 'been held respecting this letter' (Hatch). The writing is composed of NT words of 'Paul,' probably to meet the demand for an epistle to the Laodiceans raised by Col. 4 16, and actually dating from the fifth, perhaps even from the fourth century.

ii. An *Epistle from the Corinthians to Paul* and the apostle's answer (=3 Cor.) which is brought into connection with the epistle named in 1 Cor. 5 9, were included in the Syrian Bible in the days of Aphraates and Ephraim, and centuries afterwards were still found in that of the Armenians.

They occur also in a MS of the Latin Bible dating from the fifteenth century and have been repeatedly printed, the best edition being that of Aucher (*Armenian and English Grammar*, 1819 p. 183). 'An English translation will be found in Stanley, *Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, 593' (Hatch). There are German and French translations in Rinck (1823) and Berger

(1891). They appear to belong to the third century and are conjectured to have been written against the Bardesanites, originally in Greek or Syriac, perhaps as portions of the *Acta Pauli*. Cp Harnack, *ACL* 1 37-39; Krüger, *ACL*, 1895, p. 11; *Nachträge*, 1897, p. 10; also Sanday, above, CORINTHIANS, §§ 19, 20 *b*.

iii. Fourteen epistles of Paul and Seneca are given in a number of later MSS; first named and cited by Jerome, *VT* 12, although hardly by that time read by very many.

The correspondence is reproduced in most editions of Seneca —*e.g.*, ed. Haase, 1878, vol. iii. 476-481—and discussed by (among others) Funk, 'Der Briefwechsel des Paulus mit Seneca,' *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1867, p. 602; Lightf. *Philippians*[3], 327; Kreyher, *Seneca u. seine Beziehungen zum Christenthum*, 1887; Harnack, *ACL* 1 763-765. Their 'genuineness' is not for a moment to be thought of.

iv. Other special writings of a later date relating to Paul are found (apart from the Ebionite Acts of the Apostles already alluded to, mentioned by Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30 16, and the *Acta Pauli* = Παύλου πράξεις [also lost] mentioned by Origen, perhaps identical with the work called *Pauli Prædicatio* in Pseudo-Cyprian) in the *Acts of Peter and Paul*; the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*; the *Apocalypse of Paul*; Ἀναβατικὸν Παύλου mentioned in Epiphanius (see 2 Cor. 12 4; cp *PRE*[3] 1 670).

The Acts of Peter and Paul, as also those of Paul and Thecla, are printed in Tischendorf (*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* denuo ediderunt R. A. Lipsius et M. Bonnet, 1, 1891; cp APOCRYPHA, § 23, 2); the Revelation of Paul in Tischendorf (*Apocalypses Apocryphæ*). [References to the literature of the Apocalypse of Paul in Lat. Syr. Gk. and Ar. will be found in *Catalogue of Syr. MSS Univers. of Camb.* (1901), p. 1167 *f.* ET of all three by A. Walker, *The Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations*, (1870).]

The best and most exhaustive discussion of the contents of these writings, alike with regard to Paul's life and activity, and with regard to his relation to Peter and other disciples of Jesus, though too exclusively under the influence of the Tübingen construction of history (see van Manen, *Th. T*, 1888, pp. 94-101), is given by R. A. Lipsius in his standard work—*Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, 1883-1890 (reviewed in *Th. T*, 1883, pp. 377-393; 1884, pp. 598-611; 1888, pp. 93-108; 1891, pp. 450-451), with which cp also the *Prolegomena* to the second edition of the *Acta* 1, 1891, and *PRE*[3] 1 664-666.

51. Literature.

'The literature which bears upon St. Paul is so extensive that a complete account of it would be as much beyond the compass of this article as it would be bewildering to its readers.' So, rightly, Hatch at the close of his article 'Paul' in *Ency. Brit.*[9], 1885.

i. For the *life* of Paul Hatch cited A. Neander, *Pflanzung*, etc., vol. i.[4], 1847, ET in Bohn's Standard Library and New York, 1889; F. C. Baur, *Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi*, 1845, 1866-1867[2], ET 1875-1876; E. Renan, *Les Apôtres*, 1866, and *Saint Paul*, 1869; Krenkel, *Paulus der Apostel der Heiden*, 1869; A. Hausrath, *Der Apostel Paulus*, 1872[2], and art. 'Paulus' in Schenkel's *BL*; J. W. Straatman, *Paulus de Apostel van Jezus Christus* (1874); Beyschlag in Riehm's *HWB*; W. Schmidt in *PRE*[2]; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, 1851 (and often); F. W. Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul*; Lewin, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*; [W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, 1896].

ii. With regard to the theology of Paul, in addition to several of the works already named: Usteri, *Die Entwick. des paulin. Lehrbegriffs*, 1824, 1851[6]; Dahne's book with the same title, 1835; A. Ritschl, *Die Entsteh. der altkathol. Kirche*[2], 1857; E. Reuss, *Hist. de la théol. chrétienne au siècle apostolique*[3], 1864; the essays appended to Jowett's *Epistles of St. Paul to the Thess., Gal., and Rom.*[2], 1859; C. Holsten, *Zum Evang. des Paulus u. Petrus*, 1868, and *Das Evang. des Paulus*, 1, 1880 [2, 1898]; O. Pfleiderer, *Der Paulinismus*, 1873, ET 1877; Sabatier, *L'apôtre Paul*[2], 1881; Menegoz, *Le Péché et la Rédemption d'après S. Paul*, 1882; Ernesti, *Die Ethik des Apostels Paulus*, 1882[3].

To these may be added C. C. Everett, *The Gospel of Paul*, 1893, and a number of other studies in books and periodicals; general works on Old Christianity, such as [W. R. Cassels] *Supernatural Religion*[6], 3 vols. 1875-1877; R. J. Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles*, 1892; C. Weizsäcker, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*[2], 1892, ET 1894-1895; J. B. Lightfoot, *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, 1892; F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 1898, and *The Christian Ecclesia*, 1898; O. Cone, *Paul: the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher*, 1898; the various works on New Testament Introduction, such as those of Credner (1836); Reuss, 1874[4]; ET, 1884; Bleek-Mangold, 1886[4]; Hilgenfeld, 1875; B. Weiss, 1897[3]; ET, 1880, 1889[2]; G. Salmon, 1896[7]; S. Davidson, 1894[3]; H. J. Holtzmann, 1892[3]; W. Brückner, 1890; A. Jülicher, 1901[2]; Th. Zahn, 1900[2]; the commentaries on Acts and the Pauline Epistles, such as those in the later editions of Meyer, in the *Hand-Commentar zum NT* ([2] 1899 *ff.*; 'Acts' in [3] 1901), or in the International Critical Commentary (in which Romans [1895], Ephesians and Colossians [1897], Philippians and Philemon [1897], have already appeared); C. J. Ellicott, *Crit. and Exeget. Comm. on St. Paul's Epistles* [except Rom. and 2 Cor.], 1889-1890, etc., and cp the bibliographies in ACTS and the separate articles on the several epistles in this work. For advanced criticism see further the discussions already referred to (§ 34) by Bruno Bauer, Pierson, Naber, Loman, Steck, Völter, and van Manen.

The student who wishes further information upon the Pauline literature of recent years is recommended to consult the sections 'Apostelgeschichte und apostolisches Zeitalter' and 'Paulus' under the heading 'Literature of the New Testament' in the *Theologisches Jahresbericht* (vol. xix., edited by Holtzmann and Krüger, was published in 1900), which regularly, for the last nineteen years, has given a survey of the principal publications—mainly German, but not to the exclusion of foreign works—of the preceding year. A selection of the most recent literature relating to Paul, which is to be from time to time revised and supplemented, will be found in a list of the 'best books for general New Testament study at the present time' in *The Biblical World*, July 1900, pp. 53-80. Cp 'Theological and Semitic Literature' for the year 1900, a Supplement to the *American Journal of Theology*, April 1901, especially the NT and The First Three Centuries, pp. 35-49.

E. H., §§ 4-32; W. C. V. M., §§ 1-3, 33-51.

PAULUS, LUCIUS SERGIUS, 'deputy' (AV) or 'proconsul' (RV; ανθυπατος) of Cyprus at the time of Paul's visit, about 47 A.D. (Acts 13 7†). See CYPRUS, § 4.

PAVEMENT. The word is used occasionally in OT to translate רִצְפָּה, *rispah* (√רצף, Ass. *raṣāpu*, 'to join together'; cp Ar. *raṣafa*, 'to put together stones' in building), 2 Ch. 7 3 Ezek. 40 17 *f.* 42 3 Esth. 1 6.

1. Hebrew terms.

In 2 K. 16 17 occurs the compound phrase מרצפת אבנים (cp Syr. *rāṣiphtā d' kēphē* in Jn. 19 13 for λιθόστρωτον); in Jer. 43 9 RVmg. gives 'pavement' for מַלְבֵּן, but RV has 'brick-work' and AV translates the word here as elsewhere 'brick-kiln'; see BRICK.

𝔊 has in Ezek. 40 17 *f.* 42 3 τὸ περίστυλον, in 2 K. 16 17 βάσιν λιθίνην, and in 2 Ch. 7 3 Esth. 1 6 and Cant. 3 10 (in the last passage for רצוף) λιθόστρωτον. For Esth. 1 6, see MARBLE, and for Cant. 3 10, LITTER.

2. Lithostrōton.

The word λιθόστρωτον occurs once in NT, in a passage peculiar to the fourth gospel (Jn. 19 13). The writer tells us that after Pilate had questioned Jesus in the PRÆTORIUM [*q.v.*] (Jn. 18 28), he led him outside and sat (or set him?; see Blass, *Gramm. of NT*, 54, cp Justin, *Apol.* 1 35) upon the *bema* in a place called 'lithostroton, but in Hebrew GABBATHA' (εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθα).

Tatian (*Diatess.* § 136) uses the same words; *OS* 189 87 Γαββαθα λιθόστρωτον, 202 62 Γ. λιθόστρωτος; Vg. *Lithostrotos . . . Gabbatha*; Pesh. *rāṣiphtā d' kēphē . . . gephiphtā*, 'pavement of stones, etc.'; Delitzsch (*Heb. New Test.*[1]) renders by רצפה.

Here λιθόστρωτον is generally taken to mean a 'pavement' on which the *bēma* was placed to give it a suitable elevation. Borrowed from the Greeks, the word was used by Latin authors to denote a pavement of natural stones or of different coloured marbles [1] (see Rich, *Dict. of Gk. and Latin Antiqq.*, *s.v.*, 'Lithostroton'). Such pavements were first introduced into Rome, according to Pliny (*HN* 36 64), in the time of Sulla; in Pliny's own day there were fragments of a pavement dating from Sulla's time still at Præneste. Glass mosaics came into use later. Julius Cæsar is even said to have carried about with him on his military expeditions 'tessellata et sectilia pavimenta' to be laid down, wherever he encamped, in the prætorium (Suet. *Vit. Div. Jul.* 46); and we are told by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 4 6) that Philip the tetrarch's tribunal 'on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress.' Now it is thought by some scholars that Pilate, like Cæsar, had a portable pavement in the place (τόπος λιθόστρωτος) where his tribunal was set up. It is

[1] Cp Farrar, *Life of Christ*, 'the elevated pavement of many-coloured marble'—in this case a picturesque but doubtful description.

difficult, however, to understand how a mere portable pavement could have given a name to a locality. Other commentators think that the forecourt of the temple (*BJ* vi. 1 8 and 3 2), which is known to have been paved, is intended.[1] Pilate, however, can hardly have held his inquiry on a spot consecrated by the Jews. Nor is there much to be said in favour of the view that the לשכת הגזית, the meeting-place of the great Sanhedrin, which was half within, half without, the temple forecourt (see Schür. [(2)] 2 163, [(3)] 2 11) is meant (Lightfoot, Selden). Again, the view that the pavement intended was inlaid on a terrace running along one side of the prætorium does not seem to do justice to the Greek expressions.

The author speaks of a locality. It may be presumed, therefore, that he was thinking of some public place 'paved-with-stones' (cp *BJ* ii. 9 3, where we are told that on the occasion of the Jewish uprising when Pilate introduced the so-called 'ensigns' into Jerusalem, 'he sat upon his tribunal in the open market-place') where it was customary to place the *bēma*.[2]

We now have to consider the relation of this word to Gabbatha. Two views of this relationship have been held.

3. Relation to Gabbatha. 1. The words have been supposed to be practically synonymous. But the word 'Gabbatha' does not seem to mean 'pavement' or the like.

An Aramaised form (גבתא) of Heb. גַּב, 'back,' 'elevation,' is unknown. Nor is it likely that גבתא is for גבחתא with some such meaning as 'open space' (cp Heb. גַּבַּחַת, and see Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 6). To suppose, again, that Gabbatha, if it can bear this meaning, means 'elevated place' = 'elevated pavement' is equally unsatisfactory. If the word means 'elevated place' the correct form would be גַּבְּתָא (st. emph. of a fem. גַּבָּא from גבב); so Zahn, Winer. Nestle, however, points out (Hastings, *DB*, under 'Gabbatha'[3]) that both origin and meaning of the word are doubtful. Winer gives as an alternative גבתא = גִּבְעֲתָא; but this could only mean 'hill' or the like.

2. The terms have been thought to be different names of the same spot. On this view 'elevated place' might, some commentators think, mean 'terrace,' the pavement (λιθόστρωτον) being set in the terrace. But we have already found 'terrace' unsuitable.

Brandt translates 'terrace,' but explains the use of גב differently. He thinks that the evangelist perhaps misunderstood some notice about the place where the sittings of the college of elders were held (he quotes *Sanh.* 18 *d*), and that he has made use of it in his narrative in a false connection.

There is perhaps more to be said in favour of the view of Meyer and Grimm—viz., that the different names were chosen from different characteristics of the place. Grimm thinks the Aramaic name 'was given to the spot from its *shape*, the Greek name from the nature of its pavement.' But here again, even if the Aramaic name means 'elevation,' it is too indefinite, one would think, to be a likely one.

Nestle is of opinion that 'the exact form and meaning' of the word 'must be left in suspense.'

It has been suggested as the most probable solution of the difficulty (Riehm, *HWB*) that the author thought of the proceedings as having taken place in the palace of Herod. In this case we are to understand by λιθόστρωτον a paved, open space, either immediately in front of the palace or at a short distance from it. But Lk. 23 6-16, if historical (see, however, GOSPELS, § 108), hardly seems to favour this. Josephus, indeed, tells us (*BJ* ii. 14 8) that Florus 'took up his headquarters at the palace, and on the next day had his tribunal set before it.' But we have no good reasons for supposing that Pilate was so privileged; and had the author been thinking of Herod's palace he would surely have been more explicit.

No such place as λιθόστρωτον-Gabbatha is known to have existed. The NT narrative in which the words

4. Conclusion. occur is hardly to be relied upon as a historical source;[1] it consists, as Keim has pointed out, of a series of dialogues. It seems not unlikely, therefore, that the place Lithostroton-Gabbatha existed, as a definite locality, only in the mind of the author. The writer realised that he must represent the sentence as given, after the Roman custom, in a public place. He knew that such open spaces were often paved with stones; whence the name λιθόστρωτον. He, or some editor, added as a Hebrew name Gabbatha. What suggested this name it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine. It may have been a purely artificial formation, the writer himself attaching no meaning to it.[2] Or possibly the *bema* itself was sometimes alluded to as הַגַּבָּה (Aramaised גבתא), 'the [artificial] hump' (fem. from גַּב),[3] and this suggested the name 'Gabbatha.' M. A. C.

1 So apparently Westcott (*Comm.* 272), who (comparing Talm. Jerus. *Sanh. f.* 18 *d*, quoted by Wünsche) thinks Gabbatha represents *Gab Baitha*, גב ביתא, 'the ridge (back) of the House,' *i.e.*, of the temple. Westcott ignores the difficulties of the word, both here and in his 'Introduction' (p. xii).

2 Cp Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 412, 'Pilate, averti de leur présence monta au *bima* ou tribunal situé en plein air à l'endroit qu'on nommait *Gabbatha* ou, en grec, Lithostrotos, à cause du carrelage qui revêtait le sol.'

3 The article treats fully the philological difficulties of the word.

PAVILION. 1. סֻכָּה, *sukkah*, is rendered 'pavilion' in 1 K. 20 12 16 (cp SUCCOTH, 1), Ps. 18 11 [12] = 2 S. 22 12 Ps. 27 5 31 20 (also Job 36 29, which alludes to Ps. 18 11 and Is. 4 6, RV). AV, in fact, takes סֻכָּה as a synonym of אֹהֶל, and like Milton uses 'pavilion' as well as 'tabernacle' as a choicer expression for 'tent.' Elsewhere rendered 'booth' (Jonah 4 5 and often), 'covert' (Job 38 40), 'hut' (1 K. 20 12 16 RVmg. a misread passage; see SUCCOTH, 1), 'tabernacle' or 'tent.' See TABERNACLE, TENT.

2. קֻבָּה, *ḳubbāh*, Nu. 25 8† RV. RVmg 'alcove' (Sp. *alcova* = Ar. *al-ḳobbah*, 'vaulted recess'). The antiquity of the reading is vouched for by 𝔊 (if for εἰς τὴν κάμινον we may read εἰς τὴν καμάραν [cod. 15 has σκηνήν]; so Rödiger). But what can an 'arched pavilion' do in this narrative? Nothing indicates that a sacred tent of Baal-Peor or anything like it is meant.[4] *Ḳubbāh* must be a corruption due to the neighbouring word קֻבָה. The true reading is clearly חֻפָּה, which is practically 'nuptial chamber.' See TENT.

3. שַׁפְרִיר, *šaphrīr* (from √שפר, to glitter), Jer. 43 10† EV. The word probably means the glittering hangings of the royal canopy (G. Hoffmann, *ZATW* 2 68), and possibly occurs again in Mic. 1 11 (see SHAPHIR). See THRONE. T. K. C.

PEACE OFFERING. See SACRIFICE.

PEACOCKS (תֻּכִּיִּים, תּוּכִּיִּים; ταωνες; *pavi*). 1. Peacocks are mentioned, if an old opinion is correct, with 'apes' or 'monkeys' among the rarities brought to Solomon by the 'navy of Tarshish' (1 K. 10 22; cp *v.* 11; om. BL; and 2 Ch. 9 21; om. BA, τεχειμ [L]). The rendering 'peacocks' is favoured by most moderns,

1 Brandt (*Evang. Gesch.* 133) says it 'presupposes a regular government-building, with a raised terrace, where the procurator had a *sella curulis* set up and performed the duties of his judicial office—a building, which, so far as we know (and the elaborate histories of Flavius Josephus would hardly fail us here), did not exist.' But if we are unable to accept his explanation of גבתא (= 'terrace'), Brandt's words lose some of their force. On the whole question of the value of the fourth gospel as a historical source, see besides JOHN (SON OF ZEBEDEE), § 37, Oscar Holtzmann's recently published *Leben Jesu* (1901), 31 *ff.*, and J. Réville, *Le quatrième Évangile* (1901; for Jn. 19, especially pp. 265 *ff.*).

2 The writer would naturally wish, with no idea of deceiving his readers, to give a certain definiteness to the narrative, especially as he was making its general form so artificial. On the ancient idea of history cp Bolingbroke, *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, 1-4; Tylor, *Anthropology*, chap. 15.

3 The forms גַּבֹּתָם, Ezek. 1 18, and גַּבּוֹת perhaps presuppose a feminine גַּבָּה.

4 Aq. τέγος; Sym. πορνεῖον (πυρίνιον, etc.); Vg. *lupanar*; cp AVmg.'s view of גַּב in Ezek. 16 24 etc.; see HIGH PLACE, § 6, n. 3.

following Tg., Pesh., Vg., and the Jewish expositors. The philological basis of the theory, however, is very weak.

It is supposed that תֻּכִּי (*tukkî*?) is derived from the Tamil *tokei*, which in the old classical tongue means the peacock, though now it generally signifies the peacock's tail (so, *e.g.*, Max Müller, *Sc. of Lang.*, 209). Of course, if Ophir is somewhere on the Indian coast, as Lassen supposed, a Tamil origin gains in plausibility; but OPHIR [*q.v.*] is at any rate not in India.

It should also be noticed that 𝔊 (except $𝔊_A$ in 1 K.) knows nothing of 'apes and peacocks,' and that שנהבים, which precedes וקפים ותכיים, is certainly corrupt (cp EBONY, § 2 (*b*), IVORY, n. 3). In 1 K. 1011 we read of 'precious stones' as coming from Ophir. It is therefore neither rare animals nor vessels full of aromatic oil, etc. (Halévy; see APE), that we should expect to find mentioned in *v.* 22, but some precious stone. If Klostermann's emendation of the corrupt שנהבים be accepted, we shall do well to look out for the name of some precious stone which might be corrupted both into קפים and into תכיים (for these words probably represent the *same original*). Probably (see OPHIR) we should read והפנר [ו]הפנר—*i.e.*, 'and the *ḥipindu* stone' (written twice over in error). Cp HAVILAH.

On the peacock of Ceylon (*Pavo cristatus*), see Tennent, *Ceylon*, 1165. In the Talmud this bird is called טָוֹס; cp ταώς, Persian *tavus*. The Greeks called it 'Persian bird' (Aristoph. *Aves*, 484).

2. 'Peacock' (רְנָנִים) in Job 3913, AV, should rather be OSTRICH [*q.v.*]. T. K. C.

PEARL. Pearls (μαργαρῖται) are referred to in the NT several times (Mt. 76 1345 *f.* 1 Tim. 29 Rev. 2121), and in a manner which shows the great value then as now attached to them.

That they were well known in OT times also may be taken for granted, though the word μαργαρῖται does not occur in 𝔊. In AV 'pearl' renders *gābîš* in Job 2818; but see CRYSTAL. In RVmg. of Job 2818 it is suggested as a possible rendering for *pĕnînîm*; see CORAL.[1] Pearl or mother-of-pearl is at any rate probably the correct interpretation of the דַּר of Esth. 16; cp Ar. *durrun*, and see MARBLE.

Pearls are formed from the inner nacreous layer of the shell of a species of bivalved mollusc, *Avicula margaritifera*, which, although allied to the Ostreidæ, is not a true oyster. They are not produced in perfectly healthy animals, but are, as a rule, met with where overcrowding and the presence of parasitic worms, etc., have induced abnormalities. The inner layer of the shell of the same mollusc is known commercially as mother-of-pearl; this is still an article of commerce in Palestine, where it is frequently carved into religious ornaments. The shells are usually obtained by divers, and to this day the pearl-fisheries of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia rank amongst the most important. Pearls of an inferior colour and size are produced by several other species of mollusc. A. E. S.

PECULIAR TREASURE, PECULIAR PEOPLE. The former is the (Latinising) rendering (in EV of OT) of two Hebrew phrases; the latter, in AV of NT, of two Septuagint Greek phrases. It was only to be expected that expressions of such an origin would obtain a deeper significance in NT. This is not so marked, perhaps, in the case of the phrase in 1 Pet. 29, where λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (AV 'peculiar people,' RV 'people for God's own possession') mainly expresses the fact that the Christian body, like Israel of old, is God's purchased possession—a privilege, however, which involves moral duties—but certainly in the case of that in Tit. 214, where λαὸς περιούσιος (EV as before) is primarily, not 'a people acquired as a possession' (ὁ ἔγκτητος, Suidas), but 'a people fit to be God's own.' This is in fact the explanation of Vg. ('acceptabilem'; Wycliffe, 'acceptable'), which, although Bishop Ellicott thinks it too remote from the primary meaning, seems fairly to express the writer's meaning. Render, therefore, in Tit. 214, 'and (that he might) purify for himself a people fit to be his own, zealous of good works,' and in 1 Pet. 29, 'a nation devoted to God, a people owned by him' (cp CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 1 [6]). This last rendering (a people owned by God) is also the most suitable in Dt. 76 142 2618. In Ex. 195 Mal. 317 Ps. 1354 render 'a prized possession'; in Eccles. 28 'treasure' will suffice. So also in 1 Ch. 293. RV of OT needlessly retains, or even inserts, 'peculiar' everywhere except in 1 Ch. 293; in Dt. 76 'special' takes the place of 'peculiar,' and in Mal. 317, mg., 'jewels' becomes 'special treasure' (RV 'a peculiar treasure').

The primary meaning of סְגֻלָּה (8 times in OT) is no doubt 'possession' (*peculium*; cp Ass. *sugullâte*, 'herds,' Del. *Ass. HWB* 490). In 1 Ch. *l.c.* (ὃ περιπεποίημαι) and Eccl. *l.c.* (περιουσιασμοὺς[1]) it denotes the private property ('privy purse') of a king. Elsewhere it is applied metaphorically to Israel (סְגֻלָּה, Ex. 195 Mal. 317 [AV, 'jewels'], Ps. 1354; עַם סְגֻלָּה, Dt. 76 142 2618; λαὸς περιούσιος in Ex. and Dt. [also Ex. 2322], cp Tit. 214; εἰς περιποίησιν in Mal.; εἰς περιουσιασμόν in Ps.; Vg. *peculium*, *peculiaris*, except in Ps. [*possessio*], and Eccl. [*substantias*]).

PEDAHEL (פְּדַהְאֵל [see Ginsb.], § 30; as if 'El has redeemed,' cp PEDAIAH; φαδαηλ [BAFL]), a Naphtalite prince; Nu. 3428†.

Lagarde (*Sym.* 1877, p. 107) supposes a Pedahel to have written Ps. 25, which closes with a supernumerary *Pe*-distich (פְּדֵה אֱלֹהִים). The suggestion, however, might produce an embarrassing crop of similar theories elsewhere (B. Jacob, *ZATW* 16 [1896], p. 153, n.). On the origin of the name see PEDAHZUR.

PEDAHZUR (פְּדָהצוּר, § 43; as if 'the Rock [God] has redeemed,' but see below; φαδασσουρ [BAFL]), a Manassite prince; Nu. 110 (φαδασουρ [B]), 220 754 59 1023,† all P.

The other names containing the divine title צוּר (ZUR) having aroused suspicion, it is not unlikely that Pedahzur may also be a corrupt form. The meaning given above is indeed plausible; but it was natural that P, like the Chronicler, should endeavour to suggest a possible meaning for distorted names. If צורישדי (ZURISHADDAI) and צוריאל have arisen out of Asshūrī (= Geshūri), Pedahzur probably sprang from some S. Palestinian or N. Arabian ethnic. Pedahzur's son is called Gamaliel, which is probably (like Gemalli and Ammiel in Nu. 1312) one of the many distortions of Jerahmeel. Observe, too, that in Nu. 3423 'Hanniel b. Ephod' corresponds to 'Gamaliel b. Pedahzur' in Nu. 110. 'Ephod' (אפד) is probably a corruption of 'Rephael' (רְפָאֵל), 'Hanniel' (חַנִּיאֵל) of 'Hamael' (חמאל)—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel. Very possibly then Pedahzur, Pedahel, and Padi came out of Ṣarephāthi (*l* seems to be an afformative). The Jerahmeelites, also called Zarephathites, were most probably one of the most widely spread of the tribes of Canaan. See JERAHMEEL; cp also PASHHUR. T. K. C.

PEDAIAH (פְּדָיָה and פְּדָיָהוּ no. 3, perhaps [so Che.] adapted from an ethnic name Padi [so a king of Ekron, temp. Hezekiah, is called], but as it stands = 'Yahwè has redeemed,' see NAMES, §§ 30, 53, and PEDAHEL).

1. 'of RUMAH,' father of Jehoiakim's mother Zebudah (2 K. 2336). In 2 Ch. 365 ($𝔊^{BA}$) the name is given as Neriah (פ and נ confounded), whilst $𝔊^L$ both in K. and Ch. introduces from 2 K. 2418 Amital (Hamutal) the daughter of Jeremiah (ιερεμιου) of Libnah, and $𝔊^{BA}$ substitutes JIDLAPH, the daughter of εδειλ [B], or ειεδδιλα [A], which perhaps comes from Phadael (= Phadaia), a variant to Jidlaph (Che.).

2. b. JECONIAH [*q.v.*] (1 Ch. 318 *f.*, φα[λ]δαιας [BA], φαδαια [L]; in *v.* 19 $𝔊^{BA}$ substitutes σαλαθιηλ).

3. Father of JOEL [*q.v.*], a Manassite (1 Ch. 2720 פְּדָיָהוּ, φαλαδαια [B], φαλδει [A], φαδαιου [L]).

4. b. PAROSH [*q.v.*] (Neh. 325, φαδαι[α] [BℵAL]).

5. A priest (Neh. 84, φαδαιας), in 1 Esd. 944 PHALDAIUS, RV PHALDEUS (φαλ[α]δαιος [BA], φαδαιας [L]). Was he also a Psalmist? Lagarde thought so (see PEDAHEL), deducing this from the supernumerary distich beginning with the letter *pe* in Ps. 34.

6. A Benjamite (Neh. 117, φαλαια [Bℵ], -δ. [AL]).

7. A Levite overseer (Neh. 1313, φαδαια [BℵAL]).

PEDESTAL (כֵּן), 1 K. 731 RV, AV BASE. See LAVER.

[1] The Targ. reads מַרְגְּלִין—*i.e.*, really 'precious stones.' In Syr., too, the word has an extended meaning and includes chrysolite (cp Payne Smith, *Thes.*, *s.v.*).

[1] Cp Judith 1514 [11], where Vg. has 'universa quæ Holofernis peculiaria probata sunt.'

PEDIAS (πεδιας [B], παιδειας [A]), 1 Esd. 9 34 RV = Ezra 10 35, BEDEIAH.

PEKAH (פֶּקַח, § 50, see PEKAHIAH; φακεε [BℵAQL], φακες [Γ]). Son of Remaliah, king of Israel (735-730? See CHRONOLOGY, §§ 32, 34), perhaps a Jerahmeelite or Gileadite (see REMALIAH, ARGOB, 2), 2 K. 15 25 *ff.*, 16 1 5 Is. 7 1 2 Ch. 28 6†. We hear more than usual of the successful usurper (originally a *šâlîš*[1] or 'high officer' under PEKAHIAH) because he came into collision with the kingdom of Judah (see AHAZ, 1). A few years afterwards another revolution hurled him from the throne. His death is referred to by Tiglath-pileser, who, according to Schrader (*COT* 1 247; *KB* 2 32), claims to have killed Pekah himself. Winckler, however, reads differently, and makes Tiglath-pileser ascribe Pekah's death to his subjects, who probably felt the necessity of having a ruler who was acceptable to the Assyrian king (cp HOSEA). See ISRAEL, § 32, and on the war with the kingdom of Judah, in which Pekah is said to have taken part, see REZIN.

T. K. C.

PEKAHIAH (פְּקַחְיָה, 'Yahwè opens [or enlightens, the mind],' § 26, or else a clan-name = Pikhi; φακεσιας [B], φακειας [A], φακεια [L]), son and successor of Menahem, was murdered by Pekah (cp ARGOB, 2) after a reign of two years (737-736 B.C.); but 𝔊ᴸ gives him ten years (2 K. 15 22 *ff.*).

It may be questioned whether this king does not owe his literary existence to a misunderstanding. The author of Kings made Jotham and Ahaz of Judah contemporaneous with Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah, kings of Israel. We infer this from the circumstance that 2 K. 15 8-31, which relates to these five kings, is interposed between 2 K. 15 7 (accession of Jotham) and 16 1 (accession of Ahaz). This allows very short reigns for these five kings, and although the revolutionary tendencies of N. Israel, produced by the swift alternations of political parties, may partly account for such short reigns, it will be some slight gain to remove Pekahiah from the list, as due to the error of a Jewish chronologist, who found the bold usurper Pekah sometimes referred to by the fuller name Pekahiah. T. K. C.

PEKOD (פְּקוֹד; in Jer. εκδικησον (BℵAQ], *visita* [Vg.]; ܠܐܠܚܢܝܐ; in Ezek. φακουκ [B], και φουδ [A], φακουδ [Q]; *nobiles* [?], ܦܩܘܕ), a Babylonian district mentioned in Jer. 50 21 Ezek. 23 23.† Granting that Merathaim should be Marrathim, S. Babylonia, we may naturally hold that Pekod, or rather Pekūd, is not a symbolic name meaning 'punishment,' but a geographical name = Puḳudu. In the Taylor cylinder inscription of Sennacherib, col. 1, line 45 (*KB* 2 84 *f.*), a people called the Puḳudu are mentioned with the Ḫamranu, the Ḫagaranu, and the Nabatu; and one of the Egibi tablets refers to a city called Piḳudu (Pinches, *RP* xi. 92) which is evidently in Babylonia. At the same time, it is not certain that the prophetic writers meant this place. Both Jer. 50 and (partly) Ezek. 23 have probably been edited so as to refer to peoples not originally meant (see PROPHET, § 45). For פקוד the prophets may have written רחוב[ת], Reḥoboth. See MERATHAIM; also *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

PELAIAH. 1. (פְּלָיָה, as if 'Yahwè has done a wonder' [cp 2 פלאיה], but originally an ethnic name to be explained like PALLU [*q.v.*]; the ה is an accretion [Che.]), a descendant of Zerubbabel; 1 Ch. 3 24 (φαρα [B], φαλαια [A], φαδια [L]).

2. (פְּלָאיָה, φαλαιας [L]), a Levite, expounder of the law (see EZRA ii., § 13 [*f.*]; cp i., § 8, ii., § 16 [5], § 15 [1] c); Neh. 8 7 (BℵA om., φαλαιας [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 48, BIATAS, RV PHALIAS (φαλιας [B], φιαθας [A], φαλαιας [L]), and signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 10 [11] (Bℵ* om., φελεια [ℵc.a mg.A], φαλαιας [L]).

PELALIAH (פְּלַלְיָה, as if 'Yahwè judges,' § 36; but this name, like Jeroboam, presumably comes from 'Jerahmeel,' cp PELAIAH), a name in the genealogy of

[1] For the origin of this term see EUNUCH.

Adaiah; Neh. 11 12 (Bℵ* om., φαλαλια [ℵc.a mg. inf.A], φαλλαλιου [L]). T. K. C.

PELATIAH (פְּלַטְיָה, as if 'Yahwè delivers,' §§ 30, 53, but really an ethnic name = PALTI [*q.v.*], the ה being probably an accretion [Che.]).

1. A descendant of Zerubbabel; 1 Ch. 3 21 (φαλλετι [B], φαλλετια [A], φαλατιας [L]).

2. A Simeonite captain, temp. Hezekiah; 1 Ch. 4 42 (φαλαεττεια [B], φαλεττια [A], φαλτιας [L]).

3. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 22 [23], (φαλτια [BA], φαλδεια [ℵ*], φαλτεια [ℵ?], φαλτιας [L]).

4. b. Benaiah, a 'prince of the people'; Ezek. 11 1 13 (φαλτιαν [BAQΓ], φαντιαν [B* in *v.* 1]).

Pelatiah and Jaazaniah are mentioned as belonging to a party of twenty-five men whom Ezekiel saw (in an ecstasy) at the door of the gateway of the temple. 'And while I was prophesying,' says Ezekiel, 'Pelatiah ben Benaiah died. And I fell on my face, and cried with a loud voice, Alas, O Lord, Yahwè, wilt thou make an end of the remnant of Israel?' Possibly Ezekiel regarded this as prophetic of the lot in store for those who resembled Pelatiah. See Davidson, Kraetzschmar, Bertholet.

PELEG (פֶּלֶג, φαλεκ [AEL] *Phaleg*), elder son of EBER, brother of JOKTAN, and father of REU; Gen. 10 25 11 16 *ff.* (φαλκ A* in *v.* 17) 1 Ch. 1 19 25 (φαλεχ [B*b], φαλεγ [BabL]); Lk. 3 35† (AV PHALEC). Taking this to be a geographical name, Knobel connected it with Phalga, a place situated at the confluence of the Chaboras and the Euphrates;[1] for another suggestion see Lagarde, *Or.* 2 50. The root-meaning is commonly thought to be 'division' (cp Gen. 10 25 [RJ]; 'in his days was the [people of the] earth divided,' נפלגה); cp. Judg. 5 15*b*, פְּלַגּוֹת, 'tribal divisions'? (Moore, Bu.; AV 'divisions;' RV 'watercourses'); cp DISTRICT. In connection with a wider study of the names in Gen. 10 *f.*, however, it is doubtful whether we can attach weight to conjectures based on the traditional reading 'Peleg.' 'Arpachshad' is very possibly a corruption of 'Arâb-cush' or 'Cush-ărâb.' When we consider how often, in the OT genealogical lists, old names are split into two, it is very possible that Peleg and his son Re'u represent different fragments of Jerahme'el (ירחמאל)—*i.e.*, פלג = מלח, and רעו = ראי. Cp PAGIEL. T. K. C.

PELET (פֶּלֶט, § 50). 1. Perhaps a secondary Calebite clan; cp BETH-PALET (1 Ch. 2 47: φαλεκ [B], φαλετ [A], φαλεγ [L]).

2. b. AZMAVETH, one of David's warriors; 1 Ch. 12 3 (ιωφαλητ [Bℵ], φαλλητ [A], φαλετ [L]). See DAVID, § 11 (*c*).

PELETH (פֶּלֶת; on the origin of the form see ZAREPHATH).

1. A Reubenite, father of On, the associate of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; Nu. 16 1 (φαλεθ [BAF], φαλεκ [L]).

2. A Jerahmeelite; 1 Ch. 2 33 (θαλεθ [B], φαλεθ [A], φαλατ [L]). Cp JERAHMEEL, § 3.

PELETHITES, constantly coupled with the CHERETHITES [*q.v.*], 2 S. 8 18 and elsewhere—*i.e.*, probably, the Rehobothites (see REHOBOTH). The connection of the Pelethites with the Negeb, and more particularly with Zarephath, may be regarded as in the highest degree probable (see ZAREPHATH). Their true name indeed was 'Zarephathites,' and a severe struggle seems to have been necessary before they became David's faithful servants.

This depends, however, on the correctness of the view (in itself extremely plausible; see ZAREPHATH) that 'Pelethites' or 'Zarephathites' should be restored in place of 'Philistines,' not only in 1 S. 23 1 *f.* etc., 30 17, but also in 2 S 21 15 *ff.* Cp PELETH; SAUL, § 3.

Winckler (*GI* 2 185) supposes that Plēthi (or rather Palti) is derived from Peleth, and that Krēthi (original form Karti?) and Palti are the names of the *gentes* of the Negeb from which David was descended. Peleth, according to him, is the same as Peleṭ in Beth-peleṭ (בֵּית־פֶּלֶט), a place in the far S. of Judah towards Edom (Josh. 15 27). This ingenious view, however, does not take account of all the difficult textual phenomena. Probably Pelet = Peleth = Zarephath. For another view see JERAHMEEL, § 3. T. K. C.

[1] On the site of Phaliga see Peters, *Nippur*, 1 123, 311.

PELIAS (πεδιας [B], παιδειας [A]), AV 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 35, BEDEIAH.

PELICAN (קָאָת; πελεκαν, ορνεον, καταρακτης, χαμαιλεων [or κοραξ?—transposition; see Zeph.]; *onocrotalus*, but in Ps. *pellicanus*). One of the unclean birds, Lev. 11 18 Dt. 14 17. The reference in Is. 34 11, however, seems due to thoughtlessness, at least if *ḳā'āth* means the 'pelican,' for this bird (like the bittern) loves marshy ground, whereas Edom (to the fate of which Is. 34 is devoted) was to become parched. On the other hand, the 'pelican' is well placed in the ruins of Nineveh (Zeph. 2 14), for there are many reedy marshes near the Tigris. In Ps. 102 6, again, the reference to the pelican (if קאת means this bird) indicates a conventionalised zoology; for though it may be true that the term מדבר (EV in Ps. 'wilderness') does not convey the meaning of 'desert,' it is certainly applied to relatively dry districts where the pelican would not be at home. The rendering 'pelican,' however, is by no means free from doubt.

It has been suggested by the supposed etymology of קאת, *ḳā'āth*, viz. קוא, 'to vomit,' which accords with the pelican's well-known habit of regurgitating its food; cp Talm. קוק (= קָאָת). One would certainly have expected, however, to find the pelican indicated by more characteristic features in the OT literature. Noticing that in Ps. 102 6 the *ḳā'āth* and the *kôs* (*i.e.*, 'owl') are mentioned in parallel lines, the question arises whether the former word may not be a mutilated form of *ḳadyāth*, and mean 'owl.' We find קַדְיָא, *ḳadyā* (Ass. *ḳadû*), in Tg. Onk. of Lev. 11 17 for כּוֹס, *kôs*, and it is not impossible that two species of owl (a great and a small?) may have been combined by the psalmist as images of desolation.

The pelican's habit of 'storing great quantities of fish in the capacious pouch under its lower mandible, and then disgorging them to feed its young' is well known; the fable of its feeding its young with its blood arose in Egypt, and was attached originally to the vulture (see Houghton, letter in *Acad.*, Apr. 5, 1884, p. 243 *f.*). There are, according to Tristram, two species of pelican found on the *coasts* of Syria—*Pelicanus onocrotalus*, or the White Pelican, and *P. crispus*, the Dalmatian Pelican, both birds of enormous size, about 6 ft. long, and the spread of their wings reaching over 12 ft. Tristram thinks that the allusion in Ps. 102 6*a* is to 'the melancholy attitude of this bird as, after gorging itself, it sits for hours or even days with its bill resting on its breast' (*NHP* 251). T. K. C.—A. E. S.

PELONITE (פְּלוֹנִי). 1. 1 Ch. 11 27 27 10, a corruption for PALTITE (*q.v.*)—*i.e.*, man of BETH-PELET (*q.v.*).

2. 1 Ch. 11 36, a corruption for GILONITE—*i.e.*, man of GILOH (*q.v.*); see ELIAM, 1, AHITHOPHEL (end).

PELUSIUM (סִין), Ezek. 30 15 AVmg. EV SIN.

PEN. The earliest writing implement was probably the stylus (γραφις,[1] γραφ[ε]ιον, in late writers στυλος), a pointed bodkin of metal, bone, or ivory, used for making incised or engraved letters on lead, clay, stone, wood, or wax. Such was the pen of Isaiah (Is. 8 1; חֶרֶט, γραφίς, *stylus*). The same word occurs in Ex. 32 4 (EV 'graving tool'; the implement with which the molten calf was fashioned; F has ῥαφίς), and should perhaps be read in Is. 44 13. See PENCIL. The iron pen (עֵט בַּרְזֶל, γραφεῖον σιδηροῦν, *stylus ferreus*) is also mentioned in Job 19 24 Jer. 17 1. The calamus or arundo, the hollow tubular stalk of grasses growing in marshy lands, was the true ancient representative of the modern pen. The use of such reed pens can be traced to a remote antiquity among the civilised nations of the East.[2] To make and mend them, a penknife (תַּעַר הַסֹּפֵר: Jer. 36 23†) or 'scribes' razor' (see BEARD) was required. A reed pen is probably intended in Ps. 45 2 (עֵט, κάλαμος, *calamus*) and in Jer. 8 8 (עֵט; σχοῖνος; *stylus*), and in 3 Jn. 13 (κάλαμος). The earliest specific allusion to the quill pen is in the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, who died 636 A.D. ('instrumenta scribæ calamus et penna . . . sed calamus arboris est, penna avis, cujus acumen dividitur in duo'). That, however, does not prove that the quill pen was not in use earlier. A bronze pen, nibbed like a modern steel pen, found at Pompeii, is now preserved in the Museum at Naples.

On the 'pen of the writer' (Judg. 5 14, שֵׁבֶט סֹפֵר RV 'marshal's staff') see SCRIBE, 5.

[1] γραφίς was also used for a fine brush (*penicillus*, pencil) used in drawing.

[2] Hollow joints of bamboo were similarly employed.

PENALTY (Pr. 19 19 RV). See TRIBUTE, 7; cp FINE.

PENCIL (שֶׂרֶד, *séred*; 𝔊 incomplete and corrupt; Is. 44 13† RV), the instrument with which the wood-carver made his first rough sketch of the image he was to produce. Kimḥi and others think of a red-coloured thread (hence AV's 'line'); RVmg. records the sense 'red ochre'; RV gives 'pencil' (cp Aq. παραγραφίς—*i.e.*, stilus); Vg. *runcina*—*i.e.*, 'plane.' All plausible meanings, if justifiable.

שֶׂרֶד, however, seems to be corrupt; the root would mean 'to weave together.' We should expect חֶרֶט (see PEN). Haupt, however, would render שֶׂרֶד 'compasses,' and connect Ass. *sirdu* 'yoke' (see *SBOT*, *Isaiah*, Heb. 137).

PENDANTS (נְטִיפוֹת, Judg. 8 26 RV, AV 'collars'; נטפות Is. 3 19 RV, AV 'chains'). See RING, 2.

PENIEL (פְּנִיאֵל), Gen. 32 30 [31], in *v.* 31 [32] PENUEL.

PENINNAH (פְּנִנָּה, § 71; φεννανα [BAL]), wife of Elkanah (1 S. 1 2).[1] The name is apparently the singular of *peninîm*, a word of doubtful signification, in AV 'rubies' (see RUBY). As a woman's name it probably alludes to the complexion; cp Lam. 4 7. W. R. S.

PENKNIFE (תַּעַר הַסֹּפֵר; το ξυρον του γραμματεως; *scalpellum scribæ*), Jer. 36 23†. See PEN.

PENNY. Under this head we treat of the various coins of which the Greek names are translated by 'penny,' 'farthing,' and 'mite' respectively, reserving the 'drachm' and 'stater' for separate discussion (see STATER).

Penny is used in both AV and RV to represent δηνάριον (*denarius*), the silver coin issued by the Roman Imperial mint; it was current in all parts of the Empire, and in terms of it and its sixteenth part, the *as*, all public accounts were presented.

1. 'Denarius.'

Its normal weight during the time of Christ and until the reign of Nero was $\frac{1}{84}$ of the Roman pound—*i.e.*, 60 grains troy.[2] Its nominal value was $\frac{1}{25}$ of the Imperial gold coin, or *aureus*; of lower denominations, which were issued in bronze or copper, it contained 4 *sestertii*, or 16 *asses*. As an almost invariable rule it bore on one side (the *obverse*) the head of the Emperor or some member of the Imperial family, with titles—the 'image and superscription' mentioned in Mt. 22 20 Mk. 12 16 Lk. 20 24. On the *reverse* is a representation (usually historical or mythological) with an inscription either alluding to the object represented, or amplifying the titles of the person who figures on the obverse.

The denarius of Tiberius reproduced in next col. was issued between 16 and 37 A.D., and therefore current about the time of Christ. Around the laureate head of the Emperor runs the inscription TI . CAESAR . DIVI . AVG . F . AVGVSTVS ('Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of the deified Augustus'). On the reverse the inscription PONTIF(ex) MAX(imus) completes the titles of Tiberius, whilst the seated figure, with her right hand resting on a sceptre, her left holding a flower, is the Empress Livia.

This then is the kind of coin in which the tribute was paid. A standard silver coin of the same normal weight (60 grs. troy) would at the present time be equivalent to 8¼d. The legal value of the denarius, however, is better estimated by its relation to the aureus. That coin weighed normally 126.3 grs. troy, and the denarius

[1] Bateson-Wright (*Was Israel ever in Egypt?* 231) connects Peninnah with Jephunneh, Elkanah being a son of Jeroham.

[2] The standard weight of the British shilling is 87.27272 grains, that of the sixpence 43.63636.

was therefore legally equivalent to $\frac{1}{16}$ of the same amount of gold, which, at the present rate of £3 : 17 : 10½ for the ounce troy, works out at 9.83d. The best idea of the actual purchasing power of the denarius is gained from its employment as a fair day's wage for the agricultural labourer (Mt. 20 2-14), from the payment of two denarii by the good Samaritan, and from the fact that the Roman legionary's pay in those times was 225



Denarius of Tiberius.

denarii a year, or ⅝ denarius a day. Hence it is clear that the American RV translation 'shilling,' if not entirely satisfactory, is nearer the mark than the English 'penny.'

2. 'Farthing.' Farthing is the rendering adopted for two Greek words, the κοδράντης, *kodrantes* (τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην, 'the last farthing,' Mt. 5 26; λεπτὰ δύο ὅ ἐστιν κοδράντης, 'two mites, which make a farthing,' Mk. 12 42) and the ἀσσάριον, *assarion* (δύο στρουθία ἀσσαρίου πωλεῖται, 'two sparrows sold for a farthing,' Mt. 10 29, cp Lk. 12 6). Both names are of Latin origin, *assārius* being a by-form of *as*, and *quadrans* representing the fourth part of the *as* in the Roman divisional system. Assarion must be the name of a provincial coin which corresponds in some way to the Roman *as*. In the Hellenistic system the unit was the silver drachm (for ordinary purposes ranking as equivalent to the denarius, but by the Romans for official purposes tariffed at ¾ denarius or 12 asses). This drachm contained 6 ὀβολοί or 48 χαλκοί. Now the evidence of the coins of Chios (see Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, 660) shows that, in that island at least, the obol was equivalent to 2 assaria, and the drachm to 12 assaria. Since assarion thus corresponds to *as*, it follows that the χαλκοῦς, *chalkous* (or ¼ of the obol of 2 assaria) corresponds to the quadrans (or ¼ *as*). *Kodrantes* may therefore be regarded as an alternative name for this *chalkous*, used especially where it was desirable to be understood by non-Hellenistic readers. Hence its occurrence in the explanatory clause in Mk. 12 42; its use by Mt. 5 26, where Lk. 12 59 has λεπτόν (see § 2), has been explained by Mt.'s familiarity with the Roman system of accounting. As regards the quadrans itself, the Roman coin of that name ceased to be issued early in the first century B.C., and was revived for a short period under the Empire (from Nero to Trajan). There is no good evidence of its existence in the Roman currency during the time with which we are immediately concerned, nor is there any probability that a provincial coin was at any time known in common speech by the name of kodrantes. The bearing of this point on the text need not be discussed here.

3. 'Mite.' The word λεπτόν, *lepton*, already mentioned, is fittingly translated *mite* (Mk. 12 42 Lk 21 2 and 12 59). As to this coin there is much evidence confirming the equation of two lepta to one kodrantes given in the first passage, although most of that evidence seems to be derived from the same source. In Hebrew literature, however, we find the smallest Jewish coin, *pĕrūṭah*, equated with ⅛ Roman *as*. We need not hesitate to identify lepton and *pĕrūṭah*. From this, since we have identified chalkous and quadrans, it would seem to follow that the lepton was half the chalkous. Nevertheless, numismatists have serious difficulty in finding, among the small coins of Judæa, separate denominations for chalkous and lepton. The minute pieces of the Hasmonæan and Idumæan rulers, which it has been proposed to regard as a different denomination from the larger, seem to owe their small size and low weight to carelessness on the part of the moneyers, or to long circulation. On the other hand, the following consideration will show that chalkous and lepton are probably the same, and that the apparent discrepancy is due to different systems of valuation.

4. Chalkous and lepton. In addition to the system (A), in which the drachm was equivalent to 12 *assaria-asses*, there was in Judæa, at least during the second century, another system (B). According to it (see Kennedy, 429) the drachm was divided into 6 obols (mā'ōth) and 24 assaria (issārīm). To the same system presumably belonged the lepton-pĕrūṭah, which would bear the same relation to the assarion of system B as the chalkous-kodrantes did to the assarion of the system A.

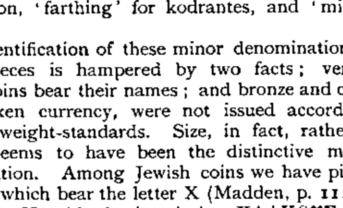
There is much probability in the view advocated by Kennedy that we have in this double system a case of 'tariff' and 'current' values. System A represents the values adopted for accounting, B those according to which coins passed in ordinary transactions. The three systems with which we have to reckon may thus be stated in tabular form, where in each column 1 is placed opposite the unit in terms of which the other denominations in that column are calculated.

Denomination.	Roman System.	Provincial.	
		System A.	System B.
Denarius	1	.. }	1
Δραχμή, *drachme*	[¾]	1 }	
Sestertius	¼	..	..
'Οβολός, *obolos*	[⅛]	⅙	⅙
As	$\frac{1}{16}$	..	..
'Ασσάριον, *assarion*	[$\frac{1}{16}$]	$\frac{1}{12}$	$\frac{1}{24}$
Quadrans	$\frac{1}{64}$	..	..
Χαλκοῦς-λεπτόν, *chalkous-lepton*	[$\frac{1}{64}$]	$\frac{1}{48}$	$\frac{1}{96}$

On system A, the assarion, as $\frac{1}{16}$ of the denarius estimated at 9.83d., is to be rated at ⅝d., and the κοδράντης, kodrantes (χαλκοῦς, chalkous) at $\frac{3}{20}$d. On system B the assarion would be worth $\frac{3}{10}$d., and the χαλκοῦς-λεπτόν, chalkous-lepton $\frac{3}{40}$d. It is probably the lower values that we must assign to the words ἀσσάριον (assarion) and λεπτόν (lepton) wherever they are used in the NT, since there is nothing to show that they are not used in a popular sense.

If it is desirable not to use the actual Greek names, practical purposes are best served by the use of 'penny' for assarion, 'farthing' for kodrantes, and 'mite' for lepton.

The identification of these minor denominations with extant pieces is hampered by two facts; very few ancient coins bear their names; and bronze and copper, being token currency, were not issued according to accurate weight-standards. Size, in fact, rather than weight, seems to have been the distinctive mark of denomination. Among Jewish coins we have pieces of Herod I. which bear the letter X (Madden, p. 111), and of Agrippa II. with the inscription ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ (*ib.* p. 146; the same legend occurs on other small coins issued perhaps from Antioch). The coin of Herod is probably



Coin issued (by Pontius Pilate) in 29-30 A.D.

like the latter, the χαλκοῦς-λεπτόν, *chalkous-lepton*. Of coins actually issued during the time of Christ, the small pieces of the Procurators (from $\frac{7}{16}$ to $\frac{6}{16}$ of an inch in diameter, and weighing from 40 to 23 grs. troy), may be regarded as of the same denomination, since they most nearly approach the two coins of Herod I. and Agrippa II.

As an instance, we give the accompanying coin, which was issued in the 16th year (LIS) of the Emperor Tiberius (ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹ), and therefore by Pontius Pilate in the year 29-30 A.D. The types are a sacrificial ladle (simpulum) and three ears

of corn bound together; on the reverse is the name of Julia (Livia), mother of the Emperor—ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹ.

5. Assaria.

The assaria may have been coins like the larger pieces of Herod I. (Madden, 107; two specimens in the British Museum weigh 107.9 and 97 grs. respectively). More probably, however, these were pieces of three χαλκοί, chalkoi (Madden, 108), and the commonest assaria were coins of the Syrian Antioch. In addition to its coins with Greek inscriptions meant chiefly for local use, this mint issued a series with Latin inscriptions, and with the letters S.C. (*i.e.*, *Senatus consulto*). These coins, resembling the issues of the Roman mint, were meant for more than local circulation. Under Augustus and Tiberius we find two denominations; the larger weigh from over 300 to 225 grs., and measure $1\frac{1}{5}$ to $1\frac{1}{10}$ inch; the smaller, from 150 to 114 grs., measure 1 to $\frac{9}{10}$ inch. The two denominations are generally supposed to be the *sestertius* and the *as*. In the smaller, therefore, we probably see the ***assarion*** of the NT.



Assarion of the year 31 A.D.

The assarion here illustrated was struck in the year 31 A.D. On the obverse, it bears a laureate head of the emperor with the titles TI(berius) CAESAR AVG(ustus) TR(ibunicià) POT(estate) XXXIII; on the reverse the letters S · C within a wreath.

Literature.—See especially F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881); A. R. S. Kennedy's art. 'Money' in Hastings' *DB* 3 (1900), 417 *ff.* G. F. H.

PENTATEUCH. See HEXATEUCH.

PENTECOST. In J and E[1] (Ex. 34 18-26, cp 23 10-17) the feast of weeks is the second of the three festivals to be celebrated by the attendance of all males at the sanctuary. The expressions in the two forms of the law are not quite the same.

1. In J and E.

Ex. 34 22 runs 'thou shalt observe the feast of weeks (חַג שָׁבֻעֹת), [the feast] of the first-fruits of the wheat-harvest (בִּכּוּרֵי קְצִיר חִטִּים)'; Ex. 23 16, on the other hand, has 'the feast of harvest, the first-fruits of thy labours which thou sowest in the field (חַג הַקָּצִיר בִּכּוּרֵי מַעֲשֶׂיךָ).'

Substantially, both come to the same thing; Ex. 34 22 is merely expressed more precisely. It is not the feast of corn-harvest as a whole that is spoken of, but the festival at its conclusion, the wheat-harvest being the last to be reaped.

The time of celebration is thus clearly and distinctly fixed for the end of harvest. The first-fruits of the new harvest (בכרי מעשיך) are now presented—more precisely, the first-fruits of the wheat-harvest, for the first-fruits of the barley-harvest are presented at the beginning of harvest, at the feast of unleavened bread. A more exact, yet equally relative determination of the date seems to lie in the plainly ancient name Šābūʿōth; at least it is so taken in Dt. 16 9, where the feast of weeks is brought into a close time connection with the feast at the beginning of harvest. The duration of the corn-harvest (it is only the corn-harvest that is to be taken into account) is computed at seven weeks—an estimate which still answers fairly well to the climatic conditions of Palestine. These seven weeks of the harvest are the great annual season of gladness, the weeks of joy, *the* weeks κατ' ἐξοχήν. The 'joy of harvest' is proverbial among the ancient Hebrews (cp Is. 9 3 [2]); the period opens and closes with the two feasts we have named.

[1] The question of the literary relationship of the two passages is discussed elsewhere (PASSOVER, § 1; cp EXODUS ii., §§ 3, 4), but may be disregarded here, the answer to it having no bearing on the history of the development of the Pentecost feast.

The old law contains no further detailed enactment of any kind regarding this feast, the manner of its celebration, the sacrifices to be offered, or the like. Indeed, this is no case where definite offerings and legally fixed dues are to be rendered; it is a question of voluntary presentation of first-fruits, as it still stands enacted in Dt. (16 10): 'Thou shalt keep the feast of weeks unto Yahwè thy God with a tribute of a freewill offering of thine hand which thou shalt give according as Yahwè thy God hath blessed thee.'

The meaning of the gifts and of the feast as a whole is easily recognised when we hear in Hosea (9 4), that in exile the people shall have nought to eat but mourners' bread, since none of it shall have come up into the house of Yahwè. By this gift made to God, a gift which in turn is consumed by men in the joyous sacrificial meal, the whole is made holy (see TAXATION). That at the same time the gift has the character of a thank-offering is also manifest. The next step is easy: such an offering came to be regarded as a tribute of homage in which the deity is recognised as the 'lord,' the Baal of the land, and the bestower of the gifts of the soil. At how early a date this last conception came to be the leading and normative one we do not know. It finds explicit expression first in the passage of Dt. already quoted, where the offering to be offered at the feast is determined by the wealth of the offerer, in other words by the produce of his fields.

2. In D.

The law of Dt., as already seen, adds nothing to the ancient custom; all that it does is to lay greater stress on the character of the offering as a divine tribute which may be rightly claimed by the deity as due to him out of that which he has bestowed on his human vassal. This appears also in the precept of Dt. 26 1 *f.* (see below). In spite of the general tendency of Dt. to assign a historical origin to the feasts, we do not find in it in the present case any such definite reference to the Exodus as is found in that of the passover (see PASSOVER, § 6). Even here it is only in a quite general way that reference is made to the exodus when in Dt. 26 1 there is prescribed a sort of confession to be made at the bringing of the first-fruits (= tithes; see TAXATIONS), in which amongst other things the offering of the produce of the land is represented as a thanksgiving for the bestowal of the land. After the offering of the first-fruits at the autumn festival (see TABERNACLES, FEAST OF) had come to be so regarded, only a very short step was needed in order to bring the offering of the first-fruits at the harvest festival into connection with the same thought.

More important, however, than the points just mentioned are the changes which, though not indeed intended and enjoined by Dt., inevitably arose in the case of this feast as a consequence of the concentration of the worship at a central sanctuary; the fixing of a definite day in the calendar, and the transformation of the celebration from being a popular festival to being an act of public worship. On these points see, further, FEASTS, § 10.

3. In H and in Ezek.

The third stage in the development of the three feasts is marked by H in Lev. 23 15-21. Here again we find the date of the feast of weeks still left vague, just as it is in Dt. On the other hand, the amount and kind of the festal offering is more precisely determined in the law of H than before. It is no longer left to the discretion of the individual to bring as he chooses according to the yield of his land—this tribute of first-fruits has already become a fixed tithe to be paid at the sanctuary (see TAXATION)—but it is now laid upon the entire community[1] to bring a definite first-fruit offering; two first-fruit loaves (לֶחֶם הַבִּכּוּרִים) of new meal, of two tenths of an

[1] 'Out of your dwellings' (מִמּוֹשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם) in Lev. 23 17 does not mean, as has been supposed (so Graf and others), 'out of each several house,' so that every householder or owner of land would have had the duty of bringing this offering; it means 'out of your land'—*i.e.*, of home-grown flour (see Dillm. *ad loc.*).

PENTECOST

ephah, baked with leaven. With the loaves is performed the ceremony of waving, whence the loaves are called 'wave loaves.' They were to be leavened, for they were to be taken from what was in common daily use. In this we may safely conjecture a survival from ancient custom: at the beginning of harvest in the feast of unleavened bread the grain was offered raw, or roasted, or in the form of quickly-baked unleavened cakes (see PASSOVER); at the end of the harvest what was offered was fully prepared bread. It must not be taken as an argument against the antiquity of this religious custom that it is not mentioned in D or JE; JE has no ritual prescriptions at all as to the bringing of these offerings, and D has them only in the case of the passover, not in that of the harvest festival or of the autumn (ingathering) festival with its peculiar customs. For the pentecost offering H (Lev. 23 19) further orders two yearling lambs[1] as a sacrifice of peace offerings. The bread and the flesh, after having been presented to Yahwè, fall to the lot of the priests.

In the programme of Ezekiel, singularly enough, the pentecostal offering finds no mention; in 45 21, it has been introduced by a later hand and is absent from 𝔊.

The omission is perhaps connected with the fact that Ezekiel divides the entire ecclesiastical year into two portions, with two parallel series of feasts; thus no suitable place is left for pentecost. In any case, however, this proves that Ezekiel does not regard the feast of pentecost as of particular interest; and from this we can infer further that in his time it was the least important of the great yearly festivals.

4. In P.

In P (Nu. 28 26 *f.*) pentecost still continues to be a purely harvest feast. In agreement with the name 'feast of the first-fruits' is the specific ritual prescription, the bringing of a meal offering of new meal. To this characteristic pentecostal offering P adds, besides the stated daily offering, an accumulated series of animal sacrifices, just as in the case of the passover: two young bullocks, one ram, seven he-lambs of the first year as a burnt offering, besides a meal offering of three tenth-parts mingled with oil for each bullock, two tenth-parts for the ram and one tenth-part for each lamb. Lastly, there is a sin-offering, consisting of one he-goat. The fixing of a definite date is in the case of pentecost the natural consequence of the passover being fixed for 15th-21st Nisan. In P also we observe that a less value is attached to this feast than to the others: it is held only for one day, whilst the passover and tabernacle feasts are spread over a longer time. This valuation is also reflected in the fact that no significance as commemorating any event in the redemptive history of the nation is assigned to the festival.

5. In later Judaism.

Later Judaism made up for what was lacking in the law in this respect, and gave the feast the historical interpretation which it had hitherto lacked.

It was assumed, in accordance with Ex. 19 1, where the giving of the law is dated on the third month after the Exodus, that the promulgation of the law on Sinai was on the sixth or seventh of Siwan, the day of the feast of pentecost (*Pĕsăch.* 68 *b*; cp *Jubil.* 1 1 6 1 17 14 1 15 1 where God's covenants with Moses, Noah, Abraham, are made at new moon, or, as the case may be, on the sixteenth day of the third month). It is certain, however, that this metamorphosis of the feast of the corn harvest into the feast of the law-giving was late, probably not earlier than the destruction of the temple when the system of sacrifices and offerings came to an end. Even in Josephus and Philo we still find no trace of it. In Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 10 6, § 252) the feast is called Asartha (ασαρθα = Heb. עֲצֶרֶת, Aram. עֲצַרְתָּא); so also in the Talmud (*Pĕsăch.* 42 *b* and often). This expression will be intended to characterise the feast either as the 'conclusion' of the great feast of unleavened bread, or as the closing harvest festival. In the more precise dating of the feast the second day of the feast of unleavened bread was taken as the starting point for which the fifty days were reckoned and the 'sabbath' of Lev. 23 15 was taken to mean the first day of that feast.

We have dealt so far with the development of the feast as shown in the various stages of the written legislation.

6. Probable origin.

Unfortunately, in the case of the feast of pentecost we are not in a position to show from the historical books at what period it began to be celebrated, or what part it played in the religious life of the Israelites, although many passages allude in quite general terms to various feasts. It is not till the period of later Judaism is reached that we are expressly informed of its regular celebration. The narrative in Acts shows a multitude of worshippers from foreign parts as attending the festival in Jerusalem (Acts 2; cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 3 1, *Ant.* xiv. 13 4 xvii. 15 2). The silence of the older literature of course proves nothing against the observance of the feast in earlier times as attested by Josephus. As bearing on the question of the antiquity of the festival, however, the following circumstance is not without interest. So far as the great spring festival at the beginning of harvest is concerned, we hear that even the pre-Mosaic period knew something of the kind (see PASSOVER); of the autumn feast we are told that even the Canaanites had observed a closely allied festival and this festival had already become almost fully naturalised in Israel at the time of the division of the monarchy, as we see from 1 K. 12 32 (see TABERNACLES, FEAST OF). Pentecost, on the other hand, is not only relegated to a very subordinate part in P and passed over in complete silence by Ezekiel, but is also left unmentioned as existing in the older time. It would be too much to infer from this single circumstance that the feast was of late origin; and even from the difference of name in J and E (see above, § 1) it is by no means safe to conclude that it did not arise till after the revolt of the ten tribes (so Steuernagel on Dt. 16 1). Even on the assumption that E belonged to the northern kingdom and J to the southern (though this is by no means certain), all that could with certainty be inferred, would be a diversity of local designation, which there may very well have been, even in the case of an ancient feast.

There are other considerations, however, which, taken in conjunction with what has been already adduced, suggest the secondary character of pentecost. Under FEASTS (*q.v.*) the general thesis has already been propounded that all three feasts of harvest and ingathering were of Canaanite origin. This applies to pentecost in particular, in so far as it at least presupposes settlement in the country, and if it is of equal antiquity with the feast of the ingathering it will in all probability have had its origin also in the Canaanite worship. If, however, we closely scrutinise the significance of the feast we shall find that, coming between passover and tabernacles, it is, strictly, a superfluity. For this reason Ezekiel is able quietly to set it aside. If the purpose of the feast is to consecrate the harvest by offering the first-fruits to God, that has already been done at the passover feast, and very fittingly, at the beginning of harvest. If the chief stress is to be laid on its character as a harvest thanksgiving, then again it seems somewhat superfluous alongside of the great feast of the ingathering which was held at the close of the entire year's husbandry; there was no real occasion for a special feast of thanksgiving or consecration for each separate kind of produce. Strict symmetry is somewhat broken if a feast is held at the beginning and at the end of the corn harvest whilst there is only one to celebrate the ingathering of the fruits of vineyard and orchard. Thus arises the conjecture that perhaps the opening and closing feasts connected with the corn harvest were not, originally, essentially distinct feasts celebrated invariably and everywhere as separate; that it was one and the same feast celebrated at different times, according to the nature of the case, in different parts of the country. The difference between the times at which harvest begins is in Palestine very considerable; between the climate of the Jordan valley and that of Jerusalem and the colder

[1] In *vv.* 18 19 various other offerings are also enjoined as in Nu. 28 27 *f.* These, however, do not belong to the original text. See Dillm. *ad loc.*

districts of the 'hill country' it amounts to some three or four weeks. The beginning of the harvest at Jerusalem and the close of the harvest in the Jordan valley approximately coincide. In this way it becomes easy to see how, out of a single harvest festival, when celebrated at such different times, there should ultimately have arisen, as the separate districts of the country were brought into closer relations and religious customs tended more and more to be assimilated, a double feast, or to speak more accurately, a double celebration of the same festival idea. The connection of the passover with the feast of unleavened bread—a connection whereby the latter was thrust into the background by the passover feast—could not but favour the rise of an independent harvest festival.

7. Literature. See the relative sections in the Archæologies of Saalschütz, De Wette, Ewald, Keil, De Visser, Benzinger, Nowack; Orelli's art. 'Pfingsten' in *PRE*(2), vol. xi.; also the literature cited under FEASTS and PASSOVER. I. B.

PENUEL or **PENIEL** (פְּנוּאֵל, פְּנִיאֵל [Gen. 32 30[31] 31[32]]; Egypticised as Penu'aru [WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 168]; φανογηλ [BℵAL], but in Gen. ειδος τογ θεογ).

1. A place mentioned in connection with Jacob's wrestling with a divine being (Gen. 32 31[32], cp 33 10), and with the story of Gideon (Judg. 8 8*f.*, 17); fortified, it is said, by Jeroboam (1 K. 12 25). In Phœnicia the name Θεοῦ πρόσωπον was given to a promontory near Tripolis (Strabo, xvi. 2 15*f.*), perhaps because in profile it suggested a huge face. The god referred to in Penuel, 'face of God,' would be the God, originally hostile to the Jacob-tribe, who was worshipped at the sanctuary of the city (?) of Penuel. Where was this city situated? From the story in Genesis, as it stands, no sure conclusion can be reached, since it is uncertain (1) on which side of the JABBOK (*q.v.*) J's narrative means us to place Penuel, and (2) whether originally the story of Jacob at Penuel may not have been quite unconnected with the crossing of the Jabbok (or Yarmuk?). Conder thinks of the summit of the Jebel Ōsha' in S. Gilead; Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, 370) of the Tulūl eḏ-Dahab ('Hills of Gold'), between which the Jabbok forces its way into the Jordan. It was at any rate on a hill (Judg. 8 8), and it was near Succoth (if the received reading is correct), as both the Gideon-story and the Jacob-story agree. If the present writer's view of the true form of the name now read 'Succoth' be accepted, Penuel will be the Hebrew name of the 'tower,' or castle, of Salḥad (the true reading, not only for JEGAR-SAHADUTHA in Gen. 31 47, but also for 'Succoth' in Gen. 33 17*a*, Judg. 8 5 *ff.*). See SUCCOTH, and cp WRESTLING.

The reference to 'Penuel' in 1 K. 12 25 is due to corruption of the text. פנואל should probably be בני ישראל, 'the Israelites.'

2. Penuel appears twice as a personal name: (*a*) in the genealogy of Judah, 1 Ch. 4 4, cp *v.* 18 JERED; (*b*) in that of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. β) in 1 Ch. 8 25 (פניאל [Kt.]; φελιηλ [B]). T. K. C.

PEOPLE (עַם), Gen. 11 6. See GENTILES.

PEOR (הַפְּעוֹר, 'the Peor,' as if 'the cleft'; or, if the name is correct, cp פָּארָן, PARAN; φογωρ[1]).

1. A mountain 'that looketh toward Jeshimon' (AV), or 'that looketh down upon the desert' (RV), *i.e.*, NE of the Dead Sea (Nu. 23 28); cp 'Baal (of) Peor.' It was on 'the top of the Peor' that Balaam is said to have delivered his third oracle, and though a Mt. Peor is mentioned nowhere else, it is conceivable that a mountain not far from Beth-peor might have borne this name; Eusebius (233 79; 300 2) at any rate asserts this. It is, however, as Bennett (Hastings, *DB*, 3 743*a*) truly says, 'not certainly identified.' Conder's eloquent description of the prospect from his 'cliff of Peor'—*i.e.*, the narrow spur which runs out to Minyeh, overlooking the Dead Sea (*Heth and Moab*(3), 146*f.*)—may indeed make one wish to adopt his view of the scene of Balaam's prophecy; but, even if we accept the text as it stands, there are reasons against it, as well as against rival theories. Cp BETH-PEOR; Driver, *Dt.* 62, Buhl, *Pal.* 123. Wellhausen (*CH* 113) and Ed. Meyer (*ZAT* 1 129) assume the identity of 'Peor' and 'Pisgah,' which may be practically right, but raises a serious critical problem. Recognising this, B. W. Bacon (*Trip. Trad.* 229) supposes 'the Peor' in Nu., *l.c.*, to have been substituted by R_{JE} for 'the Pisgah' (cp Nu. 21 20). The problem of 'Peor,' however, cannot be treated alone; the set of names to which it belongs needs critical examination. 'Peor,' wherever it occurs, may be corrupt. See NEBO, § 2.

2. A late abbreviation of BAAL-PEOR (*q.v.*), Nu. 25 18 31 16 Josh. 22 17 (cp Dillm.).

3. See PAU.

4. A Judahite town, mentioned only by 𝔊BAL in Josh. 15 59*a* (φαγωρ) and by Eusebius (*OS* 300, 4 φογωρ), identified with the mod. *Kh. Fāghūr*, SW. from Bethlehem on the way to Hebron. T. K. C.

[1] There is mention of a φογωρ in Tobit 1 2 [ℵ].

PERAZIM, MOUNT (הַר־פְּרָצִים; for 𝔊 see BAAL-PERAZIM), Is. 28 21†, commonly identified with Baal-perazim.

In *Crit. Bib.*, however, Cheyne reads for הַר פְּרָצִים, עִיר פָּרִצִים, '(against) the city of liars,' ‖ עַם בֹּגְדִים. (On פריץ see Cheyne, *Ps.*(2), on Ps. 17 4*b*.)

PERESH (פֶּרֶשׁ; B om. φαρες [AL]; *Phares*) a Machirite name; 1 Ch. 7 16†. Peresh has a brother called Sheresh, and yet the text continues 'his sons were Ulam and Rekem.' 'Sheresh' is possibly a corrupt variant of 'Peresh' (Che.). Cp MANASSEH, § 9, ii.

PEREZ (פֶּרֶץ, apparently 'a breach,' but see below; φαρες), son of Judah by Tamar (Gen. 38 29 [J], 46 12 [P], Ruth 4 12 18, where AV PHAREZ; Mt. 1 3 AV PHARES). In Neh. 11 4 (σερες [B], cp Peresh and Sheresh in last article) the 'children of Perez,' are the Perez clan, called in Num. 26 20 [P] the PHARZITE, RV **Perezite** (הַפַּרְצִי [gentilic], ὁ φαρεσ[ι] [L]). Probably a place-name as well as a clan-name; see 2 S. 5 20, where, 'perazim' in BAAL-PERAZIM is popularly explained by 'perez-maim' (an outburst of water). In 2 S. 5 23*f.*, it has been maintained elsewhere (see MULBERRY), we should probably restore a place-name Perez-jerahme'elim (see below), and the same place-name meets us in 2 S. 6 8 as PEREZ-UZZAH. The special mention of 'the house of Perez' in Ruth 4 12 and the appending of the 'generations of Perez' in Ruth 4 18-22 (cp RUTH, BOOK OF) are completely accounted for by the theory that there is an older story underlying the narrative of Ruth, in which certain members of a Jerahmeelite family were made to take a journey to Miṣṣur (not Moab). Zarephath of Miṣṣur was a natural refuge for a Jerahmeelite family. Bethlehem (a corruption of Beth-jerahmeel?) had a Jerahmeelite or Calebite connection (1 Ch. 2 19 24 50 *f.*), and the post-exilic genealogical theorists regarded Hezron b. Perez as the father of Jerahmeel and Caleb (1 Ch. 2 9). See RUTH.

As to the origin of the name: the origins suggested in Gen. 38 29 and 2 S. 5 20, to which we may add 2 S. 6 7 (on the theory that the Zarephathites and not the Philistines were the captors of the ark) are popular fancies. 'Perez,' we may reasonably conjecture, is a mutilation and corruption of Zarephath, just as TAMAR (*q.v.*) is perhaps a corruption of Jerahme'elith. It is very significant that in Neh. 11 4 Shephatiah, who in Ezra 8 8 is closely related to Michael—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel (see MICHAEL, 10)—appears as son of MAHALALEEL (*q v.*) which is another popular or literary distortion of Jerahmeel, and that Mahalaleel is called a son of Perez. 'Perez Jerahmeelim' is therefore fully justified. Cp SHEPHATIAH, 9. T. K. C.

PEREZ-UZZAH (2 S. 6 8, or **Perez-uzza** 1 Ch. 13 11; διακοπη [BℵAL] οζα [or αζζα]), as if 'Breach of Uzzah.' The name of the place where Uzzah (*q.v.*) died, on the way from Kirjath-jearim to the 'city of David.' Probably, however, the name was rather different in the ancient story on which 2 S. 6 1-13 is based. The name which seems to be required is Ṣārefath (צרפת), out of which Pereṣ (פרץ) may easily have arisen; 'Uzzah' has perhaps come from *'azzah* (עַזָּה), which was appended to

Ṣarefath, as *rabbah* ('great') was appended to Ṣidon (Josh. 11 8 19 28). 'Perez-uzzah' thus became 'Strong (city) Zarephath.' See ZAREPHATH.

Winckler's view (*GI* 2 199) may be compared; see also H. P. Smith's Commentary. T. K. C.

PERFUME (רֹקַח, *rôḳaḥ*; ΜΥΡΟΝ ΜΥΡΕΨΙΚΟΝ, ΜΥΡΕΨΙΚΟΝ, *unguentum*, Ex. 30 25 35†; or רִקֻּחִים, *riḳḳūḥīm*, ΤΟΥΣ ΜΑΚΡΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΣΟΥ [BℵAQ], ΤΑ ΜΥΡΕΨΙΑ ΣΟΥ [Symm. in Q^mg.; so Aq. ΣΥΝΘΕΣΕΙΣ, Theodot. ΜΥΡΕΨΟΥΣ], *pigmenta tua*, Is. 57 9†). The art of manipulating and compounding odoriferous substances for the gratification of the sense of smell, is (needless to say) very ancient and very widely diffused, especially in the East, still the principal source of supply. For their supply of odoriferous materials the ancients, like ourselves, were dependent mainly on the vegetable kingdom—most frequently the odoriferous gum-resins or balsams which exude naturally or from wounds in the trunks of various trees and shrubs, but sometimes the wood, bark, or leaves themselves, rarely the flowers or seeds. There is no evidence of the Israelites having been acquainted with the use in perfumery of the animal products which elsewhere have played so great a part, such as Ambergris, Castor, Civet, Musk; perhaps the only animal substance so employed by them was ONYCHA (*q.v.*).

See ALOES, ALMUG, BALM, BALSAM, BDELLIUM, CALAMUS, CANE, CASSIA, CINNAMON, FRANKINCENSE, GALBANUM, LADANUM, MYRRH, SAFFRON, SPICE, SPIKENARD, STACTE, STORAX. The list supplies important evidence as to the geographical extent and limits of Hebrew trade and commerce (see TRADE AND COMMERCE).

As for the modes of preparation: some of the most important modern methods—such as those of distillation, infusion, tincture, enfleurage—were wholly unknown. The method of treatment with boiling oil or heated fat so as to produce a precious oil or ointment was, however, familiar; the process is apparently alluded to in Job 41 31 [23]. The pestle and mortar (Prov. 27 22), too, were indispensable for the preparation of the 'powder of the merchant' ['perfumer,' 𝔊] Cant. 3 6.

Perfumes may be applied either as fumigations or as unguents. On the former compare INCENSE.[1] On the latter compare OIL, ANOINTING, PERFUME BOXES.

On the religious symbolism of perfume and its use in divine service and in exorcisms see INCENSE, MAGIC, and SACRIFICE,[2] and on its place in social and festive life compare DRESS, § 4, and MEALS, § 11.

PERFUME BOXES, AV 'tablets' (בָּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ, *bāttē hannépheš*, Vg. *olfactoriola*), Is. 3 20†. A bag of myrrh was sometimes suspended from the neck (Cant. 1 13). But there is no other passage in which נֶפֶשׁ, *népheš* can be proved to mean 'perfume'; the supposed reference to 'scented words' in Prov. 27 9 (עֲצַת־נָפֶשׁ) is extremely doubtful. Hence Haupt (on Is. 3 20 in *SBOT*, Heb.) would connect this נפש with Ass. *pašâšu*, 'to anoint oneself' (cp *napšaštu*, Del. HWB, 551). 'Boxes of unguents' may perhaps be meant. W. R. Smith thought that 'some kind of amulet' was intended.

PERFUMERS. RV's substitute for AV's APOTHECARIES (*q.v.*).

By one of the curiosities of textual corruption the 'Jerahmeelites' (who stepped into fresh prominence after the exile) have become in the text of Neh. 3 8 הָרַקָּחִים, 'the perfumers'; by a similar corruption in *v.* 32, they have become הָרֹכְלִים, 'the merchants' (Che.). Cp SPICE MERCHANTS.

PERGA (ΠΕΡΓΗ, Acts 13 13 *f.*, 14 25; *PERGA*).[3] Perga lay, according to Strabo (667), on the river Cestrus, 60 stades, or 7½ m., from its mouth, the river being navigable as far as the town. As a matter of fact, the ruins of Perga at *Murtana*, about 12 m. NE. of Adalia (Attalia), are about 5 m. W. of the *Ak-Su* (Cestrus), but about the distance inland indicated by Strabo (hence Ptol. v. 5 7 reckons Perga among the inland towns—*μεσόγειοι*). The acropolis of the city was one of the heights on the fringe of the plateau between the Cestrus and the Catarrhactes: the town, in Strabo's time, and in the time of Paul, lay on the plain to the south of the hill.

On the hill itself stood the great temple of Artemis (Strabo, 667; *ἐπὶ μετεώρου τόπου τὸ τῆς Περγαίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν*): six fragmentary granite columns on a platform to the SE. of the hill have been considered to belong to the Artemisium; but this opinion is rejected on grounds of style by Petersen, in Lanckoronski (*Städte Pamph.* 1 36).

The greatness of the city was closely connected with the worship of Artemis (cp coins). Though called Artemis by the Greeks, this deity was similar to the Artemis of Ephesus (see DIANA), and the same as the Cybele of northern and eastern Phrygia. On coins she is sometimes Vanassa Preiia (written in the Pamphylian alphabet), 'the Pergæan Queen' (according to interpretation given by Ramsay in *J. Hell. Stud.*, 1880, p. 246, now commonly accepted), sometimes Artemis of Perga (*Ἀρτέμιδος Περγαίας*: see coin figured by Conybeare and Howson, 1 194). The type is either that of the Greek huntress Artemis,[1] with sphinx or stag by her side, and armed with the bow, or a native type representing the cultus-image, a stone column bearing a rude resemblance to a human figure (see PAPHOS, § 2). It is to this same deity that the name Leto belongs (cp inscr. published by Rams. in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, 1883, p. 263: *ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Λητοῦς τῆς Περγαίων πόλεως*; and see Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 1 90 *f.*). An annual festival was held in her honour (Strabo, *l.c.*). It is clear from this that Perga would be a centre of native feeling, in opposition to the Hellenic city of Attaleia, a later foundation. Hence the preaching of Paul and Barnabas made apparently no impression during their short stay; and the town was not sufficiently important to call for long-continued effort (contrast the case of Ephesus). For the probable route of Paul northwards, see PISIDIA.

Perga and SIDE (*q.v.*) seem to have been rivals in dignity, and both on their coins claim the title metropolis, and in ecclesiastical administration (but apparently not in civil) Pamphylia was divided between the two cities, Perga being the metropolis of the western part; when this division of the bishoprics between the two metropolitans was made, is not known. During the Byzantine period, Perga gradually fell into decay, and Attaleia took its place as the seat of the metropolitan and the chief city of Pamphylia. (For the history of Christian organisation in Pamphylia, see Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 415 *ff.*, and papers by Gelzer in *JPT* xii.). W. J. W.

PERGAMOS (ΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΝ, Rev. 1 11; ΕΝ Περγάμῳ, Rev. 2 12, thus leaving the nom. uncertain. AV *Pergamos* = ἡ Πέργαμος [Lat. *Pergamus*], found in Paus. v. 13 3, *ἐν τῇ Περγάμῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Καΐκου*; *id.* vii. 16 1, viii. 4 9, etc., and in other authors. RV *Pergamum* = τὸ Πέργαμον [Lat. *Pergamum*], the usual form in inscriptions and authors [so always in Strabo and Polybius]).

A Mysian city, about 15 m. from the sea, commanding the valley of the Caicus (*Bakir Chai*), from which river it was distant about 4 m. to the N. This district was the richest land in Mysia (Strabo, 624). The earliest settlement occupied the conical hill, 1000 feet high, which rises between the Selinus on the W. and the Cetius on the E., both flowing southwards into the Caicus. The later Hellenic and Roman city spread over the ground at the foot of the hill, south-westwards beyond the Selinus. The modern town of *Bergama* covers part of the site of the lower town. The hill was the Acropolis of the later city.

1. History.

The town was of little importance until after the

[1] The קְטֹרֶת of Ex. 30 35, 'perfume' in AV, is in RV rightly translated INCENSE. So also Ecclus. 49 1; RV 'incense prepared by the work of the apothecary,' Heb. 'salted, the work, etc.,' קטרת סמים הממלח מעשה רוקח.

[2] See Tobit 8 3 Ecclus. 38 4 8 and reff. in *Rel. Sem.* 453, and on the אַזְכָּרָה (cp FRANKINCENSE) see INCENSE, § 4 (1), SACRIFICE.

[3] But *Perge* in Plin. *HN* 5 26, *Perga*, Pomp. Mela, 1 14.

[1] Sometimes this type shows the variation of a long tunic, in place of the ordinary short tunic appropriate to the huntress goddess.

death of Alexander the Great. On its strong hill King Lysimachus deposited 9000 talents of his treasure, and this was appropriated by its guardian, Philetærus of Tion in Pontus to found the independent kingdom of the Attalids (Strabo, 623 *f.*). With the support of Seleucus, the King of Syria, Philetærus consolidated his power (284-263 B.C.) and bequeathed it to his nephew Eumenes I. (263-241 B.C.). The glory of Pergamos began with the reign of Attalus I., another nephew of Philetærus (241-197 B.C.). The prestige of the Pergamene kings was gained by their championship of Hellenic civilisation against the Gauls or Galatians, who for long terrorised western Asia (see GALATIA, § 1). After defeating the Gauls near the sources of the Caicus (cp Paus. i. 8 2), Attalus took the title of king. His success inspired Pergamene art.[1] Other victories added to the dominions of Attalus a large part of western Asia Minor, as far as Pamphylia (Pol. 18 41); and he enlarged his capital so that it became the fairest city in the East. Then the Seleucid power increased, and the Pergamene kingdom was reduced to its original narrow limits; but having sided with Rome in the struggle with the Seleucid monarchy Attalus gradually reconquered his lost possessions, and by the peace of 189 B.C. received from Rome all within the Taurus. Under his son, Eumenes II. (197-159 B.C.), Pergamos reached the zenith of her splendour. He carried on the artistic and scientific schemes of his father. He it was who built the great Altar of Zeus, and beautified the temple and grove of Athena Nicephorus below the Acropolis (cp Strabo, 624, Pol. 16 1). He also enlarged the library founded by Attalus, which rivalled ultimately that of Alexandria, and contained 200,000 books (Strabo, 609). Attalus II., his brother (159-138 B.C.), founded Attalia and PHILADELPHIA (*q.v.*). Attalus III., the last king (138-133 B.C.), who inherited little of the capacity of his ancestors, left a will[2] stipulating that Pergamos and other cities should be free, whilst the rest of his kingdom was bequeathed to the Romans. One Aristonicus, who claimed to have the blood of the Attalids in his veins, made an abortive attempt to seize the kingdom.

Pergamos continued to be the capital of the Roman province[3] (from 129 B.C.), even as it had been the capital of the Attalid monarchy—a position which had its justification in history, and was recognised for at least the next two hundred years. There is, however, nowhere any express statement to this effect.[4]

The three cities, Smyrna, Pergamos, and Ephesus were in fact rivals for the honour of being capital of the Province (each called itself πρώτη Ἀσίας), and in this struggle Pergamos had nothing but her history to set against the steadily growing commercial supremacy of her rivals; and in the end the rivals won. Ephesus, lying on the main route of eastern trade, asserted her superiority over both Smyrna and Pergamos.[5] Probably the practical fact of the supremacy of Ephesus was recognised popularly long before it became the official view, and the change came about gradually and without any official imperial enactment. The order of enumeration in Rev. 1 11, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, etc., is true to the facts of the time, and the two commercial cities stand at the head of the list.

That for the first two centuries of the Roman occupation of Asia Pergamos was in the official view the chief

[1] Plin. *HN* 34 84; Paus. i. 25 2. See Harrison, *Myth. and Mon. of Anc. Athens*, 474 *f.*; Gardner, *Hist. of Gk. Sculpture*, 452 *f.*

[2] Suspicion has sometimes been cast upon the genuineness of the will; but an inscription has vindicated the honour of Rome (see Fränkel, *Inschriften von Perg.* i., no. 249).

[3] Phrygia Magna had been separated from the rest of the Pergamos realm; it was given to Mithridates of Pontus until 120 B.C., when he died. It was not definitely attached to the Province of Asia until Sulla's time, 84 B.C.

[4] For the expression of Pliny, *HN* 5 30, *longe clarissimum Asiæ*, is simply on a level with that of Strabo, 623, ἐπιφανὴς πόλις, both primarily referring to the place of the city in history and art. Strabo's remark, *l.c.*, ἔχει δέ τινα ἡγεμονίαν πρὸς τοὺς τόπους τούτους τὸ Πέργαμον, shows how little we have to do with any definite officially-fixed status.

[5] The long struggle for supremacy has continued, and Ephesus has had to yield the palm to Smyrna, which is now the greatest city in Asia Minor (see Murray, *Handbook to AM*, 70 *f.*, and cp SMYRNA).

city of the province, is to be gathered indirectly from the fact that, as early as 29 B.C., the city possessed a temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus by the Provincial Synod (Κοινὸν Ἀσίας) as its place of meeting (Tac. *Ann.* 4 37). Ephesus was not then recognised as a leading city. Pergamos thus gained the honour of the Neokorate before either Smyrna (temple erected to Tiberius, 26 A.D., Tac. *Ann.* 4 56) or Ephesus[1] (temple to Claudius, 41-54 A.D. possibly). The second Neokorate (and second temple of the Emperors) in the case of Pergamos dates from the reign of Trajan; in the case of Ephesus only after 127 A.D., in the reign of Hadrian (see NEOCOROS). The discussion of this point is necessary as upon a correct appreciation of the position of the city depends the interpretation of the striking phrase of Rev. 2 13, 'thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is' (so AV; better, RV 'where Satan's throne is,' ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ).

2. Reference in Rev. 2 13.

Various interpretations have been proposed.

(*a*) In view of the special prominence at Pergamos of the worship of four of the greatest deities[2] of the pagan religion—Zeus, Athena, Dionysus, and Asclepius—some have referred the phrase thereto. Zeus Soter (the Saviour), Athena Nicephorus (Bringer of Victory) were honoured as having given victory over the Galatai. Athena's greatest temple as Warden of the City (Polias) occupied nearly the highest point of the Acropolis. This view must be rejected on the ground that Pergamos in no wise stood in the position of champion of pagan ritual against Christianity. Moreover, in Asia Minor the most formidable rival of the new religion was not the religion of Greece, but the development of that primitive Oriental nature-worship which presented itself with overpowering might in the cult of the so-called Aphrodite of Paphos and Diana of Ephesus.

If any city and worship merited the figure in the Apocalypse, it was Ephesus with her goddess Diana; more especially as perhaps already at the time of the composition of the Apocalypse there had occurred a pagan revival at Ephesus (this revival took place as early as 104 A.D. See Hicks, *Inscr. of Brit. Mus.* 3 67-87, and cp Rams. *Ch. in Rom. Emp.* 143).

(*b*) More specifically, some have seen in the phrase a reference to the great Altar of Zeus on the terrace below the temple of Athena Polias.

The sacrificial altar proper consisted, like that at Olympia, of the ashes of the sacrifices (Paus. v. 13 8), but rose in this case from the centre of a platform about 90 feet square and 20 feet high, with a flight of steps cut into it on the western side. This substructure has been recovered, together with the famous frieze of the Gigantomachia which ran round it. This frieze is 'a theatrical work of tremendous energy' (Holm, *Gk. Hist.*, ET, 4 468): in it the whole Hellenic pantheon appeared in conflict with the Giants, many of the latter being represented with a human body ending in serpents' coils (see Mitchell, *Hist. of Gk. Sculpture*, 573 *f.*).

Artists' skill combined with the natural grandeur of its position to make the great altar a fit emblem of the kingdom of Satan as the smoke of the sacrifice rose into the air from the huge platform 800 feet above the city. Still, we must be on our guard against our modern feeling for what is picturesque or grand. Would a dweller in the great cities of Asia, among the treasures of an art which lived only through its connection with religion, feel that the altar at Pergamos was something apart and typical?

(*c*) A third view is that the reference is to the worship of Asclepius, whose temple was, as usual, the centre of a medical school, with the right of asylum (Tac. *Ann.* 3 63; Paus. ii. 26 8). Under the empire this cult was fashionable (cp coins), and Asclepios ultimately became the representative deity of the city. The snake was his special attribute (cp art. 'Asklepios' in Roscher's *Lex.*

[1] The temple dedicated to Augustus some time before 5 B.C. was not one that entitled the city to be called *Neocoros*, because (1) it was a dedication by the city merely, not by the Κοινόν, (2) it stood in the precinct of Artemis, not independently. Cp Hicks, *Inscr. of Brit. Mus.*, no. 522.

[2] Cp the oracle in Fränkel, *Inschr. von Perg.* 2 239, of date about 167 A.D., where all four are mentioned.

der Myth. 1 615 *ff.*, and Pauly-Wiss. *Realenc.* 2 1642 *ff.*; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*), and the snake was to the Christians the symbol of evil (cp Rev. 12 9 20 2 2 Cor. 11 3). His special title was 'Saviour' (Σωτήρ, or Σωτὴρ τῶν ὅλων), which would have very different associations for the Christian. In spite of these striking features, the reference in Rev. can hardly be to this worship.

Laodiceia also had an Asklepieion, and SMYRNA (*q.v.*). The word θρόνος also undoubtedly refers to the Acropolis hill; but the temple of Asclepius lay in the plain, at some little distance from the town (Pol. 32 27, cp Paus. v. 13 3).

(*d*) The reference is to the primacy of the city as a centre of the worship of the emperors; it was the earliest and the chief centre of that worship, which was the outward expression of loyalty to the imperial system. 'Refusal to comply with the established and official worship of the emperors' became the 'regular test and touchstone of persecution' (Rams. *Church in the Rom. Emp.* 250 *f.*), for the imperial cultus was part of the machinery of government, and such refusal constituted treason. The whole history of early Christianity is the story of the passage from legality to absolute proscription. If Rev. 2 13 was written after the accession of Trajan (98 A.D.) the expression 'throne of Satan' becomes specially appropriate. For, towering at the very summit of the Acropolis, there had recently been erected the temple of Trajan, a symbol visible far and wide of that worship which was the declared foe of Christianity. The primacy of Pergamos in the province, and as the seat of the imperial cult, explains the allusion to the martyr Antipas. For Antipas must be taken to typify a long series of 'faithful witnesses' who had defied the power of 'Satan' at the tribunal of the Roman governor, whose duty it was to proceed against the illegal religion. The reference of *v.* 13 may be to the persecution of Domitian (after 95 A.D.). [Cp ROMAN EMPIRE.] The thought of official persecution has suggested the words of *v.* 12, 'he that hath the sharp two-edged sword,' selected from the description in Rev. 1 12 *ff.* (cp *v.* 16). The actuality of the message to Pergamos as compared with the colourlessness of most of the other messages (especially of that to Ephesus) probably throws some light upon the place of composition.

For the history of the Pergamene kingdom see Holm, *Gk. Hist.*, ET, 4 279 *f.*, 464 *f.*, with references there. Good account of history and recent discoveries by Ussing, *Pergamos* (1899). The results of the German excavations are as yet only partially published. W. J. W.

PERIDA (φερειδα [Bℵ]), Neh. 7 57 = Ezra 2 55 PERUDA (*q.v.*).

PERIZZITES, RV PERIZZITE (הַפְּרִזִּי; οι φερεζαιοι [or -ζεοι] [BℵADEFL]; in Ezra 9 1 φερεσθει [B], -ρεζι [A]), one of the pre-Israelitish populations of Palestine (Gen. 15 20 Ex. 3 8 17, etc.; see AMORITES); also PHERESITES[1] (in 1 Esd. 8 69; RV -EZITES, so EV 2 Esd. 1 21 and AV Judith 5 6). The name, however, requires renewed investigation, the prevalent theory being open to serious objection.

1. References. We begin by collecting the biblical notices. According to Judg. 1 4 *f.* the 'Perizzites' were overcome by Judah and Simeon; but Josh. 17 15 (as the text now stands; 𝔊^BA omits the two names) mentions 'the Perizzites and the Rephaim' as occupying a wild un-cleared region (יַעַר), perhaps N. of Shechem, which was to be taken from them and cleared by the b'nē Joseph. According to Josh. 11 3 they dwelt in the hill-country' (like the Amorites, etc.). In Gen. 13 7 34 30 (J) the Canaanites and the Perizzites are mentioned together; also in 2 Esd. 1 21 (*ferezei*), with the addition of the Philistines. In Gen. 10 16 *f.* (R) the Philistines are not mentioned at all (but cp *v.* 14), and the Perizzites too are conspicuous by their absence.

2. Earlier theory. Some of these data have been thought (*e.g.*, by Dillmann and Kautzsch[1]) to favour the theory that the Perizzites were survivors of the pre-Canaanitish population of W. Palestine, which, after the Canaanitish invasion, could maintain itself only in the open country. But to infer from Gen. 10 15, where the Perizzites are not mentioned, that they were pre-Canaanitish, is difficult in the face of Gen. 13 7 34 30 (see, however, Kautzsch). J no doubt believed that the Perizzites (if that be really the name) were a separate people, contemporary with the Canaanites. As to the reference to the 'Perizzites and the Rephaim' in Josh. 17 15, it gives no support to Dillmann's theory, הפרזי and הרפאים being most probably alternative readings (cp REPHAIM).

3. Later theories. Since פְּרָזִי, Dt. 3 5 1 S 6 18 (cp VILLAGE), means the inhabitants of unwalled villages, it is plausible to deny any distinction between פְּרִזִּי and פְּרָזִי, and to suppose that the term 'Perizzite' is really a clan-name equivalent to פְּרָזִי (so Moore, *Judges*, 17). But there are still stronger grounds for thinking that פרזי is really an early corruption of גרזי, GIRZITE.

𝔊 may be quoted for the theory that 'Perizzite' is the name of a clan, for in Dt. and 1 S. it has φερεζαιοι (-ζε. 𝔊^A in Sam.); the other Gk. versions have ἀτείχιστοι, ἀτείχιστος (cp Symm. in Judg. 5 11 Zech. 2 4). It appears to be more probable, however, that the older view that Perizzites is the name of a people is nearer the truth. פרזי may be a corrupt form either of צרפתי, 'Zarephathite' (see PELETHITES), or of גרזי, 'Girzite' (*i.e.*, Geshurite). It is somewhat in favour of 'Zarephathite' that in Josh. 17 15 'Perizzite' and 'Rephaim' are put side by side for the same people, and that פלשתי is almost certainly (like רפאים) a corruption of צרפתים. It is also true, however, that נ and פ are liable to confusion, and in 1 S. 27 8 H. P. Smith proposes to emend גרזי into פרזי (the Perizzites and those dwelling in Gezer are combined in 𝔊 of Josh. 16 10). At any rate, the people referred to cannot be safely described as a remnant of the pre-Canaanitish population of Palestine. T. K. C.

PERSEPOLIS (περσεπολειν [A], περσιπολιν [V], in accus.). The city where, according to 2 Macc. 9 2†, Antiochus Epiphanes attempted to plunder a temple (or temples, ἱεροσυλεῖν); he was put to flight by the people of the country, and broke up his camp with disgrace (shortly before his death). See ELYMAIS, where it is pointed out that the name Elymais in the ∥ passage, 1 Macc. 6 1, is probably corrupt. From 2 Macc. 1 13 it appears that a temple of Nanæa was meant. Now NANÆA (*q.v.*) was an ancient Elamite goddess. It would be not unnatural that out of the statement 'Persepolis is a city renowned for wealth' (Περσέπολίς ἐστι πόλις ἔνδοξος πλούτῳ) should arise the corrupt reading, 'Elym(a)is in Persia is a city renowned for wealth' (ἐστὶν ελυμ(α)ις[2] π. ε. πλ.). But that there was a temple of Nanæa near the ruins of Persepolis in 164-163 B.C. is not probable. For Persepolis was not in Elymais; it was the capital of Persia proper, and had long since been shorn of its splendour by Alexander the Great, who gave up the city to be plundered, and caused the royal palaces (those can hardly have been temples—only fire-altars) to be set on fire. It is, therefore, not as having any direct connection with biblical history (like Susa), but simply as the original home of the Achæmenian dynasty, and as the seat of the sepulchres of its kings, that Persepolis with its still magnificent ruins interests us.

See Nöldeke, art. 'Persepolis,' *EB*(9); Stolze, *Persepolis*, 2 vols., Berl. 1882 (an account of the expedition of F. C. Andreas, with introd. on the inscriptions by Nöldeke); Flandin et Coste, *Perse ancienne*, and *Voyage en Perse* (1851-52); Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse* (1881); Curzon, *Persia* (1892), 2 248 *ff.* T. K. C.

PERSEUS (περσευς), 'king of Chittim' (see KITTIM, end), is alluded to in 1 Macc. 8 5. The reference is to the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.),[3] in which

[1] 1 Esd. 8 69 agrees with Ezra 9 1 (glossed, see Guthe, *SBOT*).

[1] Riehm, *HWB*(2) 1211.

[2] επολις would be confounded with ελυμ[α]ις (εμυλ[α]ις) under the influence of the tradition that Nanæa's was the temple referred to.

[3] Near modern *Azam* on the coast-road on the west shore of the gulf of Salonica.

Perseus was defeated and the Macedonian kingdom brought to an end (cp MACEDONIA).

His conqueror was L. Æmilius Paullus. At SAMOTHRACE [*q.v.*], Perseus surrendered to the victor, and was taken as a captive to Rome, but allowed to pass the remainder of his days as a state-prisoner at Alba on Lake Fucinus. This was the end of the empire of Alexander which had lasted for 144 years. For the character and aims of Perseus, see Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.* ET 2 287 *f.* 293 *f.* W. J. W.

PERSIA

Name (§ 1).	Religion and culture (§§ 7-9).
Biblical references (§ 2).	Chronology (§ 10).
Land and people (§ 3).	History (§§ 11-20).
Language and literature (§§ 4-6).	Bibliography (§ 21).

1. Name. Under the name Persia **Media** also is included, Persia and Media, when known to the Hebrews, having been closely united.

Media in Hebrew is מָדַי: ethnic, מָדַי a Mede.

Persia is פָּרַס; ΠΕΡCωΝ [BNAL; both Theod. and 𝔊 in Dan.], but in Dan. 11 2 τῇ περσίδι [BAQ, 87], in 2 Ch. 36 20 μήδων [BAL] (so, in the reverse way, Περσῶν for מדי in Is. 21 2); adj. **Persian,** פַּרְסִי, Neh. 12 22; פַּרְסָיָא [*Kt.*], פָּרְסָאָה [*Kr.*] in Dan. 6 28 [29] (Aram.); τοῦ Πέρσου [BNAL]; five times plur. in EV **Persians**. In the inscriptions of the Achæmenids, O. Persian *Pārsa uta Māda*, Semitic version *Parsu* (gentilic *Parsā*), and *Madāi* (*da-a-a*) [Nabūn. Cyl. *Parsū*], Sus. or Elam. version *Paršin* and *Mata* (gentilic *Paršir*).

'Persia' and 'Persians' are the designations of the kingdom and dynasty (respectively) of Cyrus and his successors after the commencement of the Greek period (on פָּרַס in Ezek. 27 10 see PARAS).

The passages both Hebrew and Aramaic are 2 Ch. 36 20 22 *f.* = Ezra 1 1 *f.* 8 3 7 4 3 5 7 24 6 14 7 1 9 9 Neh. 12 22, besides Dan. (11 2) and Esth. (5 1 10), which are later than the Chronicler. The only one of the passages in Ezra-Neh. that appears on the surface to be free from the Chronicler's redaction is Ezra 9 9, and even if this passage be really from Ezra's hand, the presumption from the usage as exhibited is strong against the authenticity of the word פָּרַס; of course, if the contention of C. C. Torrey (see EZRA, § 1, n. 2) be right, and the Chronicler's hand is the only one to be recognised in Ezra, the case is still clearer. Even in Dan. 9 1, where Darius is said to have been made king over the kingdom of the Kasdīm, he is called not 'the Persian,' but 'son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes.'

With these phenomena agrees the usage of Babylonian contract tablets from Cyrus to Artaxerxes, where the king's name appears as 'Cyrus (Cambyses, Darius, etc.), king of Babylon, king of the countries,' or simply 'king of the countries' (see *KB* 4, 1896, p. 258 *ff.*, Peiser's transl.).

No doubt Cyrus is called 'king of Persia' (*Parsu*) in the Chronicles of Nabonidus, 2, *l.* 15, but also king of *Anšan* (an Elamitic province; on the relation between these see Tiele, *BAG* 469), Id. *ib. l.* 1, Cyrus Cylinder, *l.* 12; but these both represent him prior to the capture of Babylon. The Cyrus Cylinder, *ll.* 20-22, gives his formal title thereafter: 'Cyrus, king of hosts, great king, mighty king, king of Babylon (lit. *Tintinki*), king of Šumer and Akkad (entire Babylonia), king of the four quarters (of the world), son of Cambyses, the great king, king of (the city) Anšan, grandson of Šišpiš (= Old Pers. Cišpiš, Gk. Teïspes), the great king, king of [the city] Anšan,' etc. (For all these see *KB* 3 2 *ff.* 120 *ff.*, and especially Hagen in Delitzsch and Haupt, *Beitr.* 2 205 *ff.*)

Even in the Old Persian inscriptions, where we find Darius naming himself 'king in Persia' (*Pārsaiy*), this title does not appear alone.

Thus, *Behistun*, 1 1, 'I, Darius, the great king, the king of kings, king in Persia, king of the provinces,' and the much more common expression 'I, Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of the countries of many tribes, king of this great earth far and wide' (Inscr. Alvend, *ll.* 11 *ff.*), or more briefly 'the great king, king of kings, king of these many regions' (Inscr. Persepolis, 2, *ll.* 1 *ff.*), and the like, in connection with which he sometimes calls himself 'a Persian' (as Inscr. Naksh-i-Rustam, 1, *l.* 13); these more general titles are those exclusively found in the (Persian) inscriptions of Xerxes and his successors, Artaxerxes I., Artax. Mnemon, and Artax. Ochus (see for these Spiegel, *APK*, esp. 2, 42, 46, 48, 50, 52, 58, 60, 62, 64, 66, 68—transl. on opp. pp.; especially Weissbach and Bang, *APK* 12, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46—transl. on opp. pp.).

Persia (*Parsā*) is mentioned repeatedly as one province of the empire (*Behistun*, 1 14 34 2 7, etc.). In the first inscription of Persepolis (Spiegel, 46 *ff.*, Weissbach, 34 *f.*) Darius speaks of 'this land Persia' more particularly, as is natural. In accord with these facts is the assumption by the Greek kings of a title similar to that of the earlier Babylonian kings; so Antiochus Soter (280-260 B.C.) in his cuneiform inscr. 1 1 *ff.* (Schr. *KB* 3 2 136, transl. by Peiser):—'Antiochus, the great king, the mighty king, the king of hosts, king of Babylon, king of the countries, . . . princely son of Seleucus the Macedonian (*Makkadunai*) king, king of Babylon.'

It seems probable that the Chronicler's frequent use of the name פָּרַס is intended to distinguish the empire that began with Cyrus from the Macedonian power that overthrew and assumed it. F. B.

Some scholars identify the Persians with the Paršuaš or Baršuaš of the Assyrian inscriptions; but this is very doubtful as, even in the time of the Sargonids, they still lived much more to the N. than the Persians did during the Median rule. Paršuaš seems rather to be an Assyrian form of Parthavaš, the Parthians, called Παρδυαῖοι by the Greeks.

2. Biblical references. In Gen. 10 2 MADAI [*q.v.*] is named among the sons of Japheth, following Gomer and [Ma]gog—*i.e.*, the Gimirrhi and the Lydians—and preceding Javan—*i.e.*, the Ionians and others. Persia is not mentioned, but is certainly regarded by the author as belonging to Media. 2 K. 17 6 and 18 11 relate how the king of Assyria, after having conquered Samaria, transferred the captives from the kingdom of Israel to 'the towns of Media.' In Is. 13 17 the Medes 'who do not care for silver nor desire gold' are called upon by Yahwè to fight the Babylonians. Cp Is. 21 2, where Elam is added to Media. 'The kings of Media' are mentioned among others in Jer. 25 25 and 51 11 as enemies of Babylon. In Ezra 6 2 a decree of Cyrus is found at Aḥmetha (Ecbatana) in the country of Media.

The references in the OT to the Persians, either singly or joined to the Medes, are rather many, but only in the later historical books and in Daniel and Esther. It is very improbable that they are meant in Ezek. 27 10 38 5, where they are said to serve in foreign armies with LUD and Put or with Cush (cp PARAS). Perhaps פתרס should be read instead of פרס.

Kings of Persia are mentioned in Ezra 9 9; Cyrus in 2 Ch. 36 22 *f.* Ezra 1 1 *f.* 8 3 7 4 3 5; Darius in 4 24 Neh. 12 22; Artaxerxes in Ezra 7 1; all three in 6 14. Cyrus the Persian also in Dan. 6 29 [28] 10 1, and *passim*. For Darius the Mede in Dan. 6 and *passim*, see DARIUS. The prince or angel of the Persians is mentioned in Dan. 10 13 20. By 'the kings of Medes and Persians,' Dan. 8 20, is meant the whole Medo-Persian empire. Belshazzar's empire is given to the Medes and Persians, Dan. 5 28. The immutable laws of the Medes and Persians are referred to in Dan. 6 9 13 16 [8 12 15] (cp Esth. 1 19); their army, seven princes, princesses in Esth. 1 3 14 18, and the chronicles of their kings in 10 2.

In the NT the Persians and Persia never occur, only, in Acts 2 9, Μῆδοι with the Parthians and Elamites.

3. Land and people. The Medes and Persians mentioned in the Bible inhabited in historical times only a part of Irān or Erān, the land of the Aryans, which extended W. to E. from the Zagros range to the Hindu Kush and the Indus, and N. to S. from the Caspian Sea and the Turanian steppes to the Erythræan Sea or Persian Gulf. The western countries Persia, Media proper, and Little Media (Atropatene) are separated from the eastern provinces, of which Bactria, Margiana (Merv), and Sogdiana (Sughda) are the best known, by an immense barren desert, running from N. to S. and ending only where the coastland, in a corresponding degree inhabitable, of the Persian Sea begins. It is only along the SE. shore of the Caspian Sea that the land of the Hyrcanians unites the eastern and western parts of Irān.

As a whole, Irān, lacking large rivers and extended valleys, and for the most part mountainous and cold, is

not particularly fertile. There are several exceptions, however, such as Persia itself, and especially the north-eastern provinces, Bactria and Sogdiana, where the climate is mild and the soil rich. It is remarkable that just those two important satrapies did not rise against Darius, whilst rebellion everywhere prevailed. In general it may be said, that Irān was a country well fitted to foster an industrious, proud, manly, and warlike race, and to be for some centuries the centre of a mighty empire.

It is quite certain that the founders of this empire, the Medo-Persians, were not the original inhabitants of the country. They belonged to the Aryan stock. When the Assyrians, as they often did, directed their expeditions to Media, and even built there some strong places to maintain their supremacy, the kings they fought did not bear Aryan names, which become more frequent only in the time of the Sargonids. Aryan tribes, coming from the NW. or the N., and spreading first in the eastern part of the land, seem to have conquered the western regions little by little, and to have settled there in small independent kingdoms, before the Median monarchy was established. If there is any truth in what Bērōssos tells about a Median dynasty reigning over Babylon in the remotest times, this dynasty has nothing in common with the Aryan Medes, but probably was of the same origin as the Kassites, Elamites, and other eastern neighbours of Babylonia.

A complete ethnology and glossology of the Iranian peoples would be out of place here, as our scope is limited to the two nations with whom the Hebrews came into contact.

4. Language.

The Old Persian language we know from the inscriptions of the Achæmenids and from the proper names and sundry words recorded by the ancients. It is closely allied to the Avestan language (the two dialects of which seem to have been spoken in the eastern and northern parts of the empire), and more remotely to the Vedic and Sanskrit languages. About the language of the Medes we know very little. Judging from the Median names that we know, and from the fact that Darius used the same Aryan language for the great Behistun inscription in Media as he did for those he had incised in Persia, we may assume that the Old Median language differed only dialectically from the Old Persian. Still, the inscriptions of the younger Achæmenids show that the Old Persian was then already in decline, and perhaps supplanted by a younger dialect or by the widespread Aramaic. Some scholars call the second of the three languages used in the Achæmenian inscriptions Median. If so, it would not be the language of the rulers, who were certainly Aryans, but the idiom of the conquered race, who may have constituted the majority of the population. In all probability the second language is better called Susian or Neo-Susian, as the idiom of the province where the Persian kings had their principal residence could hardly be wanting in their inscriptions.

The system of writing used for the Persian text of the Achæmenian inscriptions is one of those commonly called cuneiform. It has been taken for granted that it was taken by the Persians either from the Babylonian or Assyrian, or as some think, from the Susian, cuneiform.

5. System of writing.

An accurate comparative study of the three systems, however, shows clearly that this is not the case. The Susians reduced the many hundreds of Babylonian signs to some hundred and twelve, but retained the syllabic character of the writing, the same signs for the same or cognate sounds, and the use of determinative signs with the same signification. Not so the Persians. All they took from their predecessors was the wedge in three shapes— 𒁹, 𒀸, and 𒌋. They rejected all determinatives, only separating the words by a sloping wedge 𐏐, and, instead of a syllabary, they composed a real alphabet of thirty-six signs, none of which corresponds to the sign expressing the same sound in the Babylonian or Susian writing, or looks like a modification of it. If they had intended only to simplify the older syllabaries, they would at least have retained the simple vowel signs of the Babylonians; but for *a*, *i*, and *u* they write 𐎠, 𐎡, and 𐎢 instead of 𒀀, 𒄿 and 𒌋. Therefore, it is clear that they made independent combinations of the wedges. It is hardly conceivable, however, that they would have taken such trouble, only for the purpose of incising a few inscriptions, as the cuneiform, being only destined to be carved in stone or on clay tablets, could not be used for what had to be written on other material. They wrote royal annals, official documents, letters, and communications from the king to the Iranian satraps in their own language, and even the Aramaic or Greek despatches sent to the satraps and other governors of Western Asia and Egypt were translations of Persian originals. Now, for this purpose they apparently used, not the old Pahlavi, which appears first on the coins of the Arsacids, and, as its name indicates, is of Parthian origin, but one of the Aramæan alphabets of Babylonia or Assyria, adapted to their own idiom, and it is on such an already existing alphabet that the Old Persian cuneiform appears to be based. At any rate, in adopting this simple and practical method of writing instead of the clumsy system of their new subjects, the Persians showed great originality and a sound sense of the character of their language.

Weissbach (in *ZDMG* 48 664) tries to prove that the Persian cuneiform was invented not earlier than under Darius Hystaspis. But if the inscription of Cyrus, found at Murghāb, refers to Cyrus the Great, which is most probable, not to Cyrus the Younger, the brother of Artaxerxes I., as Weissbach holds, the Persian cuneiform must have been in use at least in Cambyses' time. Other arguments against Weissbach are urged by Ed. Meyer, *GA* 3 49.

We do not know whether there ever was a written literature, properly so-called, in this Medo-Persian idiom. If there was, it is now irretrievably lost. That is not very probable.

6. Literature.

Though no longer barbarians, the subjects of the Median and Persian kings were a simple, hard-working people, and even the higher classes were given to riding and shooting more than to the cultivation of fine arts and letters. The great kings themselves were totally absorbed by the founding, organising, and maintaining of a large empire, and by constant warfare against rebels and foreign nations.

National songs, epic and lyric, they certainly had; but these may have been transmitted orally from one generation to another. According to Pliny (*HN* 30 1), the Greek author Hermippus compiled his description of the Persian religion from two millions of original verses, and a well-known Persian tradition mentions two official copies of the holy scriptures of the Zoroastrians, preserved by the Achæmenian kings, one of which was burnt by Alexander, whilst the other was sent by him to Greece, to be studied and translated. There is some truth in both statements, however exaggerated they may be. But the religious documents of the Iranians were certainly composed in the language of the Avesta, even if they were not the same as the books, of which the Avesta known to us contains only the scanty remains, and this religious literature may have been the only one extant at the Medo-Persian time.

The inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis and his successors prove that they were worshippers of Auramazda, 'the great God, who created this earth, who created this heaven, who created happiness for man,' and to whom they owed their royal dignity as 'one king, one monarch over many.' It was this God who intrusted Darius with sovereign power over the land when it was full of lying rebels, and who helped him to smite them and to

7. Religion.

smother all revolt. Darius admonishes his subjects 'to obey the commands of this God, and to walk in the straight path unhesitatingly.' Now a God thus described has ceased to be a nature-god; he is the supreme being of an ethical religion. It is true that the Achæmenids, as well as Darius, continued to worship their old clan-gods (*hadâ bagaibiš vithibiš*); but even in the Avesta Mazda, the all-wise Lord, is surrounded by a staff of minor heavenly powers, Amešaspĕñtas and Yazatas, partly personifications of his own attributes, partly old Iranian gods, too popular to be neglected, and therefore assimilated with some modifications by the new creed. There is no essential difference between the theology, the demonology, and the moral doctrines of the inscriptions and those of the Avesta. The Persians may not have followed all the precepts of the holy scriptures as perhaps only the Magi did; but even the Avesta states that they were not observed everywhere among the Iranians, even in countries belonging to Mazda. The Auramazda of the inscriptions is no other than the Ahura Mazda of the Avesta. And if the Persians were Mazda-worshippers, as the younger Achæmenids certainly were, they were also Zarathustrians, for there is no other Mazdaism than the Zarathustrian. All suppositions to the contrary must be rejected as unhistorical. It has been said that the religion of the Persians, as described by Herodotus and other Greek writers, differs too much from the religion taught in the Avesta to be considered as identical with it. But there are manifest errors in Herodotus' description, and it must be taken into consideration that the Greek historian only states what he had heard about the real religion of the Persian people, whilst the Avesta contains the ideals of the priests. The same argument might be used to maintain that the Bible was unknown to or at least not acknowledged as the Word of God by not a few Christian rulers and nations. Moreover, the Avesta was certainly not composed in Persia, nor even in Media proper, and the religious observances may have differed in the various provinces, according to the divergent local traditions that could not be disavowed even after the new faith was accepted. So the same gods are called bagas in Persia and Media, yazatas in the country where the Avestan language was spoken. And though the name for priests in the Avesta is only atharvans and the name *maguš* is wholly unknown to it in that sense, it is the only name for priest in use as well in Persia as in Media, where the Magi formed a kind of tribe.

Whilst it is evident that the younger Achæmenids were Mazdayasnans we are not certain whether the same may be said of their predecessors of the older branch and of the Median kings. Those scholars who think that Zarathuštra was a contemporary of Darius' father Hystaspes (Vištâspa) cannot but regard them as the first confessors of the reformed religion, and others, though rejecting the premiss, equally hold that the Zoroastrian faith did not spread in Media and Persia till Darius I. ascended the throne, perhaps even later. According to both, Cyrus, Cambyses, and the kings of Media were polytheists, daêvayasnans as the Avesta calls them. Others again, and among them such historians as Nöldeke and Ed. Meyer, think it most probable that, at least from Phraortes (Fravartiš)—which even means 'confessor'—downwards, all the rulers of Media and Persia were Mazda-worshippers. The writer of this article is of the same opinion, on grounds developed elsewhere (see § 21, below) more amply than is here possible. If Cyrus, on his Babylonian cylinder, calls himself a worshipper of Marduk, as Cambyses appears on Egyptian monuments as an adorer of the gods of Memphis and Sais, it was only 'the priests' diplomacy' to which the kings did not object for political reasons. It has been truly said that trained historians (*historisch geschulten*, Nöldeke) could not be led astray by such royal decrees. Besides, Darius and Xerxes, though avowed Mazdayasnans, did quite the same.

Still, if the Zoroastrian religion was that of the kings and of the ruling race and the upper classes in Persia and Media—in a Susian inscription Auramazda is called the god of the Aryans (*annap arryanâm*)—it cannot be denied, and even the Avesta admits, that the worship of the old gods subsisted among the nomadic tribes and in various of the more remote parts of Irân. Mazdaism was never the generally accepted faith of all the Iranians. Not before the Sâsânids was it the only tolerated religion of the State, and even under the Achæmenids it may have been divided into different sects. (For a description of the Zarathustrian religion, see ZOROASTRIANISM.)

8. Art and architecture.

Like the religion of the Hebrews, the national religion of the Aryans of Irân, with its tendency to monotheism, its vague personification of ethical ideas, and powers of nature, its sober and generally prosaic character, was not fitted to create or develop a national art. Its cult required no large and splendid temples, but only some small and simple places of worship and altars in the open air. The only image of the deity we know of is the human figure in the winged circle, which is frequently seen hovering about the king's head, and is commonly thought to represent Auramazda or his *fravaši*, but may as well be meant for the *fravaši* of the king himself. Even this is borrowed from the Assyrians, who themselves had imitated it from the Egyptians. The statues of the goddess Anâhita, which, as Bērōssos (frg. 16) tells us, were erected by Artaxerxes Mnemon at Babylon, Susa, and Ekbatana, and to which a passage of her Yasht seems to allude, were doubtless of foreign origin, as (it is all but certain) was the new cult and even the goddess herself, in spite of her pure Iranian name. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that Persian architecture and sculpture have been borrowed or even imitated from their western neighbours, for they have indeed a character of its own. It is called eclectic by high authorities, and in a certain sense it is. But it is not entirely deficient in originality. The able artists who planned and adorned the admirable palaces of Persepolis and Susa were mostly inspired by Assyro-Babylonian models, and they asssimilated also not a few Egyptian motives; but, perhaps under the influence of what they had learned from Greek art in Asia Minor, they created a new style of building and sculpture which, by its elegance and taste, its boldness and finish, surpasses all oriental art in antiquity. It has been suggested that only Greeks, either captives or adventurers, could have done this, and that no Persians, tillers of the soil and warriors as they were, could ever have produced works of art of such excellence. This may be true in a measure. Whilst they may have had Greeks as technical advisers, and even as craftsmen of a higher class, it is improbable that a Greek would have conceived a plan of building so far different from his own standard of beauty, that, notwithstanding all its merits and charm, it must have seemed to him only adapted to the taste of barbarians. At any rate, Persian art is an artificial growth; it is a hot-house plant. It was invented only by the king's command, and lived only by the king's grace; therefore it did not develop. In two centuries it was not improved, but gradually declined. With the Achæmenids it rose, and with them it disappears.

What is true of Persian art and architecture may also be said to a certain extent of their civilisation in general.

9. Civilisation.

The Medes led the way, and the Persians, for a long time their vassals, followed, not only imitating the Median equipment, but adopting also the organisation Cyaxares had given to the army and (we may be sure) much more that was new to them before, and that was borrowed by the Medes from the older nations they had conquered.

Not that the Medo-Persians, before they came into contact with a more refined culture, had been an uncivilised nation. As Aryans proud of their Aryan descent, feeling their superiority to the aborigines whom they brought under their rule, they were a young, healthy, vigorous people, chivalrous and valiant, generous even to their enemies, though severe and even cruel to rebels and traitors. Their manners, while still unspoiled by opulence and luxury, were simple, except that they freely indulged in spirituous liquors. They hated nothing more than lying, and their given word was held sacred even where others proved false. But, as Herodotus tells us, they were prone to imitate strangers and to adopt foreign customs. The Medes inherited, with the empire of the Assyrians, their ancient civilisation. The Persians, after the conquest of Susa, found themselves in the capital of a still more ancient monarchy, known for its love of splendour and rich attire, and could hardly escape its influence. Then came the invasion of Babylonia, of Lydia and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, of Egypt. This led to the awakening of slumbering powers, but also, and perhaps in a greater degree, to moral degeneration. In marrying their nearest relations the Achæmenids of the younger branch followed the example of the Egyptians, for if the next-of-kin marriage (*ḫvaêtvadâta*), mentioned in the Avesta, was in its origin an Iranian institution, it was certainly restricted to the second degree of kinship, and only meant to keep the Aryan blood pure. From the Greeks the Persians learnt other sexual aberrations; and their court, where the heads of the first families were expected to appear regularly, and where even the young nobles were educated, soon became depraved by the bad consequences of harem life, by the arrogance of the eunuchs, and by the intrigues of foreign favourites and ambitious politicians.

10. Chronology.

For the chronology of the Median empire we are dependent entirely on Herodotus and Ctesias, though some synchronisms with Assyrian history may help us in a few cases. Ctesias is not to be trusted; his list of Median kings and the more than three centuries assigned by him as the total duration of their reigns, are equally fantastic. The computation of Herodotus is better, but also partly artificial. The reigns of 22, 40, and 35 years he assigns to Phraortes, Cyaxares, and Astyages may be nearly correct; but the 53 years for Deïoces serve only to fill up the round number of 150. The date of 647 B.C. for the beginning of Phraortes' reign corresponds with the date of the subjection of Babylon by Ašur-bāni-pal, and the troubled state of the Assyrian empire during the gigantic struggle against a mighty confederation was indeed very favourable to the founding of some central power among the chieftains of Media. Though victorious over its rebellious vassals and afterwards over Elam, its hereditary foe, Assyria seems to have exhausted its own powers in those wars and to have rapidly declined during Ašur-bāni-pal's last years. Under the Sargonids who preceded him, Media appears still to have been divided into small principalities. It cannot have been a monarchy before 647; but this may be the date of its foundation.

For the chronology of the Persian empire we have the Canon of Ptolemy, which is certainly to be trusted, the Babylonian contract tablets dated under the reigns of the Persian kings, and the synchronisms of Greek history.

See CHRONOLOGY, § 25, Table iii. Best edition of Ptolemy's Canon in Wachsmuth, *Einl. in das Stud. d. alt. Gesch.*, 305 *f.* Cp also Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen z. alt. Gesch.* ii., ch. 6, *Chron. Forschungen*, 436 *ff.*

We now give a short survey of the history of the Median and Persian empires.

According to Herodotus the Median tribes, living in a kind of anarchy and constantly quarrelling, but wishing to stop these everlasting raids and robberies, and to unite against the common foe, chose a king Deïoces, the son of Phraortes, who fixed his residence in Ecbatana and held a regular court.

11. History: Deioces.

The name Deïoces appears in Sargon's Annals as Dayaukku, a šaknu or governor of Man, who with Rusâ the Urarṭian plotted against Ullusun, the king of Man and vassal of the Assyrians, but was led captive by Sargon with his whole family and brought to Ḫamate (Hamath in Syria?). It is clear that this Mannæan conspirator, who was deported by the Assyrian king, cannot be the king who founded the Median empire.

Elsewhere a Bît-Dayaukku is mentioned in south-western Media, near Ellip. This Dayaukku, after whose house the Assyrians called his country, as *e.g.*, they called Israel Bît-Ḫumri and southern Chaldea or Sealand Bît-Yâkin, must have been the head of a princely or royal house of some importance, unless *Dahyauka* (as the Iranian form would be) were only a general title, corresponding to the Avesta *dahvyuma*, and meaning 'the lord of the land' (*der Landesherr*), as the present author suggested in his *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.* 263, n. 3. Glorified by popular tradition, this Dahyauka (he may have been the head of a dynasty or the chosen ἡγεμών of the Median tribes) grew into the founder of an empire, the Deiokes of Herodotus. The real founder of the monarchy, however, can have been only Phraortes, though a series of leading chieftains presiding over a confederation of tribes may have preceded him for even a much longer time than the fifty-three years assigned to Deiokes by Herodotus. However inviting it might be to regard the list of Median kings before Astyages, given by Ctesias, as comprising the names of such leading chieftains, the idea must be rejected, as the whole list is apparently a product of Ctesias' fancy, invented only to contradict Herodotus.

12. Phraortes, 647-625.

Phraortes (*Fravartiš*, cp the Avesta *fravarĕta*, 'confessor,' which is only etymologically connected with *fravaši*, 'guardian spirit') is said to have first subjugated Persia and afterwards, little by little, nearly the whole of Asia. At last, however, the Assyrian power, though already on its decline, proved too strong for him. An expedition against a king of Aššur, whom Berossos calls Saracos, was unsuccessful, and Phraortes himself succumbed. We may accept these statements as historical, though admitting that there is some exaggeration in what is told of Phraortes' conquests, and though we cannot explain why Sardanapalus (Ašur-bāni-pal) is called Saracus. For it is this king only who can be meant. The subjugation of Persia most probably falls in the reign of Teispes (Cišpiš)—who is the first Persian ruler, called by Cyrus the Great 'King of Anšan'—or a short time earlier. Elam, to which Anšan certainly belonged, had just been annihilated by Ašur-bāni-pal, and was bereft of all its old splendour and power; it therefore fell an easy prey to a young and valiant nation like the Persians, who, though unable to resist the Median conqueror, may have striven to extend their power, as a compensation for the loss of their independence. They found an opportunity to do so in the year 625 B.C., when at the same time Media was defeated by Assyria and lost its king, Ašur-bāni-pal died, and Babylon under Nabopolassar threw off the yoke of Aššur, so that none of the three neighbouring powers could prevent the Persians from penetrating into the very heart of Elam. It is understood that a large part of Elam may have remained independent for many years afterwards.

Jer. 49 35-38, where the fall of Elam is prophesied, and which the redactor ascribes to Jeremiah as being spoken by him about 597 B.C., cannot refer to this first invasion of the Persians, at least if the date is accurate. Twelve years later Ezekiel (32 24) speaks of Elam as having already descended into Sheol. [On these passages see PROPHET.] Is. 22 6, regarded by some scholars (Prašek, and others) as belonging to this time, is much older and dates from the time of Sennacherib and Hezekiah. Forty years later Cyrus the Great was master of the whole country.

Phraortes' son and successor Cyaxares (*Uvakhšatara*)

saw at once why his father, though victorious in his struggle with the rude and semi-barbarous tribes of Irân, was overcome by the veteran-warriors of such a military state as Assyria. His army was, in fact, deficient in training and organisation. Wishing to avenge his father, Cyaxares set himself to work, divided his troops into lancers, archers, and horsemen, and fortified his capital Ecbatana (Hagmatāna, 'the place of gathering'). Then, feeling stronger, he renewed his attack, defeated the Assyrians in a pitched battle, and invested Nineveh. Soon, however, he had to raise the siege. A wild horde of those northern nomads, included by the Greeks under the common name of Scythians and called by the Persians Saka, had invaded Media, and Cyaxares had to hurry home.

13. Cyaxares, 624-585.

Whether this invasion was connected with that other more terrible irruption of Scythians by which western Asia was devastated, is not certain. The Scythians with whom Cyaxares had to deal probably came from the NE. of the Caspian Sea, and, though of the same kin as the Iranians, were savage or at least barbarous nomads. They did not reign in Media, for Cyaxares was neither dethroned nor banished by them. They seem, however, to have domineered over the peaceful householders, and as a kind of Janissaries or Mamelukes to have even held the court in check. It is said that the king got rid of them by killing their chiefs at a banquet, after having made them drunk. It is an old and very common folk-tale, and is only the popular substitute for the historical fact that such a gang of barbarians, rendered careless by an easy victory, and enervated by indulging too freely in all the unwonted luxuries of civilised life, could not but be overpowered at last by the shrewd policy and the superior tactics of a real king. It seems that Cyaxares did not chase the Saka, but that they submitted to him and joined his army. In a few years this result was obtained. The whole drama was played between the first and second expeditions to Assyria. The second ended in the fall of Nineveh (607 or 606 B.C.), the first, preceded by the military reform, cannot have happened much earlier than 620 B.C., 625 or 624 being the year of the accession of Cyaxares. If Herodotus is right in stating that the Scythians ruled Asia for twenty-eight years, this cannot refer to Media, where they did not even rule.

Cyaxares now felt able to renew his attack on Assyria, which, though no more than a shadow of what it was before, still hindered the Medes in extending their empire to the NW. This time he was successful and destroyed Nineveh about 607-606 B.C. For it was to Cyaxares, not to Astyages, as Berossos and those who depend on him have it, that the fall of the old imperial city was due. It is difficult to decide whether Nabopolassar and his Babylonians joined the Medes as allies against the common foe. Both Ctesias and Berossos tell us so, and even without their testimony we should expect it. Allies they were, and the prince royal of Babylon was married to Cyaxares' daughter. The rising power of the Chaldeans was not to be neglected, and on the other side it was their interest to take an active part in the proceedings against a dynasty which, though paralysed, always claimed the suzerainty over Babylonia. If Herodotus does not mention the Chaldeans, he may have followed a one-sided Medo-Persian tradition. Lastly, it may be doubted whether Media would have left the Chaldeans in undisturbed possession of all the southern and south-western provinces of the Assyrian monarchy, which Nabopolassar's great son not only maintained, but extended, if they had remained inactive in this final struggle for the hegemony of Western Asia. At any rate, Media played the principal part, and it would now direct its victorious arms against Armenia, Cappadocia, and the rich and mighty kingdom of the Lydians. The Lydian frontier, however, was destined to be the limit of the Median conquests. After five years of fighting the war was still undecided, and both parties seem to have been rather tired of it. At least, when, on 28th May 585, a great battle, probably near the Halys, was interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun—the same that Thales the Milesian is said to have predicted—they accepted it as a divine warning and ceased all hostilities. Syennesis of Cilicia, probably chosen by Lydia, and Nebuchadrezzar, erroneously called Labynetus by Herodotus, chosen by Media, acted as arbiters, and peace was concluded by their mediation. Astyages, who seems in the meantime to have ascended the throne, since Phraortes is said to have died in the year of the battle, married the daughter of Alyattes, the king of Lydia.

14. Astyages, 584-550.

Astyages (*Ištuvegu* in the Nab. Cyr. Annals, cp Ctesias' Astyigas) is called by the Greeks (Herod., Æsch. *Pers.* 766 *f.*) a son of Phraortes. Since, however, he is called by the Babylonians king of the Ummanmanda—which, whatever it may mean, cannot have indicated the Medes, but rather (probably) the Scythians, as Cyrus is said to have slain the numerous Ummanmanda with his few troops—since moreover the rebels, who, in the reign of Darius, rose in Media and Sagartia do not call themselves sons of Astyages, but pretend to belong to the family of Cyaxares, Winckler (*Unters. z. alt. Gesch.* 124 *f.*) suggests, that Astyages was neither the son nor the lawful successor of Phraortes, but revived the Scythian supremacy in Media. It cannot be denied that this hypothesis is very alluring. To the arguments of Winckler may be added, that Cyrus himself, in his cylinder, glories in having defeated the Guti, the nomads of Mesopotamia, and the widespread Ummanmanda, the nomads of Irān, so that he himself seems to have regarded his conquest of Media as the liberation of that country from the yoke of a usurper. The man who delivered the greater part of the army of Astyages into the hands of Cyrus, Harpagus, belonged to the royal family. Finally, the name of Astyages has no Iranian sound, and is altogether unlike those of his predecessors. Be this as it may, Astyages' reign seems not to have been a glorious one. The only thing we know of it is, that he encroached on the dominions of Babylonia, then weakened by internal troubles and by the government of a mere antiquary, and placed a garrison in Ḥarrân, which the Chaldean kings regarded as belonging to their empire. As soon, however, as the Persians under Cyrus revolted, the Ummanmanda from all parts of the empire were ordered home to reinforce the army. Astyages may at the outset have defeated the Persians, and even have chased them as far as Pasargadæ; we could believe it, if it were not Ctesias who told it. It is certain, however, that Astyages' own troops gave him up to the enemy, and that the man who betrayed him was Harpagus, whom Cyrus afterwards rewarded by bestowing on him an all but royal dignity in Asia Minor. In this the Babylonian account and Herodotus agree; they are mutually complementary.

15. Significance of Median empire.

The history of the Median empire, very little of which unfortunately is known, is interesting as the first attempt of an Aryan or Indo-European people to found a great and conquering monarchy. But it was not much more than an attempt. In itself, the Median empire had no such great importance. Compared with the Assyrian empire which preceded, or with the Persian which followed it, it seems rather insignificant. It did not supplant the Assyrians, for this had been done already by the Chaldeans. All it could do, and this only after having failed at first and with the aid of the king of Babylon, was, to give the death-blow to the dying capital of the old empire, and to appropriate a part of the booty It was unable to conquer Lydia and felt obl ged to respect the

still mighty dynasty of Nabopolassar. Still, what it achieved was by no means contemptible. It liberated Irān from the Semitic suzerainty; it united the ever quarrelling tribes under a central power; it laid the foundations of a higher civilisation, and so paved the way for that Persian empire, which in a short time equalled, if it did not outrival, the once supreme monarchies of Babylon and Assyria.

16. Cyrus. With the title king of 'Anšan and Parsû,' Cyrus, a descendant of Achæmenes (*Hakhâmaniš*), ascended the throne of the empire. This does not mean that a new monarchy, the Persian, supplanted the Median, but rather that there was a change of dynasty, by which the Median was developed into a Medo-Persian empire, differing from the former only in this, that the Persian branch, hitherto subject, was henceforth uppermost. The Greeks make scarcely any difference between Medes and Persians, and the latter ever regarded the Medes as their nearest kin, and, provided they respected the Persian supremacy, treated them with marked distinction, and entrusted them with high offices and honours.

Cyrus (O. Pers. *Kŭruš* in the nominative, Bab. *Kuraš*) was certainly of royal descent.

When Herodotus makes him the son of a private Persian noble married to the daughter of Astyages, and Ctesias the son of a common herdsman, they only repeat two different traditions of a popular story, such as Orientals especially—and not only they—like to tell about the origin of great monarchs and conquerors, who, from an obscure and modest position, unexpectedly rose to large power and world-wide renown. (See CYRUS, § 1, to which must be added, that Darius calls Hakhâmaniš the *father* of Cyrus's great-grandfather Čišpiš, who is therefore not merely his descendant; he always distinguishes between *putra*, 'son,' and *taumâya*, 'of the family, descendant of.')

After having taken Ecbatana, the first care of Cyrus should have been to secure his supremacy over the Iranian provinces of the Median dominion. Before he could bring this to an end, however, he was compelled to wait for a more convenient season, since Crœsus, the king of the Lydians, had invaded Cappadocia and devastated certain cities which, by the treaty between Alyattes and Astyages, belonged to the Medes. Cyrus hurried to the frontier, and a battle was fought in the district of Pteria, near Sinope, which, according to Herodotus, remained undecided. Crœsus, however, seeing that the Persian army exceeded his own in number, thought it wiser to retreat, and to wait till the auxiliary troops of his allies, on which he reckoned, should have arrived. But he made the mistake of disdaining his enemy, and disbanded his army, feeling sure that Cyrus would not venture to march upon Sardis. This proved a fatal error. The Persian army advanced with great speed, invested the capital, and took it within a fortnight. Crœsus was taken prisoner, but not put to death by the conqueror, who treated him kindly, and even assigned him a city for his living.

The well-known narrative of Herodotus and Xanthus about the pyre on which Crœsus was to be burned with some of his subjects, but from which he was released by Cyrus's curiosity and the favour of the gods, cannot be regarded as history. Ctesias, though not partial to Cyrus, knows nothing of it, but ascribes the liberation of Crœsus to another miracle.

Cyrus being now master of Lydia, returned to his country, where much had still to be done before the whole of Irān had submitted to his rule. The conquest of the Ionian cities, which had refused to accept his suzerainty instead of that of the Lydians, and the subjugation of the valorous Lydians, he left to his generals, principally to Harpagus. Even the government of Lydia, where there was a single and last revolt, was safe in their hands.

It was only (seven or eight years after the fall of Sardis) in 539 that Cyrus could venture to grapple with the power which even Cyaxares had not dared to assail—Babylon. The overthrow of this monarchy and the capture of the imperial city is related elsewhere (see DARIUS, 2; BABYLONIA, § 69). It brought Cyrus to the acme of his power, and made it easy for him to extend it to the shores of the Mediterranean S. of Asia Minor. There is no record of any serious resistance on the part of the nations subject to Babylon; and certainly the Phœnician cities, though so often rebellious against Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia, seem to have borne the light yoke of the Persians without reluctance.

On Cyrus's relations to the Hebrews see CYRUS, §§ 3-6.

Next to nothing is known about Cyrus's doings after the fall of Babylon in 538. It appears that he did not make it his residence, but installed his son Cambyses as viceroy, preferring to live at Susa, and especially perhaps at his own Persian capital Pasargadæ, which he had built and adorned out of the plunder of Ecbatana. Probably he was for most of the time engaged in one or another military expedition. He died on the battlefield about 529, nobody knows where, and the various sources mention different names for the remote and barbarous tribe which at last defeated and killed him. Whether his tomb at Pasargâdæ (*Murghâb*) was only a mausoleum erected by his son to his memory, or whether it really contained his last remains, it is difficult to say.

Cyrus was neither the bloodthirsty tyrant he is represented in some stories current among the Greeks, nor the ideal ruler of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. It may be even doubted whether he was a great ruler, as he seems not to have done much for the organisation of his colossal empire. But that he broke with the hated Assyro-Babylonian system, respected every nationality, allowed every people to retain its own religion, laws, customs, language in its own home, proves him to have been a man of large views and, as such, a real statesman, highminded and generous, an Aryan of the Aryans. At any rate he was a great commander, and, if we may believe Herodotus, also a good tactician, one of those military geniuses who are born, not made.

17. Cambyses. Cambyses (*Kam̃bujiya*, or perhaps better *Kabujiya*), the son of Cyrus and Kassandana (also of Achæmenian descent), followed his father as ruler of the empire, and devoted the first four years of his reign to the preparation of an expedition against Egypt, which, as long as it was independent, threatened his south-western frontier. Polycrates of Samos, the kings of Cyprus, and the Phœnician cities were his allies, and with their help he gathered a large fleet, commanded by the Halicarnassian Phanes, who, till then in Egyptian service, had gone over to him. Before he left Persia, Cambyses secretly killed his own brother Bardiya, called Smerdis by the Greeks, who therefore, according to an ingenious remark of Nöldeke, cannot have been the governor of the eastern provinces of Irān, as Ctesias pretends. Then he put himself at the head of his army, entered Egypt, defeated the Egyptian army near Pelusium, and was soon the lord of the whole country. The Egyptian priests represented him to Herodotus as a brutal and cruel tyrant, an epileptic, unable to command his passions, as rude to his own wife and kin as to others, a scoffer, who laughed at the images of Ptah in Memphis, burned the mummy of Amasis, and with impious hand killed the sacred Apis. On the contrary, genuine Egyptian monuments depict him as a pious worshipper of those same gods, and a high priest of Sais praises him as the protector of his cult. The official representation on one side, popular gossip, inspired by national hate, on the other,—neither the one nor the other is to be trusted. But we may be sure that Cambyses' action in Egypt was unwise and impolitic, and that he could not control his violent passions. Certain it is, that even at home he was not popular. His successor Darius states that as soon as the king had left his country a rebellious spirit showed itself in all the provinces, Persia and Media not excepted. At last a Maguš, called Gaumâta (Gometes, Justin), who knew of the murder of Bardiya, and indeed may have perpetrated it himself, put forth a claim to be the real Smerdis, and was speedily acknowledged as such by the whole empire. Those who doubted kept silent, for they knew that their life was in danger, the Magian

having killed every one to whom the secret was known. That he really reigned is proved by Babylonian contract tables dated from the first year of Barziya. In the meantime Cambyses was hurrying home, though not yet aware of all that had happened; but when the terrible news reached him in Syria, he killed himself.

18. Darius. Upon this a member of a side-branch of the Achæmenids, named Darius (*Dârayavauš*), son of Hystaspes (*Vištâspa*), aided by six other representatives of the highest Persian nobility, succeeded in murdering the false Smerdis, and ascended the throne (522). (Cp DARIUS.) Darius states in his inscription at Behistun, that he restored the temples the Mage had destroyed and set right everything else that the usurper had altered; though it is not clear what kind of religious and social reforms 'Smerdis' had introduced. This, however, was only a first step. An arduous task awaited the young king. A spirit of rebellion was fermenting through the whole empire. 'There was much lying in the land.' In nearly every province, except those of western Asia, a pretender rose, and had to be put down. The history of these struggles and of the pacification of the empire cannot be narrated here in detail. Nor can we follow Darius in his useless and unsuccessful expedition against the Scythians, his crushing of the Ionian revolt, and his war with Greece; all this rather belongs to the history of Greece than to that of Persia.

Darius was not so great a general as Cyrus, but he was a greater king. He defined the rights and duties of the Satraps (*Khšathrapâvan*, אחשדרפן), the governors of the provinces, who were allowed a large autonomy, but were controlled by the 'eye of the king,' the first counsellor of the realm or other high officials, and, though themselves commanders of an army corps, were held in check by the garrisons of the fortresses, immediately under the king's command. To keep the reins of government in the hands of the central power, Darius constructed a net of highways and instituted a regular system of posts. He substituted a new and better coinage for that of the Lydians, which was more primitive; did his best to promote navigation and commerce—for example, by digging a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea. Instead of the compulsory presents which had in the olden time been extorted from the population, he assigned taxes for each province. The Persian nobles sneered at this and called the king a chaffer (κάπηλος); it seemed to them undignified, just as the mediæval knights would have thought it; but the people and certainly the state profited by it. Darius did not enlarge the empire of Cyrus; but he maintained it under great difficulties, and made it into an organised state. He could not indeed undo the mischief wrought in Egypt by Cambyses; his wise policy and accumulated favours could not withhold it from revolting; but perhaps if he had lived he would have recovered possession of it. The character of Darius stands very high; even the Greeks, whose national feelings he severely hurt, spoke of him with respect. And it was no vain boast when he claimed to have been neither a liar nor a despot, but to have ruled according to the law.

19. Xerxes. Unhappily, the son who succeeded Darius on the throne was in all points his inferior—Xerxes (*Khšayâršâ*), who reigned from 485-464. He is the king called Ahašweroš in the book of Esther (cp AHASUERUS). With him the decline of the monarchy began, and it was only the solid foundation Darius I. had given it that held it together for so long a time.

Of Persian history after Darius we know nothing except from foreign, and especially Greek, sources. Some of his successors record in their inscriptions the buildings they erected, either for their own use or in honour of the gods, and Xerxes, like his father, gives a list of the nations he ruled; but upon the events of their reign they are silent. Their struggles with the Greeks, who more than once withstood them bravely, and whom they never were able to subjugate, belong to the most interesting parts of ancient oriental history, but do not fall within the scope of the present work. Perhaps the Greeks, if they had been less divided by internal dissensions and had not had so many traitors in their ranks, disappointed in their ambition and greedy for money, might have succeeded in wresting from the Persians at least the supremacy of Asia Minor. What we gather from classic writers as to the affairs of the Persian court is a sad history of alternate weakness and cruelty, corruption, murders, intrigues, and broken faith. The vainglorious and at the same time cowardly Xerxes was succeeded by Artaxerxes (*Artakhšathra*) I., of the Long Hand, under whose reign Nehemiah his cupbearer and Ezra the scribe were allowed to go to Jerusalem to help their fellow-countrymen in their miserable state (cp ARTAXERXES). He was not a bad, but a very weak man, governed by courtiers and women.

20. Darius II. Nothus and his successors. We may pass over the short reign of Xerxes II., who was murdered like his namesake. His successor was Darius II., surnamed Nothus, who left the supreme power in the hands of his cruel and troublesome sister and consort Parysatis. Perhaps if she had succeeded, after her husband's death, in putting the sceptre in the hands of her beloved son, the ambitious but energetic and able Cyrus, the fate of the empire might have been different. But Artaxerxes II., surnamed Mnemon, ascended the throne, and during the long reign (404-358) of this mild and friendly but lazy monarch the power of Persia rapidly declined. It was he who suffered the foreign semi-idolatrous cult of the goddess called Anâhita by the Iranians to be introduced even in Media and Persia. Under his son and successor Ochus (*Vahuka*), who as king adopted the name Artaxerxes III., the monarchy seemed to revive. Cruel, harsh, murderous, indifferent as to the means which he selected to realise his plans, he was intensely hated. By his energy he smothered every revolt, humiliated the Egyptians (whom he deeply offended by ridiculing and persecuting their religion), the Phœnicians, and probably also the Jews (cp ISAIAH ii., §§ 9, 11, 21), and really restored for the time the Persian supremacy. Just, however, when the Macedonian power was rising, and with it the greatest danger that ever threatened the empire, Artaxerxes was murdered by Bagoas, an Egyptian eunuch, the same who pacified Judæa in 348, and (when Johanan the high priest had killed his brother Jesus) entered the temple to the great offence of the pious (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7 1, § 297; cp ISRAEL, § 66). Bagoas placed on the throne Arses; but when the king tried to get rid of his patron, Bagoas poisoned him. Bagoas then gave the crown to a great-grandson of Darius II., Darius surnamed Codomannus, the worst choice he could well have made. Only a Cyrus, perhaps not even a Darius Hystaspis, might have held his own against the terrible onslaught and the tactics of such a general as Alexander the Great, and so saved the empire. Here, however, was a king no better than Xerxes, valiant perhaps in ordinary fights, but quickly confused in great emergencies, and in no wise equal to the gigantic task imposed on his weak shoulders. His tragic fate cannot make us blind to his great faults; but at the same time we cannot but feel disgusted at the burning of Persepolis by the conqueror. The flames which devoured the graceful buildings of the imperial city were to announce to the world that the lance of the Persian, which formerly reached so far, now lay broken for ever.

21. Bibliography. The best surveys of Medo-Persian history down to the time of Alexander are those of Th. Nöldeke (art. 'Persia,' Pt. i. in *EB*(9) [reprinted with emendations and additions in *Aufsätze zur pers. Gesch.* 1, 1884]) and F. Justi ('Geschichte Irans,' in *Gr. d. iran. Philologie*, 2 3-4 1900); cp his 'Gesch. d. alt. Persiens' in Oncken's *AG* 1 1 4. F. Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, 2, Bk. 5, pp. 236-632, Masp. 3, and above all E. Meyer's *GA* 1-3, 1884-1901 (cp *Entsteh.* and *Forschungen z. alt. Gesch.* 2 437-511 [Chronology]), should also be consulted. Interesting

monographs are (among others):—V. Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot* (1881). J.V. Prašek, *Media u. d. Haus des Kyaxares*, 1890; *Forschungen z. Gesch. d. Alterth.* 1. 'Kambyses u. d. Ueberlieferung,' Leipz. 1897, 3, 'Z. Chronologie d. Kyros,' 'Z. der Behištuninschrift,' 1, Leipz. 1900, 'Die ersten Jahre Dareios des Hystaspiden,' u.s.w., in *Beiträge z. alt. Gesch.*, ed. by C. F. Lehmann, i., 1 26-50. Th. A. Lincke's endeavour to rehabilitate Cambyses in *Zur Lösung der Kambysesfrage* (1891) is ingenious but not convincing.

The O. Pers. cuneiform inscriptions first deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson, Lassen, and Benfey have been satisfactorily edited by Fr. Spiegel, *APK*, 1881(2); more recently by Weissbach and Bang (1893). Cp Weissbach, *Die Achämenideninschriften zweiter Art* (1890), and Bezold and Haupt, *Die Ach. Inschr. Babylon. text* (1882).

For the bibliography of *Zoroastrianism*, see ZOROASTRIANISM, and Tiele, *Gesch. v. d. Godsdienst in de Oudheid*, 2, 1901.

F. B., § 1; C. P. T., §§ 2-21.

PERSIS (περcιc [Ti. WH]), probably a deaconess, commended for her labours in the Christian cause (Rom. 16 12).

PERUDA (פְּרוּדָא, 'separated'; φαδογρα [L]). The b'ne Peruda, a group of 'Solomon's servants' (see special article) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9); Ezra 2 55 (RVmg. PERIDA; *φαδουρα* [BA]) = Neh. 7 57 (פְּרִידָא; EV PERIDA; *φερειδα* [Bℵ], *φαρ.* [A])=1 Esd. 5 33 (AV PHARIRA, RV PHARIDA, RVmg. PERUDA; *φαρ[ε]ιδα* [BA]).

PESTILENCE. The different biblical terms for pestilence having been considered elsewhere (see DISEASES), we are able to confine ourselves here to historical and exegetical details.

1. Frequency. The frequency of pestilences in ancient Palestine is strikingly shown by the words of Gad, 'David's seer,' to his king, 'Shall seven years of famine come to thee in thy land? or wilt thou flee three months before thy foes? or shall there be three days' pestilence in thy land?' (2 S. 24 13). There is no doubt a gradation in the calamities specified. To be three months at the mercy of a victorious foe, burning and spoiling in all directions, was worse than even seven years of famine; and even three days' pestilence of the most acute sort would be enough to destroy or to weaken a large part of the population of a city. The less severe calamity would also be more frequent than those which were more destructive. The fact remains, however, that famine, desolation from war, and pestilence, were three well-known terrors, and this is confirmed by 1 K. 8 37, Ezek. 5 12 17, Am. 4 10, in which these three calamities are again given as parallel misfortunes.

2. Egypt. The last of these passages (Am. 4 10) is *historically* very suggestive. EV renders 'I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt' (בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרַיִם); G. A. Smith, 'by way of Egypt.' 'A pestilence' would be better. It is a pestilence of a bad type that is meant, just as in Is. 10 26*b* the 'rod lifted up in the manner of Egypt' is 'a divine judicial act such as Egypt experienced.' The NE. corner of the Nile delta was justly regarded in antiquity as the home of the plague. G. A. Smith has well described the conditions which favoured the outbreak of plague in that district.

'The eastern mouth of the Nile then entered the sea at Pelusium, and supplied a great stretch of mingled salt and fresh water under a high temperature [always accompanied by fevers, as round the Gulf of Mexico]. To the W. there is the swampy Delta; and on the Asiatic side sandhills with only brackish wells. Along the coast there appear to have been always a number of lagoons, separated from the sea by low bars of sand, and used as salt-pans. In Greek and Roman times the largest of these was known as the Serbonian Bog or Marsh. . . . In Justinian's time, the "Bog" was surrounded by communities of salt-makers and fish-curers; filthy villages of underfed and imbecile people, who always had disease among them. The extremes of temperature are excessive.'[1]

In such a country plague must always have been ready to break out, and the infection must often have been brought by trading caravans to Palestine. This illustrates, not only Am. 4 10, but also a passage mistranslated both in AV and in RV, owing to the influence of the traditional prejudice of the Mosaic authorship of

[1] *HG* 157. Cp *Book of Isaiah*, 1 361.

Deuteronomy. The threat which is dramatically attached to the non-observance of the Deuteronomic law is that Yahwè will bring upon Israel 'all the diseases of Egypt which thou wast (not 'art') afraid of' (Dt. 28 60).

It may be partly owing to the consequences of plagues that we have so little historical evidence as to particular outbreaks of pestilence in ancient Palestine.

3. OT references. The references to plagues in Ex. 11 4 12 29 *f.* (the Tenth Plague), Nu. 11 33 (sickness following the quails), 25 18 26 1 (plague through Baal-peor), belong to a cycle of highly legendary didactic narratives (see PLAGUES [TEN]). The story of the boils in 1 S. 5 9-12[1] is also legendary. The honour of the ark of God had to be rescued; the offenders against the sanctity of Yahwè are naturally punished by pestilence, and possibly would have been represented as so punished, even had they dwelt in the N. of Palestine, and not in a part which was closely connected with Egypt by the avenues of commerce.[2] The passage describing the punishment of David's numbering of the people (2 S. 24) is also a didactic narrative; but we cannot deny that a pestilence may have coincided chronologically with the unpopular act of the king. A more authentic witness to a pestilence is the retrospective statement of Amos (4 10), referring to N. Israel. Lastly, we have the famous reference to a pestilence by which Sennacherib's army suffered greatly in 2 K. 19 35 (=Is. 37 36)—a reference which, in the light of literary and historical criticism, is most probably altogether legendary.

It may be well to pause for a little on the Sennacherib passage, because of the new tradition which has sprung up among critics, to the effect that the main fact of 2 K. has received independent confirmation from an Egyptian source.

4. Criticism of Sennacherib's pestilence. Herodotus, indeed, says (2 141) that when Sennacherib, 'king of the Arabians and Assyrians,' invaded Egypt and besieged Pelusium in the days of king Sethos, field-mice gnawed the quivers and shield-handles of the invaders, who fled precipitately. As Skinner puts the common theory—

'Since the mouse was among the Egyptians a symbol of pestilence, we may infer that the basis of truth in the legend was a deadly epidemic in the Assyrian camp; and this is the form of calamity which is naturally suggested by the terms of the biblical narrative. The scene of the disaster is not indicated in the OT record, and there is no obstacle to the supposition that it took place, as in the Egyptian legend, in the plague-haunted marshes of Pelusium' (*Isa. i.-xxxix.*, p. 275).

To this view there are several strong objections. (1) The mouse was not a symbol of pestilence; it is unwise to attempt to prove this by such a late authority as Horapollo (1 50), and such an obscure and corrupt narrative as that in 1 S. 6 (see EMERODS). The story of the field-mice is merely a mythological way of saying that Horus, to whom the mouse was sacred, repelled the foes of Egypt in an unaccountable way.[3] (2) The theory takes no account of the composite character of the Hebrew story. Two narratives of Sennacherib's dealings with Hezekiah have been welded together. According to the one (Is. 36 1-37 9), a report which Sennacherib heard, while still at Lachish,[4] caused him to move camp, and depart on his return to Nineveh ('Isa.' *SBOT* [Eng.], p. 49). According to the other (Is. 37 9*c*-21 33 36),

[1] The text has suffered in transmission (see EMERODS).

[2] G.A.Sm. (*HG* 158 *f.*) supports the historicity of the narrative by the considerations that Philistia was closely connected with Egypt, and that armies are specially liable to infection. The Philistines, he thinks, were struck 'while they were in camp against Israel.' If so, the tradition in 1 S. 5 seems to be not quite accurate (see *vv.* 6, 9, 10).

[3] Use was made of the essay of A. Lang on Apollo and the Mouse in *Custom and Myth* by the present writer in his *Introd. to Isaiah*, 333. More recently, Meinhold has, with German elaborateness, worked on the same lines (*Die Jes.-erzählungen, Jes.* 36-39 33-42). He is not perfectly clear on the narrative of 1 S. 5 *f.*, but inclines to follow Klostermann. In the article EMERODS, the investigation of the textual problems has been carried further. Wellhausen's treatment of the text of 1 S. 5 6 leaves much to be desired.

[4] 2 K. 19 8 (Is. 37 8) has been recast by the editor. See 'Isa.' *SBOT* (Eng.), *l.c.*

on the night after Isaiah had prophesied Sennacherib's failure to enter Jerusalem, a destroying angel went out and slew 185,000 warriors in the Assyrian camp. Both narratives are very late, but the former (rumour), being less didactic, is to be preferred to the latter (pestilence). For the origin of the story of the pestilence,[1] see HEZEKIAH, § 2.

The prism-inscription of Sennacherib may also be quoted against the historicity of the pestilence narrative. If Hezekiah troubled himself to send a special messenger with tribute to Nineveh, it is by no means likely that Sennacherib had been compelled to return by a calamity which almost destroyed his army, and would doubtless be regarded by Hezekiah as a special act of God. On the other hand, the contemporary history of Assyria confirms the accuracy of the 'rumour' narrative. In the following year Sennacherib had as much as he could do in counteracting the restless Chaldæan princes, and we can well believe that the rumour which caused him to move camp from Lachish was really concerned with the machinations of these opponents. The assassination of Sennacherib in the first narrative, too, is undoubtedly historical. Not knowing of it, the second narrator was obliged to represent the pestilence as a just punishment of the enemy of Yahwè.

5. Sickness of Hezekiah.

Many writers have held that the sickness of Hezekiah, referred to in 2 K. 20 (Is. 38), was the plague; and some, following Hitzig, have supposed that it was a case of the same plague as the Assyrian army is said to have suffered from, which 'had got among the people of the country, as sickness in the train of an army usually does.' This view is at first sight plausible. The compiler of the 'second (the pestilence) narrative' certainly held it (cp 'Isa.' *SBOT*), and it is confirmed by Is. 38 6, which implies that Jerusalem is in great danger from the Assyrians. This, however, is, if recent criticism may be followed, an error. The embassy of Merodach Baladan must have preceded the Assyrian invasion. It cannot have had any smaller motive than the wish to organise a general resistance to Assyria (see MERODACH-BALADAN).[2]

It is, however, by no means necessary to accept the compiler's *arrangement* of his material, any more than we always accept the arrangement of material in a gospel. The idea of the writer of 2 K. 19 35 is that the Assyrians who were attacked by the plague died suddenly. The boil (*šĕḥīn*) of Hezekiah seems to have lasted some little time, and need not have been a plague-boil. There are various boil-diseases, sometimes called after the respective cities where they are prevalent. That of Hezekiah may, for instance, have been a malignant carbuncle, for which (not less than for a plague-boil) a poultice of figs would be an appropriate remedy.

Dr. Lauder Brunton[3] has been led to view the disease as 'tonsilitis' from the similarity of some of the symptoms described in the Song of Hezekiah (Is. 38 10-20) with those of some cases of quinsy. Unfortunately, the connection of the Song with an event in the life of Hezekiah is plainly a scribe's fiction, and the psalm, as we may call it, should be grouped with other national psalms of thanksgiving for deliverance. We should hardly think of discussing the symptoms of disease implied in Ps. 6 30 and 88. T. K. C.

PESTLE (עֱלִי), Prov. 27 22. See MORTAR.

PETER. See SIMON PETER.

PETER, THE EPISTLES OF. *1 Peter.*—The so-called first General Epistle of Peter is addressed to 'the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Capadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.' The hypo-

1. First Peter: its readers.

thesis that the letter was written by Simon Peter naturally carries with it the presumption that the persons addressed were Jewish Christians, and the expression 'sojourners of the dispersion' (*παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς*, 1 1) lends it some support. But 'sojourners' (cp 2 11; Heb. 11 13) is probably employed figuratively of Christians in general as earthly pilgrims or strangers, and Weiss stands almost alone in supporting the opinion that the writer had in mind as his readers communities composed chiefly of Jewish Christians. Apart from the fact that the provinces referred to were the field of the Pauline mission, and the improbability that there were separate Jewish-Christian churches there, the epistle contains unmistakable indications that it was addressed to gentile believers, to whom alone are applicable the references to former practices and errors (1 14 18 2 9 *f.* 4 3 *f.*). The readers are represented as persons who had not seen Jesus, who had been 'redeemed' from a former 'vain manner of life' and 'called out of darkness,' and who as strangers and foreigners had a 'time of sojourn' to accomplish in the world, whilst their true fatherland was heaven.

2. Object.

The epistle has been variously interpreted as to its object. On the ground of 1 12 25 and 5 12, it has been maintained that the author, whether Peter or another, wished to establish in the churches of Asia Minor, which had been founded by Paul, the authority of this apostle, so far as it could be confirmed by the approval of the great 'pillar' of the Jewish Christian community, and to show the essential agreement of the two. This view has been to some extent supported by a few scholars who believe that Peter was the author of the epistle. To the older Tübingen school the writing had no other object than to mediate between the Pauline and Petrine factions in the early church. Schwegler accordingly says of the epistle that 'it is an apology for Paulinism written by a follower of Paul for the adherents of Peter—an apology which was effected simply that an exposition of the Pauline doctrine might be put into the mouth of Peter' (*Nachap. Zeitalter*, 2 2). A testimony from Peter to the orthodoxy of Paul was regarded from this point of view as a very effective means of reconciling the adherents of the two great teachers. If, however, such were the object of the writer, it is to say the least surprising that he did not make it more apparent and conspicuous. The passages referred to are too vague to admit of any such special application, and nothing seems to be farther from the writer's thought in general than the Pauline and Petrine controversy, which he stands far above and beyond. In 5 12, the 'grace of God' (*χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ*) does not necessarily refer to the Pauline 'gospel,' but may be explained by 1 13 (the words *εἰς ἣν στῆτε*, 'wherein ye stand,' are with doubtful propriety rendered in RV 'stand ye fast therein'). Without a distinctive dogmatic purpose, the writer addresses himself zealously to the comfort, admonition, and encouragement of his readers, who are assumed to be in need of such an exhortation on account of the persecutions which they are suffering for the sake of their Christian profession (3 12 16 4 4 12 *f.* 5 8-10). These persecutions are represented as proceeding from gentiles, and the writer's chief object is, as Lechler remarks, to impress upon his readers the indissoluble connection and succession of suffering and glory in the life of the believer as in that of Christ himself (1 11 2 21 3 18). Naturally related to this purpose is the prominence given to hope both expressly and indirectly (1 3 21 3 15 4 13 5 10).

If, however, the epistle shows distinctively neither a dogmatic nor a 'mediating' purpose, it is not without traces of the influence of Paul's theological ideas, and may properly be classified with the deutero-Pauline litera-

[1] Gesenius has already explained this. It should be observed that in Is. 37 36 the words 'that night' (see 2 K. 19 35) are omitted.
[2] Cp Che. *Intr. Is.* 221, 227; Marti, *Jesaia*, 265.
[3] Sir Risdon Bennett, M.D., *The Diseases of the Bible*, 144.

ture of the NT, which represents a weakened Paulinism, and may be regarded as denoting the transition from the thought of the great apostle to that of the Fourth Gospel. Faith is made prominent, as 'unto,' and 'the end of' 'salvation' (1 5 9); but its distinctively Pauline contrast with works is not expressed. The doctrine of atonement as set forth by Paul underlies the writer's apprehension of the death of Jesus, which he regards as 'fore-ordained from the foundation of the world'; but it is weakened in the direction of an 'ethical' significance (1 2 2 24 3 18 4 1). The idea of substitution is scarcely expressed, and the blood of Christ is conceived as having a purifying efficacy. He suffered that he might 'bring us to God.' Accordingly, the Pauline doctrine of justification does not find distinctive expression, and the apostle's terminology (δικαιοῦσθαι, δικαιοσύνη) is avoided.

3. Deutero-Pauline character.

The writer's Christology is only partially disclosed by a few intimations which show its general similarity to that of the deutero-Pauline Epistles to the Hebrews and the Ephesians (3 22 4 11; cp Eph. 1 20 Heb. 13 21). The legend of the descent of Christ to the underworld (3 19) appears to be a development of Eph. 4 8-10. In the vague eschatology the prominent Pauline features do not appear; but the idea of partaking of Christ's sufferings and rejoicings 'at the revelation of his glory' (4 13) is probably a reminiscence of Rom. 8 17, 'we suffer with [him] that we may also be glorified with [him]' (*συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν*).

The literary relations of the epistle to the NT literature are many and unmistakable, though the question of dependence is in some cases indeterminable. That the author was familiar with several of the epistles of Paul, and adopted to some extent their ideas and terminology is generally conceded.

Weiss's contention that Paul borrowed from 1 Peter has few if any supporters, and has been characterised as 'the most desperate step taken by modern apologetics.' The parallels with Romans both in thought and phraseology leave no room for doubt of dependence on that epistle. Especially is this true of Rom. 12 1-13 14: cp 1 14 with Rom. 12 2 (*συσχηματίζεσθαι*, not elsewhere in NT); 4 10 *f.* with Rom. 12 3-8 (after the appropriation of an idea from Rom. 12 13); 4 8 1 22 with Rom. 12 9; 3 9 with Rom. 12 17; 2 13 *f.* with Rom. 13 1; 2 19 with Rom. 13 5 (*διὰ συνείδησιν*); 2 1 and 4 1 3 (reminiscences of Rom. 13 12 *f.*); 1 5 4 13 with Rom. 8 17 *f.*; 2 24 with Rom. 6 2 8 18; 3 3 *f.* with Rom. 2 16 29 (*κρυπτά, κρυπτός, ἐν κρυπτῷ*); 2 6 with Rom. 9 33 (citation from OT with Paul's deviations from the Septuagint). Several accords with other epistles of Paul indicate the writer's familiarity with Pauline ideas and forms of expression: cp 1 3, 2 Cor. 1 3; 2 2, 1 Cor. 3 2; 2 4 *f.*, 1 Cor. 3 16 *f.*; 2 11, Gal. 5 17; 2 16, Gal. 5 13; 2 24, Gal. 3 13; 3 6, Gal. 4 26; 3 7, 1 Cor. 7 35; 3 9, 1 Thess. 5 15; 4 3, Gal. 5 21; 5 14, 1 Cor. 16 20. The writer employs a considerable number of terms 'specifically Pauline,' among which may be mentioned *ἀποκάλυψις, ἐλευθερία, ἔπαινος, δόξα, καλεῖν, κληρονομία, καταρτίζειν, τιμή, χαρίσματα, συνείδησις, ἐν χριστῷ*. The plan and grammatical structure of the epistle also are Pauline.

1 Peter contains, in proportion to its length, a large number of words not used elsewhere in the NT. The writer's acquaintance with Mt., Lk., and Acts is probable from 2 12 3 14 16 4 13 *f.* (cp Mt. 5 10-12 16); 5 6 (cp Mt. 23 12), 1 10 *f.* (Lk. 10 24), 1 13 (Lk. 12 35), 1 12 (Acts 2 2), 1 17 (Acts 10 34 35). The accords with Hebrews do not necessarily show a literary relation of the two epistles. Those with Ephesians have been investigated in great detail without a conclusion on which scholars can agree. Perhaps the most that one is warranted in saying is contained in von Soden's remark that so many related expressions, thoughts, and interests indicate that both writers breathed the same atmosphere, and that possibly the writer of one of the epistles knew the work of the other. On relation of James see JAMES [GENERAL EPISTLE].

4. Other literary relations.

The dependence of the epistle upon the letters of Paul, and its Pauline tone, style, and doctrinal basis, indicate a writer who had made himself familiar with that apostle's works, and was in sympathy with his thought. The absence of the mystical profundity of Paul and the softening of some of the harder lines of his teaching as well as several striking accords with Hebrews, show the writer to have been in contact with the later Paulinism which marks the transition to the Johannine theology. Distinct foreshadowings of the ideas of the Fourth Gospel and the epistles ascribed to John are indeed not wanting, although there is no indication of the author's acquaintance with these writings. Cp 1 23 with 1 Jn. 3 9; 1 22 with 1 Jn. 3 3; 5 2, Jn. 10 16 21 16; 3 18, 1 Jn. 3 7; 1 19, Jn. 1 29. These considerations render the Petrine authorship of 1 Peter very improbable. It is very unlikely, besides, that Peter should have written at all to the Pauline gentile churches in Asia Minor. But if he wrote this epistle to them after the death of Paul, as is generally assumed by the advocates of the traditional view, it is surprising that he should not have mentioned to them their revered teacher. Apart from the address there is nothing in the internal character of the epistle to indicate its Petrine authorship. An independent type of doctrine which can with propriety be called Petrine is wanting.

5. Not Petrine.

There is no trace of the questions mooted in the apostolic age. Whilst the writer shows some contact with the Gospel-literature, there is no indication of the fresh and vivid recollections of an eye-witness of the life of Jesus, and the conspicuous ideas of Jesus' preaching, the kingdom of God, eternal life, the Son of Man, repentance, and the Son of God, find no expression. The author's conception of faith is unknown to the synoptics. The goal is not the synoptic 'eternal life' (*ζωὴ αἰώνιος*), but the Pauline 'glory' (*δόξα*). The sympathetic student of Paulinism by whom this epistle to Gentile churches was written cannot have been Peter, the apostle of the circumcision (Gal. 2 7), who 'stood condemned' before Paul at Antioch for 'dissimulation' (Gal. 2 11 *f.*) as to the vital question of the primitive Christian economy. The argument for an apostolical authorship based on 1 3 8 21 and 2 21-23 is groundless in view of analogous expressions in Hebrews. It is altogether improbable that the fisherman Peter who, according to Papias, required an interpreter should have command of a Greek style of the character of this writing. 'I am writing by Silvanus' (*Διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ἔγραψα*: 5 12) indicates Silvanus not as a translator or an amanuensis, much less as the author[1] 92-96 A.D. (v. Soden), but probably as the bearer of the letter (see Acts 23). The reference to Silvanus and to Mark (5 12 *f.*) doubtless belongs to the fiction of the authorship (1 1).

6. Not of apostolic age.

The historical conditions and circumstances implied in the epistle indicate, moreover, a time far beyond the probable duration of Peter's life. Ramsay (*Church in Roman Empire*, 284) calls attention to the fact that 'the history of the spread of Christianity imperatively demands for 1 Peter a later date than 64 A.D.,' the date generally assumed by the defenders of the Petrine authorship. These maintain that the persecutions implied in the passages previously referred to belong to the time of Nero. But the references to the trials to which the persons addressed are exposed do not well fit this period.

7. The persecutions.

The persecution is of wide extent, 'accomplished in the brethren who are in the world' (5 9), whilst that under Nero was limited. It was not until later that the Christians were subjected to a judicial inquiry such as is implied in 3 15, and that they were put on trial for their name (*ὡς Χριστιανός*, 4 16; cp CHRISTIAN, § 6). In the Neronian persecution they suffered for a special offence charged by the emperor in order to remove from himself the suspicion of having set fire to the city *abolendo minori Nero subdedit reos*, etc., Tac. *Ann.* 15 44), whilst in 1 Peter the Christians of Asia Minor are admonished not to subject themselves to punishment as 'evil-doers,' but to glorify God in this name if they suffer as Christians.

There is really nothing in 1 Peter which, fairly considered, applies to the Neronian period. As to the precise later time, however, to which the writing should be assigned one can hardly be very positive. Holtzmann, Hilgenfeld, and Pfleiderer, following Schwegler

[1] [Cp Zahn, *Einl.* 2 10, § 38; B. W. Bacon (*Introd.*, 1900, p. 157), who says, 'all things considered, 1 Peter may still represent to us the adoptive work of Peter, writing "by Silvanus" from Rome to the churches of Paul in Asia.']

and Baur, are quite certain that it could not have been written earlier than the time of Trajan (about 112 A.D.); and it must be conceded that the state of affairs regarding the Christians at that time, as set forth in Pliny's letter to the emperor, accords with certain indications in 1 Peter. Ramsay, (*op. cit.* 288), whilst admitting the force of Holtzmann's argument so far as it bears against the date 64 A.D., decides very positively in favour of 75-80 A.D. (cp PONTUS, § 2), thus doubtless excluding the Petrine authorship. His reason for this judgment is that there were conditions similar to those described in 1 Peter earlier than the time of Trajan, that is, in the last quarter of the first century. But since they also fit the later date, they furnish no ground for excluding it in favour of the earlier. The data supplied in the epistle and in known and precisely determinable historical circumstances do not warrant us in placing its composition more definitely than in the last quarter of the first, or the first quarter of the second, century. The vague greeting (5 13) has given rise to uncertainty as to the place from which the epistle was written. The words 'the elect (one) in Babylon' (ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή) have been interpreted as referring (α) to Peter's wife, (β) to the church in Babylon, and (γ) to the church in Rome. The view (α), though defended by Mayerhoff and Neander, has deservedly found little other support (see Zahn, *Einl.* 2 15*f.*, § 38), and the view β is without probability even on the presumption of the Petrine authorship, since there is no historical evidence of a residence of Peter in Babylon. The later date of the epistle renders it very probable that Babylon is employed figuratively for Rome, according to Rev. 14 8 16 19 17 5 18 2 10 21.

[1 Peter 5 13, ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή. 'Babylon' might mean: (1) the Egyptian Babylon, a view which Chase (Hastings, *DB* 3 213*b*) dismisses perhaps too quickly. For the Roman fortress of Babylon in old Cairo see Butler's *Ancient Coptic Churches in Egypt.* The city was of some importance (Strabo, 17, p. 807), and is sometimes mentioned in ecclesiastical literature; Epiphanius (*Mon.*, ed Dressel, 6) even calls it τὴν μεγάλην Βαβ. The Talmud confounds the Alexandrians with the Babylonians (*Mĕnāḥōth*, 100*a*), because of the Egyptian Babylon. Could a similar confusion have been made by the writer of 1 Peter? To be sure, we should have to give up the opening verse in order to hold this theory, for tradition connected not Peter but Mark with the church at Alexandria. It is true the above-quoted passage adds, καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου. But cp 2 Tim. 4 11

(2) Babylon on the Euphrates. But what evidence is there that Peter was ever at Babylon? Besides, we have sufficient evidence of the growing decadence of ancient Babylon (see Strabo, 16, p. 738; Plin. *NH* 6 122 *cetero ad solitudinem rediit;* Pausanias, viii. 33 3, cp i. 16 3). The Jews dwelt chiefly in the neighbouring cities of Seleucia and Nehardea, and in villages (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9 1-9).

(3) The evidence, both external and internal, in favour of Rome, seems to most scholars overwhelming. See Zahn, *Einl.* 2 17*ff.*, § 39. Asiatic Christians too would probably give this interpretation to the name (see Rev. as above; cp ROMAN EMPIRE).]

8. Extent of use.

The mention of 1 Peter in the spurious 2 Peter (3 1) as if written by the same author and addressed to the same readers, cannot of course be regarded as a 'witness' for its authorship. The relation between 1 Peter and 1 Clement is doubtful (2 9 4 8 cp 1 Clem. 36 2 and 49 5). The writer of Hermas furnishes a testimony only to its existence in the second quarter of the second century, and Papias and Polycarp were acquainted with it, according to Eusebius (*HE* 3 39 4 14)—traces of this knowledge being found in fragments of Papias and the epistle of Polycarp. In the absence, however, of direct citation, and in view of the wavering and unsettled state of opinion as to canonicity during the second century, this use of 1 Peter by the writers in question furnishes no evidence even as to their own judgment regarding its authorship, if indeed, they may be supposed to have formed one. The case is similar with regard to Justin. 1 Peter is quoted as Peter's by Iren., Clem. Alex., Tert., and Orig. As to Tertullian, however, there is some doubt, and according to Westcott 'the actual traces of its early use in the Latin churches are very scanty' (*Canon*, p. 263n.). It is not mentioned in the Muratorian Canon.

9. Second Peter—its object.

2 *Peter.*—2 Peter, like the epistle ascribed to Jude, is vaguely addressed to Christians in general—'to those that have obtained the like precious faith with us' (1 1)—and there is nothing in the contents to indicate that Jewish or Gentile believers were especially intended. Yet in 3 1 the writer inconsistently assumes that the First Epistle was addressed to the same readers, and tells them (1 16 3 15) that they had received instruction from him (ostensibly Peter) and letters from Paul! 2 Peter was plainly written partly for the same purpose as was Jude—to warn the Christians of the time against certain persons whose false teaching and loose living were a menace to the church. This note is struck in 1 16 (σεσοφισμένοις μύθοις), in 2 1 (ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας), in 2 2 (ταῖς ἀσελγείαις), and is emphasised, apparently in imitation of Jude, in 2 10-22. The warning is resumed in 3 14-18. The readers are put on their guard against 'mockers . . . walking after their own lusts,' as in Jude 18, with the additional indication that their mocking is at the delay of the 'coming' (παρουσία) of Christ. These 'mockers' forget the Deluge, and are unmindful of the judgment of 'fire' reserved for 'the heavens that now are and the earth' (3 5 7).

In this connection appears another purpose of the writing, upon which some think the chief emphasis to have been placed, that is, to assure the readers of the certainty of the Parousia in opposition to the scoffers who, it appears (3 4), were talking of its non-arrival or indefinite postponement. The delay, the writer assures them, is due to the Lord's long-suffering, in order that 'all should come to repentance' (3 9) before 'the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men' (3 7).

Peculiar to the author is the eschatological catastrophe depicted in 3 10-12, which he thinks should be 'earnestly desired' and prepared for by 'holy living and godliness.' In the peculiar reference to Paul (3 15*f.*), Schwegler finds 'the real literary motive' of the epistle to be 'the reconciliation and blending, the final and enduring conclusion of peace' between the Petrine and Pauline 'tendencies' (*Nachap. Zeitalter*, 1 505). This reference, however, is too plainly incidental to the discussion of the Parousia to be regarded as the 'motive' of the letter. Baur reaches the same conclusion on the ground that the connection of the theoretical 'knowledge' (ἐπίγνωσις) and the practical 'virtue' (ἀρετή) or 'love' (ἀγάπη) in the Epistle is only another expression for the formula 'faith and works' (πίστις καὶ ἔργα), which in the formation of the Catholic church represented the union of Paulinism and Jewish Christianity (*NT Theol.* 297). This view perhaps shows a correct insight into the character, tendency, and age of the epistle; but as an interpretation of a conscious purpose of the writer it must be regarded as somewhat fanciful.

10. Relation to 1 Peter.

The relation of 2 Peter to 1 Peter renders a common authorship extremely doubtful. The name and title of the author are different. There are only a few words common to both which do not belong to the Christian vocabulary of the time or are not also found in the verses in Jude corresponding to a portion of 2 Peter. The style of the two epistles is different, that of 1 Peter being more facile, Hellenistic in vocabulary and form of words, and richer in thought, and that of 2 Peter showing an attempt to write in pure Greek, the formation of new words some of which belong to the technical-medical usage of the later Greek (see ἐξέραμα, 2 22 and καυσοῦσθαι, 3 10), and repetition of the same words, particularly prepositions.

In 1 Peter the second coming of Christ is regarded as nearer than in 2 Peter, and is called ἀποκάλυψις, whilst in 2 Peter it is designated παρουσία (1 Pet. 1 7 13 4 13; 2 Pet. 1 16 3 4). The terms κληρονομία (1 Pet. 1 4) and αἰώνιος βασιλεία (2 Pet. 1 11) also are significant, as well as the two forms of expression ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων (1 Pet. 1 20 [BℵA; ℵ* τοῦ χρόνου]) and ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν (2 Pet. 3 3 [BℵA]). The prominent ἐλπίς of 1 Peter gives place to γνῶσις or ἐπίγνωσις in 2 Peter and ῥαντισμός to καθαρισμός. In the first Epistle

the diction shows the influence of the OT throughout, in the second not at all.

These differences in words and style have been noticed since the time of Jerome (Holtzmann, *Einl.* 526, and von Soden, *HC* 3*b* 193). Moreover, as to doctrinal differences, the atonement of Christ which is made prominent in the first Epistle is barely touched upon in the second. In contrast with the first Epistle the OT is little quoted in the second (2 22 3 8); but dependence upon it is apparent in several instances (1 19-21 2 1 15 16 3 2 5 6), and the apocryphal is not distinguished from the canonical literature (3 4-8). The familiarity with the Pauline writings evident in the author of the first Epistle does not appear in 2 Peter, and apart from Jude the accords with the NT literature are unimportant. The reference in 1 14 to Jn. 21 18 is doubtful.

Whilst all the indications point to a date later than that of the first Epistle, they do not serve for its precise determination. An advanced period in the second century, perhaps the latter half, is indicated by the warning against false teachers who are not mentioned in 1 Peter.

11. Late and non-apostolic.

The manner, however, in which they are characterised is so confused and vague that it is hazardous to attempt to apply the features indicated to any particular sect, although the opinion that the writer had antinomian Gnostics in mind is well-grounded. He betrays uncertainty and want of independence in having recourse to the figures and allusions of Jude which he distorts and confuses (cp 2 11 with Jude 9; 2 12 Jude 10; 2 17 Jude 12 *f.*; 3 2 Jude 17), and it is probable that he had in view the heretics against whom that Epistle was directed. They are false teachers who bring in 'destructive heresies' (2 1), and carry on their work of 'enticing unsteadfast souls' in a love of gain (2 14). The reference to Gnosticism is scarcely mistakable in σεσοφισμένοις μύθοις (1 16; EV 'cunningly devised fables'), and its phase is indicated in the charge that the false teachers promise a certain (false) 'liberty' (ἐλευθερία) while they themselves are 'bondservants' of corruption (2 19), and find support in the Pauline teaching, 'wresting' it 'to their own destruction' (3 16). The opinion appears tenable that this appeal of the writer to 'our beloved brother Paul' (3 15) indicates a disposition not so much to 'mediate' between the Pauline and Petrine parties—a matter which was doubtless far from his thought—as to combat the Gnostic and libertine tendencies of the time by placing the great apostle at his side against those who as Antinomians were perverting that apostle's teachings.

The reasons based on the character of the Epistle for doubting its Petrine authorship have been repeatedly stated and elaborated by the critical school, and no valid refutation of them has ever been effected. Although the writer's dependence upon Jude cannot now, as in Schwegler's time, be regarded as 'an axiom of NT criticism,' its probability and the consensus of authorities may be said to furnish a presumption against an apostolical authorship. The author endeavours rather too earnestly to make it appear that he is the original apostle Peter (1 1 14 18 3 15), and yet his appeal to an apostolic authority does not accord with this assumed rôle (3 2), even if 'your' (ὑμῶν [BℵA]) be the correct reading. The doubts regarding the Parousia implied in the Epistle and the expedient resorted to in order to answer them belong to a time far beyond the apostolic age. The classification of the Pauline Epistles with 'Scriptures' indicates a period not very remote from that of a developed conception of the canonicity of the NT writings, as does also the apparent reluctance to follow the writer of Jude in quoting the apocryphal Enoch. The supposition that an apostle should have written a letter like this addressed to no churches with which he had ostensibly had relations, touching no special needs or conditions of theirs, and warning against false teachers located nowhere and described partly in a vague and confused manner, partly in terms borrowed from another Epistle, is in the highest degree improbable.

The tardy recognition of 2 Peter in the early church supports the judgment of the critical school as to its unapostolical authorship. The few verbal accords in Clemens Romanus do not even show a literary dependence, much less the priority of 2 Peter. The case is similar with Hermas, 2 Clement, and the *Martyrium Polycarpi*. The apparent contact in Barnabas 15 4 (ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη), and in Justin and Irenæus is explicable from Ps. 90 4. The passage in Theophilus *ad Autol.* 2 9, cited by Zahn, is questionable. According to Cassiodorus Clement of Alexandria commented on the writings of the Bible *ab ipso principio usque ad finem*, and Eusebius says that he explained all the canonical Scriptures, not omitting those which are disputed—the Epistle of Jude and the other Catholic Epistles. These statements render his acquaintance with 2 Peter probable but not certain. It is, however, worthy of note that in a passage in the *Stromata* Clement appears, like Irenæus, to have known only one Epistle of Peter (ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ . . . λέγει). His attitude toward the second Epistle, if he knew it, was probably that of Origen, who speaks of it as 'doubted' (ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ, Eus. *HE* 6 25). Eusebius says it was controverted and not received into the canon (οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι, *HE* 3 3 25). Didymus mentions it as a fact not to be concealed that it was regarded as forged (*falsatam*) and was not in the canon, and Jerome says that most persons deny it to have been written by Peter on account of its disagreement in style with the first. It does not appear in the Muratorian canon or in the Pĕshīttā.

12. Recognition.

13. Literature.

Besides the standard German and English Introductions to the NT and the works referred to in this article, the most important discussions of the two Epistles are contained in the commentaries or special works of Dietlein (1851; 2 Pet. only), Schott (1863), Huther in Meyer (1852, ET 1881), Frohnmüller 3 in Lange (1871), Ewald (*Die Sieben Sendschreiben*, etc. [1870]), Hundhausen (*Die beiden Pontifical-schreiben*, etc. [1873-1878]), Keil (*Pet. u. Judas* [1853]), Holtzmann and Schenkel (*Bib. Lex.*), Sieffert (*PRE*(2) [1883]), B. Weiss (*Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff* [1855], and *St. Kr.*, 1866, pp. 256 *ff.*, 'Die Petrinische Frage; Das Verhaltness zum Judasbrief'), Spitta (*Der 2 Brief des Pet. u. der Br. des Judas* [1885]), Hilgenfeld (*ZWTh.* [1873]), Immer (*NT Theol.*), Pfleiderer (*Das Urchristenthum*), E. A. Abbott (*Expositor*, 2nd Series, 3 49 *ff.*, on relation of 2 Peter to Jos.), Deissmann (*Bibelstudien* [1895], 244 *f.* 277 *ff.*), M'Giffert (*Hist. of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* [1897], 482 *ff.* 596 *ff.* 600 *ff.*), Harnack (*Die Chronologie* [1897], 450-475, 'Die unter dem Namen des Petrus fünf Schriften'), Bigg, *Peter and Jude* ('Intern. Crit. Comm.'), J. Monnier, *La prem. Ép. de l'apôtre Pièrre* (1900), Hort (a fragment, on 1 Pet. 1 1-2 17, published posthumously 1898), and F. H. Chase (articles in Hastings, *DB*, vol. 3; non-Petrine authorship of 2 Peter is granted).

[See also van Manen, *Handleiding voor de oudchristelijke Letterkunde* (1900), pp. 64-67; 1 Peter probably written in Asia Minor between 130 and 140, 2 Peter about 170, perhaps in Egypt. Van Manen regards the stay of Peter at Rome as highly uncertain, not to say, improbable, in spite of what Lightfoot brings forward in *Clement of Rome*, ii. 493.] O. C.

[The present position of conservative criticism may be seen from the sixth edition of part 12 of Meyer's commentary on the NT, which is the work of Prof. E. Kühl (1897). The attempt is there made to prove critically the authenticity of 1 Pet. and of Jude, as well as of 2 Pet. 2 3 3-18. The first Epistle of Peter was, Kühl thinks, addressed to Jewish Christians, and the passages 1 1 2 25 4 3 2 2 1 14 18 2 9 *f.* 3 6 are carefully studied in order to prove this. Unfortunately there is no trace of Jewish-Christian views (maintenance of the political forms of Judaism, of the prerogative of the Jewish people, and of the Mosaic Law as necessarily to be observed by those who are born Jews) anywhere in the epistle, which (as Weiffenbach has pointed out) may much more correctly be regarded as a monument of a mild and liberal Petrinism (cp Gal. 2 7 *ff.*), which made salvation depend exclusively on faith in Christ, and transferred the observance of the law by born Jews to the domain of custom. But this view of Christianity is not even conceivable apart from the influence of Paulinism. Nor has Kühl succeeded in making the existence of Jewish-Christian communities in the provinces of Pontus, etc. (1 1) in the pre-Pauline period at all probable. The opening verse (with the address of the epistle), together with the literary relation of 1 Peter to the Pauline epistles, points decidedly to the later—*i.e.*, post-Pauline—period. See further Chase, 'Peter, First Epistle,' Hastings, *DB* 3 782 *f.* (small type passage).

In his introduction to 2 Peter, Kühl begins by discussing the relation of 2 Peter to the Epistle of Jude and also the question

of its unity. His result is that at any rate 2 Pet. 2 1-3 2 was written under the influence of the Epistle of Jude. The picture of the 'libertines' in Jude is evidently a description of phenomena actually present to the writer; it has in a high degree the note of unity. The second chapter of 2 Peter, however, has a Janus-face, inasmuch as the first half of it deals with the lying teachers of the future, and the second with the errors of the present. It is, therefore, as compared with Jude, secondary. On the other hand, there are passages in the other parts of 2 Peter which either are (2 3, cp Jude 17 *f.*) or, apart from preconceived theory, may possibly be original as compared with passages in Jude. On the whole, the second Epistle of Peter, without this interpolation, is to be regarded as authentic.

It should be added that Bertholdt (*Einl.* [1819], pp. 3157 *ff.*) had already declared 2 Pet. 2 to be an interpolation dependent on Jude, that Ullmann (*Krit. Unters. des 2 Pet.* [1821]) would only allow chap. 1 1 to be the work of Peter, and that Gess (*Das apost. Zeugniss von Chr. Person*, 2 2 [1879], pp. 412 *ff.*) regarded 1 20*b* (ὅτι πᾶσα)—3 3*a* (γινώσκοντες) as an interpolation. Weiffenbach, too (*TLZ*, Nov. 26, 1898, col. 364 *ff.*), agrees with Kühl that 2 Pet. 2 1-3 2 is an interpolation dependent on Jude.]

PETHAHIAH (פְּתַחְיָה, § 27; 'Yahwè opens [the womb],' but adapted perhaps from an ethnic name such as תַּפּוּחִי, 'a Tappuhite' [Che.]).

1. Eponym of one of the twenty-four priestly courses; 1 Ch. 24 16 (φεταια [B], φεθεια [A], φαθια [L]).

2. A Levite, temp. Ezra; Ezra 10 23 (φαδαια [B], φααια [ℵ], φεθεια[ς] [AL]), Neh. 9 5 (BℵA om.; φεσσιας [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 23 PATHEUS (παθαιος [B], φαθ. [A], φεθειας [L]).

3. b. Meshezabel, of the Zerahite branch of the tribe of Judah, was 'at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people,' by which expression we are most probably to understand that he acted as commissary of the Persian king at Jerusalem in the absence of Nehemiah (Neh. 11 24, παθαια [B], φαθ. [AL], παθεια ℵ*], φαθ. [ℵc.a]).

PETHOR (פְּתוֹר; φαθουρα [BFL]), a place 'by the river,' where, according to the present text of Nu. 22 5 (Βαθουρα [A]), Balaam dwelt. In Dt. 23 4 [5] (𝔊BAL om.) it is called 'Pethor of Aram-naharaim,' a phrase which seems to imply an identification of Pĕthōr with a place called Pitru (see inscr. of Shalmaneser II., *RP*(2) 4 40, *KB* i. 133 162 *ff.*, and cp Schr. *KGF* 220 *ff.*, and, for Egyptian notices, *RP*(2) 5 38 6 32; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 98 267). This important city lay on the W. of the Euphrates, or, more precisely, at the point where that river is joined by the Sagur (mod. *Sājūr*), therefore a few miles S. of Carchemish. The district containing it belonged to the Aramæans, who had been expelled by Tiglath-Pileser I., but had won Pitru back from a later Assyrian king. Shalmaneser II. adds that he himself recovered the place, and settled it anew with Assyrian colonists. In modern times this identification was first made by E. Hincks; it has been adopted by Sayce, Schrader, and Frd. Delitzsch.

See especially Sayce, 'The Site of Pethor,' *Acad.* Sept. 16, 1876, p. 291; Schr. *KGF* 220 *ff.*; Del. *Par.* 269.

That Pethor rightly stands in Dt. 23 5 [4] cannot be doubted, and it must have been read very early in Nu. 22 5, for on this passage Dt. 23 5 [4] is based. Nevertheless the earliest form of the story of Balaam cannot have traced his origin to a place called Pethor. For no such place as Pethor existed in the Euphrates region. Pĕthōr would be in Assyrian Pitāru, while Pitru would be in Hebrew Pether (Păthăr). Nor is it even certain that the true text of Dt. 23 5 placed Pethor in the far north; נהרים, in the phrase ארם נהרים (Aram-naharaim), may perhaps be a corruption of ירחמאל, a frequent gloss on ארם. If so, 'Pethor of Jerahmeel' refers to some place on the N. Arabian border.

The Euphrates is not the only stream called *par excellence* הַנָּהָר, 'the river'; there is another—that near which Rehoboth lay, the city of the Aramite king Shaul (see SAUL, 2). It was in short the river of Miṣrim, miscalled traditionally 'the river of Egypt' (see EGYPT, RIVER OF). This is the Wādy el-'Arīš, the border-stream of the N. Arabian land of Muṣri or Muṣur (see MIZRAIM). To obtain a clear and consistent geography the 'river' beside which was the home of Balaam, must be the river by which Rehoboth lay. This is confirmed by the fact (as we may fairly regard it) that Miṣrim (*i.e.*, Muṣri) occurs twice in a corrupted form in the list of Edomite (or perhaps, rather, Aramite —*i.e.*, Jerahmeelite) kings in Gen. 36 31-39 (see BELA, DINHABAH, ME-ZAHAB). No such place-name as Pethor, however, is known to have existed S. of Palestine. The name suggests a connection with פתר, 'to interpret (a dream),' and is improbable; indeed, in Nu. 22 5 Pesh. renders, not 'to Pethor,' but 'an interpreter of dreams' (*pāšōrā*). There must be a corruption in the text. Probably פתורה is due to an accidental shifting of the letters of the true word, which must have been צָרְפָתָה, 'to Zarephath.' The earlier form of Nu. 22 5 was, 'So he sent messengers to Bil'am ben Beor (or rather Achbor) to Zarephath, which is by the river, to the land of the b'ne Jerahmeel' (עמו comes from עַמּוֹן, which is not unfrequently a corruption of ירחמאל). C. Niebuhr's bold conjecture (*Gesch.* 1 295), 'Pathros' for 'Pethor,' at any rate implies a just disbelief in Pethor.

See Che. 'The Land of Muṣri,' etc., *OLZ*, May 1899.

T. K. C.

PETHUEL (פְּתוּאֵל, 'God's simple one'?—cp Ps. 19 7 [8]; Merx and Nowack prefer 𝔊's Βαθουηλ [see JOEL, § 1]), father of the prophet Joel (Joel 1 1).

An examination of the occurrences of the name JOEL (*q.v.*) suggests that it was a favourite S. Israelitish name, and it may even be held that there is a group of similar names, such as Eliel, Elijah, Elihu, and Eliab, and also Joel, which arose out of corruptions of Jerahmeel. It is noteworthy, as indicating one stage in the process of development, that one of the Joels also appears under the name IGAL (יגאל); see 2 S. 23 36; his father's name was Nathan (an expansion of the Jerahmeelite name Ethan). Kuenen (*Ond.*(2), § 69, n. 14, p. 354) has already suggested that 'Joel' may be an assumed name, and that the writer of the prophecy (who in 2 11 31 [3 4] alludes to Mal. 4 5 [3 23]), may call himself Joel (=Elijah) to indicate that he is 'the teacher for righteousness' (Joel 2 23?), the true Elijah announced in Mal. 4 5 [3 23]. Now it is far from improbable that Elijah was a Jerahmeelite—'of Zarephath-jerahmeel' (see THISBE)—and that not only Elijah and Joel [see above] but also Bethuel (see LABAN) or Pethuel is a worn-down form of Jerahmeel. The impulse to prophesy was perhaps specially strong among Jerahmeelites. Cp PROPHECY, § 7. T. K. C.

PETRA (סֶלַע), Is. 16 1 AVmg., EV SELA.

PEULTHAI, RV **Peullethai** (פְּעֻלְּתַי, like פלתי, a distortion of צָרְפָתִי, Zarephathite, צ and ע, ר and ל being confounded; ιαφθοσλααθι [B], φολλαθι [A], φελλαθι [L]), one of the sons of OBED-EDOM (*q.v.*), 1 Ch. 26 5†, in a context full of distorted ethnic and gentilic names. T. K. C.

PHAATH MOAB (φααθ' μωαβ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 11 = Ezra 2 6, PAHATH-MOAB.

PHACARETH (φακαρεθ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 34 = Ezra 2 57, POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM.

PHAEZELDAEUS (φαηζελδαιου [B]), 1 Esd. 5 38 RVmg. = Ezra 2 61, BARZILLAI.

PHAISUR (φαισουρ [B]), 1 Esd. 9 22 = Ezra 10 22, PASHUR, 3.

PHALDAIUS, RV **Phaldeus** (φαλ(α)δαιος [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 44 = Neh. 8 4, PEDAIAH, 5.

PHALEAS (φαλαιου [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 29 = Ezra 2 44, PADON.

PHALEK (φαλεκ [Ti. WH]), Lk. 3 35 AV, RV PELEG (*q.v.*).

PHALIAS (φαλιας [B]), 1 Esd. 9 48 RV = Neh. 8 7, PELAIAH, 2.

PHALLU (פַּלּוּא), Gen. 46 9 AV, RV PALLU (*q.v.*).

PHALTI (פַּלְטִי), 1 S. 25 44 AV, RV PALTI (*q.v.*).

PHALTIEL (פַּלְטִיאֵל), 2 S. 3 15 AV, RV PALTIEL.

PHANUEL (φανουηλ [Ti. WH]; cp PENUEL), of the tribe of Asher, father of Anna the prophetess (Lk. 2 36). See ANNA.

PHARACIM, RV **Pharakim** (φαρακεμ [B], φαρακειμ [A], om. L), a post-exilic family of Nethinim (1 Esd. 5 31) unmentioned in Ezra and Nehemiah. 'Sons of Pharakim' perhaps represents an original בְּנֵי הַפְּרָכִים—the guild who had the care of the temple-hangings; cp פרכם in Phœn. *CIS* i. no. 86 A 5 10. See NETHINIM.

S. A. C.

PHARAOH (פַּרְעֹה; φαραω; *Pharao*), the name given to all Egyptian kings in the Bible. Evidently like our expressions 'the Tsar,' 'the Mogul,' etc., it must have been a native word for 'king,' or one of the chief titles of the Egyptian rulers. The omission of the article shows its

1. History of name.

stereotyped use among the Hebrews. Later, the connection: Pharaoh, king of Egypt (Ex. 6 11, etc.), shows a tendency of the word Pharaoh to become a proper name, as which it seems to stand in the NT, etc. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 6 2, § 155) correctly states that Pharaoh meant 'king' in Egyptian.

We are now certain that the word is derived from the expression for 'king' used by the later Egyptians.

The Coptic form is (ϵ)ⲣⲣⲟ, Lower Egyptian ⲟⲩⲣⲟ, with the article ⲡ(ϵ)ⲣⲣⲟ, ⲫⲟⲩⲣⲟ. So, already, Jablonski (*Opusc.* 1 376). The group of signs corresponding to this in the latest writings of the pagan Egyptians can be traced back through its representatives in demotic and hieratic to the early form *Per-'o*[1] (originally, '*o*,' final Aleph having fallen away) 'the great house, the palace.' This hieroglyphic group was first compared with the Hebrew word by de Rougé (cp Ebers, *Äg. u. Bücher Mosis*, 264). It is remarkable that the Greek tradition in Horapollo still knew that *οἶκος μέγας* = 'king.'

The expression occurs already in the texts of the pyramid-period from dynasty four onwards (later, *e.g.*, in the famous inscription of 'Una,' *l.* 8) in titles like 'only friend of the Great House.' 'Great House' is a paraphrase for 'king' due to reverence, exactly like the modern expressions 'the holy see' for 'pope,' 'the Porte' or 'the Sublime Porte,' etc. In the early period referred to, it was not yet possible to use 'great house' as perfectly synonymous with 'king.' Expressions like 'to follow the Great-House on his chariot' (Pap. Orbiney, 17 5; dyn. 19), in which the etymology begins to be forgotten, do not occur in the time of the Old or the Middle Empire. It is only in the vernacular style of the New Empire that the title can be used in the loose way quoted above;[2] it becomes the usual word for 'king,' superseding the earlier expressions like *ḥnf* ('His Majesty') and *stn*, only at a much later date. Consequently the Hebrews can have received it only after 1000 B.C.

In confirmation of this, we see from the Amarna letters that the title was unknown in Asia about 1400 B.C. The absence of the word in the Assyrian texts (the alleged *Pir'u*, king of Egypt, belongs rather, as Winckler has shown, to the Arabian country *Muṣri*) is, however, no cogent argument. No Semitic language except Hebrew adopted the word; the Koranic form Fir'aun shows the influence of Syrian Christianity.

The rendering in Hebrew orthography is remarkably good and archaic. The strange vocalisation is supported by 𝔊 and, therefore, must not be abandoned too lightly;[3] perhaps it represents an archaic pronunciation.

Other Egyptian etymologies which have been suggested cannot be upheld. *p-Re'* 'the sun' (Rosellini, Wilkinson, etc.), for example, never was the common designation of the king, and would, in Hebrew letters, give only פרע. Lepage Renouf, *PSBA* 15 421, proposed a Hebrew derivation from the root פרע, ('to be noble') with little probability.

We proceed to an enumeration of the various Pharaohs mentioned in the OT.

2. OT Pharaohs. 1. Abraham's Pharaoh (Gen. 12 15 *f.*) has, on the basis of a computation of the lives of the patriarchs, been placed in dynasty 12. If the latest chronology is to be followed, we ought rather to go back to dynasty 11. As, however, this Pharaoh seems to be only a misunderstood prince of southern Palestine (cp the parallel Gen. 26 and see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), all discussions are idle.

2. Joseph's Pharaoh lived, according to Ex. 12 40, some 430 years before the Exodus. The usual theory with regard to the Exodus (see below, 3) would bring us down to about 1700 B.C. That would correspond with the period of the Hyksos dynasty, perhaps more accurately with the reign of its first kings. The tradition of Apophis (EGYPT, § 52)—whether it rest on a correct calculation or on Josephus' confusion of Hyksos and Israelites—is remarkable, but would bring us to the end of the Hyksos-time, which does not seem to furnish a smooth calculation. All this depends, however, on the Exodus-chronology.

3. The Pharaoh of the oppression and his successor (cp Ex. 2 23 4 19) would according to Ex. 1 11 be undoubtedly Rameses II. and his son, Me(r)neptaḥ. This theory has now, however, been finally upset by the discovery of the Israel-stele which proves that in Merneptaḥ's fifth year Israel was in Asia. See EGYPT, §§ 58-60, on this conflict. It may be mentioned that the mummy of the alleged Pharaoh of the Exodus (Merneptaḥ) has recently been found in Thebes and is now in the museum of Cairo. A theory of Bunsen, placing the Exodus in the troubled time of Amenophis IV. and his immediate successors (1400 B.C. and later; EGYPT, § 56), might be supported by Josephus's extract from Manĕtho; but its four or five kings are in such inextricable confusion that nothing can be proved by the passage. For the rest, there is much that militates against such theories. [Cp MOSES.]

4. The Pharaoh contemporary with Solomon, father-in-law of the Israelite king (1 K. 9 16 24 11 1, etc.), and also of his adversary Hadad (11 18),—if one and the same person are meant,—would be one of the last kings of the twenty-first Tanitic dynasty, or Shoshenḳ I., the founder of dynasty twenty-two (EGYPT, § 63). It is, however, again very doubtful whether originally the reference was really to some Egyptian ruler(s) and not rather to Muṣrites (see HADAD, MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*).

5. In 1 K. 14 25, it is very remarkable that Shishak—Shoshenḳ I.—is called not Pharaoh, but simply king of Egypt. Griffith (in his most valuable article 'Pharaoh' in Hastings' *BD*) draws the conclusion that the verse containing the expression belongs to a source earlier than the Pentateuchal sources, which employ regularly the expression Pharaoh. [But cp *Crit. Bib.*, where it is held that there is a confusion between Cushi, king of Miṣrim, and Shishak, king of Miṣraim.]

6. On Pharaoh-Necho see NECHO, and (7) on Pharaoh Hophra see HOPHRA. The latter is meant by the Pharaoh of Ezek. 29 32. [Cp, however, PROPHECY, and *Crit. Bib.*] W. M. M.

PHARATHON (ⲫⲁⲣⲁⲑⲱⲛ [Aℵ^c.a V]), 1 Macc. 9 50 RV, AV **Pharathoni**. See PIRATHON.

PHARES (ⲫⲁⲣⲉⲥ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 3 Lk. 3 33 AV, RV PEREZ (*q.v.*).

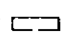
PHAREZ. 1. (פֶּרֶץ), Gen. 38 29 AV, RV PEREZ. 2. (*φαρες* [BL]), 1 Esd. 8 30 AV = Ezra 8 3, PAROSH.

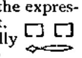
PHARIDA (ⲫⲁⲣ[ⲉ]ⲓⲇⲁ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 33 RV, AV **Pharira** = Ezra 2 55, PERUDA (*q.v.*).

PHARISEES. See SCRIBES AND PHARISEES.

PHAROSH (פַּרְעֹשׁ), Ezra 8 3 AV, RV PAROSH (*q.v.*).

PHARPAR (פַּרְפַּר; ⲁⲫⲁⲣⲫⲁ [B], ⲫⲁⲣⲫⲁ [B^a mg. b], ⲫⲁⲣⲫⲁⲣⲁ [A], ⲫⲁⲣⲫⲁⲣ [L]; *Pharphar* [Vg.]), one of the 'streams (נהרות) of Damascus,' 2 K. 5 12. The identification of the Pharpar can hardly be doubtful, though it has not been so unanimously agreed upon as that of its fellow-stream, the ABANA or AMANA [*q.v.*]. Those who insist on interpreting 'Damascus' in the question of Naaman to mean the city of that name have to identify the Pharpar with the Nahr Taura,[1] which is one of the principal streams into which the Nahr Baradā

[1] . The later Egyptians omitted the initial p, a popular etymology taking it for the article, which was felt to be ungrammatical as long as the expression was used for '*the* king'—*i.e.* of Egypt.

[2] In this period it is frequently written playfully  'the great (double) house,' which does not alter the pronunciation. In Greek times, even a feminine t-[p]er-'o, Copt. ⲧⲉⲣⲣⲟ 'the queen' can be formed.

[3] The only analogy would be ⲣⲉⲙⲁⲱ 'rich man.' This stands, however, for *reme-'o*, and the short vowel has been coloured to *a* by the '*Ain*. *Per*, 'house,' on the other hand, has in all cases been shortened down to *P* (cp PIBESETH, PITHOM) and does not seem ever to have had two syllables. The question remains open. The king Pheron of Herodotus may be one of that historian's many misunderstandings, and may simply have meant 'king.'

[1] So Rev. W. Wright of Damascus, *Leisure Hour*, 1874, p. 284 (cp *Expos.*, Oct. 1896, p. 295 *f.*), and long ago Benjamin of Tudela. This identification is supported by the Arabic version.

is divided, and contributes largely to the fertility of the 'meadow-land' (*el-merj*) of Damascus. It may of course be permitted to assume that there was a time when the Nahr Taura flowed through Damascus, not merely, as it does now, a little to the N., for the site of the city of Benhadad cannot have been exactly coincident with that of the Damascus of to-day.[1] But how unnecessary it is to put this limitation on the meaning of 'Damascus,' will be seen by comparing 2 S. 8 5 *f.* 1 Ch. 18 5 *f.* Is. 7 8 Am. 1 3 (?), where Damascus is used as the name of the leading Aramæan state. In the question of Naaman, it is not Damascus the city but Damascus the country that forms the natural antithesis to Israel. As soon as these facts are grasped, it becomes natural to identify the Pharpar with the *Nahr el-A'waj* ('the crooked'),[2] which is the only independent stream of importance in the required district besides the Baradā. This river has two principal sources.

One source is near the village of 'Arnī, on the E. side of Hermon, the other, in a wild glen, 2 m. above the village of Beit Jenn, known to travellers on their way from Bāniās to Damascus. The two streams, called the Nahr 'Arnī and the Nahr Jennānī, unite at Sa'sa' and form the *A'waj* which flows from this point onwards in a general direction NW. by N.; it is no 'brawling brook' (W. Wright) but a copious stream, from which, according to Porter, ancient canals carry the water to places in the neighbourhood of Damascus. It dies out at last in a marsh a little to the S. of that in which the Baradā disappears.

The name Pharpar has been thought to survive in that of the Nahr (Wādy) Barbar, which also rises on the E. side of Hermon, but farther to the N., and flows S. of Damascus.[3] Burton indeed declares, 'There is absolutely no *Wady Barbar.* . . . But there is a *Jebel Barbar* which may be seen from Damascus' (*Unexplored Syria*, 1 115, n. 8). This, however, does not really touch the identification of names. T. K. C.

PHARZITES (הַפַּרְצִי), Nu. 26 20 AV, RV PEREZITES. See PEREZ.

PHASEAH (פָּסֵחַ), Neh. 7 51 AV, RV PASEAH (*q.v.*).

PHASELIS (φαcηλιc [ℵV], Bαcιλειδαν [A],[4] 1 Macc. 15 23), a Dorian colony on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia, standing on a small peninsula, the first land sighted on the voyage from Cilicia to Rhodes (Livy, 37 23), 'over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia' (Acts 27 5). It was not originally Lycian (cp Strabo, 667); but later it was incorporated, and finally became a member of the Lycian League (cp coins, and *CIG* 4324, 4332: so Kalinka in Kiepert's *Festschrift*, 1898, p. 167 *f.*), and marked the eastern limit of Lycian extension. The town possessed no fewer than three harbours, and was a great place of maritime trade (Strabo, 666; Thuc. 2 69, τὸν πλοῦν τῶν ὁλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φασήλιδος, and *id.* 8 88; Pol. 30 9). A testimony to its far-reaching commerce is the fact that, before the middle of the sixth century B.C., it shared in the Hellenion, or sanctuary and 'emporium' of the Greeks at Naucratis in Egypt (Herod. 2 178).[5] Hence Phaselis had a Jewish colony in 139 B.C. (1 Macc. 15 23).

The importance of Phaselis lay not solely in commerce. Above it rose the Solyma mountains (*Takhtali Dagh*), which left only a narrow passage by the sea—the pass of Mt. Klimax—which was often overflowed by the waves when the wind was E.: here Alexander and his army barely escaped with their lives in 334 B.C. (Strabo, 666 *f.*; cp Spratt and Forbes, *Travels*, 1 198 *f.*). In Roman times the commerce of Phaselis had degenerated into piracy, with the result that the town lost its independence in 77-75 B.C.[1]

The place is now called *Tekir-ova*: it shows considerable remains of its harbours, and of a theatre, stadium, and temple. The temple of Athens at Phaselis claimed to possess the spear of Achilles (*Paus.* iii. 3 8).

See further description in Beaufort, *Karamania*, 56 *f.*

W. J. W.

PHASIRON, THE SONS OF, an unknown Arabian tribe whom Jonathan the Maccabee smote (1 Macc. 9 66 φαcιρων [A], φαcειρων [ℵ], φαριcων [V]), if 'sons of Pharison' (so V) is not due to a misunderstanding of בְּנֵי פָרִיצִים, 'members of a robber-band'; cp Dan. 11 14. T. K. C.

PHASSARON, RV **Phassurus** (φαccoyρoy [A]), 1 Esd. 5 25 = Ezra 2 38, PASHHUR (RV), 3.

PHEBE (φοιβη [Ti. WH]), Rom. 16 1 AV, RV PHŒBE (*q.v.*).

PHENICE. 1. (φοινικη [Ti. WH]), Acts 11 19, etc., AV, RV PHŒNICIA (*q.v.*).

2. (Φοίνιξ, or Φοινιξ [Ti. WH]), Acts 27 12, AV, RV PHŒNIX.

The corn-ship from Alexandria in which Paul was being conveyed to Italy (Acts 27 6) was so long weather-bound at Fair Havens on the S. coast of Crete that the voyage could not be accomplished that year (*v.* 9), and it became necessary to select a harbour in which to winter (*v.* 12). The centurion, who in a ship of the imperial corn-fleet ranked as senior officer (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 323 *f.*), took the advice of the captain and the sailing-master (EV wrongly 'the master and the owner' for κυβερνήτης and ναύκληρος of *v.* 11), and resolved to run westwards if possible to port Phœnix (in which attempt, however, they failed).

To this course Paul himself was opposed, on what grounds we are not told;[2] nor again is his precise position in the ship made clear.

The expression in *v.* 12 (οἱ πλείονες, 'the more part advised') must not be taken to imply a general consultation of the entire ship's company (Weiss, *Apostelg.*, *l.c.*). Nor can we accept the vague statement that Paul was 'a person of rank whose convenience was to some extent consulted, and whose experience as a traveller was known to be great' (so Ramsay, *op. cit.*), as helping to explain how a prisoner should have taken part in a council of experts. The liberty accorded to Paul at Sidon (*v.* 3) obviously stands in a quite different category. Paul had absolutely no experience of the central or western Mediterranean; and captains and sailing-masters were scarcely likely to ask the opinion of amateur sailors. We must be on our guard against the falsity of the perspective of the writer of Acts, who of course looks at all from the point of view of his hero, and depicts Paul everywhere as the central figure. It may be doubted whether anything more ought to be extracted from the narrative of events at Fair Havens than the fact of a general objection urged by Paul with characteristic vigour and directness against the proposal when it became known to the ship's company. Is it possible that Paul's desire to remain at Fair Havens had its origin in a prospect of missionary work? The important town of Gortyna was only a few miles from this point of the coast (Strabo 478. See GORTYNA).

It is clear from a general consideration of the circumstances (see FAIR HAVENS) that Phœnix must be sought to the westward of the great gulf of Messara, which begins at Cape Matala, about 6 m. W. of Fair Havens. It was during the run across this gulf that the squall broke which drove the ship off her course (*v.* 15), and ultimately caused her to drift upon the coast of Malta (*v.* 27).

Phœnix is mentioned by Strabo as a coast settlement on what he calls the 'isthmus' of Crete—*i.e.*, the narrow part of the island between Mount Ida and the mountains of the broad western end (475, κατοικίαν

1 Cp Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 24.

2 So Nöldeke, Robinson, and especially Porter (*Five years in Damascus*, 1 290; 'The Rivers of Damascus,' *Journ. of Sacred Lit.*, July and Oct., 1853). Burton doubtfully identifies with the stream of *'Ain Fījeh* (*Unexplored Syria*, 1 115). But this stream joins the *Baradā*.

3 It has been surmised that anciently the stream joined that now called the *Nahr A'waj*, and was popularly confounded with it, and Dr. Thomson (*LB* 3 430) states that one of the existing smaller tributaries of the *Sābirānī* (the name of the *Nahr A'waj* in the first part of its course) comes down the *Wādy Barbar*.

4 Φάσηλις, authors; Φασηλίς, inscrr.; Φασηλ(ε)ιτῶν, coins.

5 It struck coins with a variety of types in the sixth and early part of the fifth century B.C., ceasing on the rise of the Athenian empire (about 466 B.C.). Cp Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins*, [*Lycia*].

1 Cic. *Verr.* iv. 10 21, *Phaselis illa, quam cepit P. Servilius, non fuerat urbs antea Cilicum et prædonum: Lycii illam, Græci homines, incolebant . . . asciverunt sibi illud oppidum piratæ primo commercio, deinde etiam societate.*

2 Acts 27 10 merely gives his summing up of the consequences foreboded by him if the present anchorage was abandoned: 'voyage' (τὸν πλοῦν) refers of course only to the proposed run to port Phœnix, not to the entire voyage.

. . . πρὸς τῇ νοτίῳ Φοίνικα τὸν Λαμπέων).[1] Phœnix is commonly identified with the modern village and harbour of *Loutró* some miles to the SW., a position in conformity both with the notice in Strabo and with that of Ptolemy (iii. 17 3).

Ptolemy locates in this part of Crete a harbour Phœnicūs (Φοινικοῦς λιμήν) and a town Phœnix (Φοίνιξ πόλις). In the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles (14, ed. Parth) Phœnix appears, under the form Phœnice, as a bishopric, along with a place Aradena —both in the neighbourhood of the island of Clauda (Φοινίκη ἤτοι Ἀράδενα, νῆσος Κλαῦδος). Aradena is further mentioned by Steph. Byz., under the name Araden, as a Cretan town which was also called from its position Anopolis, 'Upper City' (Ἀραδὴν πόλις Κρήτης· ἡ δὲ Ἀνώπολις λέγεται διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἄνω). Both the name Araden or Aradena and the name Anopolis survive unchanged—*Anopolis* or *Anapolis* being that of a group of villages on the plateau N. of Loutró, W. of which, about a mile inland from the harbour, is the village of *Aradhena*. Both at Aradhena and at Loutró are found ancient remains (those at the latter place Roman); but the chief ancient Greek site is on a hill on the southern edge of the plateau. Here was the ancient Araden to which was transferred the name of the harbour Phœnix (Loutró).[2]

Loutró is described as 'the only secure harbour in all winds on the S. coast of Crete' (cp Smith, *op. cit.*, 261), and Captain Spratt writes that it is 'the only bay to the westward of Fair Havens in which a vessel of any size could find any shelter during the winter months' (quoted by Smith, *op. cit.*, 92, where similar testimony by others is collected). That imperial ships were sometimes to be found there is proved by an inscription from Loutró (dating from the reign of Trajan) given in full by Smith, *op. cit.*, 269 *f.*

It is all but impossible, however, to make the identification which thus appears so conclusive agree with the description of the harbour in Acts 27 12.

There it is described as λιμένα τῆς Κρήτης βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον (AV 'and lieth toward the south west and north-west'; RV 'looking north-east and south-east,' RVmg. Gk. '*down the south-west wind and down the north-west wind*').

1. If we adopt the rendering of AV, the identification of Phœnix with port Loutró must be surrendered; that harbour faces E.—*i.e.*, is open to winds ranging from NE. to SE. We must then identify with the harbour W. of the promontory of Loutró (ending in Cape Muros), called Phineka Bay in the Admiralty Chart.[3] Soundings ranging from three and a half fathoms to one would make it as good an anchorage as Loutró port. If the objection to wintering at Fair Havens was that it lies open to the E. (Acts 27 12), the same objection would apply to port Loutró.[4] The evidence of navigators acquainted with the coast (cp Smith, *l.c.*) is against the actual existence of a sheltered anchorage on the W. of the peninsula, and the charts do not decide the point.

2. If we adopt the rendering of RV ('looking NE. and SE.') we must interpret κατὰ λίβα and κατὰ χῶρον as 'looking down the direction of' the winds named.

This translation is supported by reference to Herod. 4 110, 'they were borne along by wind and wave' (ἐφέροντο κατὰ κῦμα καὶ ἄνεμον), to which objection is made on the ground that there the usage is of a ship in motion (the objections urged by Page, *Acts of the Apostles*, note *in loc.*, that 'a harbour does not *move* and must look κατὰ λίβα whether λίψ is blowing or not,' and that 'if λίψ and χῶρος represent, not points of the compass, but winds in motion, then κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον involves the assertion that two winds are blowing at the same time,' are surely in the highest degree sophistical). The expression of Arrian (*Per. Eux.* 3, ἄφνω νεφέλη ἐπαναστᾶσα ἐξεράγη κατ' εὖρον) is not clear (see Smith, *op. cit.*, 89, note, for discussion). Josephus, speaking of the places between Joppa and Dora, says that they were all δύσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβολάς (*Ant.* xv. 9 6). Thucydides describes a steady N. wind as κατὰ βορέαν ἑστηκώς (6 104).

In spite of the examples quoted, however, the phrase in Acts is obscure: it seems due to a confusion of ideas. Just as in English 'to look down the wind' means to look in the direction in which it is blowing, so in Greek; nevertheless, βλέπω used of a harbour would naturally imply 'facing,' 'turned towards.'

3. The explanation of Conybeare and Howson (*Life and Ep. of St. Paul*, 2 400) is that 'sailors speak of everything from their own point of view, and that such a harbour [as that of Loutró] does "look"—from the water towards the land which encloses it —in the direction of 'south-west and north-west.' (Similarly what we read in Farrar [*St. Paul*, 711] is surely not to be justified by appeals to the natural phraseology of *v.* 27; cp Page, *l.c.*)[1]

It must be remembered that neither Paul nor the writer of Acts ever saw the harbour.

Literature.—Chiefly J. Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (4), 1880. Bursian, *Geogr. v. Griech.*, with authorities therein mentioned. W. J. W.

[1] Lampa (Lappa, coins and inscrr.) was at a site in the interior now called *Polis*.

[2] There is some evidence that the name Phœnix still survives in the locality (cp J. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (4), 258); it probably bears reference to the existence in early days of a Phœnician trading-post at this point.

[3] (Pub. 1861, from survey by Mr. Millard in 1859; large corrections, July 1864.)

[4] This objection would be met, however, by what we read in Smith, 261, 269.

PHERESITES (φερεζαιοι [BAL]), 1 Esd. 8 69 AV, (RV **Pherezites**) = Ezra 9 1, PERIZZITE.

PHICHOL (פִּיכֹל; φικολ [AD], φιχολ [DEL]), general of Abimelech, king of Gerar (Gen. 21 22 32 [RV **Phicol**]; 26 26). The name, like MICHAL (*q.v.*), is probably corrupted from אֲבִיחַיִל, Abihail, but ultimately, like Abimelech, from Jerahmeel.

The absurd rendering 'mouth of all' (cp Gen. 41 40) is as old as the Midrash (*Ber. rabba*, on Gen. 21 22). Whiston, the translator of Josephus, connects Phicol with Φικολα, the name of the native village of Joseph, the famous tax-collector under Ptolemy Euergetes (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 2); so also Fürst. An Arabic etymology (*fakala*, 8, 'to give attention to') has also been ventured. Delitzsch (*Par.* 270) compares the Hittite name Pīsiri; but we require a Semitic name like Abimelech.

T. K. C.

PHILADELPHIA (φιλαδελφια, Rev. 1 11 3 7 [WH], φιλαδελφεια, most minuscules, inscrr. and classical authors), a Pergamene foundation, as is evident from its situation on the gentle slopes at the base of the steeper hills (Mt. Tmolus) commanding the site, a position dictated, not by military, but by commercial considerations (Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 86, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 2 353 n.; cp Holm, *Gk. Hist.* ET 4 477).

1. History. It was built by Attalus II. Philadelphus (159-138 B.C.), who also founded Attaleia in Pamphylia (see ATTALIA). The town lay on the southern side of the valley of the Cogamus (or Cogamis: Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phryg.* 1 196 n.), a tributary of the Hermus, near the road uniting the Hermus and Mæander valleys. It stood, therefore, on the confines of Lydia and Phrygia, on the south-western edge of the volcanic region called Katakekaumene, or 'Burnt Region': it was, however, properly a Mysian town (Strabo, 628) separated from the bulk of the Mysians by the aforesaid 'Burnt Region,' which itself also was variously claimed as Lydian, Mysian, or Phrygian, from the interlacing of the bounds of the three peoples in this district. The volcanic nature of its soil was the cause alternately of the prosperity and the misfortunes of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia's staple export was wine: its coins show the head of Dionysos, the type being doubly appropriate, as Dionysos Kathegemon was a great deity at Pergamos (cp the coins of Dionysopolis, also founded by Attalus II., Ramsay, *op. cit.* 1 126). Some part of its prosperity was doubtless derived from its hot springs (cp Joan. Lyd. 75, 349, where the hot springs of Hierapolis and LAODICEA [*q.v.*] are also mentioned), which are still much used; probably connected in some degree with these was the celebrity of the city for its festivals and temples, the number of which gained it the title of 'miniature Athens.' Frequent destructive earthquakes, however, threw heavy burdens on its finances (Strabo, 579, 628). The status of the town is evidenced by the fact that the *Koinon* of Asia, which, according to some unknown rule of rotation, held its festival in the chief cities of the Province (*e.g.*, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Pergamos, Laodiceia), met also at Philadelphia (*CIG* 1068, 3428). For some time the town even changed its name to Neocæsareia, and struck coins under that name during the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius (Ramsay, *op. cit.* 1 201). The change was made in recognition of the aid rendered by Tiberius on the occasion of the great earthquake of 17 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 2 47).

In later Byzantine times, Philadelphia was a large and warlike city (Georg. Acropol. 111, μεγίστη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος), and was a bulwark of civilisation in this quarter, until, in 1379 or 1390, the united forces of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II. and the Osmanli Sultan Bayezid I. compelled its surrender to the Turks.

[1] Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 326) suggests that 'the sailors described the entrance as one in which inward-bound ships looked towards NW. and SW., and that in transmission from mouth to mouth the wrong impression was given that the harbour looked NW. and SW.'

Possibly this energy, bravery, and self-reliance is traceable to the infusion of Macedonian blood; for Macedonian colonists (the Mysomakedones of Pliny, *HN* 5 120, and Ptol. v. 2 15) were planted among the Mysians by the Seleucid kings, S. of Philadelphia, on the road to Ephesus, in the modern *Uzum-Ova* (Ramsay, *op. cit.* 1 196).

The church of Philadelphia, though not unreservedly praised, like that of Smyrna, stands second in point of merit in the list of those addressed in the Apocalypse. Both Smyrna and Philadelphia were troubled by those 'who say they are Jews, and are not' (Rev. 2 9 3 9). Ignatius, writing a few years later, also found it necessary to warn the Philadelphians against the preachers of Judaism (*ad Phil.* 6) as well as against disunion (chap 7). In Philadelphia the Jewish element predominates, as against the Hellenism rampant in Pergamos (Rev. 2 13). The town is still to a large extent Christian (cp Rev. 3 12). Its modern name is *Ala-Sheher.*[1]

2. NT references.

See Curtius, *Nachtrag zu den Beitr. zur Gesch. u. Topogr. Kleinas.*, 1873. W. J. W.

PHILARCHES (ο φυλαρχης [VA]), 2 Macc. 8 32 AV, regarding the word as a proper name; but RV 'the phylarch.'

PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO (προς φιλημονα; so Ti. WH with ℵA and other MSS, but fuller superscriptions also occur mainly to indicate that the Epistle was written by the apostle Paul and at Rome, see Tisch. 8*a*) is the name of a short composition which has come down to us from antiquity as the thirteenth in the NT collection of 'Epistles of Paul.' Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* 5 21) is the first who expressly mentions the writing as included by Marcion among the ten epistles of Paul accepted by him, adding the remark that this was the only epistle whose brevity availed to protect it against the falsifying hands of the heretic ('soli huic epistolæ brevitas sua profuit ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet'). It retained its position undisturbed, although now and then (as, for example, by Jerome) its right to do so had to be vindicated against some ('plerique ex veteribus') who thought the honour too great for an epistle having no doctrinal importance. Others did not fail to praise this commendatory letter of the apostle on behalf of a runaway slave as a precious gem showing forth Paul's tenderness and love for all his spiritual children, even those who were the least of them if judged by the standard of the world.

1. History.

F. C. Baur was the first (*Pastoralbr.* 1835; *Paulus*, 1845) who found himself led by his one-sided preoccupation with the four 'principal epistles' (see PAUL; PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE, § 1) to raise difficulties with regard to the Epistle to Philemon. Its close relationship to Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, especially the last-named, which he found himself unable to attribute to Paul, was too much for him, although in this case his 'tendency-criticism' failed him. The considerations he urged in addition were certain ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, the romantic colour of the narrative, the small probability of the occurrence, some plays upon words and the perhaps symbolical character of Onesimus,—points which, all of them, can be seen set forth in detail in *Paulus*[(2)], 2 88-94.

Thorough-going disciples of the Tübingen school, such as Rovers in his *Nieuw Testamentische letterkunde* (1888), followed in the footsteps of their leader although with occasional modifications in detail. Rovers saw in the epistle a concrete illustration of what is laid down in Colossians as to the relation between masters and slaves. Pfleiderer (*Paulinismus*, 1890, pp. 42 *f.*), although impressed by the simplicity and naturalness of the motive of Philemon, could not get over its agreement with Colossians, and, taking refuge in the consideration that Onesimus seemed to betray an allegorical character, ended by regarding the epistle as a symbolical illustration of the relation between Christian slaves and their masters as set forth in Col. 3 22-4 1. Similarly Weizsäcker (*Apost. Zeitalter*[(2)], 1892, 545), who found himself compelled in view of Colossians to regard Philemon 'as an illustrative example of a new doctrine bearing on the Christian life, the allegorical character of which is already shown by the very name of Onesimus.'

Those who did not adopt the Tübingen position in its entirety, but endeavoured to rescue at least some of the 'minor' Pauline epistles—such critics as Hilgenfeld and S. Davidson—either argued for the genuineness or sought a way out of the difficulty of maintaining its genuineness as a whole by a hypothesis of interpolations. So Holtzmann *ZWT*, 1873, pp. 428-41 (with regard to *vv.* 4-6, controverted by Steck *JPT*, 1891, pp. 570-584), and W. Brückner, *Chron. Reihenfolge*, 1890, pp. 200-3 (as regards *vv.* 5 *f.*, controverted by Haupt, *Komm.* 1897, p. 10).

The conservative school carried on its opposition to Baur and his followers with greater or less thoroughness in various introductions and commentaries, the most recent being that of M. R. Vincent who (*Comm.* 160 [1897]), after briefly summing up the objections, proceeds: 'It is needless to waste time over these. They are mostly fancies. The external testimony and the general consensus of critics of nearly all schools are corroborated by the thoroughly Pauline style and diction and by the exhibition of those personal traits with which the greater epistles have made us familiar.' So also Zahn (*Einl.*[(2)] 1 322 [1900]), with the usual pathos, and adding a couple of notes: 'That this epistle also, with its fullness of material which could not have been invented (note 7), should without any support for tradition and without any adequate reason whatever having been suggested for its invention, have been declared to be spurious, does not deserve more than a passing mention (note 8).' J. P. Esser also expresses himself in a similar manner in an academic thesis that seeks to treat the subject with the utmost possible exhaustiveness, *De Brief aan Philemon*, 1875.

The criticism which refused to accept as an axiom the doctrine of the four 'principal epistles' of Paul (see PAUL, §§ 30, 32, 34) did not make itself much heard. Bruno Bauer was quite silent, and its other representatives contented themselves, as a rule, with the declaration—sometimes more, sometimes less, fully elaborated—that we do not possess any epistles of Paul at all. R. Steck wrote the treatise already referred to (*JPT*, 1891) in which he concentrated attention upon the double character of the epistle, as a private letter and as a writing apparently intended for the Pauline church; repeated some of the objections of Baur and others; maintained that the ultimate design of the author was to 'present vividly' the apostle's attitude to the slavery question, as seen in 1 Cor. 7 21 *f.*; and took special pains to emphasise the view that the unknown writer had made use, in his composition, of a correspondence between Pliny and Sabinianus preserved in the *Epistles* of Pliny (9 21 24) to which Grotius had long ago called attention (see below, § 4). Van Manen (*Handl.* 59 [1900]) devoted two sections to a statement of his views as to Philemon.

2. Form and contents.

On the assumption of the correctness of the received tradition regarding the canonical epistles of Paul, and of the identity of the Onesimus of Philem. 10 with the person named in Col. 4 9, the statement usually met with is that Onesimus, a runaway slave, christianised by Paul and sent back by the apostle to his master with our present 'letter to Philemon,' originally belonged to Colossæ, where also lived his master Philemon, a man of wealth inasmuch as he owned a slave (!), who, either from Ephesus or perhaps at Ephesus itself (for we cannot be certain that the apostle ever visited Colossæ), had been converted by Paul.

Any one, however, who will allow the epistle to tell its own story must receive from it a somewhat different

[1] *Ala-Sheher*—the 'spotted (or parti-coloured) city' (see Murray's *Handbook to A.M.* 83). Older books call it, by a mere error, *Allah-Sheher*—the 'City of God.'

impression. There is in it no information as to who Philemon was—he is mentioned in the NT nowhere else and is known only by later tradition—nor as to where he was living when Paul, according to Philem. 10-20, sent back to him his former slave Onesimus, after he had christianised him and so made him a brother of the master who could be spoken of as a beloved fellow-worker of Paul and Timothy, owing his conversion to Christianity to the former (*vv.* 1 19). The reader is not further advanced in his knowledge when Philemon is named by the tradition of a later age as a presbyter, a bishop, a deacon, or even an apostle, and Onesimus is reputed to have been bishop of Ephesus. For the unpreoccupied reader this little document of ancient Christianity represents itself in various lights, now as a letter written by Paul and Timothy to Philemon, Apphia, Archippus, and a domestic church (*vv.* 1 2*a* 3 22*b* 25), now as written by Paul alone to Philemon (*vv.* 2*b* 4-22*a* 23 24). Sister Apphia and Archippus, the fellowsoldier of Paul and Timothy according to *v.* 2, are nowhere else met with in the NT, unless Archippus be, as many suppose, identical with the person named in Col. 4 17—which may or may not be the case. That Apphia and Archippus should be respectively the wife and the son of Philemon, as many are ready to assume, is a gratuitous supposition which has no solid ground, and has against it the strangeness of the collocation 'Apphia the sister, Archippus our fellowsoldier and the church in the house that is thine, Philemon (*σου*).'

Paul a prisoner of Christ Jesus and brother Timothy, so we learn from the epistle, address themselves with words of blessing to the persons named (*vv.* 1 2*a* 3), or otherwise Paul alone does so to Philemon (2*b*). Next Paul goes on to say to Philemon that he thanks God always for his well-known love and his exemplary faith (*vv.* 4-7), upon which he, as Paul *πρεσβύτης* (the aged) and a prisoner of Christ Jesus, beseeches him to receive his son Onesimus whom he sends to him, though he would willingly have kept him beside himself, as a beloved brother (*vv.* 8-16). Whatsoever expenses may have been incurred the apostle promises to defray (*vv.* 17-20). He might enjoin; but he trusts to the goodwill of Philemon, of whose hospitality he hopes ere long to be able to partake (*vv.* 21-22*a*) through the mediating prayers of all of them (*διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν*, 22*b*); next he conveys to *him* the greetings of Epaphras, his fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus, and of Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, his fellow-workers (*vv.* 23 24), and the epistle closes with a word of blessing upon all (*v.* 25).

A surprising mixture of singular and plural both in the persons speaking and in the persons addressed.

3. Composition. This double form points at once to some peculiarity in the composition of the epistle. It is not a style that is natural to any one who is writing freely and untrammelled, whether to one person or to many. Here, as throughout the discussion, the constantly recurring questions as to the reason for the selection of the forms, words, expressions adopted find their answer in the observation that the epistle was written under the influence of a perusal of 'Pauline' epistles, especially of those to the Ephesians and the Colossians. Take the examples in which one or more persons near Paul are named as the writers :—

Col. 1 1 as Philem. 1 'Brother Timothy.' Again, why does Paul call himself in Philem. 9 *δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, and not as elsewhere *δοῦλος* or *ἀπόστολος*? The answer is found in Eph. 3 1 4 1. What is meant by the inclusion of other names besides that of Philemon among the addressees? For answer see 1 Cor. 1 2 2 Cor. 1 1. Archippus comes from Col. 4 17, the epithets *συνεργός* and *συνστρατιώτης* from Phil. 2 25. The 'church which is in the house' from Col. 4 15. The prayer in *v.* 3 from Rom. 1 7 1 Cor. 1 3 2 Cor. 1 2 Gal. 1 3 Eph. 1 2 or Phil. 1 2. The thanksgiving and commemoration of *v.* 4 from Rom. 1 8 9 1 Cor. 1 4 Eph. 1 16 5 20 Phil. 1 3 Col. 1 3. The continual hearing of Philemon's love and faith towards all the saints (*v.* 5) from Eph. 1 15 Col. 1 4. The expression *ὃν ἐγέννησα* (*v.* 10) from 1 Cor. 4 15 cp Gal. 4 19. The sending of Onesimus in *vv.* 10 *f.* from Col. 4 8 or Eph. 6 21 *f.* although in these passages it is Tychicus, a free man; *πρὸς ὥραν* of *v.* 15 from 2 Cor. 7 8 Gal. 2 5; the 'brother beloved' and 'servant in the Lord' of *v.* 16 from Col. 4 7 9. The 'reckoning' of *v.* 18 from Phil. 4 15; 'I Paul' *vv.* 19 from Gal. 5 2 Eph. 3 1; 'with my hand' from 1 Cor. 16 21 Gal. 6 11 Col. 4 18; the names in *vv.* 23 *f.* from Col. 1 7 4 10 12 14 although now Epaphras takes the place of Aristarchus, 'the fellow-prisoner,' as Onesimus a slave takes the place of the free man, the 'brother beloved' in Col. 4 9. The final benediction comes from Phil. 4 23.

Such phenomena are adverse to the supposition that Paul can have written the epistle. The thing is possible indeed, but certainly not probable.

4. Authorship. Rather may we say that no one could repeat himself so or allow himself to be restricted to such a degree by the limitations of his own previous writings. Nor can we think of Paul, however often we are told that he did so, as having put a private letter, after the manner here observed, into the form of a church epistle. We need not pause to conjecture what was the relation between him and Philemon, or where the latter had his home—whether in Colossæ, Ephesus, Laodicea, somewhere else in Asia Minor, or perhaps even somewhere beyond its limits; nor yet as to the circumstances and date of his conversion by the apostle, or as to the reason why the runaway slave Onesimus, who as yet was no Christian, should have betaken himself precisely to Paul the prisoner—at Cæsarea, shall we say, or at Rome? The romantic element in the story does not need to be insisted on. It is to be put to the credit of the writer who may very well perhaps have made use of the story which has been so often compared with it (see above; Plin. *Epist.* 9 21 24). A freedman (*libertus*) of Sabinianus makes his escape and seeks refuge with Pliny, who was known to him as a friend of Sabinianus who also lives in Rome, whereupon Pliny sends him back with a commendatory letter in which he pleads for the runaway from the standpoint of pure humanity. Our unknown author makes the freedman into a slave whom he brings into contact, at an immense distance from his home, with Paul, Philemon's spiritual father, who converts Onesimus also, and thereupon sends him back with a plea for the slave from the standpoint of Christian faith and Christian charity. He has thus presented us with an ideal picture of the relations which, in his judgment, that is according to the view of Pauline Christians, ought to subsist between Christian slaves and their masters, especially when the slaves have in some respect misconducted themselves, as for example by secretly quitting their master's service. One might also add that he thus has given a practical commentary on such texts as Col. 3 22-25 Eph. 6 5-9 1 Cor. 7 21-22 (see Steck).

The author's name and place remain unknown. He is to be looked for within the circle from which the 'epistles of Paul' to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, emanated; nor can Philemon be much later in date. Probably it was written in Syria or, it may be, in Asia Minor about 125-130. In any case, later than Paul's death about 64 A.D. and at a time when men had begun to publish letters under his name, when also they had formed the habit of adorning him with titles of honour such as 'bondman' (*δέσμιος*) 'of Christ Jesus,' 'aged' (*πρεσβύτης*), 'being such an one as Paul, etc.' (*τοιοῦτος ὢν ὡς Παῦλος, κ.τ.λ.*), the 'I Paul' (*ἐγὼ Παῦλος*) implies a name of high authority (*vv.* 1 9 19), when further the Christology of the church had already so far developed that it was possible to use convertibly the designations Christ, Jesus, Christ Jesus, Jesus Christ, and to speak of him as the fountain of grace and peace as God himself is (*vv.* 3 25) and as 'the Lord' who is the centre towards whom all the thinking and striving of believers is directed (*vv.* 3 5-9 20 23). On the other hand, it is of course earlier than Tertullian's *Marcion*.

If the epistle can no longer be regarded as a direct product of Paul's spirit, so full of Christian charity, it nevertheless remains to show by an example

5. Value. what Christianity at the time of its composition had been able to achieve as a guiding and sanctifying force in the case of certain special problems of life, and what the several relations were amongst believers of that time.

6. Literature. The commentaries of J. B. Lightfoot (*Philippians*, 1868, [10] 1890), H. von Soden (*HC*[2], 1891), Ellicott (*Philippians*, 1861, 1888), E. Haupt (*Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, 1897), M. R. Vincent (*Philippians*, 1897) will be found useful, though all of them accept the Epistle as genuine. Cp also Holtzmann (*Einl.*[3] 246-7), S. Davidson (*Introd.*[3] 1 153-160), Zahn (*Einl.*[2] 1 pp. 311-326), Steck (*JPT*, 1891, pp. 570-584), Van Manen (*Handl.* 59).

W. C. v. M.

PHILETUS (φιλητος [Ti. WH]), mentioned with Hymenæus in 2 Tim. 2 17†. That he was really a teacher opposed to Paul, is altogether unprovable (see HYMENÆUS); he is but a type of Gnostic teachers who obtained influence after Paul's time. He takes the place of the Alexander coupled with Hymenæus in 1 Tim. 1 20—why, it is useless to conjecture. T. K. C.

PHILIP (φιλιππος [AℵV]). Two of the five Philips of Macedon are named in the Apocrypha.

1. Philip II., father of ALEXANDER the Great, 1 Macc. 1 1 6 2; see ALEXANDER, 1.

2. Philip V., mentioned together with his (illegitimate) son PERSEUS (*q.v.*) in 1 Macc. 8 5 as an example of the warlike success of the Roman arms.

As is well-known, Philip V. was finally defeated at Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly (197 B.C.), Perseus at Pydna (168 B.C.). See further Smith's *Dict. Class. Biog.*, *s.v.*, and *Ency. Brit.*[9], *s.v.* 'Macedonian Empire.'

3. One of the 'friends' (or, according to 2 Macc. 9 29, a foster-brother) of Antiochus Epiphanes to whom was entrusted the bringing up of the child afterwards known as Antiochus Eupator (164 B.C., 1 Macc. 6 14 *f.*). 'In thus designating Philip and not Lysias (cp 3 32 *ff.*) as regent and guardian to the minor Antiochus, he may have been influenced by the utter failure of the campaign conducted by Lysias against Judæa' (*Camb. Bible*, ad loc.). For his fate see LYSIAS. Another tradition tells that fearing the young son he fled to Ptolemy Philometor (2 Macc. 9 29). He is commonly identified with :—

4. A barbarous Phrygian whom Antiochus Epiphanes left in charge of Jerusalem (about 168 B.C.), which he governed with great cruelty (2 Macc. 5 22, cp 6 11). Fearing the growing strength of Judas the Maccabee he sought help from PTOLEMY [*q.v.*, § 4 (1)], the governor of Cœle-Syria, who sent GORGIAS and NICANOR (8 8 *ff.*). It is not improbable that he was the messenger who brought the tidings of the ill success of Lysias to Antiochus (1 Macc. 6 5), which makes the account of his advancement to high office more intelligible.

5. The chancellor of Antioch whose excesses caused Lysias and Antiochus Eupator to withdraw from the invasion of Judæa (2 Macc. 13 23). In spite of the difference in the traditions he is possibly to be identified with (3) and (4) above.

6. For Philip (Herod), see HEROD, FAMILY OF, §§ 9, 11.

PHILIP, THE APOSTLE, and PHILIP, THE EVANGELIST. In the NT two followers of Jesus, both bearing the name of Philip, are clearly distinguished.

1. Distinct persons. (i.) The name holds the fifth place in all four lists of the twelve apostles; in Mt. (10 3) Mk. (3 18) and Lk. (6 14) that of Bartholomew is coupled with it, in Acts (1 13) that of Thomas (see APOSTLE). Nothing further is related concerning this apostle, save in the Fourth Gospel (see below, § 5). (ii.) In Acts 6 5 a Philip is reckoned as one of the 'seven' at Jerusalem. According to 8 5-40 he labours as a missionary in Samaria after the death of Stephen his fellow deacon (by *vv.* 1 14 18 he is expressly distinguished from the apostle), and baptizes the Ethiopian eunuch. In 21 8 *f.* (belonging to the 'we'-source) we learn that he received Paul on his last journey to Jerusalem as his guest at Cæsarea, and that his four unmarried daughters, endowed with the gift of prophecy, were there with him. In this passage he is described as one of the seven and also as 'the Evangelist' (on the title see EVANGELIST, and MINISTRY, § 39 *a*, *b*). Ewald attributed to him an original gospel (see GOSPELS, § 157 A, ii *d*).

In the account of Philip in Acts there are various points demanding attention.

2. Credibility of Acts. (*a*) In the first place it is surprising to find that in Acts 21 10 Agabus is brought in to foretell to Paul his destiny.

This is no sufficient reason, however, for regarding the mention of the prophetic daughters of Philip in *v.* 9 as (1) a mistake of the author's, or (2) as a gloss. Both allegations are simply bold attempts to escape the difficulty involved in the statement in the verse, that the evangelist had prophetic daughters, as against the assertion of the Church Fathers that the prophetic women were daughters of the apostle (see below, § 4 *b*, *c*) The deletion of *v.* 9 would not in any case remove the difficulty that Agabus is in this chapter introduced as if he had never been mentioned before, while yet his name is actually met with in 11 28. A much preferable supposition would be that according to the 'we'-source it was the daughters of Philip who made the prediction to Paul and that a redactor of Acts bearing in mind 1 Cor. 14 34 (women to keep silence) found something objectionable in this and therefore put the prophecy into the mouth of Agabus.

(*b*) Whilst 8 40 prepares the reader for the presence of Philip in Cæsarea it is not easy to see why Ashdod is named as the place to which he was 'caught away.'

If an interval of time (a short interval, of course) had been specified within which Philip had been found at Ashdod, we might suppose the true explanation to be that that city was named on account of its considerable distance from the place where the eunuch had been baptized. This specification of time being absent, perhaps the source used by the author of Acts at this point contained an account of some occurrence in Ashdod which has not been preserved to us.

(*c*) The statement of 8 14-17 that the converted Samaritans were not able to receive the Holy Ghost save by the laying on of hands of the apostles, as well as the whole story of Simon Magus (see MINISTRY, § 34 *c* and SIMON MAGUS) must be regarded as quite unhistorical. The account of Philip's missionary activity in Samaria, on the other hand, is not similarly open to question, nor yet that of the conversion of the eunuch, although it will hardly be denied that this last seems to have received later touches. Such a touch, in particular, may be seen in the miraculous 'rapture' of Philip, parallel to that of Habakkuk in Bel and the Dragon (*v.* 35 [36]) or to the sudden appearances and disappearances suggested by 1 K. 18 18 2 K. 2 16; clearly it serves to bring the narrative to an effective close.

3. Significance of Philip in Acts. Even as regards those statements about Philip, however, which are not in themselves incredible, it is necessary to bear always in mind their obvious suitability to the purpose of the writer of Acts.

The Samaritans occupy an intermediate position between Jews and Gentiles. As for the eunuch, he is indeed a Gentile, yet a Gentile of the class which already stands very near to Judaism (8 27 *f.*). The person specially fitted to be the first missionary of the gospel to people of this description will be not one who comes from the straitest Jewish circles but one who is represented (6 1) as having been chosen in the interests of the Hellenists,—that is, of the Jews of the Dispersion resident in Jerusalem,—and who therefore also, after the manner of so many other Jews having relations with Greeks, bore a Greek name (cp NAMES, § 86).

Thus Philip comes to be the character in Acts to whom the preliminary stages of the mission to the Gentiles are assigned. The original apostles take knowledge of the Samaritan mission and give it their sanction only at a later stage. The difficulty as to whether a Jewish-Christian missionary may or may not enter a Gentile house is not raised so far as Philip is concerned, but only afterwards in the case of CORNELIUS (*q.v.*), who in 10 2 is designated as proselyte indeed, but throughout the whole of the rest of the narrative is treated as a Gentile pure and simple. Thus the story advances step by step. This, however, raises the question whether in what we are told about Philip there may not be much which, if not freely invented, has at least been arranged and combined to suit the plan of the author.

4. Statements of the oldest fathers. Before passing on to what the Fourth Gospel has to say about Philip, it will be well that we should notice at how early a date in the writings of the church fathers the evangelist Philip begins to be taken for the apostle of the same name, the explanation being, obviously, to be sought in the conscious or unconscious

wish to have an apostolic head to whom reference can be made, especially in dealing with heretics.

(*a*) Whether Papias shared the confusion is uncertain. According to Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39 9) Papias recorded in his book that he had received from the daughters of Philip the account of a raising from the dead (νεκροῦ ἀνάστασιν) which had occurred in their father's time and neighbourhood (κατ' αὐτόν; not 'through his instrumentality'), as also the information that Justus Barsabas drank deadly poison with impunity. The excerpt from Papias published by de Boor in *TU* v. 2 170 which goes as far back perhaps as to Philip of Side (*circa* 430) proceeds in immediate continuation of the words quoted under JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE (§ 4 *h*) to say: 'The said Papias recorded, as having received [it] from the daughters of Philip, that Barsabas, who also is Justus, having when put to the trial by unbelievers drunk the poison of a serpent, was kept unharmed in the name of Christ. He records, moreover, yet other wonders and especially what happened in the case of the mother of Manaimus [Acts 13 1?], she who rose again from the dead.'[1] As Papias carries back his information only to Philip's daughters, he would appear not to have been personally acquainted with their father. Zahn's view (*Forschungen*, 6 166 *f.*) that the words of Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39 9) 'Papias being a contemporary of theirs' (κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς—*i.e.*, of Philip and his daughters [not κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς, of Philip's daughters] ὁ Παπίας γενόμενος) are to be taken as proving that Eusebius found in the book of Papias attestation of that writer's acquaintance, not only with the daughters of Philip but also with Philip himself, becomes all the more improbable if Zahn (109) is right in his conjecture that Papias had been brought up in the same city of Hierapolis in Phrygia where he afterwards came to be bishop, and where Philip, after spending the whole of the latter part of his life there, was also buried (so Polycrates; see *b*, below).[2] It thus becomes a possibility that by the Philip whose utterances, just like those of Andrew, Peter, John, the son of Zebedee, and the rest, he had learned only at the mouth of third persons (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 4 begin. and *b*), Papias may have intended the evangelist at Hierapolis.[3] He does not use, however, the distinctive designation 'apostle' (ἀπόστολος), but calls all his authorities simply 'disciples of the Lord' (μαθηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου), and distinguishes them simply as living or dead.

(*b*) In Polycrates of Ephesus (*circa* 196 A.D.) the confusion of the two Philips is express and complete: 'Philip, him of the twelve apostles, who lies buried in Hierapolis, and two daughters of his who grew old as virgins, and that other daughter of his who after having discharged her citizenship in the Holy Ghost is at rest in Ephesus.'[4]

Eusebius who has preserved these words for us (*HE* iii. 31 3 = v. 24 2) not only utters no caveat, as he is careful to do in the parallel case where Irenæus confuses the two Johns (JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 7*a*, end), but actually in his own words with which he prefaces and closes the citation in iii. 31 2 6 (notwithstanding the reference he makes in the intermediate passage—iii. 31 5—to Acts 21 8 *f.*) as also in iii. 39 9 designates the Philip referred to by Polycrates as 'the apostle' (τὸν ἀπόστολον). It is in the highest degree improbable, notwithstanding the contention of Zahn (*l.c.* 162 *f.*), that he is here using the word 'apostle' in its wider sense in which it is equivalent to 'evangelist' (see MINISTRY, § 39 *b*). Zahn (p. 7 n. 2) is able to adduce but one solitary passage in which Eusebius follows this wider usage, and here he is following another writer pretty literally (*HE* i. 13 11): 'Thaddæus an apostle, one of the seventy' (Θαδδαῖον ἀπόστολον ἕνα τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα).

(*c*) Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 6 52 *f.*, p. 535, ed. Potter; also in Eus. *HE* iii. 30 1) enumerates Philip along with Peter and Paul as belonging to the category of married apostles: 'for Peter indeed and Philip both became fathers, and Philip also gave his daughters to husbands; and Paul in like manner,' etc, (Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ κ. Φίλιππος ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, Φίλιππος δὲ κ. τὰς θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐξέδωκε. καὶ ὅ γε Παῦλος, etc.).

According to Zahn (173) Clement here really intends the apostle Philip, since he states about his daughters something different from what was known about the daughters of the evangelist. We find, however, that Zahn himself (170) infers from Polycrates that the fourth daughter of Philip the Evangelist must have died or remained in Palestine as a married woman; and it has further to be observed that Polycrates regards the third daughter as having been married, for he mentions only two as being virgins. Thus the discrepancy between Clement and Polycrates is not so great as had been supposed.

[1] Παπίας ὁ εἰρημένος ἱστόρησεν ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Φιλίππου ὅτι Βαρσάβας ὁ καὶ Ἰοῦστος δοκιμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἰὸν ἐχίδνης πιὼν ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθὴς διεφυλάχθη. Ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα θαύματα καὶ μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα Μαναΐμου τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστᾶσαν.

[2] Even if we held with Corssen (*ZNTW*, 1901, p. 292) that Harnack (*ACL* ii. [=Chronol.] 1 3-25) has proved that in Euseb. (*l.c.*) we must after αὐτοὺς supply χρόνους, and that in all such cases the time of the emperor last mentioned is meant, the passage would not involve the view that Philip was still alive. Moreover, Harnack's contention is difficult, and our passage is not in his list. So also in *a*, *l.* 5 (above), χρόνον (after κατ' αὐτόν) is linguistically inadmissible, and reference to an emperor impossible.

[3] The possibility is further increased if the view of the words of Eusebius which is taken in GOSPELS, col. 1816, n. 1, is accepted.

[4] Φίλιππον τὸν τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει, καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι παρθένοι, καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη ἣ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται.

In fact, Lightfoot (*Colossians* 45 *f.* [1875]) found himself able to make the assertion that Polycrates intended by the Philip who lived in Hierapolis, not the evangelist with his four prophetically-gifted daughters, but the apostle, who had three daughters, not so endowed, one of whom was a married woman, and that there has been no confusion between the two men at all.[1] This, however, is quite unlikely, as the church fathers never bring the two men into contrast as Lightfoot does, but invariably speak of only one Philip as having had daughters about whom there was something to say. The variations in the accounts of these daughters (according to the Montanist Proclus in the Dialogue of Gaius directed against him [ap. Eus. *HE* iii. 31 4] all four daughters of Philip were buried in Hierapolis) are, we may rest assured, merely variants of an identical story relating to one family only.

This, however, being granted, we must not overlook the further circumstance that Clement (*Strom.* iii. 4 25, p. 522 ed. Potter) declares Philip to have been the person to whom Jesus, according to Mt. 8 22 = Lk. 9 60, said 'leave the dead to bury their own dead, and follow me.' This identification rests assuredly on the simple fact that in Jn. 1 43 Jesus is represented as saying to Philip 'follow me' (the other cases where the word is employed are those of Levi or Matthew, in Mk. 2 14 = Lk. 5 27 = Mt. 9 9, and of the rich man in Mk. 10 22 = Mt. 19 21 = Lk. 18 22). Thus here also Clement is thinking of the apostle, and nowhere seems to mention the evangelist as a different person; so also later writers (see in Zahn, p. 171, n. 1).

(*d*) According to Heracleon (*circa* 190 A.D. in Clem. *Strom.* iv. 9 73, p. 595, ed. Potter) Philip died a natural death (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 5, end). Whether Heracleon intends the apostle or the evangelist or does not at all distinguish between the two remains uncertain.

(*e*) The Montanists towards the end of the second century referred to the four daughters of Philip, along with Agabus and other Old-Christian prophets in justification of their claim that the gift of prophecy was still among them (Eus. *HE* v. 17 3 iii. 31 4, Orig. in Catenæ [vol. 5] in Epist. ad Cor. [Cramer, p. 279]).

5. The Fourth Gospel.

The Fourth Gospel, in virtue of its repeated references to Philip, would supply material for some characterisation of the apostle were it not that unfortunately all the most important of the narratives in connection with which his name occurs must be regarded as unhistorical.

To this category belong that of the feeding of the five thousand (6 5-7), that of the visit of the Greeks (12 20-22; cp GOSPELS, § 140 *c*; JOHN, § 27), that of the call of Philip (1 43-46),—a narrative which so far as its connection with the calling of Peter and Andrew (1 35-42) is concerned is wholly irreconcilable with the synoptists' account of the call of the brothers (Mk. 1 16-18 and ||s); the narratives cannot refer to distinct incidents (it is inconceivable that disciples, once called, should have left Jesus and then have been called by him once more just as if they had never been with him). Equally unhistorical is it that Jesus ever said: 'he that hath seen me hath seen the Father' (14 9).

If, however, we decide that the figure of Philip serves in Jn. as the embodiment of an idea, then we shall find the idea so expressed to be the same as that in Acts; it is he who makes the first preparatory steps for the admission of Gentiles to Christianity by being, along with Andrew (the only other of the twelve who bears a Greek name), the intermediary through whom the inquiring Greeks are brought to Jesus. Perhaps this is also the reason why his home is given (as also that of Andrew) as having been a city of Galilee with a mixed Gentile population (Jn. 1 44, recalled also in 12 21).[2] The same point of view would be disclosed in

[1] Similarly Corssen (*ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 289-299), who, however, charges the Montanists (below *e*) with identifying the two Philips.

[2] It must not be overlooked that in Mk. 4 16-21 it is Capernaum rather than Bethsaida that appears to be the home of Andrew, and that in the time of Jesus Bethsaida did not belong

its being Philip who brings NATHANAEL [*q.v.*] to Jesus, if indeed we are to understand by this mysterious personality the apostle Paul for whose activity Philip prepares the way in Acts.[1] Philip's appearing also among the seven may moreover explain why it is to him that the question of Jesus in 6 5 is addressed: 'whence are we to buy bread?' It is thus the figure of the evangelist that underlies the Philip of the Fourth Gospel. Since, however, he is represented as an apostle, we see that the confusion of the two persons already spoken of can be traced back even to this gospel. After the same fashion as the non-apostolic John of Ephesus (see JOHN, §§ 3-7), the other non-apostolic church-head of Asia Minor is elevated to the apostolic dignity. Finally, as Philip has assigned to him a rank in the apostolate that is inferior to the highest, we can perceive that both in 6 7 and in a less characteristic passage, 14 8-10 (Lord, shew us the father), he is intended to figure as one of the many persons in the Fourth Gospel who are still deficient in the true knowledge of the divinity of Christ.

6. Later traditions.

(*a*) Philip the evangelist is usually reckoned as one of the seventy (Lk. 10 1). (*b*) As for the apostle—the apostle at least of Jn. 1 44 12 21—the only reminiscence in tradition is the statement that he began a missionary journeying from Galilee. (*c*) All the other legends relating to the apostle rest upon what we are told of the evangelist. Whilst Tischendorf (*Acta apost. apocr.*, 75-104; *Apocal. apocr.*, 141-156) and Wright (*Apocr. Acts of the Apostles*, 1871, pp. 69-92 of the English translation) give fragments only, and Lipsius (*Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 2 1-53 and *passim*) had access to no further materials, a large part of a consecutive work—viz. the first to the ninth and also the fifteenth and last πρᾶξις of the *Acta Philippi*—was published by Batiffol in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, 9 (1890) 204-249, and dealt with by Lipsius (in his 'Ergänzungsheft,' 1890, pp. 65-70), by Stölten (in *JPT*, 1891, pp. 149-160), and by Zahn (6 18-24). The basis of this work is gnostic; but it has undergone much revision in the catholic sense. It represents Philip as having exercised his missionary activity not only in Phrygia (particularly at Hierapolis) but also in almost every other province of Asia Minor as well as in the 'city of Asia,' in addition to Samaria, Ashdod (cp Acts 8 5-40), from Parthia 'to the cities of the Candaci' by the sea, or in 'Parthenia by the sea of the Candaci' (cp Queen Candace in Acts 8 27), in 'Carthage (a corruption from Κανδάκων?) which is in Ashdod,' in 'Hellas the city of the Athenians' (plainly due to the Ἕλληνες of Jn. 12 20), in Nicaterapolis in Hellas, in Scythia, in Gaul (=Galatia?), etc. He is accompanied by his sister Mariamne instead of his daughters. His death is represented at one time as having been a natural one, at others as having been by hanging, or crucifixion, head downwards, along with stoning. When at a later date it came to be perceived that the evangelist was a different person from the apostle, a see and place of burial were assigned to him at Tralles in Caria. (*d*) On the *Gospel of Philip* see APOCRYPHA, § 26, 9. In the Pistis Sophia there mentioned (32, 70 *f.* of the MS translated by Schwartze, ET by G. R. S. Mead, 1896) it is Philip (along with Thomas and Matthew) who has to write out all the words of the risen Jesus. Zahn's view (*Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons*, ii. [761-] 768) that the gospel of Philip came into existence in the first decades of the second century rests on no solid basis (cp Harnack, *ACL* ii. (=*Chron.*) 1 592 *f.*). P. W. S.

PHILIPPI (φιλιπποι [Ti. WH]) in early Christian times was a considerable city of Macedonia not far from the Ægean.

1. History.

It took its name from King Philip (the father of Alexander the Great) who towards the middle of the fourth century B.C. had made himself master of the neighbouring gold mines and the ancient Crenides (Κρηνίδες) or 'Fountains,' upon the site of which he founded a frontier city which was called after himself. About 167 B.C. it came into the possession of the Romans, who divided Macedonia into four regions or free republics—having for their respective capitals Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia

to Galilee at all but to the tetrarchy of Philip. Perhaps Jn. names Bethsaida because of the identity of name of tetrarch and apostle (see BETHSAIDA, § 3), but perhaps on account of the etymology, as both Andrew and Peter were fishermen.

[1] Holtzm. *BL* iv., 1872; O. L[orenz], *ZWT*, 1873, pp. 96-102; Schwalb, *Unsre 4 Evangelien*, 1885, pp. 358-360; Pfleid., *Urchrist.* 700 n. With 'an Israelite' in *v.* 47 cp 2 Cor. 11 22, also Gal. 1 13 *f.*; with 'no guile,' 1 Thess. 2 3 (δόλος); with 'any good thing out of Nazareth?' in *v.* 46, cp Acts 22 8 26 9; with 'I saw thee,' *v.* 48, cp Gal. 1 15; with 'of whom Moses and the prophets did write,' *v.* 45, cp Rom. 3 21; with 'come and see,' *v.* 46, cp 1 Cor. 9 1.

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—the inhabitants of which, however, were not allowed to have connubium or commercial dealings with each other outside the limits of their respective regions (see Livy, 45 29). This policy of isolation broke the power of 'free' Macedonia. In 42 B.C. Macedonia became the scene of the struggle between the opposing forces in the civil war; and by the beginning of the Christian era we find it a Roman province governed now by a senatorial, now by an imperial legate (see MACEDONIA, § 2, end). Philippi was fortified and raised to the rank of a military colony by Octavianus, the conqueror on the adjoining plains of Pharsalia, under the title of Colonia Julia Augusta Victrix Philippensium. The inhabitants both old and new—and the latter class was exceptionally numerous—received the *jus Italicum*, whereby they practically enjoyed equal privileges with the citizens of Rome itself. As a 'colony' Philippi henceforth became much more than a mere city with suburbs; rather it became a great department, 'with boroughs and secondary towns' of which it formed the administrative centre, as Vincent remarks (*Comm. on Phil.*, xvi. [1897]). There were at that time cities of first and second, third and fourth rank, and perhaps even of still lower grade. Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverw.* 1 188 [1873]) himself speaks in one case of a 'seventh' alongside of the 'first'—the title borne by Ephesus, Pergamus, and Smyrna in Asia. He regards it as indubitable that the expression 'first' (πρώτη) had reference solely to the precedence in the festival with which the games of the κοινὸν Ἀσίας were inaugurated. However this may be, we now understand what the much discussed expression (πρώτη τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις) used with reference to Philippi in Acts 16 12 means.

It is not said that Philippi was *the* first city or the capital of Macedonia, or the first city of Macedonia—

2. Explanation of Acts 16 12.

Paul being supposed to have begun his labours in Europe there, because he had not halted at Neapolis or because that city did not count, belonging as it still did to Thrace (?). All that is said is that Philippi at that time was regarded in those parts as a 'first,' that is, 'first class' city. The variants clearly show how very soon the key to the only true explanation had been lost.

Ti.WH and Nestle read, with ℵAC etc. ἥτις ἐστὶν πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας πόλις, κολωνία; B has πρώτη μερίδος τῆς M.; E πρώτη μερίς M.; D κεφαλὴ τῆς M. πόλις κολ.; and some cursives and translations follow D in taking no account at all of μερίδος or μερίς. This word can safely be regarded as a 'correction' just like D's κεφαλή or Blass's conjecture πρώτης again adopted by Zahn (*Einl.*(2) 1 376), as if, the division of Macedonia in 167 B.C. into four regions being called to mind, it were still possible to speak of the 'first μερίς,' or Hort's conjecture of τῆς Πιερίδος Μακ. No conjecture is necessary, nor need we, with WH, seek the possible corruption in πρώτη τῆς μερίδος.

If we simply read with MSS 'which is a first (class) city of Macedonia, a colony' (ἥτις ἐστὶν πρώτη τῆς M. πόλις, κολωνία), all the variants are explained, the meaning being perfectly intelligible.

The name of the ancient Philippi long survived in that of the now extinct village of Filibedjik or Filibat. Of the city colony only a few ruins are extant.

In Old-Christian writings Philippi was mentioned as the seat of a church, the first in Europe, founded by Paul on his so-called second missionary journey.

3. Paul's visits.

Here on a certain Sabbath day, at a place of prayer by the river, outside the city gate, he is said to have come into contact with the worshippers, especially the devout women, and to have made the acquaintance of a certain Lydia, a seller of purple from Thyatira in Asia, who 'worshipped God' and after having been baptized along with her family by Paul received him in her house. Then comes the narrative of the maid—probably a slave—with a spirit of divination who had brought her masters much gain by her soothsaying. These men now came forward as accusers and prosecutors of Paul and his companion Silas, who are beaten with rods and cast into prison, but delivered from it in a miraculous way, the jailor and

his household being baptized and the apostles honourably restored to freedom. This narrative may embody some kernel of truth, taken from the journey-narrative which was incorporated with the lost Acts of Paul underlying our canonical book of Acts (see PAUL, § 37 [*a*]); but as we now read it in Acts 16 12-40 it is assuredly not credible in its entirety, but has been palpably retouched, and dates from a later time (cp PAUL, § 33; and van Manen, *Paulus*, 1 109-111).

In Acts mention is made a second time of a visit by Paul to Macedonia, in which connection Philippi is again named; this was on the third so-called missionary journey, and when Paul was turning his steps for the last time towards Jerusalem (Acts 20 1-6).

Philippi is once more mentioned in 1 Thess. 2 2 with manifest reference to the events described in Acts 16 12-40; in Phil. 1 1 (cp 4 15 *f.*) as the abode of Christians who have been long known to Paul (see PHILIPPIANS [EPIST.], § 3); and in the superscription of the epistle of Polycarp as the seat of the church of God to which Polycarp and the elders with him are represented as having sent an epistle when Polycarp had taken over from Ignatius the task laid upon him of sending epistles to various churches (Ign. *ad Pol.* 8; see PHILIPPIANS, § 12).

W. C. v. M.

PHILIPPIANS (EPISTLES).

There fall to be considered two Old-Christian documents—those bearing the names of Paul and of Polycarp respectively.

I. Paul's Epistle.

1. History of criticism. The first of the two constitutes one of the NT group of 'epistles of Paul' (ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου), 'to Philippians' (πρὸς Φιλιππησίους) being the shortest form of the title—adopted by Ti. WH after ℵABK, etc. Down to 1845—or, shall we say, to 1835?—no one had doubted its right to this position. Men saw in it an expression, greatly to be prized, of the apostle's love for a church which he had founded, written while he was languishing in prison, probably in Rome, and sent by the hand of Epaphroditus who had been the bearer of material and spiritual refreshment for Paul, had fallen sick, and was now on the point of returning to his home in Philippi. The only point on which doubt seemed possible was as to the place of composition—whether Cæsarea or Rome.

Paulus (1799), Böttger (1837), Thiersch, and Böhmer declared for Cæsarea; elsewhere the voice was unanimous: 'the apostle's testament; written in Rome' (Holtzmann). 'The testament of the apostle and the most epistolary of all epistles'—'der brieflichste aller Briefe.'

Then came F. C. von Baur with his thesis that only four of the epistles of Paul (Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Rom.) could be accepted as indisputably genuine—a thesis that he employed as a criterion in determining the genuineness of all the rest (*Die sogen. Pastoralbr.* 1835, p. 79; *Paulus*, 1845). Tried by this standard Philippians had, in Baur's view, to be at once rejected (*Paulus*, 1845, pp. 458-475).

The replies of Lünemann (1847), B. Brückner (1848), Ernesti (1848 and 1851), de Wette (1848), and others were not effective. Indeed, the support given to Baur by Schwegler (1846), Planck (1847), Köstlin (1850), Volkmar (1856) did not advance the question more than did Baur's own reply to Ernesti and others published in *Theol. Jahrbb.* 1849 and 1852, and afterwards incorporated in *Paulus*(2), 1866-7, 2 50-88. Hoekstra (*Th. T.* 1875) and Holsten (*JPT.* 1875-6) sought to base the Tübingen position as to Phil. upon the solid foundation of a more strict and searching exegesis, rejecting all that in their judgment could not be relevantly urged, and adding such other arguments as seemed to them to have weight. Both these critics, however, still started from the genuineness of the four 'principal epistles.' So Hitzig, Hinsch, Straatman, Kneucker, Biedermann, and various others ranged themselves more or less decidedly upon the same side.

At the same time, not merely among thorough-going apologists, but also among friends of the Tübingen school, such as Hilgenfeld, Schenkel, Pfleiderer, Lipsius, Hatch (*Ency. Brit.*(9), 1885), S. Davidson (*Intr.*(3), 1894), and others, there were very many who found themselves unable to accept the result of Baur's criticism so far as the Epistle to the Philippians was concerned.

Without realising it very clearly, both advocates and opponents of the genuineness found their stumbling-block, from the beginning, in the axiom of the genuineness of the 'principal epistles' of Paul. Of necessity, however closely attached to Baur and his school, or however little bound to one another by common principles, they at once fell into two groups—each of them, in itself considered, most singularly constituted—which felt compelled to maintain or to reject the Pauline origin of our epistle, in the one case because it did not appear to differ from the principal epistles as a whole more than did these from each other, in the other case because assuredly, whether in few or in many respects, it seemed when compared with them to breathe another spirit, and in language and style to betray another hand.

A way of escape has been sought—but unsuccessfully—by means of the suggestion, first made by le Moyne in 1685 and afterwards renewed by Heinrichs (1803), Paulus (1812), Schrader (1830), and Ewald, that the Epistle was not originally a unity.

C. H. Weisse saw in it (*Beitr. z. Kritik der paul. Br.* 1867), besides some later insertions, two epistles: Phil. 1-3 1*a* and the fragment 3 1*b*-4. Similarly Hausrath (*NTliche Zeitgesch.*(2) 3 398 *f.*): one letter written after the first hearing, a second some weeks later after the gift of money from Philippi. W. Brückner (*Chron. Reihenfolge*, 1890) assumed various interpolations; Völter (*Th. T.* 1892), a genuine and a spurious epistle which have been fused together in that which we now possess. Names and titles will be found more fully in Holtzmann, *Einl.*(3), 1892, 266-272; S. Davidson, *Introd.*(3), 1894, 1 161-182; Vincent, *Comm.* 1897; Zahn, *Einl.*(2), 1900, 1 369-400; and other writers of introductions and commentaries.

A newer way, at first allowed to pass unnoticed, was shown by Bruno Bauer (*Kritik der paul. Briefe*, iii. (1852), 110-117, cp *Christus u. die Cäsaren*, 1877, pp. 373-4), when he determined to make his judgment upon this epistle independently of that upon the four 'principal epistles,' his main conclusion being that it was not earlier than the middle of the second century. He was followed, so far as his leading principle was concerned, by Loman, Steck, van Manen.

Loman, however, did not go more closely into the question of the origin of Philippians. Steck intimated his adhesion in an incidental statement in his *Galatians* (p. 374) that in Philippians we hear some 'echoes' of the controversy between Paulinism and the older party of the followers of Jesus. Van Manen's view was set forth in his *Handleiding*, 3, §§ 51-58.

Thorough criticism has no other course open to it but that of condemning any method which ties the hands in a matter of scientific research. Before everything else it demands freedom. Exegesis must not be content to base itself on results of criticism that have been arrived at in some other field; rather is it the part of exegesis to provide independent data which may serve as a foundation for critical conclusions. The epistle to the Philippians, like all other Old-Christian writings, requires to be read and judged entirely apart and on its own merits, independently of any other Pauline epistles, before anything can be fitly said as to its probable origin (cp PAUL, §§ 34, 36).

The writing comes before us as a letter, not of course of the same type as those commonly written at the period, of which we have recently received so many examples in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (i. and ii.—1898-99; cp PAPYRI, and EPISTOLARY LITERATURE), but as a letter of the sort that we know from the New Testament, and especially from the Pauline group (see OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 18; PAUL, § 39); a letter, to judge from the opening sentence, written by Paul and Timothy, but, to judge from all that follows, by Paul alone. In it we find Paul speaking, as a rule, as if he were a free man, yet sometimes, particularly in 1 7-17, as if he were a prisoner. He is full of sympathetic interest in those whom he is addressing. He tells them that his thoughts are continually about them and their excellences (1 3-11 2 12), how he yearns to see them once more (1 8 26 2 24 26), how they are properly speaking the sole object for which he lives, his joy and his crown (1 24 4 1). The epistle purports to be addressed to all the saints in Christ Jesus at Philippi with the bishops and deacons (1 1 4 5), known and loved brothers, disciples, and friends of the apostle; still, the impression it gives is rather as if it had been written for a wider circle of readers, among whom the Philippians play no other part than that of representing the excellent Christians addressed, who nevertheless required to be spoken to seriously about many and various things that demanded their unremitting attention.

2. What Phil. seems to be.

3. Contents. The writer, as Paul, declares his thankfulness to God for the fidelity of his readers to the gospel, and his earnest yearning after them all and their continued spiritual growth (1 3-11). He refers to the misfortunes that have recently happened to him and to that which in all probability lies before him, pointing out how his bonds have served to promote the cause of Christ both amongst unbelievers and amongst the brethren, and how Christ to his great joy is being preached, whatever be the reasons and however diverse be the ways; how he is in a strait between his desire to be released and his desire to go on with life, whilst in any case hoping to be able to glorify Christ in his body (1 12-26). Next, he exhorts his readers, whether he be present or absent, and very specially in the latter case, to let their manner of life be worthy of the gospel of Christ, after the example of him who, being in the form of God, had humbled himself by taking the form of a bondservant, being found in fashion as a man, and becoming obedient even to the death of the cross (1 27-2 18). He then proceeds to speak of his intention to send Timothy—joint author of the epistle, according to 1 1—whom he highly commends, and Epaphroditus his 'brother,' 'fellow-worker' and 'fellow-soldier,' and at the same time the 'messenger' (ἀπόστολος) and 'minister' of the Philippians to the need of Paul. Epaphroditus has been sick nigh unto death, and sore troubled because they had heard he was sick, and yet he is recommended to the Philippians as if he were a stranger (2 19-30). The writer, as Paul, goes on, abruptly, to a vigorous onslaught on his enemies, prides himself upon his Jewish birth, glories in his conversion, describes his unremitting efforts towards the Christian goal, and exhorts to imitation of his example. For those whom he addresses he is himself a 'type,' his conversation a 'conversation in heaven' (3 1-4 1). Lastly, comes a new series of exhortations, to Euodia and Syntyche, Synzygus and all the other brethren, to conduct themselves in all things in accordance with the word and example of Paul who is addressing them (4 2-9); an expression of thanks for the gift, received from them by the hand of Epaphroditus, which has recalled the memory of previous kindnesses, and has been welcome at this time, although not indispensable (4 10-20); greetings to and from all the saints, and a benediction (4 21-23).

4. Difficulties. Some things here are certainly not easily intelligible or very logical, whether we regard the form or the substance. We may point, for example, to the unusual although genuinely 'Pauline' 'Grace to you and peace from God our Father and (the) Lord Jesus Christ' in the exordium (1 2), 'Now unto our God and Father be the glory for ever and ever, Amen' at the close (4 20), followed by the prayer 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit' (4 23) instead of the well-known customary formula of salutation and greeting. The address, moreover, to 'all the saints of Christ Jesus at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons' (1 1) seriously raises the question, Who are they? Where do they live? Contrast, too, the double authorship (Paul and Timothy) of the Epistle as seen in 1 1 with the fact that from 1 2 onwards Paul alone speaks and in 2 19 speaks of Timothy as if he had nothing to do with the Epistle. Observe also the peculiarly exaggerated manner in which the Philippians are addressed, as if they and they alone were by way of exception Christians, worthy to absorb the apostle's every thought, and as if it was for them alone that he lived and endured, and how, once more, towards the end (4 15) he names them in a singularly lofty tone as 'ye Philippians.' How he again and again praises himself, holds himself up as a pattern, as the best example that can be given for the imitation of his disciples and friends: not only when he speaks so ecstatically of his thanksgivings and prayers, the significance of his sufferings and possible death, the tie between him and his present or absent readers (1 2-30 2 1 12 16 *f.* 27 *f.*), but also when he boasts of his pure Hebrew descent, his faith, his unceasing effort to be perfect, and to walk as an example (3 5-21 4 9-14).

Note how the writer salutes '*every* saint in Christ Jesus' and sends greetings from '*all* the saints, especially those that are of Cæsar's household' (4 21 *f.*), he being a prisoner yet apparently in free communication with the people of the Prætorium, the imperial guard in Rome to whose charge he had been committed (1 7 13 *f.* 17). Consider how impossible it is to picture clearly to oneself his true relation to the supposed readers at Philippi, the circumstances by which he and they are surrounded, the occasion for writing or sending the epistle, unless a considerable part of its contents be left out of account. All is confused and unintelligible as long as one thinks of it as an actual letter written in all simplicity and sent off by Paul the prisoner at Rome to his old friends at Philippi after he has been comforted and refreshed by their mission of Epaphroditus to him. Wherefore, in that case, the bitter attack and the self-glorification so intimately associated with it (4 2-21)? Wherefore the Christological digression (2 6-11), with the substance of which (on the assumed data) one might presume the reader to have been already long familiar? Why the proposal to send Timothy 'shortly' (ταχέως), whilst yet the writer himself hopes to come 'shortly,' and Epaphroditus is just upon the point of setting out (2 19 24 *f.*)? Could not Epaphroditus, if necessary by letter, have sent the wished-for information touching the Philippians which is spoken of in 2 19? What was Epaphroditus in reality? a fellow-worker of Paul? or a messenger of the friendly Philippians (2 25)? Why did he need to be warmly recommended to the Philippians as if he were a stranger, though they had already been full of solicitude on account of the illness from which he has now happily recovered (2 26-30)? How can this give occasion for the exhortation to hold 'such' in honour (2 30)? Even Euodia and Syntyche, Synzygus and Clement (4 2 *f.*), simple though they seem, have long been the subjects of various perplexing questions. Who were they? symbolical or real persons? In what relation did they stand to one another, to Paul, to the community addressed? Why the reminiscence of what Philippi had previously done for the apostle (4 15 *f.*)? Only to give him an opportunity to say that he valued the good-will of the givers more than their gift (4 17)?

5. Not a letter. The solution of these and other riddles of a like nature raised by the Epistle lies in the recognition that it is not really a letter, in the proper sense of that word (see above, § 2), but an edifying composition in the form of a letter written by Paul to the church of Philippi and intended to stir up and quicken its readers. Or rather, let us say, its hearers; for epistles of this sort were designed first and foremost to be read in the religious meetings of the congregation. No more precise determination of the occasion for the composition and sending of the epistle—such as is usually sought in the receipt of the gift alluded to (for the first time) in 4 10-18 (cp 2 25 30)—can be given. The writer knows the proper form of a 'Pauline epistle' and he follows it without troubling

himself as to whether everything that he says exactly fits its place or not. Hence his naming of Timothy as joint writer of the Epistle (1 1) although he makes no further mention of him, apart from 2 19 23, where he speaks of him as if he were a third person. Hence, too, his vague expression 'all the saints in Christ Jesus at Philippi' and the strange addition, explicable only from 1 Cor. 1 2 and 2 Cor. 1 1, '*With* the bishops and deacons' (1 1), his benedictions (1 2 4 23), his greetings (4 21 *f.*), his thanksgiving for, and high praise of, the church he is addressing, which yet has to be admonished with such earnestness; his exaltation of Paul and his relation to 'the whole Prætorian Guard and all the rest' (1 13), his intercourse with them that are of Cæsar's household (4 22); his praise of Timothy (2 20-22), of Epaphroditus and of the always attentive Philippians (2 25-30 4 10-18); in a word, everything that strikes the reader as strange and perplexing as long as he is endeavouring to regard the epistle as a genuine letter of Paul to the church he had founded at Philippi. His 'Philippians' are ideal Christians of the good old times to which the living generation may acceptably have its attention directed, and at the same time they are the 'you' amongst whom are found faults and shortcomings, and even 'dogs,' 'evil workers,' and 'concision' (3 2). The aim of the writer is no other than to edify, to incite to patience and perseverance by pointing to the example of Paul and others, including the church addressed, with its illustrious past.

6a. Composition.

The author is acquainted with the canonical epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, perhaps also the Ephesians, as is shown by the 'parallel' pass-words and allusions, to which defenders as well as assailants of the 'genuineness' are accustomed to point in order to prove either the identity of the writer with the author of the 'principal epistles' or his dependence on those writings.

A careful examination makes it evident that many of the phenomena can be accounted for only by imitation.

For example: the naming of Timothy (1 1) as joint writer of the epistle although its further contents show that he was not so, cp 2 Cor. 1 1; the expression 'with the bishops and deacons,' alongside of all the saints at Philippi (1 1, cp 1 Cor. 1 2 2 Cor. 1 1); the expression 'Jesus Christ' in 1 2 after 'Christ Jesus' in *v.* 1, cp Rom. 1 7 (1 Cor. 1 3 2 Cor. 1 2 Gal. 1 3 Eph. 1 2); the calling of God as witness of the sincerity of Paul's desire towards his readers (1 8, cp Rom. 1 9); the expression 'test the things that differ' (*δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα*, 1 10), elsewhere only in Rom. 2 18, cp 12 2; the bonds (*οἱ δεσμοί*) of the prisoner, who nevertheless seems to walk at liberty (cp *ὁ δέσμιος* Eph. 3 1); the strange word (and therefore explained by *ἐλπίς*) 'expectation' (*ἀποκαραδοκία*) 1 20, elsewhere only in Rom. 8 19; the great importance attached, without any apparent reason, to Paul's coming (1 26, cp Rom. 1 10-13); the expansion 'the same love, etc.' (*τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην κ.τ.λ.*, 2 3-4) as compared with the exhortation, originally standing by itself, 'to mind the same thing' (*τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν*), cp 2 Cor. 13 11 Rom. 12 16; the use of such words as 'form' (*μορφή*), *ἁρπαγμός* (AV 'robbery,' RV 'a thing to be grasped at'), 'equality' (*ἴσα*), 'empty himself' (*κενοῦσθαι*), 'greatly exalted' (*ὑπερυψοῦν*) in 2 6-11, even though perhaps not borrowed from our existing Pauline epistles; the *likeness* of men (2 7), cp with the *likeness* of sinful flesh (Rom. 8 3); the words in 2 10 *f.* borrowed from the OT in accordance not with the text of Is. 45 23 𝔊 but with that of Rom. 14 11; the stringing together of purely Pauline expressions (such as *ὥστε, ὑπηκούσατε, πολλῷ μᾶλλον, ἡ παρουσία* and *ἡ ἀπουσία μου*) for which no reason is apparent in the context (2 12); the echo of Rom. 7 18 in 2 12 *f.*; the expression 'to run in vain,' 'to labour in vain,' 'praise in the day of Christ,' 2 16, cp Gal. 2 2 4 11 2 Cor. 1 14; the sending of Timothy and the praise accorded to him 2 19-22, cp 1 Cor. 4 17 16 10; the assurance, very strange in the connection in which it occurs, that the writer himself will speedily come 2 24, cp 1 Cor. 4 19; the 'supposed to be necessary' and 'speedy' sending of Epaphroditus (2 25 28, cp 2 Cor. 9 5 8 22); the unintelligible imperative (*προσδέχεσθε*) in 2 29, with reference to the highly appreciated Epaphroditus, cp Rom. 16 2; the deviation after 'such' (*τοιοῦτοι*) in 2 30, cp 1 Cor. 16 16 18; the impossibility of explaining 'the same things' (*τὰ αὐτά*) in 3 1 otherwise than as referring to what occurred elsewhere in some previous passage in the group of epistles to which this originally belonged; the keenness of the attack in 3 2-6 19, which is fully in harmony with much in 2 Cor. 10-13 and Gal. but not with the present epistle; the unintelligibleness of the assurance 'for we are the circumcision,' 3 3, as long as we do not bear in mind such words as those in Rom. 2 25 28 *f.*; the necessity for explanation of 'glorying in Christ Jesus and not trusting in flesh' (*καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες*), 3 3, by referring to such texts as Rom. 2 17 23 11 1 2 Cor. 11 21-23 Gal. 1 13 *f.*; and so forth.

Perhaps the special features connected with Paul's sojourn as a prisoner in Rome, as also the allusion to succour previously received by him from the Philippians according to 4 15 *f.*, may be both borrowed from some written source; if this be so, the source in question cannot, in view of the discrepancies, be the canonical book of Acts, but must be rather a book of 'Acts of Paul' which underlies it (PAUL, § 37).

6b. Not patchwork.

However many the traces of the writer's use of earlier materials, it does not seem advisable, and certainly in no case is it necessary, to regard his work as a chance or deliberate combination of two or more epistles or portions of epistles. The epistle as a whole does not present the appearance of patchwork. Rather does it show unity of form; we find a letter with a regular beginning and ending (1 1 *f.* 4 20-23); a thanksgiving at the outset for the many excellences of the persons addressed (1 3-11, cp Rom. 1 8-12 1 Cor. 1 4-9) notwithstanding the sharp rebukes that are to be administered later; personalia; exhortations relating to the ethical and religious life; all mingled together yet not without regard to a certain order. Here and there some things may be admitted to interrupt the steady flow of the discourse; 3 1 or 3 1*b* raises the conjecture of a new beginning; the 'things' spoken of here are not different from those which we meet with elsewhere in other Pauline epistles—even in Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal. There also, just as here, we repeatedly hear a change of tone, and are conscious of what seems to be a change of spirit. Yet even apart from this, to lay too great stress upon the spiritual mood which expresses itself in 3 2-6 as contrasted with that of 1 3-11, or, on the whole, of 1-2, would be to forget what we can read in 1 15 17 2 21 and the calm composure shown in 3 *f.*

No unmistakable trace can be shown of conjunction or amalgamation of two or more pieces of diverse origin, apart from what admits of explanation from use having been made of existing writings—say, the reading of certain Pauline epistles. Rather does everything, even that which has been borrowed, reach the paper through the individual brain and pen of the writer. Witness the unity of language and style which becomes all the more conspicuous whenever we compare the work with, for example, a Johannine epistle or a chapter from the synoptical gospels.

There is but one so-called conclusive proof that there were originally more than one epistle—whether genuine or not genuine—of Paul to the Philippians: the much-discussed testimony of Polycarp (*Phil.* 3 2). There we read of Paul that he had not only in his time orally instructed the Philippians but also written them 'letters, into which if you look carefully you will be able to have yourselves built up into the faith that has been given you' (*ἐπιστολὰς, εἰς ἃς ἐὰν ἐγκρύπτητε, δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδομεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν*). It is not necessary, however, as is done by some scholars, to explain the plural number (letter[s]) by reference to Latin idiom (*epistolæ*), or, with others, to think that Polycarp is exaggerating. Chap. 13 2 clearly shows that he well knows the difference between *ἐπιστολή* and *ἐπιστολαί*; 11 3 (qui estis in principio epistulæ ejus), that he knows of but one epistle of Paul to the Philippians; 11 2, that he regards 1 Cor. 6 2 as belonging to the instruction given by Paul to the Philippians, whilst we moreover meet with other traces of acquaintance with Pauline epistles. The inference lies to our hand: the plural form (*ἐπιστολαί*) in 3 2 is to be explained by the writer's intention of pointing to a group of epistles by Paul which his readers might read for edification, and the Philippians also might regard as written for them. A remarkable evidence indeed, not of the earlier existence of more than one epistle of Paul to the Philippians, but of the way in which in the

middle of the second century the group of Pauline epistles was regarded—not as a chance collection of private letters, but as one destined from the first for the edification of various churches.

After what has been said it is hardly possible to think of Paul as the writer of Phil.

7a. Author not Paul.

In itself considered it is possible indeed that the apostle should have written in the form of a letter to a particular church a composition which was in truth no real letter, but a writing designed for purposes of general edification. This is not impossible; but it is hardly at all probable. The same remark applies to the writer's method of borrowing one thing and another from extant 'Pauline epistles'—even if sometimes the borrowing amounts perhaps to no more than a slight unconscious reminiscence of what he had at some time read. Possible also, but still less probable, is it that he should have written in so impalpable a manner regarding his then surroundings—his recent vicissitudes, what might be awaiting him in the future, his relation to the community addressed, what was happening within it—and above all that he should write in so exalted a tone of himself as an 'example' whose sufferings are significant for them all.

What finally puts an end to all doubt is the presence of unmistakable traces of the conditions of a later period. Amongst these are to be reckoned in the first instance all that is vague and nebulous in the supposed historical situation, the firmly held conception of 'Paul,' his 'bonds,' his presence and absence. More particularly, everything that points to a considerably advanced stage in the development of doctrine. Christianity has freed itself from Judaism. 'Saints' may be called so, not because of their relation to the law, nor as children of Abraham, but in virtue of their standing 'in Christ Jesus' (1 1 4 21). Righteousness, or the fruit of righteousness, is attained not through the law but 'through Jesus Christ' (1 11, cp 3 9). Not the Jew but the believing Christian belongs to the true Israel (3 3).

It is no longer Jesus who is by preference spoken of—the expression occurs only twice (2 10 19) according to Tischendorf's text; usually it is 'Christ Jesus,' or 'Christ,' sometimes 'Jesus Christ.' God is in a special sense his father (1 2). His 'day' is spoken of (1 6 10 2 16), the righteousness obtained through him (1 11), the abundance that is had in him (1 26). He can be the subject of preaching (1 15 17 *f.*); *the* life (1 21); his spirit a stay for believers (1 19), and he himself glorified in the body of the apostle (1 20). In him is comfort (2 1), he is the highest object of human striving (2 21), whose work must be done (2 30), in whom alone can there be glorying (3 3), for whom everything may well be sacrificed (3 7), the knowledge of whom is worth all else (3 8), who lays hold of those who are his (3 12), in whom is the calling of God (3 14), to be hostile to whose cross is the saddest of all things (3 18), who is to be looked for from heaven as Lord and Saviour (3 20), who shall make us like unto himself (3 21), in whom we must stand fast (4 1), whose 'thoughts' (νοήματα) we must have (4 7), through whom or in whom God blesses us (4 19), whose grace may be invoked upon us (4 23), our Lord at whose name every knee must bow (2 10 *f.*), who came down from heaven, who was in the form of God and who humbled himself, became man, suffered and died, and was glorified above all (2 6-11).

The church already possesses its 'bishops and deacons' (1 1), its factions, its parties and schools (1 15 17 3 2), its good old times (1 5 2 12). The unity of the faith is in danger (1 27 *f.*, cp 2 2 *f.*), there is suffering on account of the faith (1 29 *f.*), there is an aiding of prisoners (2 25 30), with regard to which we find a testimony in Lucian's *De Morte Peregrini*.

In a word: all points back to an Old-Christian development that cannot at so early a date as 64 A.D., the assumed death-year of Paul, have attained to such a degree of maturity as we see it here possessing. Let it not be said, however, on this account, that the unknown writer who conceals himself behind the name 'Paul' or, if you will, 'Paul and Timothy,' was a forger or fraudulent person. Nothing gives us the smallest title to cast any such imputation on his character. He simply did what so many had done before him, and so many others were to do after his day; more from modesty than from any arrogance or bluntness of moral sense do such men write under the name of some one whom they esteem, in whose spirit they wish to carry on their labours, and under whose spiritual protection, as it were, they wish to place their literary efforts. The 'Paul' whom this author brings before his readers is the motive—indispensable or at least desirable—for glorying over against those who are accustomed to exalt themselves over well-known predecessors, as we learn from 2 Cor. 5 12.

7b. Real author.

The author himself lived at a later date; we know not where. Presumably in the same circle as that in which the 'principal epistles' had their origin, and not long after the production of these, probably in Syria or Asia Minor, about the year 125 A.D. In any case not earlier than the beginning of the second century and not later than the testimony of Polycarp already cited, dating from the middle of the century, or indeed, when we bear in mind Marcion's use of the letter, not later than 140 A.D. What we can securely infer from the epistle itself is no more than this; that it appeared after the 'principal epistles,' and in dependence on them, yet by another hand than any of those which we find at work there, as is shown by the divergences by which, notwithstanding many things they have in common, its language and style are distinguished.[1] Our author, like the writers of the 'principal epistles,' belonged to the Pauline school. Yet he was, so far as we can judge, less dogmatically inclined than these writers, or at least than the authors of Rom. and Gal.; rather was he one who directed his thoughts by preference to the practice of the Christian life. He knows well of conflicting tendencies and divergent schools and parties, yet he glides lightly over them and in the character of Paul unhesitatingly places himself above them all (1 18), if only his readers are obedient and adhere to that which has once been taught (2 12 3 16 *f.* 4 9). Questions of doctrine leave him unmoved, if only his readers will bear in mind the watchwords: struggle, ceaseless struggle (3 12-16); a walk in accordance with the gospel of Christ, in unity of the spirit (1 27); after the pattern given by Paul (*passim*, especially 1 21-26 2 17 *f.* 3 17 4 9-13), Timothy, Epaphroditus (2 19-30), and other Philippians of the good old days (1 3-11 4 10-18), only thinking the thoughts which were in Christ Jesus (2 5).

8. Value.

The historical as distinguished from the abiding religious and ethical value of this writing, even although it makes no contribution to our knowledge of the life of Paul, is not slight. It throws light for us upon the history of Paulinism and the course of this quickening practical movement within Christianity during the first half of the second century.

9. Literature.

Useful commentaries, though all written from the standpoint which accepts the genuineness as proved, are those of R. A. Lipsius (*HC*(2), 1892), Meyer-Haupt (1897), M. R. Vincent (1897), J. B. Lightfoot (1868, 1891), A. Klöpper, *Der Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Philipper* (1893). Valuable discussions will be found in F. C. Baur (*Paulus*(2), 2 50-88, 1867), Hoekstra (*Th. T*, 1875), Holsten (*JPT*, 1875-1876), Grimm (*ZWT*, 1873), Hilgenfeld (*ibid.*, 1873-1877-1884), J. Cramer (*Nieuwe Bijdragen*, 1879, 1-98); cp Holtzmann (*Einl.*(3), 1892, p. 266-272), S. Davidson (*Intr.*(3), 1894, 1 161-182), Zahn (*Einl.*(2), 1 369-400), Van Manen (*Handl.* 49-51).

[1] The divergences are best set forth by Hoekstra, *Th. T*, 1875, pp. 432-435 and Holsten, *JPT*, 1876, pp. 297 *ff.*, although in using either of these studies, one cannot escape the feeling that, throughout, both of these scholars have given too much weight to the dogma of the genuineness of the 'principal epistles.'

PHILIPPIANS (EPISTLES)

II. Polycarp's Epistle.

10. Polycarp's epistle : text.

The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians has long held a place, by universal consent, among the writings of the 'Apostolic Fathers.' Its title in that group according to Zahn (ed. Gebhardt-Harnack-Zahn, 1876, p. 110, also in the editio minor [3], 1900, p. 114), runs: *τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου Σμύρνης καὶ ἱερομάρτυρος πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολή*. In Lightfoot[2] (1889, pt. ii. vol. 3, p. 321) it is simply *πρὸς Φιλιππησίους*. Neither the longer nor the shorter title can be regarded as original. The epistle is now extant in its entirety only in a faulty Latin rendering by the same hand as that which translated the longer recension of the Ignatian epistles. We know the Greek text of chaps. 1-9 from nine MSS, which all go back to the same ancestor (*v o f g b c n s a*=G), and are usually called ἀκέφαλοι because they contain the Greek text of the acephalous 'Barnabas'—*i.e.*, of Barn. 5_7 (. . . *τὸν λαὸν κ.τ.λ.*)—21. Chap. 13 is found in Eus. *HE* iii. 36 $_{14\text{-}15}$.

11. Form and contents.

The work is in the form of an epistle written by 'Polycarp and the presbyters who are with him,' or by Polycarp alone, to the church of God at Philippi which had invited him to write the epistle (3_1 13_2), we are not told how or why. The 'presbyters' are mentioned as joint writers of the epistle only in the exordium; for the repeatedly recurring 'we' elsewhere does not necessarily imply them. 'Polycarp' speaks in chaps. 1-14 to 'brethren,' to whom his attitude is after the manner of 'Paul' in his epistles. He declares his joy at their friendly reception of Ignatius and his companions on their journey to Rome (1), gives some exhortations (2), declares that he cannot compare himself with Paul (3), gives directions and precepts for married women and widows (4), for deacons, youths (*i.e.*, laymen) (5), presbyters, himself and others (6). He warns against Docetism and exhorts to faithful adherence to the views that have been handed down (7). He points to the perseverance of Christ Jesus, the blessed Ignatius, Zosimus, Rufus, Paul and the rest of the apostles (8 *f.*), urges his readers to follow their example (10), laments the falling away of the former presbyter Valens and his wife, yet desires that they should be gently dealt with (11). He incites to the examination of the scriptures, to a holy walk, to prayer for others (12). He will take care, on the request of the Philippians and Ignatius (see Ign. *ad Pol.* 8), that letters should be sent to Antioch in Syria, and says a word in commendation of the epistles of Ignatius accompanying his own; also of Crescens, the bearer, and his sister (13 *f.*).

12. Polycarp the author?

The author of this epistle, according to tradition, was Polycarp, a disciple of the apostles, especially of John, who made him bishop of Smyrna, where about 166 or 167-168 A.D., he suffered martyrdom at an advanced age. The difficulties, however, in the way of our accepting this tradition are insuperable.

In the first place, it has to be asked what motive was there for Polycarp, the bishop of the church at Smyrna, to address such an epistle at all to the church at Philippi—with which so far as we can trace, he had nothing to do? What is said in 3_1 (cp 13_2) about the epistle having been invited is manifestly invention.

Further, we must not overlook that, though doubtless the writing gives itself out to be a letter, it is in reality nothing of the sort, but rather, in the author's own language, a treatise 'concerning righteousness' (*περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης*, 3_1, cp 9_1). The form is taken from the Pauline 'epistle,' on the whole coinciding most with that of the pastoral letters, or those of Ignatius, though also now and then showing affinities with the first Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. Its dependence on all these continually strikes the eye.

Now, it is, in itself considered, certainly possible, yet at the same time it is not at all likely, that Polycarp, under his own name or as 'Polycarp and the presbyters that are with him,' should have written a treatise 'concerning righteousness' in the form of an epistle to the church at Philippi. Rather does it lie in the nature of the case that a third person should have made use of his name in this manner.

The same observation has to be made upon the circumstance that the writer, in the character of Polycarp, refers to the charge laid upon him by Ignatius. Ignatius himself, however, in his letter to Polycarp (8_1) had said that on account of his hasty departure from Troas for Neapolis he was no longer able to write to all the churches, wherefore he, Polycarp, must now instead send letters 'to the churches in front'—a fiction upon which the real Polycarp could hardly have proceeded, though for a third party this would have presented no difficulties. Or if it be held that we are not at liberty to speak of fiction in this connection because Ignatius had really said what we read in the passage cited above, how then could his friend Polycarp have passed over his words, have written a treatise in place of an epistle to the Philippians, and in the so-called letter assume the appearance of having written, not to please Ignatius, but because the writing had been called for by the persons addressed (3_1, cp 13_2)?

There are other difficulties also. The date of Polycarp's death is unknown.

The tradition that speaks of 166 or 167-8 as Polycarp's death-year rests upon some indications of Eusebius (*Chron.* and *HE* 4 14 *f.* 5 5 20), yet it appears to be inadmissible. The same authority, however, speaks (*HE* 3 36) of Polycarp not only as a contemporary of Ignatius and Papias, but also as already in the third year of Trajan (98-117) bishop of Smyrna and at that time in his full vigour. For this reason many scholars, such as Hase, Wieseler, Duker, Keim, Uhlborn, J. Réville, Rovers (*Th.T*, 1881, pp. 450-464), Killen, van Loon (*Th.T*, 1893, p. 312 *f.*), have during ever so many years not hesitated to use their freedom in this connection, and have assigned as the death-year of Polycarp various dates between 147 and 178; more particularly, however, many scholars since Waddington (1867)—such as Renan, Aubé, Hilgenfeld, Gebhardt, Harnack, Völter, Lightfoot, Zahn, and again Harnack (*ACL* 2 1 {1897}, pp. 325-9, 334-356—have fixed upon the year 155-6 as the date, basing their conclusion on what they read in the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, chap. 21. Unfortunately it is not possible to place reliance even on this passage. The purport of the supposed statement is uncertain; it requires a number of guesses to be made before it can be taken in the sense that is desired; and in the most favourable event yields a statement that stands and falls with the twofold, far from probable, view (1) that chap. 21 is an integral part of the main work, although it was still unknown to Eusebius and Jerome; (2) that the *Martyrium* itself is as old as it claims to be, and was written within a year after the martyrdom of Polycarp (see OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 14).

The oldest tradition we possess regarding the date of Polycarp is that given by Irenæus, who (*Adv. Hær.* 3 $3\text{-}4$, written about 180) speaks of him as one whom he had known in his earliest youth (*ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ*), who at that time was bishop of the church of Smyrna, and of whose successors 'down to the present time' (*οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον*) he is able to speak. To what is said by Irenæus here and elsewhere, as also in the Epistle to Florinus wrongly attributed to him (see OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 25), Eusebius has nothing new of any consequence to add, beyond his indications as to the death-year in 167-8, which are certainly not to be accepted. Irenæus names no such year.

We should certainly not go very far astray if, in view of what Irenæus tells us about Polycarp, we were to seek his death about the middle of the second century. At that date the Ignatian letters, with which our present epistle is connected, had not yet been written (see OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 22), and thus the latter cannot have been the work of Polycarp.

It is of no avail to attempt—as some scholars have done, with Daillé (1666), and others with A. Ritschl (1857), Völter (1892), Meyboom (1897)—to meet these difficulties by assuming our present epistle to be greatly interpolated, so that in its original form it can still be regarded as older than the Ignatian Epistles. The

assumption of the many interpolations required finds no support in the MS tradition nor yet in the textual phenomena or in external testimony—as has been rightly pointed out by Zahn and Lightfoot among others.

The conclusion remains—notwithstanding Zahn and Lightfoot, who (albeit supported by Harnack) have not succeeded in proving the 'genuineness'—that our 'Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians' is the work of an unknown hand, in the spirit of the epistles of Ignatius, though not, in view of the differences in style and language, by the same author, as a sequel to that group, and not, as has been conjectured, with the object of recommending them, or of controverting Docetism. The 'Pauline' epistles are much more strongly recommended (3 3) than the Ignatian (13 2); and the polemic against Docetism in chap. 7 comes too little into the foreground for us to be able to regard it as one of the main objects of the writing. The epistle is a well-meant, though by no means important, composition of the edifying order, made up in great part of borrowed words, and in no respect showing much independence, written after Polycarp's death about the middle of the second century, and before Irenæus, who (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 3 4) praised it as 'an able epistle' (ἐπιστολὴ ἱκανωτάτη) from which we can learn the manner of Polycarp's faith and how to preach the truth; probably, therefore, about 160 A.D.

13. Author unknown.

The best editions, with introductions and running commentaries, though from first to last dominated by the view that the work is really an epistle written by Polycarp and sent to the church at Philippi, are those of Theod. Zahn (*Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistulæ*, in *Patrum apostolicorum opera*, ed. Gebhardt, Harnack, Zahn, Fasc. ii. 1876) and J. B. Lightfoot (*The Apostolic Fathers:* ii. S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp, vol. i. and iii.(2), 1889). Cp Zahn, *Forschungen*, 4 (1891) 249-283, 'Zur Biographie des Polycarpus und des Irenæus'; Harnack, *ACL* 1 (1893) 69-74, on the transmission of the text, and *ACL* ii. 1 (=*Chronologie*, 1897) 325-9, 334-356, 381-406 on Polycarp's person, his death-year, and the genuineness of the epistle; G. Krüger, *Gesch. d. altchristl. Litt.* 1895, p. 17 *f.*; G. Uhlhorn, *PRE*(2), *s.v.* 'Polykarp'; Waddington, 'Mém. sur la Chronol. de la vie du rhéteur Ælius Aristide' in *Mém. de l'inst. imp. de la France*, t. xxvi., 1867; J. Réville, *De anno dieque quibus Polycarpus Smyrnæ martyrium tulit*, 1880; Rovers, *Th.T*, 1881, pp. 450-464 ('De marteldood van Polycarpus'); W. D. Killen, *Anc. Church*, 1883(4); van Loon, *Th.T*, 1893, p. 312 *f.*; Van Manen, *Handl. d. Oudchrist lett.*, 1900, pp. 82-84. W. C. v. M.

14. Literature.

PHILISTINES

1. Name. Philistines is the name of a people whose territory in the time of the Israelite kingdoms adjoined that of Israel on the SW. and separated Judah from the sea.[1]

פְּלִשְׁתִּים, *pĕlishtīm* (seldom with the article), rarely פְּלִשְׁתִּיִּים, *pĕlishtiyyīm*; sing. פְּלִשְׁתִּי; פְּלֶשֶׁת, *Pĕlésheth*, the country, or its inhabitants collectively, appears—so far as OT usage goes—to be a poetical back-formation from פְּלִשְׁתִּי, *Pĕlishtī*, 'Philistine,' taken naturally as a gentile adjective;[2] 𝔊 in the Hexateuch—also Ecclus. 46 18 47 7 50 26 1 Macc. 3 24 and cod. B in Judges—Φυλιστιειμ, occasional variant Φιλιστιειμ, elsewhere 𝔊 ἀλλόφυλοι;[3] Aq. Symm. Φυλιστιαῖοι; Jos. Παλαιστῖνοι; Vg. *Philisthiim*, *Philistini*, *Palæstini*.

[1] [On certain questions raised in other articles, such as the possibility of a confusion between the rightful possessors of the name *Pĕlishtīm* and a people with whom the Israelites were in frequent relation, dwelling in N. Arabia and especially in the NEGEB (*q.v.*), and called properly *Ṣārĕphāthīm* or *Jeraḥme'elim* see *Critica Biblica*, and for the data on which in other articles frequent emendations of MT have been proposed, leading up to new views of Israelitish history see a series of articles in the present work, especially SAUL; cp also JERAHMEEL, § 4, LAMENTATIONS, OBADIAH, PELETHITES, PSALMS.]

[2] Possibly a poetical archaism; cp Assyr. *Palastu. Pilistu.*

[3] On the usage of ἀλλόφυλος in Greek and the significance of this rendering in 𝔊, see Stark, *Gaza*, 67 *ff.*, Rel. *Pal.* 75 *f.* In the age of the translation the hellenised population of the seaboard were in a peculiar sense 'aliens' to the Jews; cp Is. 9 11 [12], where 𝔊 gives Ἕλληνες. The hatred expressed in Ecclus. 50 26 is not a mere reminiscence of ancient wrongs, as the deeds of the Maccabæan time prove. The translation ἀλλόφυλοι is therefore not an etymological attempt on the name פלשתים or פלתי, as has sometimes been surmised, nor does it preserve the historical memory that the Philistines were of a different (non-Semitic) race. An ancient etymology is found in *Onom. Vatic.* (Lagarde, 200 99), θαυμαστοί (פלא).

The Philistine country at this period embraced the maritime plain from somewhere near Joppa in the N. to the desert S. of Gaza, a district about 40 m. in length; the line of low hills between the plain and the Judæan highlands, with the broad valleys running inland, was debatable ground between Philistines and Israelites (see below, § 13); the boundaries—except on the S., where they are fixed by nature—shifted at different times (see GASm. *HG*, chaps. 9 *f.*). To this country the name *Palæstina*, properly equivalent to Philistia, and so used in AV (**Palestina:** Ex. 15 14 Is. 14 29 31), was first applied by the Greeks; in a less precise use it was, however, early extended to the hinterland as far as the Jordan, thus including Judæa (see Rel. *Pal.* 38 *ff.*; Stark, *Gaza*, 58 *f.*).

2. Country.[1] The southern part of the maritime plain is level or gently undulating, with a rich soil, well-watered, and nearly all capable of cultivation. Between the plain and the steep western slope of the Judæan plateau, separated from the latter by a series of longitudinal valleys, is a curving line of hills, rarely rising to an elevation of 1000 ft., cut through in three or four places by wide valleys which run to the very foot of the mountains of Judah, whence a defile ascends to the central highland. The coast from Carmel to Gaza, a line of sandhills and cliffs from 30 to 100 ft. high, is without a natural harbour even for small vessels; the cities near the sea (Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Joppa, Dor) provided themselves for their need with such havens (μαιουμᾶς) as they could, but never rivalled the Phœnicians in commerce or sea-power. One of the world's great thoroughfares of land traffic, however, traversed the country. At Gaza the road from Egypt, through the desert and the roads from Arabia over which were brought the products of Yemen and yet more distant climes met; thence led N. along the coast the route to Phœnicia, Syria, and the East. The position of Gaza gave it also great political and military importance (see GAZA).

There can be no doubt that this part of the coast was settled and civilised at a very remote time. The Amarna despatches (about 1400 B.C.) by their very form prove that, with the whole of Western Syria, it had been, at an earlier period, for many generations under the influence of Babylonian culture, and doubtless under Babylonian dominion. The Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty included it in their empire as part of the district which in their inscriptions is called *Ḫaru* (Ḥōr), and some of its cities are repeatedly mentioned on their monuments as well as on those of their successors (see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 148 *ff.*) In the Amarna despatches we find the names of Gaza, Lachish, Ashkelon, Gath, Gezer, Jabneel, Joppa, Aijalon, and other cities. The inhabitants belonged—as names of places, persons, and deities, as well as expressions and idioms in the correspondence, prove—to the stock which we call comprehensively Canaanite.

In Dt. 2 23, in a catalogue of the former populations of Palestine and its neighbour lands, an antiquarian author tells us that the Caphtorim (*i.e.*, Philistines, see below, § 4) exterminated the AVVIM (עַוִּים, 𝔊 Εὐαῖοι) who dwelt in villages as far as Gaza; and Josh. 13 3 includes the Avvim with the five tyrants of the Philistines as occupants, at the time of the Israelite settlement, of the southern end of the maritime plain 'which is reckoned to belong to the Canaanites.' The author apparently does not regard the Avvim as Canaanites; whether they were an historical people, or, like the giant Rephaim in the land of Ammon (Dt. 2 20), a legendary race,[2] can hardly be determined.

[1] See GASm. *HG* 148 *f.* 201 *ff.*

[2] So, *e.g.*, Bertheau, *Zur Gesch. d. Israeliten*, 142.

Hebrew tradition preserved the memory of the fact that, like the Israelites and the Aramæans, the Philistines were immigrants or invaders in historical times. They came, according to this tradition, from Caphtor (Am. 9 7, cp Dt. 2 23).[1] In both ancient and modern times there has been wide divergence of opinion as to the country intended by this name—Cappadocia, the Egyptian delta, Cyprus, Crete.[2] The question can be settled only by other evidence about the origin of the Philistines, and fortunately such evidence is not altogether lacking. From the monuments of Rameses III. we learn that in his eighth year he carried on a campaign in Palestine against foes who had invaded Syria from the N., overwhelming the kingdoms which lay in their path:[3]

3. The Philistine invaders.

'No country,' we read 'could withstand their arms—Ḥeta, Kode (the coast N. of Arvad), Carchemish, Arvad, nor Alashia. The invaders annihilated them, and all encamped in the heart of Amara' (*i.e.*, the region of the southern Lebanon and the Bikā', on the borders of territory which acknowledged the dominion of Egypt). 'Their main force was made up of Purusati, Ṯakkara (pronounced, perhaps, Zakkara), Shakrusha, Dano (elsewhere Danona), Vashasha'; in another text the Shardana also (who probably came by sea) are named. The Pharaoh marched against them into Palestine; he commemorates in reliefs as well as inscriptions a battle on both land and sea,[4] in which he gained a great victory over the invaders. The scene of this battle at the 'Tower of Rameses III.' is not certainly known; it seems clear, however, that it was in Palestine or Phœnicia (De Rougé, Brugsch), not on the coast of the Delta (Chabas and many after him); Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 177 *f.*) locates it on the Phœnician coast; Maspero (*Struggle*, 466 *f.*; cp 470, n. 4) somewhat farther S., possibly at the mouth of the Belos, in the Bay of Acre, or in the vicinity of Turris Stratonis.[5]

The Purusati were manifestly the leading people among the invaders; they are always named in the first place, and sometimes alone. Champollion recognised in the name *Purusati* the *Pĕlishtīm* of the OT, and the identification of the names has been accepted by an increasing number of Egyptologists and biblical scholars.[6] It is formally unimpeachable; the Egyptian *r* in proper names often represents a foreign *l*, a sound which the Egyptian language did not possess. Historically, also, as we shall see, the combination has a very high degree of probability (see § 8, and cp CAPHTOR).

Purusati is then the national name of this people (observe also the regular anarthrous use in OT). Therewith the etymologies which derive the words פְּלִתִּי פְּלִשְׁתִּים from a Semitic root (Eth. *falasa*, migrate, emigrate, wander abroad; *felāsate*, migration, wandering; *falāsī*, sojourner, foreigner; cp Arab. *falaṣa*, *falata*, Heb. *pālaṭ* [Ges., Movers, Stark, and many]), assuming that the name was given to these immigrants by an indigenous Semitic people (Canaanites or Hebrews), fall to the ground; and formal objections, though of themselves decisive, may be waived.[7] On other etymological conjectures, see below, § 4.

In the representations of these peoples on the monuments we find peculiarities of garb, armour, and type of feature which, by the aid of other monuments, we recognise as distinctive of the populations of the southern coasts of Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægæan.[8] This is confirmed by the names of these 'sea peoples' so far as they can with any confidence be identified; in particular instances the identifications may be questioned; but several of them are seemingly beyond dispute, and the concurrence cannot be fortuitous.

4. Whence did they come?

De Rougé saw in the Ruku of Merneptaḥ the Λύκιοι; his Akayvaš may perhaps be 'Αχαιϝοι; Danona has been combined with Δαναοί, the Ṯakkara with Τευκροί—the last very improbably.[1] At an earlier time Lycians, Ionians, Dardanians, Sardinians, Tyrsenians, appear among the foes of the Egyptians as mercenaries or as pirates.[2] The Cherethites of the OT are not improbably islanders from Crete, as 𝔊 in the prophets understands (see CHERETHITES); the connection of the Cherethites with the Ṯakkara (CAPHTOR, § 2) is phonetically impossible (Müller, *MVG* 5, n. 2). The attempt to connect the name *Pĕlištīm* with Πελασγοί (Hitzig, *Urgesch.* § 22 *f.*), or with the Πενέσται in Thessaly (Hitzig, *GVI* 1 38; see Kneucker, *BL* 4 542) requires no discussion. Renan traces to the Philistines some European words very early naturalised in Hebrew such as *parbār* (περίβολος), *mĕkērāh* (Gen. 49 5, μάχαιρα), *pīlegeš* (*pellex*), *liškāh* (λέσχη), *kaphtōr* (*capitul*; *Hist.* 1 157 *f.*; cp 2 33).

The southern coast of Asia Minor is called in the Egyptian inscriptions Keftō,[3] a name which we are thus warranted in connecting with Caphtor, whence, according to Hebrew tradition, the Philistines came.[4] A form still more closely approximating to Caphtor occurs in a catalogue of African and Asiatic names with which the walls of a temple at Ombos are decorated—viz., *Kptār* (Sayce, *Crit. Mon.*[(2)] 13, WMM, *MGV* 5 *f.*). The material of these lists, compiled in the last century B.C., is taken from older sources; no principle of order is observed, and the position of the name gives no further clue to the situation of Caphtor. That in the ethnographical table (8th cent.) in Gen. 10 (*v.* 14) the Caphtōrīm are set down as descendants of Miṣraim-Egypt can no more be used to determine the position of Caphtor than to establish the ethnic affinities of the people; the Caphtōrīm are here simply the Philistines of the author's time, whose dependence upon Egypt is expressed in the familiar genealogical scheme, just as in P's table the intimate political and commercial relations of the Canaanites to Egypt are expressed by making Canaan a brother of Miṣraim.

To what race the Purusati and their allies belonged is again a question upon which the monuments cast some light. The Egyptian artists manifestly meant to represent the sea peoples as distinct from the Semitic populations of Palestine and Phœnicia in complexion and physiognomy as well as in civilisation; their traits differ hardly less from the Ḥeta, and resemble those of peoples whom we have good reason to regard as European. Their armour also is of a Western type (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 362 *ff.*; *MVG* 11 *f.*).

5. Of what race?

The evidence of language unfortunately fails us. The names of the peoples which took part in the invasion have been referred to above (§ 4); no personal names of kings or chiefs occur in the Egyptian inscriptions.[5] In the OT not only are the names of places in Philistia—as we should expect—native, that is, Canaanite (see above, § 2), but also, with very few exceptions, the names of persons who figure in the story as Philistines. The same is true of the names in Assyrian inscriptions. To infer from this, as has sometimes been done,[6] that the Philistines were *ab origine* a Semitic race is unwarranted; the utmost that the facts prove is that they early adopted the language of the country in which they settled (see below, § 12). Almost the only certainly Philistine proper name in the OT is Achish (אָכִישׁ, Αγχους, Ακχους) king of Gath in the time of David and Solomon

1 In Jer. 47 4 (=29 4 𝔊), *Caphtor* is not in 𝔊. In Gen. 10 14 the gloss, 'whence proceeded the Philistines,' was probably meant to be attached to *Caphtorim* rather than to *Casluḥim* as in the present text.

2 See CAPHTOR; Stark, *Gaza*, 75 *ff.*; Dillm. on Gen. 10 14.

3 See WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 359 *f.*; *MVG* v. (1900) 1 32 *ff.*; Maspero, *Struggle of Nations*, 465 *f.*

4 See, however, WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 177 n.: the inscription would seem to imply that the two engagements were distinct.

5 The brief statement of Justin (xviii. 3 5) that the Sidonians, driven from their city by a king of the Ascalonites, founded island-Tyre (1209 B.C.) has often been thought to refer to the invasion or early conquests of the Philistines. See Movers, *Phönizier*, ii. 1 315 *f.*; Stark, *Gaza*, 155; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 388; *contra*, Winckler, *GI* 1 223.

6 See Maspero, *Struggle of Nations*, 463, n. 1.

7 Against the whole theory see Hitzig, Kneucker, etc.; most recently WMM, *MVG* v. (1900) 1 3 n.

8 See WMM, *As. u. Eur.*, chaps. 26-29; *MVG* 9 *ff.*; Maspero, *Struggle*, 461 *ff.*

1 See De Rougé, *Revue archéologique*, new ser., 16 31-45 81-103 (1867); Maspero, *Struggle*, 464, n. 3; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 357, 368; cp *MVG* 3.

2 WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 369 *ff.*

3 See WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 337 *ff.*; especially *MVG* 9 *ff.*, where it is shown that this name is not applied to Cilicia alone.

4 On this point see the new evidence adduced by Müller, *MVG* 6 *ff.*

5 The ruler of Dor in the Papyrus Golenischeff is Bidir.

6 See especially Schwally, 'Die Rasse der Philistäer,' *ZWT* 34 103 *ff.* (1891).

(1 S. 21 10 [11] *ff.* 1 K. 2 39 *f.*),[1] with which we may compare Ikausu king of Ekron in the seventh century (in inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ašur-bāni-pal; *KB* 2 148 240) and Ekašo in a recently published Egyptian text, containing names from Kefto.[2] The title *sěren* (סֶרֶן), used in the phrase the 'five *lords* of the Philistines' (see below, § 12), is probably a word of their own language, and may be connected with *τύραννος*, by which it is rendered in the Targum and the Peshitta.[3]

Another fact which is not without a bearing on the question of the origin of the Philistines is that they did not practise circumcision (1 S. 18 25 *ff.*): in the older historical books of the OT (Judges, Samuel) the opprobrious epithet 'uncircumcised' (עָרֵל) is applied only to them (Judg. 14 3 1 S. 17 26), and is repeatedly used alone as a self-evident equivalent of 'Philistine' (Judg. 15 18 1 S. 14 6 31 4, especially 2 S. 1 20).[4] This usage shows that they differed in this respect from the other neighbours of Israel in that age (cp Jer. 9 25 [24] *f.*); it may with some confidence be inferred that the Philistines were neither Semites nor Egyptians.[5] The 'sea-peoples' of Merneptah's monuments were uncircumcised,[6] and the same may safely be affirmed of their successors in the time of Rameses III. among whom the Purusati appear.

If the opinion that the Philistines came from southern Asia Minor and the regions beyond be correct, we shall not think of their appearance in Palestine as the irruption of a horde of barbarians. Their homes lay within the sphere of that ancient Ægean civilisation which researches on the continent and the islands have brought to light in our own time. The vases and other products of the art of Keftō depicted in the tomb of Rekhmirē' give evidence that its inhabitants were not inferior in taste or skill to those of Western Asia Minor and Greece in the 'Mycenæan' age (see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 347 *ff.*). Recent excavations in Crete have added greatly to our knowledge of this civilisation; and it is not unreasonable to expect that from them some fresh light may fall on the problems of these paragraphs.[7]

6. Not barbarians.

What we learn of the Philistines from the OT gives no ground for the common opinion that they were merely warlike barbarians. The rapidity and permanence of their conquests, their political organisation and administration, may fairly be urged on the other side.

7. Time of invasion.

We have seen (§ 3) that the Purusati first appear on the Egyptian monuments in the reign of Rameses III. (see below, § 8; WMM, *MVG* 35). From his inscription we learn that they had already conquered all northern Syria W. of the Euphrates. There is good reason to believe that the Hittite empire, which even in its decadence must have been a considerable power, was broken up by them.[8] It is not likely that this was the work of a single year, nor that the Pharaoh intervened at the first appearance of the invaders (see WMM, *MVG* 32 *f.*). What were the immediate results of the successes of which Rameses boasts we cannot say;[1] in his twelfth year he was again engaged in a campaign against Amara; the later years of his reign passed in peace. Under his feeble successors the Egyptian possessions in Syria were lost; a century after Rameses III., the king of Byblos boasts that neither his father nor his grandfather had been subject to the Pharaoh. In this period the Philistines and their allies must have established themselves in Palestine; for the last years of the 20th dynasty an Egyptian official, Wen-Amon, who touched at Dor on his way to Phœnicia, calls it a city of the Ṭakkara (see above, § 3), and his report makes the impression that they had been for some time settled there.[2]

This date (12th cent. B.C.) agrees well with the indications of the OT history, where the Philistines appear in the half century preceding the establishment of Saul's kingdom as invaders of districts long occupied by Israel (Movers, *Phön.* ii. 1 315 *f.*; cp Ewald *GVI* 1 348 *ff.*); the necessity of a united defence against them was, indeed, the cause of the kingdom (1 S. 4 9 16; see further below, § 9). The story of Samson represents them a generation earlier as in full possession of the maritime plain and the valleys of the Shĕphēlah, and ruling over Judah (Judg. 13-16, cp 10 7).[3] It has often been surmised that the migration of the Danites (Judg. 18) was occasioned by the conquests of the Philistines who, if they did not themselves dispossess the tribe of its settlements in the lowlands, pressed the Canaanites back upon them (Judg. 1 34 *f.* Josh. 19 47).

The references to Philistines at a much earlier time must be regarded as anachronisms. The ruler of GERAR [*q.v.*] in the time of Isaac is called in Gen. 26 (J) 'king of the Philistines;'[4] in Gen. 21 (E) also, where the same story is told of Abraham, the king is supposed to be a Philistine (see *vv.* 31 34). The name of the king, Abimelech, however, is Canaanite (cp Abimilki, of Tyre, in the Amarna despatches). The Amarna despatches (about 1400 B.C.) and the monuments of Rameses II. (about 1340-1273) recording his Syrian campaigns prove conclusively that the Philistines had not yet appeared in Palestine. All that Gen. 21 26 shows is that Gerar lay in territory which, at the time the legends arose, was subject to the Philistines.[5] In Ex. 13 17 (E) 'the Philistine route' is a natural way for the author to describe the direct road from Egypt to Canaan, but cannot be taken as evidence that at the date of the Exodus the Philistines were already in their later seats. A like observation may be made about Josh. 13 3. The ode of triumph, Ex. 15 14, is from too late a time to be taken as evidence to the contrary (see EXODUS, § 6).

8. The conquest.

What set the Purusati and their confederates in motion we can only uncertainly conjecture. From the fact that they appear on the monuments of Rameses III. accompanied on land by their wives and children, who, together with their effects, are transported in carts drawn by oxen (see Maspero, *Struggle*, 462; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 366), their movement has generally been regarded as a true migration, whole tribes leaving their homes in a venture of new fortunes (so, *e.g.*, E. Meyer, *GA* 1 317), and it has been conjectured that the pressure of the great northern 'Völkerwanderung' which brought the Phrygians into the central table-land of Asia Minor thrust out before it the peoples nearest the sea or the confines of Syria (Maspero, *Struggle*, 461 *f.*). Others have thought that the invaders were not migrating tribes but soldiers by trade—mercenaries to-day, robbers to-morrow—who after the manner of their kind in later times carried their homes with them (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 360 *f.*). Some of them, or of their kinsmen, had served in the armies of the Hittites in their wars with

[1] Other names commonly regarded as Philistine are PHICHOL (פִּיכֹל, Gen. 21 22 26 26), MAOCH (מָעוֹךְ, 1 S. 27 2), ITTAI (אִתַּי, 2 S. 15 19 18 2, etc.), GOLIATH (גָּלְיָת, 1 S. 17). See the special articles.

[2] WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 389 n.; *MVG* 8 *f.* The connection of Achish with Anchises suggested itself to the adherents of the Pelasgic hypothesis (Hitzig, Kneucker).

[3] Klostermann on 1 S. 5 8; WMM, *MVG* 12. Others, regarding *sěren* as a Semitic word, consider it a dialect equivalent of Hebr. *sār*; or connect it with *sěren*, 1 K. 7 30, 'axles.'

[4] If in Herod. 2 104 the people of the coast are meant—not merely the Jews, as is possible—it would only prove that they had fallen into the custom of their neighbours in later times.

[5] See CIRCUMCISION, § 3. It is remarkable that Gen. 34 assumes that the inhabitants of Shechem were uncircumcised; cp, however, Josh. 5 2 *ff.*

[6] See (against Brugsch) WMM, *PSBA* 10 147 *ff.* (Jan. 1888); *As. u. Eur.* 357 *f.*

[7] The surmise has been hazarded—somewhat prematurely—that the Philistines brought with them the Cretan linear script, from which the 'Phœnician' alphabet was developed.

[8] See E. Meyer, *GA* 1 319; Maspero, *Struggle*, 466; WMM, *MVG* 35.

[1] Maspero's opinion (*Struggle*, 470; cp 466, n. 3) that the prisoners taken by the Pharaoh in the war against the Purusati and their allies were planted by him in the Shĕphēlāh and at Dor is highly improbable.

[2] Papyrus Golénischeff; see Golénischeff, *Recueil de Travaux*, 21 74 *ff.*; Erman, *ZÄ* 38 1 *ff.*; WMM, v. 1 19 *ff.*

[3] The exploit of Shamgar (Judg. 3 31) properly stands after the story of Samson, as in many MSS of 𝔊.

[4] The title is a parallel to 'Jabin king of Canaan,' Judg. 4 2.

[5] According to Gen. 21 34 this was the case with Beersheba also; but this redactional verse conflicts with *v.* 32.

Rameses II. (WMM, *l.c.*, 354 *ff.*); and they had now perhaps discovered the weakness of the decadent empire. Their successes opened to them new fields of conquest and plunder, and brought them at last to the very doors of Egypt.

It is certain, at least, that they did not long occupy the old Hittite territory, and left no permanent traces there. In the early years of Rameses III. they were in force in the southern Lebanon or perhaps even in Galilee. A hundred years later we find the Ṭakkara established at Dor, on the coast south of Carmel (see above, §§ 3, 7). Their allies, the Purusati, had kept the advance; the maritime plain farther south was in their hands; the Cherethites occupied a region farther inland, in the Negeb. The first movement probably followed the coast, where their sea force could co-operate with them. Soon, however, they extended their conquests to the interior, and we may be sure that it was not the hills of Judæa that first attracted them, but the Great Plain and the rich and flourishing Canaanite cities which stood at so many avenues of entrance into it, from Jokneam and Megiddo to Beth-shean, for an attack upon which Dor on the coast might well serve as a base. When, at the end of Saul's reign, we find Beth-shean—commanding the descent to the Jordan valley and the great East road—in the hands of the Philistines (1 S. 31 10), we may safely assume that the cities between it and the coast plain had not been left in peace to their native rulers.[1] The brunt of the invasion thus fell at the outset on the Canaanites; and that the blow was severe may be inferred from the fact that when the Philistines were forced to relinquish them, these cities passed seemingly without a struggle into the power of Israel (see below, § 11).

This conception of the course of Philistine conquest finds support in the fact that the earliest invasion of the territories of the Israelite tribes of which we have historical testimony (1 S. 4) was by way of Aphek in the plain of Sharon (see APHEK), not by the southern valleys. The Ephraimite peasants made a poor stand at Eben-ezer against these formidable warriors; the Ark of Yahwè was captured; and, seemingly by one victory, the whole of the central highlands came under Philistine supremacy.[2] Judah was probably subdued about the same time. The conquerors established posts throughout the land, where a Philistine officer (*nĕṣīb*), probably with a few soldiers, collected imposts and kept watch upon the doings of the inhabitants, very much, we may suppose, as did the Egyptian officials in Palestine in the days of Amenophis III. and IV., whose reports were found in the archives of Tell el-Amarna (so at Gibeah in Benjamin, 1 S. 10 5 13 3 *f.*; at Bethlehem, 2 S. 23 14). At any symptom of revolt a larger force was sent to punish the attempt by plundering the land and laying it waste (1 S. 13 17 *f.* 14 15). So firmly established was their power that Hebrews served in their armies even in such *razzias* against their own countrymen (1 S. 14 21), as David came near doing at a later time (1 S. 29).

9. Subjection of Israel.

Saul and Jonathan, at the head of a small body of tribesmen, took up arms against their masters; the daring exploit of Jonathan and his armour-bearer led to a general rout of the Philistine punitive expedition which was operating from Michmash (1 S. 14); but the victory was not followed up (14 36-46). A battle in the Valley of Elah (probably the modern Wādy es-Sanṭ; see ELAH), near Socoh, is famous in story as the scene of the single combat of David with Goliath, the giant of Gath, 1 S. 17 (see GOLIATH). We are told that 'there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul' (1 S. 14 52); but few particulars are given us (see ISRAEL, §§ 13 *ff.*, SAUL). David, who distinguished himself as the leader of a partizan corps in this struggle (1 S. 18 19 8), and still found opportunities, in the free-booter's life which he led in the south after his breach with Saul, to deal a blow to his people's foes (1 S. 23), was in the end constrained by the persistent enmity of Saul to go over to Achish, the Philistine king of Gath, in whose contingent he, with his six hundred followers, appeared at the rendezvous of the Philistine armies at Aphek at the opening of the campaign in which Saul lost his life, but was turned back by the suspicions of the council of chiefs (1 S. 28 1 *f.* 29). The Philistines entered the Great Plain probably by the way of Dothan and struck the army of Saul near Jezreel; the Israelites, dismayed perhaps by the chariots, fell back to Mt. Gilboa, and, in the battle which followed, the Philistine archery decided the day; Saul and three of his sons were slain (1 S. 31). The decisive victory made the Philistines again absolute masters of all central Palestine; the Israelites in the plain and the Jordan valley fled from their towns (1 S. 31 7); Abner, Saul's cousin and marshal, established ISHBAAL (*q.v.*), the only remaining son of Saul, at Mahanaim in Gilead (2 S. 2 8), where he reigned for a few years, perhaps as a vassal of the Philistines.[1] A new kingdom was erected in Judah over which David became king (2 S. 2 1-4). Since this was accomplished without interference from the Philistines, it is safe to assume that it was with their consent, and—as a consequence—that David ruled in Hebron as a Philistine vassal, as he had previously held Ziklag as a feof from Achish (see DAVID, § 6). The elevation of David was resented by Saul's house; the Philistines doubtless saw no reason to intervene in the quarrel. The opinion, based on 2 S. 2 9, that Abner reconquered for his master from the Philistines the highlands of Ephraim[2] is not reconcilable with the well-attested facts.[3]

10. Time of Saul.

When David, after the assassination of Ishbaal, raised his ambition to a national kingdom of all Israel (2 S. 5), the Philistines immediately invaded Judah to chastise their rebellious subject, moving up the valley of Rephaim. There David, who at the news of their approach had taken refuge in his mountain fortress ('the HOLD,' 1 S. 22 4 *f.*, etc.), attacked them at Baal-perazim and routed them so completely that they left their gods in the field (2 S. 5 17-21). A second engagement in the same valley had a similar issue, David pursuing the retreating foe as far as Gezer (2 S. 5 22-25). Incidents of other conflicts are related in 2 S. 21 15-17 18 19-22 (cp 1 Ch. 20 4 *ff.*); and the roll of David's brave comrades in 2 S. 23 8 *ff.* preserves the memory of many daring deeds in battle with the Philistines (see DAVID, § 7); but, taking it all together, we find far less about this war of independence than, in view of the comparative fulness of our information concerning David and his reign, we should expect. In 2 S. 8 1 a deuteronomistic editor tells us that David defeated the Philistines and subdued them (cp Judg. 4 23); unfortunately the more specific statement in his source has been transmitted to us in a corrupt text: 'the bridle of the metropolis'—if it be legitimate to render thus [cp METHEG-AMMAH]—which David is said to have taken from the Philistines, is a most improbable expression for 'the hegemony,' even if the latter were itself intelligible in this connection. The parallel passage in 1 Ch. (18 1) has 'Gath and its dependencies,' which may be substantially right (see DAVID, *l.c.*).

11. Of David.

There is much probability in the surmise that the liberation of Israel from the Philistine yoke was not achieved by its own unaided efforts. Egypt about this time began to reassert its dominion over Palestine, and first of all, necessarily, over the Philistine plain. We have, indeed, only indirect evidence of this; but

[1] 1 S. 31 7, where Klostermann, Budde, and Smith emend the text ('in the *cities* of the plain'; 1 Ch. 10 7 'in the plain'), can hardly refer to the strongly fortified cities.

[2] The story of Samuel's crushing defeat of the invaders and its results (1 S. 7 5-14) is a pragmatic fiction which is contradicted by the whole history of the period.

[1] Kamphausen, *ZATW* 6 44 (1886).

[2] Ewald, *GVI*(3) 3 154; Ed. Meyer, *GA* 1 361; Köhler, *Bibl. Gesch.* 2 246; Wellhausen, *IJG*(2) 1 58.

[3] See Kamphausen, *ZATW* 6 44 *ff.* (1886); Stade, *GVI* 1 260; Kittel, *Hist.* i. § 43.

it is convincing. The list of Shoshenk's conquests in Palestine in the reign of Jeroboam does not include any of the Philistine cities; it seems impossible to understand this in any other way than that this part of the country had been previously subjugated. The capture of Gezer, 1 K. 9 16, also implies that the cities farther south had been already subdued by the Egyptians (see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 389 *f.*, *MVG* 38 *f.*). The Philistines, thus forced to defend their own territory, must have given up the attempt to resubject the Israelites. The relations of David to the Philistines after his independence was achieved seem to have been uniformly friendly; his bodyguard was recruited from among them (see CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES); and in Absalom's revolt not only was this corps faithful to the king but besides them six hundred men of Gath were in David's service, their colonel, Ittai, commanding one of the three divisions in the battle in which Absalom fell. The Egyptian conquest seems to have ended the Philistine peril to Israel; the Phœnicians probably at this time recovered Dor, the Israelites fell heir to the cities along the Great Plain (1 K. 4 12);[1] henceforth we find the Philistines only in the southern half of the maritime plain, between Gaza and Joppa. It is not true, however, that this region was included in the empire of Solomon as has sometimes been erroneously concluded from 1 K. 4 21 [5 1] (MT, cp 𝕲 246*b*, also 2 Ch. 9 26), and from 1 K. 4 9.[2]

12. Civilisation. The Philistine invaders were conquerors of an alien race, who were doubtless numerically a small minority among the peoples they had subjected; and, as so often in similar cases, the vanquished gave laws to the victors. Of whatever stock and speech the invaders may have been, in Palestine they very soon adopted the language of the country; the Philistine names in the OT and the Assyrian inscriptions are, as has been observed above, almost without exception Semitic—specifically, Canaanite. The Philistines worshipped the gods of the country, also. DAGON (1 S. 5 Judg. 16 23 *ff.*) was not the national god of the invaders but a Semitic deity who had long been worshipped in Palestine; Astarte (1 S. 31 10; see ASHTORETH) and BAAL-ZEBUB (2 K. 1 2 *f.*) are Canaanite divinities. Of the religion we know little beyond this. They had temples (1 S. 5 31 10 Judg. 16); Herodotus (1 105) heard that the temple at Ashkelon was the oldest seat of the worship of Aphrodite Urania. There were images in the temples (1 S. 5 1 *ff.*), and they carried idols with them into battle (2 S. 5 21), as the Israelites carried the ark; the oracle of Baal-zebub at Ekron was highly reputed in the ninth century (2 K. 1 2); their soothsayers were famous (Is. 2 6). Priests and worshippers on entering the temple of Dagon at Ashdod were careful not to set foot on the threshhold (1 S. 5 5; cp Zeph. 1 9).

Politically, the five chief Philistine cities, ASHDOD, GAZA, ASHKELON, GATH, EKRON (1 S. 6 17; see also Josh. 13 3 Judg. 3 3), which had not improbably been settled by different tribes, formed a confederation. Ashdod seems to have been at first the foremost city of the league; it is named first in the oldest list of Philistine cities (1 S. 6 17); in the temple of Dagon in Ashdod the ark of Yahwè captured at Ebenezer was deposited (1 S. 5). This pre-eminence was probably due to political causes, such as the settlement of the leading Philistine tribe, or perhaps the choice of Ashdod as the meeting-place of the council of chiefs. The situation of Gaza, the key of Syria both commercially and strategically, could not fail in time to give it the advantage (cp Josh. 13 3). It does not appear that any one of the cities had an actual hegemony in the confederation. In the vicissitudes of later centuries the relative power and importance of the cities frequently changed (see Stark, *Gaza*, 142). Gath and Ekron never attained the same

1 Compare Shoshenk's list, Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 166 *ff.*

2 So Thenius; see against him Stark, *Gaza*, 173.

rank as the cities nearer the coast; but their position brought them into closer connection with Israelite history. Gath disappears after the eighth century; it had probably sunk into insignificance.

Each of the five cities was mistress of the adjacent territory, other cities and villages being subject to it (1 S. 6 17 *f.*).[1] The rulers of the five cities are called *sĕrānīm* (סְרָנִים, 𝕲 σατράπαι [𝕲B in Judg. ἄρχοντες, but σατραπίαι in 3 3], Vg. *reguli*, *satrapæ*, *principes*, Tg., Pesh. 'tyrants'). In war each doubtless commanded the contingent of his own city; matters of common concern were decided by them in the council of the chiefs (1 S. 29 3 *ff.*); in time of peace also they acted together in the public interest (Judg. 16); the citizens of Ashdod and of Ekron call them together to determine what shall be done to relieve those cities of the plague which the presence of the ark had brought upon them; they consult the soothsayers and carry out the directions of the response (1 S. 5 *f.*). That their office was hereditary is nowhere said, but may probably be assumed. Achish of Gath is called 'king' (*mélek*, 1 S. 21 10 [11] 27 2), though as ruler of Gath he was one of the *sĕrānīm*;[2] the title 'king' would naturally be given by the Hebrew historian to the ruler of any city, whether one of the five or not.

We see from the Egyptian monuments as well as from the OT that the Philistines had an effective military organisation, and a tactical skill which Asiatics have seldom displayed (see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 365). The army in column, by regiments and companies, under their officers (*sārīm*), passes in review before the *sĕrānīm* (1 S. 29 2). They had chariots (1 S. 13 5 [read 3000], 2 S. 1 6), in which, as in the Hittite chariotry, a shield-bearer stands beside the spearman (see CHARIOT, col. 729). Their strength, however, was in their well-armed footmen;[3] their archers were of formidable skill (1 S. 31 3), reminding us of the fame of the Cretan bowmen. The Ṭakkara at Dor maintained a fleet, which followed Wen-Amon to Byblos and blockaded the port to prevent his returning to Egypt (Papyrus Golénischeff).

13. Later OT references. The Egyptian conquest probably broke up the Philistine confederacy; the descendants of the invaders mingled with the native population of the region and disappeared in it, while leaving it their name, and, doubtless, infusing into it something of their character. Henceforth the history is that not of a people but of a country, or rather of the individual cities in it. (See ASHDOD, ASHKELON, EKRON, GATH, GAZA.) It must suffice here to refer very briefly to some notices in the OT of the relations of Israel to its neighbours on the SW. side. Gezer, as we have seen already (§ 11), was added by the Pharaoh to the territory of Solomon (1 K. 9 16); according to 2 Ch. 11 8 Rehoboam fortified Gath as well as the cities in the Judæan Shĕphēlāh; Gibbethon was besieged by Nadab ben Jeroboam (1 K. 15 27), and again a quarter of a century later in the reign of Elah ben Baasha (1 K. 16 15 *ff.*); the Chronicler records that some of the Philistines brought voluntary presents to Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17 11); in the reign of Jehoram of Judah they are said to have invaded Judah, and carried away the royal treasure with the king's wives and children (2 Ch. 21 16 *f.*);[4] in the time of Jehoash Hazael king of Damascus took Gath, and invaded Judah on that line (2 K. 12 17); Uzziah broke down the walls of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod, and built cities in the territory of Ashdod (2 Ch. 26 6, from an old source); in the days

1 Cp Jos. 13 2 (*gĕlīlōth*), 15 45-47 Judg. 1 18.

2 The difference of opinion between Achish and 'the *sĕrānīm*' in 1 S. 29 does not imply the contrary.

3 See the figures in *As. u. Eur.* 364 *f.*; and cp the descriptions in 1 S. 17 4-8 45 2 S. 21 16.

4 It is noteworthy for the conditions of the Chronicler's age that the Arabians are so frequently associated with the Philistines in his account of these conflicts; cp Neh. 4 7 [1], and see ARABIA, § 3.

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of Ahaz the tables were turned, and the Philistines conquered and occupied many cities in the Judæan Shĕphēlāh and Negeb (2 Ch. 28 18); Hezekiah waged successful war on the Philistine cities, even as far as Gaza, if we may trust the brief notice in 2 K. 18 8;[1] but the Assyrians soon deprived him of his annexed territory. Amos (1 6-8) denounces the judgment of Yahwè on the Philistine cities, because in some recent war they had carried away the population of whole districts and sold them to the Edomites;[2] such a thing might have happened under Amaziah, when Judah was greatly weakened by the disastrous conflict with Israel which the king had provoked (2 K. 14 11 *ff.*). Am. 6 2 (later than Amos) perhaps refers to the catastrophe which befell Gath at the hands of Sargon in 711 (see GATH, § 1). Isaiah, in an early prophecy (9 12 [11]), sees the Philistines on one side, and the Syrians on the other, devouring Israel; whether the Philistines actually assailed the northern kingdom at this time is not known. Is. 20 is dated in the year in which Sargon's Tartan besieged Ashdod (711 B.C.), and predicts the failure of its vain reliance on Egyptian aid. In later prophecies the judgment that is to come upon the Philistines as well as on other foreign nations and lands, is foretold, and sometimes depicted in lurid colours;[3] but, apart from the fact that the genuineness and age of many of these passages are controverted questions, the language and imagery are of too general—we might say, typical—a character to enable us to recognise a specific historical situation.

14. Relations with Assyria.

Philistia, together with Israel and Edom, was conquered and made tributary to the Assyrian empire by Rammān [Adad]-nirāri III., in the last years of the ninth century (*KB* 1 190; ASSYRIA, § 32). Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727) enumerates among his vassals about the year 734, Mitinti of Ashkelon and Ḥanūn of Gaza (*KB* 2 20). Both took part, with Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel, in the revolt which the king put down in 734-732. Ashkelon, where Mitinti was succeeded by his son Rukipti, probably made its submission (see Tiele, *BAG* 235); Ḥanūn fled to Egypt at the approach of the Assyrians, and Gaza was captured and plundered; from the language of Tiglath-pileser in his account of these events it has been inferred that he set an Assyrian governor over it (Winckler, *GI* 1 219). Ḥanūn must, however, soon have recovered his throne, for in 720, in alliance with the Egyptian Sib'u—the same 'Sō' (סוא, perhaps to be pronounced Sewe; see SO) in whom Hoshea the last king of Israel had vainly trusted (2 K. 17 4)—was defeated and made prisoner by Sargon in the battle at Raphia (*KB* 2 54). It was, perhaps, about the same time that Sargon deposed Azuri king of Ashdod, and set his brother Aḫimiti on the throne; the anti-Assyrian party shortly expelled him and made a certain Yamani (or Yavani) king. The war thus provoked ended in 711 with the capture of Ashdod, Gath, and other cities, and the deportation of their inhabitants, their places being filled by colonists from the E. of the Empire, and the district placed under an Assyrian governor (*KB* 2 64 *ff.*; see also ASHDOD). This immediate administration did not continue long; for Mitinti of Ashdod appears among the vassals of Sennacherib.

In the great revolt against Sennacherib, in which Hezekiah of Judah played a prominent part, Ṣidḳa of Ashkelon was involved, with disastrous consequences to himself; he was carried prisoner to Assyria, and Šar-ruludari, the son of a former ruler, made king in his room; Sennacherib, in his inscription, names as cities of the kingdom of Ṣidḳa which he had taken, Beth-dagon, Joppa, Benebarak, Azuru (*KB* 2 92). In Ekron the anti-Assyrian party had seized their loyal king Padi and sent him a prisoner to Hezekiah. Sennacherib severely punished the insurgents of Ekron, compelled Hezekiah to deliver Padi up, and restored him to his throne, 701 (*KB* 2 92 *ff.*). When Hezekiah's turn came, Sennacherib annexed the Judæan cities he had taken and plundered to the territories of the loyal kings, Mitinti of Ashdod, Padi of Ekron, and Ṣilbel of Gaza (*KB* 2 94; see ISRAEL, § 34; HEZEKIAH, § 2, and references there). After the time of Sennacherib the cities of Philistia seem not again to have revolted against the Assyrians.

Esarhaddon names among his western vassals Ṣilbel king of Gaza, Mitinti of Ashkelon, Ikausu of Ekron, Aḫimilki of Ashdod, together with Manasseh of Judah, the kings of Edom and Moab, and others (*KB* 2 148). The same names appear under Ašur-bāni-pal (*ib.* 240). It was the time of the long peace in Manasseh's reign. In the attempt of Egypt under Tirhakah to throw off the yoke of Ašur-bāni-pal (see EGYPT, § 66*b*), the cities on the coast remained loyal to Assyria, as also in the revolt of Phœnicia, and the Arabian war (*KB* 2 160 168 *ff.* 216 *ff.*). The account of the long siege of Ashdod by Psammeticus (29 years; Herod. 2 157) attests renewed attempts of Egypt to subject this coast (see EGYPT, § 67). During the Scythian irruption Ashkelon was taken, and its great temple of 'Aphrodite Urania' spoiled (Herod. 1 105).

The collapse of the Assyrian empire in the last quarter of the seventh century, enabled Necho II. to carry the Egyptian arms to the Euphrates (608); in the course of this campaign he took Gaza (Κάδυτις, Herod. 2 159). Necho's defeat at Carchemish (605) was speedily followed by the reconquest of all Western Syria from the Amanus to the borders of Egypt (cp 2 K. 24 7) by Nebuchadrezzar. So far as our sources go, the southern coast cities offered no such resistance as the Babylonians encountered at Tyre and Jerusalem.[1] The demonstration of the Pharaoh Hophra (Apries) had at least no lasting results. Nabonadius called upon his tributaries as far as Gaza to contribute to the building of the great temple of Sin at Ḥarran (*KB* iii. 2 98).

15. Under Persian rule.

After the fall of the Babylonian empire, Gaza alone opposed the advance of Cambyses on his way to Egypt (Polyb. 16 40). In the provincial organisation of Darius, Palestine (with Phœnicia and Cyprus) was included in the fifth satrapy (Herod. 3 91); it furnished its quota of ships to the fleet of Xerxes (Herod. 7 89). Ashkelon was, for a time at least, subject to Tyre (Scylax, in *Geogr. min.* ed. C. Müller, 1 79); Eshmunazar records the cession of Dor and Joppa to Sidon (*CIS* no 3 l. 19 *f.*). Gaza (*q.v.*) was autonomous, and so prosperous that Herodotus found it not inferior to Sardes (Herod. 3 5; see E. Meyer, *GA* 3 139). What part these cities took in the repeated attempts of Egypt to shake off the Persian yoke, and in the revolts of Megabyzus and Evagoras (see PERSIA, § 20), our scanty sources do not tell us; in the great rebellion of the 'Syrians and Phœnicians, and almost all the peoples of the sea board' in the last years of Artaxerxes Mnemon (Diod. Sic. 15 90) they may have been involved; without at least their benevolent neutrality, Tachos could scarcely have engaged in his operations in Phœnicia in 361.[2] If they joined with the Phœnician cities in the rising against Ochus—as is not improbable, since the Jews also seem to have been implicated—they at least offered no opposition to the Persians in their advance against Egypt; the exemplary fate of Sidon may have warned them to submit while there was time (see PERSIA, § 20).

When Alexander, after taking Tyre, marched down the coast on his way to Egypt, it was again Gaza alone

1 See HEZEKIAH, § 2; Winckler, *GI* 220 226.
2 Winckler (*Alttest. Unters.* 183 *f.*, *GI* 1 199) emends and interprets, 'because they totally depopulated Edom'; see also Löhr, *Unters. z. Amos*, 4.
3 See Jer. 25 15 *ff.* 47 Zeph. 2 4 *ff.* Ezek. 25 15 *ff.*, also Zech. 9 5-7 Obad. 19.

1 See, however, Stark, *Gaza*, 224 *f.*; Berossus names among Nebuchadrezzar's captives not only Jews and Phœnicians, but also Syrians and the peoples near Egypt (Jos. *Ant.* x. 11 1); cp also Philostratus (*ap.* Syncell. 221 D).
2 See Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, 164 *ff.*

that resisted his passage; it was taken only after a siege of two months' duration; the city was sacked, and the remnant of its inhabitants sold into slavery (332 B.C.).[1] The strategic importance of Philistia made it the scene of frequent conflicts between the successors of Alexander.

16. Alexander and his successors.

In the assignment of satrapies after Alexander's death (323), Syria fell to Laomedon; in 320 Philistia and Judæa, with the rest of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, were seized by Ptolemy I., who garrisoned Gaza and Joppa. Antigonus, in 315, took these cities without much difficulty, though Tyre stood a fifteen months' siege. In 312 Ptolemy reconquered the country; a pitched battle being fought in the spring near Gaza (Diod. Sic. 19 80 *ff.*); but in the autumn he was driven out again by Demetrius and Antigonus, dismantling the fortifications of Acco, Joppa, and Gaza in his retreat (Diod. 19 93); the peace of 311 left Antigonus in possession of this coast; Gaza was refortified by him, and was the base of his unsuccessful operations by land and sea against Egypt in 306. In 302 Ptolemy invaded Syria and laid siege to Sidon, but retired upon an erroneous report of Antigonus's advance, leaving garrisons to hold the cities he had taken.

The disposition of Syria in the partition after the battle of Ipsus (301) was disputed, both Seleucids and Ptolemies in later times claiming that they had acquired the right to it;[2] the question of actual possession at the moment lay between Ptolemy and the remaining garrisons of Demetrius. Ptolemy in no long time acquired southern Palestine, and perhaps some points in Phœnicia, which he administered by a strategos. The theatre of the Syrian wars of 275-274, 261-250, 246-240, was farther north; and their outcome strengthened and enlarged the Ptolemaic empire in Syria.[3] A determined attempt to wrest these possessions from Egypt was made by Antiochus the Great, beginning in 219. The Egyptians strengthened the fortifications of Gaza, which was necessarily the base of their defensive operations; but the campaign of 218 must have brought it, along with most of southern Palestine, into the power of Antiochus; since we find him preparing at Gaza for the projected invasion of Egypt. One of the great battles of antiquity was fought at Raphia in the spring of 217; Antiochus was completely defeated, and Ptolemy recovered southern Syria (Polyb. 5 82-86). In 201 Antiochus resumed the attempt; Cœle-Syria fell into his hands almost without a blow; Gaza, however, held out, and was taken only after a stubborn resistance. The Egyptians made an effort to recover the territory; but their defeat at Paneion in 200[4] put an end to a rule which had lasted for a century; all Syria was henceforth embraced in the empire of the Seleucidæ. The revenues of Cœle-Syria were assigned by Antiochus as a dowry to his daughter, Cleopatra, whom he married to the youthful Ptolemy. The ambition of the Egyptian court to reconquer the country precipitated the fresh attacks on Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes in 170-168.

Long before the Macedonian conquest, commerce had doubtless brought to the coast, as it did to the cities of the Nile delta, considerable numbers of Greeks; the importance of the trade with Greece, which was probably chiefly in their hands, may be judged from the fact that in the Persian period Gaza struck coins of Athenian types and of Athenian standard weight and fineness (see Schürer[(3)], 2 84). In the following centuries the influence of Greek civilisation was much more profound and wide-reaching. The city government was framed upon Greek models, the types and legends of their coinage are mainly Greek; the gods whom they worshipped are for the most part the great gods of Greece: Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Athene, Aphrodite, Helios, and others; the Greek language was doubtless extensively spoken in the cities; Ashkelon had, in Roman times, famous schools, and not a few men of distinction in Greek literature were educated there (Steph. Byzant. *s.v.*)—in short, it might appear on a superficial survey of these facts that the region was completely Hellenised. Such a conclusion would, however, be a serious exaggeration. Greek was the language of commerce and of culture; in the cities, probably, most men were able to speak as much Greek as they needed; but as late as the end of the fourth century A.D., the country people about Gaza spoke only Aramaic—which in the Persian period had gradually supplanted the older Canaanite vernacular (cp ARAMAIC, §§ 2 *f.*)—while even in the city the lower classes spoke Aramaic, and there were those who understood no other tongue.[1] The same was true at Ashkelon, and doubtless elsewhere, generally.

17. Greek civilisation.

In religion, also, the fact that the gods bear Greek names does not necessarily indicate that the gods and their worship were purely Greek. In many cases, unquestionably, the name has been given to a native deity and the cult was either native or syncretistic. The chief temple of Ashdod in Maccabæan times was Dagon's; the great god of Gaza was Marnas—an Aramaic title; the identification with Ζεὺς Κρηταγενής is part of the late legendary connection of Gaza (Μίνῳα) with Crete;[2] the Aphrodite Ourania of Ashkelon is in all probability Atargatis-Derketo, also a Syrian deity,[3] just as in the Persian period the Aramaic names Marnas and ATARGATIS (*q.v.*) superseded a Canaanite Baal and Astarte, so they became in turn Zeus and Aphrodite without changing their nature.

During the Maccabæan struggle the Syrian armies operated in general from the Philistine plain, ascending by the pass of Beth-horon or Emmaus, or farther S. by Beth-zur. Levies from the country fought on the Syrian side; slave-traders accompanied the army to buy the expected prisoners (1 Macc. 3 41).

18. The Asmonæans.

In a raid into the lowland Judas took Ashdod, plundering the city and destroying the images of the gods (1 Macc. 5 68). To prevent such excursions of the Jews, Bacchides fortified and garrisoned Emmaus, Beth-horon, Thamnatha, Pharathon, and Gazer (1 Macc. 9 50-52). In 147 Jonathan, fighting in the cause of Alexander Balas against Demetrius, made an expedition against Joppa, but found the city too strong to be carried by assault; turning back he defeated Apollonius near Ashdod, pursued the retreating enemy into the city, and burned it with its great temple of Dagon (1 Macc. 10 75-85, cp 11 4); Ashkelon received him with open arms (10 86). Alexander rewarded him by bestowing upon him the city and district of Ekron (10 89). Later, as a supporter of Alexander's son Antiochus, Jonathan received the submission of Ashkelon, and besieged Gaza and compelled it to sue for terms (between 145-143 B.C.; 1 Macc. 11 60-62); shortly after, Simon took Joppa and put a Jewish garrison in it (1 Macc. 12 33 *f.*); after the treacherous murder of Jonathan by Trypho at Ptolemais, Simon drove out the inhabitants of Joppa, settling Jews in their place and annexing it to his own territory (1 Macc. 13 11; see JOPPA, § 2); having taken Gazer by siege, he pursued the same course with it (1 Macc. 13 43-48). Antiochus Sidetes seems to have taken these places from John Hyrcanus,[4] but was constrained by Roman intervention to restore them. Alexander Jannæus at the beginning of his reign besieged Ptolemais, but was compelled by Ptolemy Lathurus to retire from it. The subsequent withdrawal of both Lathurus and Cleopatra, however, left him a free hand, and he conquered Raphia, Anthedon, and finally Gaza, which after a siege of a year he took by treachery and gave over to pillage and flames, 96 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 3, *BJ* i. 4 2). In Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 15 4) we have a list of the cities which were subject to Alexander Jannæus; it includes all the cities from Carmel to Rhinocorura (with the single exception of Ashkelon)—Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Rhinocorura.

Pompey freed these cities from Jewish rule, restoring them to their own citizens and incorporating them in the province of Syria (63 B.C.; Jos. *BJ* i. 7 7). Gabinius (57-55 B.C.) rebuilt many of these places which had been wholly or in part demolished by the Jews (*Ant.* xiv. 5 3; *BJ* i. 8 4). Cæsar restored Joppa to the Jews (*Ant.*

19. Under the Romans.

[1] Diod. Sic. xvii. 48 7; Arrian, 2 26 *f.*; Curtius, iv. 6 7 *ff.*

[2] See Niese, *Griech. u. Makedon. Staaten*, 1 352 2 124 377.

[3] The era of Tyre (275 or 274 B.C.) is probably connected with the occupation of Phœnicia by Ptolemy Philadelphus; see Schürer, *GJV*[(3)] 2 74.

[4] On the date see Niese, 2 578 *f.*

[1] Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii*, ch. 66 *ff.* See Schürer[(3)], 2 64 95.

[2] On Marnas, see Drexler in Roscher, *Lex.* 2 2379.

[3] Diod. Sic. 2 4, Pausan. i. 14 6.

[4] See Schürer, 2 101.

xiv. 106). Antony bestowed on Cleopatra the whole coast from the Egyptian desert to the Eleutherus except the cities Tyre and Sidon (36 B.C.; Plut. *Ant.* 36; Jos. *BJ* i. 18 5). Augustus (in 30 B.C.) added to the kingdom of Herod Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower; the last Herod rebuilt and named Cæsarea. In the division of Herod's kingdom Gaza was put immediately under the governor of Syria; the same disposition was made of Joppa and Cæsarea when Archelaus was deposed (6 A.D.); Ashdod and Jamnia were given to Salome; upon her death their revenues were paid to the empress Livia and subsequently to Tiberius (see Schürer, *GJV*(3) 2 78). Ashkelon enjoyed the privileges of a free city during all these changes, maintaining the liberties it had gained in 104 B.C. In 66 A.D., at the beginning of the war with Rome, the Jews in Cæsarea were slaughtered by their fellow-townsmen, with the connivance of the procurator, Gessius Florus.[1] In revenge the insurgents set fire to Ptolemais and Ashkelon, and demolished Anthedon and Gaza,[2] with many unwalled towns in the country (*BJ* ii. 18 1). Joppa was taken by the Romans under Cestius Gallus and its Jewish population massacred (*BJ* ii. 18 10); it was reoccupied by the Jews (see *BJ* ii. 20 4), who held it until its destruction by Vespasian (*BJ* iii. 9 2 *ff.*).

After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70, Jamnia, which since the Asmonæan times had been inhabited chiefly by Jews, and Lydda became the seats of the most famous Jewish schools; and in the other towns of this region there was a considerable Jewish population, among whom Jewish Christians are frequently mentioned.

20. Literature. Calmet, 'Dissertatio de origine et nominibus Philistæorum,' in *Proleg. et dissertt.*, etc., ed. Mansi, 1 180-189; Movers, *Die Phönizier*, 1 3 *f.* 27 *ff.* (1841); Bertheau, *Zur Gesch. der Israeliten*, 186-200, 280-285, 306-308, 354 *f.* (1842); Hitzig, *Urgesch. u. Mythol. der Philistäer* (1845); *GVI* 1 36 *ff.* 120 *ff.* etc. (1869); A. Arnold, 'Philister' in Ersch u. Gruber's *Encyklopædie*, Sect. iii. 23 321-329; A. Knobel, *Völkertafel der Genesis*, 98, 208 *ff.*, 215 *ff.* (1850); Stark, *Gaza u. die philistäische Küste* (1852); [older literature in full, 9 *ff.* 31 *f.* 244 335 *ff.* 503 *ff.* 611 *f.*]; A. Baur, 'Philister' in Riehm's *HWB*; cp *Der Prophet Amos*, 76-94 (1847); Köhler, *Bib. Gesch.* 1 81 *ff.* (1875); De Goeje, 'Het tiende Hoofdstuk van Genesis,' *ThT* 4 233 *ff.*, especially 257 *ff.* (1870); Fr. W. Schultz, 'Philister' in *PRE*(2) 11 618-636 (1883); Kneucker, 'Philistäer' in Schenkel's *BL* 4 541-559; Ewald, *GVI*(3) 1 348 *ff.* (1864) 3 42 *ff.* etc. (1866); Schwally, 'Die Rasse der Philistäer,' *ZWT* 34 103 *ff.* (1891); Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher Mosis*, 130 *ff.* (1868); Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ch. 14 *f.* (1881); W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* ch. 26-29 (1893); 'Die Urheimat der Philister'; 'Der Papyrus Golenischeff'; 'Die Chronologie der Philistereinwanderung,' in *MVG* vol. 5 pt. 1 (1900); H. Winckler, *GI* 1 216 *ff.* (1895); W. J. Beecher, 'Philistines,' in Hastings' *DB* 3 844-848; Schürer, *GJV*(3) 2 §§ 22 *f.* etc.

G. F. M.

PHILOLOGUS (φιλολογος), greeted in Rom. 16 15, together with JULIA [*q.v.*]. It is a common slave-name, and occurs not unfrequently in the inscriptions of the imperial household (*CIL* 6 4116, etc). According to Pseudo-Hippolytus he was one of the seventy disciples, and tradition makes him bishop of Sinope.

PHILOSOPHY. See HELLENISM, WISDOM LITERATURE.

PHINEES. 1. 1 Esd. 5 5 2 Esd. 1 2*b*, also 1 Esd. 8 2 28 = Ezra 7 5 8 2 PHINEHAS (§ 3), 1.
2. 1 Esd. 5 31, RV **Phinoe** = Ezra 2 49 PASEAH, 2.
3. 1 Esd. 8 63 = Ezra 8 33 PHINEHAS, 3.
4. 2 Esd. 1 2*a*. See PHINEHAS, 2.

PHINEHAS (פִּינְחָס, once פִּנְחָס, 1 S. 1 3; φ[ε]ινεες [BAFL]).

The name is very un-Hebraic, and since the mother of Phinehas ben Eleazar is described (Ex. 6 25) as one of the daughters of Putiel (cp Potiphera'), it is plausible to seek for an Egyptian origin.

1. Is the name Egyptian or Hebrew?

Hence Lauth (*ZDMG* 25 [1871], 139), followed by Nestle (*Eigennamen*, 112 [1876]), and formerly by Cheyne (*Proph. Is.*(3) 144), explained Phinehas as 'the negro,' the corresponding Egyptian form being well-attested (see § 2). All such theories, however, seem to be inferior in probability to the rival hypothesis.

The present writer ventures to think that, if the name were Egyptian, it must have honorific meaning. We might perhaps suppose פנחס to be an early corruption of פענח, which in צפנת פענח (ZAPHNATH-PAANEAH) may be a misvocalisation of the Egyptian name Pianḫi (or some similar form); ס and ע were often confounded. But considering that the evidence before us (see MOSES, § 6) seems to favour a N. Arabian origin for Moses and his relatives, and that 'Phinehas' in the Hexateuch is the name, not only of an individual, but also of a hill with which, not the individual, but his father (though 'Eleazar' really comes from a clan-name) is associated,[1] also that the Levites certainly had Jerahmeelite affinities, and that the father of the second Phinehas bears a name which is probably a mutilation of Jerahmeel, it becomes more probable that פנחס is to be explained as a mutilated and corrupt form (through פחמן) of ירחמאל (Jeraḥme'el). The name Jeraḥme'el could of course be given both to an individual and to a locality. Cp TIMNATH-HERES. PUTIEL (cp note 3 below), is פלתי with the afformative אל. It is possible, however, that Putiel and POTIPHERA (*q.v.*) were early explained as = 'devoted to El,' or 'to Rē'.' On the supposed Ephraimite connection of the second Phinehas see SHILOH, and note that 'Ephraim' is not unfrequently a corruption of 'Jerahmeel' (*e.g.*, Judg. 17 1 19 1 1 S. 1 1).

T. K. C.

On the assumption, however, that the name Phinehas is of Egyptian origin the following details deserve consideration.

2. A second answer to the question.

It seems to stand for Egyptian *pe(')-nḥēsi*,[2] later without the vocalic ending, in Coptic letters πενϩηϲ (cp *Ptoemphaneis*, Ptol. iv. 7 34, mutilated *Ptæmphæ*, Plin. 6 192, 'the country of the negro').

The ִ of the biblical punctuation could be an archaic rendering of ē, which stands mostly for old ā. The fact that the article is often written (*p'ī* or even *p'y*, Liebl. 884 add.) like the demonstrative must not be misunderstood; it is only an attempt at expressing the helping sound ĕ before two double consonants, notwithstanding the biblical î—a *scriptio plena* which seems to show that the name was felt to be foreign. The meaning 'the negro' does not imply black skin, the designation *n(e)ḥēsi* applying also to all brownish Hamitic tribes of Eastern Africa (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 112). Therefore, the name means nothing but 'a child of darker (brunette) complexion.' The name begins to appear in dynasty 18 and becomes most frequent in dynasty 19 to 21. By the time of dynasty 26 (about 666 B.C.) it seems to be rare, if not obsolete. It was superseded by P-ekōš (πεκυσις), 'the Cushite.'

W. M. M.

3. Bearers of the name.

1. Son of Eleazar and of one of the daughters of Putiel.[3] He is mentioned as accompanying the Israelites against Midian (Nu. 31 6 *ff.*), and as sent to admonish the trans-Jordanic Israelites for erecting their altar by the Jordan (Jos. 22 13 30 *ff.*). He is, however, more especially renowned for his zeal and energy at Shittim in the matter of the Midianitess COZBI (*q.v.*, Nu. 25 6 *ff.*), to which repeated allusion is made in later Judaism, cp Ps. 106 30 *f.* 1 Macc. 2 26 (φινεως [A]) and Ecclus. 45 23. The story (the opening of which is lost) is a later addition by P to the already composite 25 1-5 (JE), and is probably an artificial attempt to antedate and foreshadow the zealous endeavours of Nehemiah to purify the remnants of the Jewish *Gōlah* (cp Bertholet, *Stellung d. Israeliten*, 147). See NUMBERS, § 7, and *Oxford Hex. ad loc.*

[1] See also the slaughter at Ashkelon and Ptolemais, *BJ* ii. 18 5.

[2] In the case of Gaza, at least, this demolition can have been but partial; see Schürer, 2 88.

[1] On the analogy of Josh. 19 50 we may assume that the hill of Phinehas (Jerahmeel) in Josh. 24 33 was traditionally assigned to Eleazar. Originally, however, אלעזר must have been עזר[י]אל; *i.e.*, it was a clan-name.

[2] Written mostly .

[3] For a view of the name Putiel which implies two stages in the history of the name, see above, § 1. According to the ordinary view, the second of the two stages represents the entire history of the name. Both views are illustrated by the fact that in Eg.-Aram. inscriptions and papyri of the fifth and fourth century B.C. פוט, 'devoted to,' appears in the form פט, *e.g.*, פטאסי ('of Isis,' etc.). An earlier example is פטסרי (in Gk. inscr. πετοσιρις) in an inscription found at Teima in Arabia (*CIS* ii. no. 113).

The importance of Phinehas in P lies in the fact that he is in the direct line from Aaron, and hence (as the father of Abishua) enters into the genealogy of the high-priests (1 Ch. 6 4 [5 30] 50 [6 35] Ezra 7 5 = 1 Esd. 8 2 2 Esd. 1 2*b* **Phinees**). The Chronicler, moreover, speaks of him as the ruler over the porters 'in time past' (1 Ch. 9 20). In the days of the 'return' the b'ne Phinehas form one of the priestly classes (Ezra 8 2 = 1 Esd. 5 5 8 29, φορος [B], PHINEES), at the head of whom stands Gershom (see GERSHOM, GERSHON).

Like his father Eleazar, Phinehas rarely appears previous to P. In Judg. 20 28 the statement that he stood before Yahwè in the days of the Judges is no doubt a gloss (cp SHILOH); the whole chapter in its present form is post-exilic. (Cp Moore, *Judges*, 434, and see JUDGES, § 13.) Ancient, on the other hand, is the announcement affixed to Jos. 24 (E_2) of the death of Eleazar and his burial in the GIBEAH OF PHINEHAS[1] [*q.v.*] which was given to Phinehas in the hill-country of Ephriam (*v.* 33). 𝔊^BAL adds also that Phinehas himself was afterwards buried in the same 'Gibeah' (ἐν γαβααρ [-αθ [A], γη βααρ, L] τῇ [γῇ B^ab] ἑαυτῶν [ἑαυτοῦ A]): Dt. 10 6 (Eleazar succeeds Aaron at Moserah) is probably also E.

2. Phinehas b. Eli[2] and his brother HOPHNI [*q.v.*] were 'sons of Belial' who, for their wickedness and wantonness towards the offerers of sacrifices, incurred the wrath of Yahwè and perished together at Eben-ezer when the ark was taken by the Philistines (1 S. 1-4). The son of Phinehas born upon that fateful day receives the name ICHABOD [*q.v.*].

According to Budde's analysis (*SBOT*), the old narrative in 1 S. 4 related the loss of the ark without further comment; it is a later writer (E_2) who in 2 *f.* ascribes the disaster to the wickedness of Eli's sons and to their father's laxity (esp. 3 14*b*), and finally it is a Dt. writer who lays even greater stress upon their iniquity and actually foreshadows their fate. There is much to be said, however, in favour of H. P. Smith's view that 1 S. 2 12-17 22-25 [27-36 ?], 4 1*b*-7 1 is a fragment of an independent history of the Elidæ. This torso (which is already composite) contains two peculiarities: (*a*) the association of the family with Moses, and (*b*) the prominence of Shiloh. It may, therefore, be conjectured that this narrative formerly stood in the closest connection with another in Judg. 18 *f.* where, too, a descendant of Moses and the foundation of a shrine (perhaps in the original story that not of Dan but of Shiloh) play an important part.[3] The Mosaic associations and the unique description of the power of the ark (1 S. 4 5 *ff.*) may further suggest that the narrative is a fragment of that account of the Exodus a trace of which survives in Nu. 10 29-36 (itself also composite); cp EXODUS i., § 5 *ff.*, KADESH, § 3.

Another son, Aḥitub, was the father of Ahiah (= Ahimelech),[4] who appears as a priest in the time of Saul (1 S. 14 3).[5] It is a remarkable fact that the famous line of priests from Eli to Abiathar is ignored in the later genealogies, with the curious exception of 2 Esd. 1 1, where Phinehas b. Heli (= Eli) and Phinehas b. Eleazar occur in the ancestry of Ezra (see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [4]).

An interesting question arises as to the precise relation between Phinehas (1) and (2). The latter, according to MT an Ephraimite, seems to disappear from history only to be represented in a later age by the former, a shadowy and unreal character whom also tradition connects with Ephraim. At all events the iniquity of the Ephraimite son of Eli (cp esp. 1 S. 2 22*b*) is amply atoned for in later tradition by the zeal (cp esp. Nu. 25 6 *ff.*) of the younger namesake. That (1) is an image of the son of Eli is denied however by We. (*Prol.*[(4)] 142), but there are at all events certain considerations which point to a connection between the two. The names Eli, Hophni, and Phinehas are of the same un-Hebraic cast as Moses and Gershom, and (unless we have recourse to emendation) find their only explanation from Egyptian, or from S. Palestinian dialects (Sabæan, Sinaitic, etc.); the tradition in 1 S. 2 27 (although due to R_D; see We., *l.c.*) seems, moreover, to connect the house of Eli with Moses (cp also Jochebed and Phinehas' son ICHABOD [*q.v.*]).[1] The relation of Phinehas b. Eli to Phinehas the grandson of Aaron finds an analogy in the cases of Eliezer and Gershom b'nē Moses compared with Eleazar and Gershon b'nē Aaron.[2] The conjecture is perhaps a plausible one that the 'stone of help' (Eben-ezer) in 1 S. 4 has some connection with the grave of Eleazar (Josh. 24 32), also the burial-place of the Aaronite Phinehas; note the explanation of the name in 1 S. 7 12.

3. Eleazar b. Phinehas, a priest temp. Ezra (Ezra 8 33 = 1 Esd. 8 63, PHINEES).

T. K. C., § 1; W. M. M., § 2; S. A. C., § 3.

[1] Prof. Cheyne, however, proposes to read 'Gibeah of Jerahmeel,' regarding both 'Phinehas' and 'Eleazar' as corruptions of clan-names (see § 1).

[2] Eli's origin is not given, no doubt because he was previously mentioned in the longer narrative of which 1 S. 1 *ff.* in its present form is an excerpt. Marq. (*Fund.* 12 *f.*) recognises the traces of a double tradition in the very full notices given in *v.* 1 (see ELKANAH i., JEROHAM i., SAMUEL). Is *v.* 1 a confused combination of marginal notes giving the parentage and origin of both Elkanah (*v.* 1) and Eli (*v.* 3)? [Note, however, the view respecting the name Eli in § 1, and compare SHILOH.]

[3] For a parallel but somewhat different theory depending on emended texts, see MICAH, SHILOH; cp also MOSES.

[4] Prof. Cheyne has suggested that both Ahiah and Ahimelech may be popular corruptions of Jerahmeel.

[5] The statement, perhaps, does not belong to the original document (J). It has nothing to do with the chapter, and is more probably a gloss introduced on account of the 'priest' in *vv.* 19 36*b*.

PHINOE (φινοε), 1 Esd. 5 31 RV, AV PHINEES; see PASEAH, 2.

PHISON (φ[ε]ισων [BNA]), Ecclus. 24 25 AV, RV PISHON. See PISON.

PHLEGON (φλεγων) is saluted in Rom. 16 14. Cp ROMANS (EPISTLE). His name occurs in the apocryphal lists of the 'seventy' given by Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus. Tradition made him bishop of Marathon, and the Greek church commemorates his martyrdom on April 8th.

PHŒBE (φοιβη), the 'sister,' 'deaconess' (RV^mg.: διακονος) of the church at Cenchreæ, who, according to Rom. 16 1 *f.*, had been a 'helper [or 'patroness'] of many,' including the writer. See further, ROMANS and (for the nature of her diaconate) DEACON.

PHŒNICIA.

CONTENTS.

By the Phœnicians are meant the inhabitants of the commercial coast towns of Canaan. The name is of Greek origin. For a long time its prototype was thought to have been found in the Egyptian *Fenḥ-u* (vocalisation unknown), but it has since been shown (notably by W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 208 *f.*) that this Egyptian word is not the name of a nation but a poetical designation of the (Asiatic) barbarians—possibly indeed only a traditional scribal error for *Feḥu*. The name Φοῖνιξ is rather a Gk. derivative from φοινός, 'blood-red,' with the common old suffix, -ικ.

1. Names.

The name Phœnix is by no means rare in the ancient Grecian world as a place-name indicating the presence of a reddish colour. Thus there was a brook Phœnix near Thermopylæ, a mount Phœnix in Bœotia and in Caria, a town Phœnikè in Epirus, and so on (cp Meyer, *GA* 2, § 92)—where it is out of the question to suppose that 'Phœnician' settlements are meant.

This name was given by the Greeks to the Canaanite seafaring men, as well as to the most highly-prized of all their imports, purple, and to the palm, which was likewise introduced by them (first at Delos, *Od.* 6 103). Probably φοίνιξ denoted first the purple, then the 'purple-men,' and finally the tree they imported.

[1] The identification of these names has been also made by Wellh. *CH*[(3)] 371 (1899). See also ICHABOD, JOCHEBED.

[2] If Eli's genealogy has indeed found its way into 1 S. 1 1 (see § 2, n. 1, above), we might venture to find a trace of it in בן ירחם, which name is no other than Jerahmeel. Eli may have been a Jerahmeelite; the relation between the Kenites, Jerahmeelites, and other clans of the south appears to have been a close one (see JERAHMEEL, § 3).

The Greek genealogic poetry provided the Phœnicians with an eponym—Phœnix king of Sidon,—who was identified with a Cretan god and hero Phoinix, whose daughter Europa, originally a Bœotian and Cretan goddess, thus became a Sidonian princess. For what reason Cadmus, the son of Agenor, the eponym and founder of the Cadmeia of Thebes, was made the brother of Phœnix we do not know; he had, at any rate, nothing to do with Phœnicia. At a still later time Cadmus became the brother of Europa, which resulted in the latter's becoming the daughter of Agenor, and her father Phœnix becoming her brother. A further analysis of this legend does not belong here; cp Meyer, *GA* 293 *ff.* The Latin Pœnus is probably rather a contraction of 'Phoinix' than an older form without the suffix.

Kaft, which frequently occurs in the Egyptian inscriptions of the New Empire, passed for a long time as another old name for Phœnicia; Φοινίκη is thus rendered in the hieroglyphic text in the bilingual decree of Canopus. There are cogent reasons, however, for rejecting this view, and seeking for Kaft outside the Semitic world, perhaps in Cilicia (cp CAPHTOR, § 4). The name may be connected with the enigmatical name JAPHETH [*q.v.*], and the Gk. 'Ιάπετος (the name of a Cilician god, in Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Ἄδανα and Ἀγχιάλη).

In the OT the Phœnicians generally are named צידנים, Sidonians; for instance Itoba'al, king of Tyre, is called 'King of the Sidonians' in 1 K. 16$_{31}$; cp Judg. 10$_{6}$ $_{12}$ 18$_{7}$ 1 K. 5$_{20}$ 11$_{1}$ $_{5}$ $_{33}$ 2 K. 23$_{13}$; and in the genealogy of the nations, Gen. 10$_{15}$ (cp Judg. 3$_{3}$= Josh. 13$_{4-6}$). In the same way King Hiram II. of Tyre is called in an inscription מלך צרנם, 'King of the Sidonians,' and on coins of the time of Antiochus IV. Tyre is called אם צרנם, 'the metropolis of the Sidonians'—*i.e.*, Phœnicians. In Homer the Phœnicians are often called Σιδόνιοι (*Il.* 6$_{290}$ *Od.* 15$_{118}$ 4$_{618}$), their land Σιδονίη (*Il.* 6$_{291}$ *Od.* 13$_{285}$); but Φοίνικες is also found (*Il.* 23$_{743}$ *f.*; *Od.* 13$_{272}$ 14$_{288}$ *ff.* 15$_{415}$ *ff.*). Both names occur together in the celebrated verses concerning Menelaus' wanderings (*Od.* 4$_{84}$ *f.*). The name of the *town* Sidon is found in *Od.* 15$_{425}$. From the fact that Sidon, not Tyre, is mentioned, we must not draw political conclusions as some have done; through the influence of the ethnic name 'Sidonian' the name of Sidon was familiar to the Greeks at an earlier time than that of Tyre, although the latter was then much the more important. Roman poets, too, frequently use 'Sidonius' (as a synonym for 'Pœnus') in the sense of 'Phœnician' (cp Ovid, *Fast.* 3$_{108}$ etc.).

A precise definition of Phœnicia can hardly be given. The boundaries assigned by Herodotus, Scylax, Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy vary greatly. The last-mentioned (v. 15$_{4}$) reckons Phœnicia from the Eleutherus to the brook Chorseas S. of Dor. Accepting this view, we may describe Phœnicia as the coast-land at the foot of Lebanon and of the hill-country of Galilee down to Carmel. Marathus and Arados, however, lie N. of this territory, and in the S. the border is fluctuating and arbitrary. The impossibility of fixing a definite boundary line between the Phœnicians and the other Canaanites is specially obvious in the more remote times before the settlement of the Israelites and the Philistines. The limits above assigned correspond roughly to the name *Zahi* by which the Egyptians at the time of their conquests designated the Phœnician coast (cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 176 *ff.*). The origin of this name is unknown.

2. Origin and nationality.

Herodotus relates that the Phœnicians, as they themselves declare, were originally settled upon the 'Red' Sea, and came thence to the Syrian coast (1 1 7$_{89}$). The 'Red' Sea is of course the Indian Ocean, more especially the Persian Gulf. It would seem therefore that there once was a Phœnician tradition which, like that in the OT, made their ancestors immigrants from Babylonia.[1]

[1] The story was afterwards further embellished; support for it was found in the names of the islands Tylos and Arados of Bahrein on the Persian Gulf (Strabo, xvi. 3 4 2 *f.*). On the story of Trogus Pompeius, see SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

The long prevailing derivation of the name Phœnicia from the Egyptian Punt (Lepsius), a land that was located by older writers in S. Arabia, is quite impossible. The Egyptian Punt is the incense-bearing Somali-coast in Africa, whose inhabitants (Eg. *Punti*, Lepsius wrongly *Puna*) have nothing whatever to do with Pœni, Φοίνικες.

The Phœnicians themselves reckoned their land to Canaan (for the evidence, see CANAAN, § 1), and with perfect justice. They are, in fact, a branch of the Canaanites, which, at the beginning of the time historically known to us (about 1500 B.C.), had occupied many places on the coast, while the intermediate region was still in the hands of an Amorite population (cp AMORITES, CANAAN).[1]

One evidence of this is supplied by the Phœnician language, which differs only dialectically from the other Canaanite dialects known to us (Hebrew and Moabite); see WRITING. Though it exhibits in many instances a younger vocabulary (*e.g.*, יתן, to give, אלן, God), it has frequently retained older grammatical forms and words which in Hebrew have become obsolete.[2]

In fact it was simply the difference between the conditions of life of the coast-land and those of the interior, that gradually separated the Phœnicians from their fellows who had settled farther inland—much in the same way as the Dutch were severed from the other N. Germans. Their different historical development, and above all the occupation of Palestine by the Israelites, enlarged the breach.

3. Commencement of the history.

As to the age of the Phœnician towns we possess no information, for of course no historical value attaches to the statement of Africanus (in Syncellus, 31) that the Phœnicians said they had a historical tradition reaching back for 30,000 years. Far more moderate is the assertion of Herodotus (2$_{44}$) that, according to native tradition, Tyre and its temple of Hercules had been founded 2300 years previously—*i.e.*, about 2730 B.C. Even in this, however, no one will venture to find a real tradition. According to another statement the founding of Tyre was much later. Justin (18$_{2}$) relates that for a long time after their immigration (see above, § 2) and the founding of Sidon the Phœnicians lived on the coast, but that being then overcome (*expugnati*) by the king of Ashkelon, they took to their ships, and founded Tyre the year before the fall of Troy. To what year the latter event is assigned here cannot be gathered from the context; but when we find in Menander of Ephesus, the historian of Tyre, a Tyrian era that begins in the year 1198-7 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 3 1, § 62, *c. Ap.* i. 18, § 126; and thence Eus. *a. Abr.* 745) we may regard it as almost certain that this is the epoch intended. Now it was at this time that there occurred the great movement among the nations which resulted in the occupation of Ashkelon and the neighbouring places by the PHILISTINES (*q.v.*) and also affected the Phœnician cities (see § 5). It is possible, therefore, that the statement of Justin and Menander's era preserve a recollection of these events. On the other hand, the date may rest simply on some chronological combination no longer known to us. It is, at any rate, historically certain from the Amarna tablets that, in the fifteenth century, the island-city of Tyre was already extant, and one of the most powerful cities of Phœnicia.

Whether the lists of Phœnician kings mentioned by later writers (Tatian, *adv. Græc.* 37; Porphyry ap. Eus. *Præp. ev.* x. 9 12, from Sanchuniathon) possessed any value for the older period, is uncertain. If there were any historical lists going

[1] This is probable on the following ground. As late as the last millennium B.C., new Phœnician towns were planted upon the northern foot of Lebanon—Botrys under Hiram I. of Tyre, Tripolis probably not until the time of the Persians. How to account for the existence of a (much mutilated) Phœnician inscription in N. Syria two hours W. of Zenjirli (Winckler, *AOF* 1 305), is not clear. The inscription belongs to the time about 750-700 B.C.

[2] Cp Stade, 'Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phœn. u. Heb. bestehende Verwandtschaftsgrades,' in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, 1874.

back to the second millennium or even farther, they must have been written in cuneiform, which it is hardly likely that anyone in later times could read.

Should the Babylonian archives at any time give us any authentic information regarding the expeditions of Sargon and Naram-sin into Syria (according to Nabonidus' inscription about 3750 B.C.), we may expect to find that there was in Phœnicia in the fourth millennium a state of things more or less similar to what we find two thousand years later when the Egyptians came to Asia. That the relations between Babylonia and Syria were exceedingly ancient and were never interrupted, is shown by the Amarna tablets; presumably every great power which took shape in Babylon sought to extend its dominion over Syria as well; we know that this is true also of the Elamite conquerors (about 2200 B.C.). Hence the use of the Babylonian language and script was familiar at the court of all the Syrian princes whether Semitic or not. It is specially, however, in the sphere of art and religion that we can see how ancient and deeply-rooted Babylonian influence was, and we shall find this to be the case in Phœnicia as well as elsewhere. But there must always have been close relations also with the empire on the Nile.[1]

These long ages are, however, gone beyond recall. Our information regarding the history of Syria, and therefore of Phœnicia, begins with the Egyptian conquest in the sixteenth century. Even then, however, the details supplied by the triumphal inscriptions of the victorious Pharaohs are meagre to the last degree; it is only the annals of Thutmosis III. that yield somewhat fuller material, to which are to be added notices in Egyptian works, such as pre-eminently the papyrus Anastasi I. (see PALESTINE, § 15), where Phœnician (among other) places are named. Our store of facts receives important additions from the Amarna tablets.

For the centuries from the ninth to the seventh we have good information in the Assyrian inscriptions (cp Fr. Del., *Wo lag das Paradies?* 281 *ff.*); and, moreover, most of the Phœnician towns are occasionally mentioned in the OT.

From these sources, we obtain the following list of Phœnician towns from Carmel northwards:—

4. List of Phœnician towns.

1. Acco (עַכּוֺ, Judg. 1 31; Josh. 19 30 corr. for עַכֹּה), a separate principality in the Amarna tablets. See PTOLEMAIS.

2. Akzib (אַכְזִיב, Egyptian *'Aksapu*, Ass. *Akzibi*). See ACHZIB.

3. Mahalliba (so in Assyrian; מַחְבֶּל, in Josh. 19 29 [see AHLAB, n.]; corrupted to אַחְלָב in Judg. 1 31).

Akzib and Mahalliba do not occur in the Amarna letters; they were small towns probably belonging to one of the neighbouring principalities.

4. Ḳanā (קָנָה, Jos. 19 28)=Eg. *Ḳanā*, a separate principality in the Amarna letters. See KANAH.

5. Tyre (צֹר, 'the rock'; old Latin Sarra), on a rocky island in the sea, about half an English mile (4 stadia) from the shore, with an area of about 130 acres, without wells or vegetation, In time of war, when the mainland was in the hands of the enemy. the Tyrians had to depend on water from cisterns; in ordinary times the water supply was carried over in boats, as is already mentioned in pap. Anastasi. On the coast was a suburb which the Greeks called Palætyros. They wrongly supposed the settlement on the shore to be older than that on the island. The local name was Usu or Uzu (Ass. Ushu=Eg. Authu), often mentioned in the Amarna tablets. There is much probability in the suggestion of Prašek and Cheyne (see ESAU, HOSAH), that Usoos, the brother of Hypsuranios of Tyre in Philo's story, the man who first ventured to sea on a log, is simply the eponym of Palætyros.

6. Sarepta (צָרְפַת), a place at the foot of Lebanon belonging to Sidon (1 K. 17 9)=Eg. Zarpta, Ass. Ṣariptu, not mentioned in the Amarna tablets. Cp ZAREPHATH.

7. Sidon (צִידֹן), the greatest of the Phœnician or 'Sidonian' towns, and already in the time of the Amarna letters the principal rival of Tyre, with a harbour secured seawards by a range of rocks. See SIDON.

[1] This is sufficiently proved by the fact that from very early times Byblos was known to the Egyptians (as 'Kupna'), and that the prescriptions preserved on the papyrus Ebers (written about 1550 B.C.) mention a remedy of 'a Semite from Byblos' in which several Semitic loan-words occur (cp WMM, *Ægyptiaca*, 77 *ff.*). See GEBAL i.

8. Berytus (Biruta in the pap. Anastasi, Birutu and [much more frequently] Biruna in the Amarna letters), the modern *Beirūt.* In ancient times it was not an important place. In the time of the Amarna letters it belonged originally to the principality of Byblos, and afterwards became independent; it does not occur in the OT or in the Assyrian inscriptions.

9. Byblos (Phœn. *Gebal;* see GEBAL, i.; גְּבַל, Josh. 13 5 1 K. 5 32 Ezek. 27 9, Ass. *Gublu*, Egyptian *Kupna*), the seat of a great goddess, 'the mistress of Byblos' (Baaltis), mentioned in pap. Anastasi and very often in the Amarna letters. Byblos stood in relation with Egypt from very ancient times (see col. 3733, n. 1), and always was one of the principal Phœnician towns; it was in possession of the greater part of the shore of Mt. Lebanon from Beirūt northwards. In the time of the Armarna letters it was lord of Berytos and of two other places on the coast, Sigata and Ambi. Southwards of Byblos runs the stream Nahr Ibrāhīm, the ancient Adonis, associated with the death of ADONIS (*q.v.*, § 2). At its sources lay the sacred Apheḳa, אפק, Josh. 13 4 19 30 Judg. 1 31 (see APHEK, 1). The town Tripolis is of much later origin (see below, § 21).

10. Arka at the northern end of the Lebanon range on the plain of the Eleutherus (Nahr el-Kebīr), by which the main road led from the coast to the Orontes-valley. This route is called by Thutmosis III. 'the coast-road,' by which he attacks the town 'Arḳantu. This town can be no other than 'Arḳa. In the Amarna tablets it is called Irḳata and has its own king; the Assyrians call it Arḳa; only Shalmaneser II. uses the older form Irḳanata. In the OT 'the Arkites,' הָעַרְקִי, are mentioned in Gen. 10 17 (see ARKITE).

11. Simyra, at the northern end of the Eleutherus plain (=Eg. Zamar, Ass. *Ṣumuri* and *Ṣimirra*), is often mentioned in the Amarna tablets; the Ṣimyrites, הַצְּמָרִי in Gen. 10 18 (see ZEMARITE).

12. Arados, on a small rock-island opposite Jebel Noṣairīye, in position and importance equal to Tyre, and already in the Egyptian period one of the principal seafaring places of Syria. Its Phœnician name was ארוד, Arwād (now Ruād), הָאַרְוָדִי, Gen. 10 18 Ezek. 27 8 11=Eg. *Aratu(t)*, Ass. *Arvada.* See ARVAD. Opposite to it lay a place called by the Greeks Antaradus (later Tortosa, now Ṭarṭūs); farther southwards, Marathus (now 'Amrīt) belonged to its territory. Marathus acquired importance and independence only in Hellenistic times (see below, § 22).

13. In Gen. 10 17 between the people of 'Arḳa and Arados are mentioned הַסִּינִי, 'the Sinites,' the inhabitants of Sin (see SINITE). This town, identified by Delitzsch (*Par.* 282) with Sianu in the Assyrian inscriptions, is not otherwise known.

The names of the dynasts of Tyre, Byblos, Arḳa, in the Amarna letters show that the inhabitants at that time were Canaanites—*i.e.*, Phœnicians. For Arados we have no direct proof; but its position is characteristically Phœnician, and no one will doubt that, as in later times (in the Assyrian inscriptions its kings have Phœnician names), so already in the sixteenth century it was inhabited by Phœnicians.

The Pharaohs of Egypt began the conquests of Syria at the end of the sixteenth century, a short time after the final expulsion of the Hyksos (see EGYPT, §§ 53 *ff.*). Thutmosis I. was the first who overran the whole of Syria to the banks of the Euphrates, and received the tribute of its dynasts. His son Thutmosis III. (1503-1449), in his twenty-second year, had to begin the conquest anew. He first defeated the Canaanites in the battle of Megiddo, and then conquered the northern parts of Syria. Thutmosis III. is the founder of the great Egyptian empire. Most of the Phœnician towns appear to have acknowledged his sovereignty without much fighting; only Simyra and Arados had to be taken by force. Simyra received an Egyptian garrison and became the principal stronghold of the Egyptian dominion on the coast. All the kings and petty princes of the Syrian and Phœnician towns became vassals of Egypt; they had to pay tribute and supply provisions for the Pharaoh and his army; their sons were educated at the Egyptian court and received their principalities from the hands of the Pharaoh, even if they succeeded their fathers. Under Amenophis II., who suppressed a great rebellion, and Thutmosis IV. the Egyptian supremacy remained unshaken; but during the long and peaceful reign of Amenophis III., at the end of the fifteenth century, its strength began to decline; and under his son Amenophis IV., whose interests were absorbed by the religious reformation he attempted in Egypt, it broke down altogether. From the north the Hittites invaded Syria and took one place after another; and they were supported by the nomads

5. The Egyptian dominion.

of the desert, and by many of the local dynasts who longed for independence (see HITTITES, §§ 8 *ff.*). Among these, Abdaširta and his son Aziru, the dynasts of the Amorites, in the northern part of the Lebanon, took a leading position. The Phœnician towns were divided; all their kings tried to gain as much as they could for themselves, but they all pretended to be faithful vassals of Egypt, even if they did as much harm to its interests as was possible to them. The Amarna tablets give a very vivid picture of these troubles. We see that Arados made itself independent; Simyra was conquered and destroyed by Aziru; the king of Arḳa was slain; the king of Sidon supported the rebels, in spite of his loyal letters, while Rib-hadad of Byblos held out to the last on the Egyptian side. In Tyre the king and his wife and children were slain; but here the Egyptians gained the supremacy again, and the new king Abimelech proved a faithful vassal like Rib-hadad. Both were pressed hard by the rebels. Usu was occupied by the Sidonians, who were supported by a fleet from Arados, and the Tyrians on their island suffered severely for the want of wood and water. Rib-hadad lost one part of the Byblian territory after another, and the inhabitants of Byblos had to sell their sons and daughters in payment of the provisions they imported from the sea. At last, when Rib-hadad had gone for help to Berytus, where an Egyptian officer was posted, his subjects revolted, shut the gates against his return, and joined the enemy.[1]

In the religious troubles under Amenophis IV. and his successors, the Egyptian power in Asia was reduced to nothing. Sethos I. (Setoy, about 1350 B.C.) had to begin the conquest anew. He slew the Bedouins, occupied Palestine and southern Phœnicia, made the Syrian magnates cut trees on the Lebanon for his buildings in Egypt, and fought, as it seems, with varying success against the Hittites. Neither Sethos, however, nor his son Ramses II., in spite of his victories, was able to subjugate the Hittites and the N. of Syria again. At last Ramses II. concluded a treaty with the Hittites, by which both empires recognised each other as equals and became friends. From that time (about 1320) onwards, Palestine and southern Phœnicia were for more than a century in the possession of the Egyptians. The boundary seems to have been formed by the Nahr el-Kelb, N. of Beirût, where three tablets of Ramses II. allude to his victories and fix the frontier; unfortunately, they are in very bad preservation. A visit which the king of Tyre paid to Egypt is mentioned in pap. Anastasi IV. *verso* 6, *l.* 3.

The peaceful state of Syria was again disturbed, first by the decay of the Egyptian power under the weak successors of Ramses II. and by the internal troubles which led to the rise of the twentieth dynasty with Setnekht and Ramses III., and perhaps also by a similar decay of the very loosely organised Hittite empire. Then followed the great invasion of Syria by a migration of peoples from Asia Minor and Europe, who came both by land and by sea; a migration about which some information has come down to us in the inscriptions of Ramses III. (about 1200 B.C.), who defeated the invaders on the frontier of Egypt. The final result of this migration was the occupation of the coast of Palestine by the Zakari (in Dor) and the Philistines (in Ashkelon and the neighbouring towns).

The empire of the Hittites henceforth disappears; it is dissolved into a great number of smaller states. Ramses III. still maintained a part of Canaan and fought against the Amorites; but under his feeble successors the power of the Pharaohs in Asia was again reduced to nought, although they never gave up the claim of supremacy over Palestine and Phœnicia. We possess part of an account of an official of the temple of Amon in Thebes,[2] who was sent by the high priest Hriḥor and the prince of Tanis Smendes (afterwards the first king of the twenty-first dynasty, about 1075 B.C.), to Byblos in order to get timber from Lebanon for the sacred bark of the god, and brought a statue of the god with him for his protection. The Phœnicians still regarded the great god of Thebes with some awe; nevertheless the Egyptian messenger was received with bad grace by Beder, prince of the Zakari of DOR (*q.v.*), and worse still by Zekar-ba'al prince of Byblos (see GEBAL i.). The latter proved that neither he nor his ancestors had been subjects of the Pharaohs, and when at last he gave the timber on religious grounds, he exacted the promise that he should be paid for it on the envoy's return.

The father-in-law of Solomon, and afterwards, in Rehoboam's time, Shishak, the first Pharoah of the twenty-second dynasty, once more renewed the Egyptian campaign to Palestine, but only with momentary success. Farther northward no Egyptian army again penetrated until the time of Pharaoh Necho in 608. There was no dominant power in Syria either, and the invasion of Syria by Tiglath-pileser I. who came to Arados and hunted in the Lebanon, was only a passing episode. So the Phœnician towns were left to themselves; the period of their rise and greatness begins, and with it the dominating position of Tyre in Phœnicia.

6. Phœnician colonies. The prosperity of Phœnicia was the result of sea-trade and colonisation. For a long time, scholars were inclined to put the beginning of Phœnician colonisation into much earlier times, and to suppose that in the second millennium B.C. they were dominant on all the islands and shores on the Ægean sea. We have since learnt, however, that this was a mistake. Certainly the Phœnicians went to sea as early as in the time of Thutmosis III. and his successors, and on the other hand, numerous remains in Greece and Egypt prove that there was a lively intercourse between the E. and the Greeks of the Mycenæan period during the whole time of the Egyptian empire; but the Oriental people, which at this time was most nearly connected with Greece, were the inhabitants of Kaft; and we know now that this was not Phœnicia, but another country farther to the W. (cp § 1).

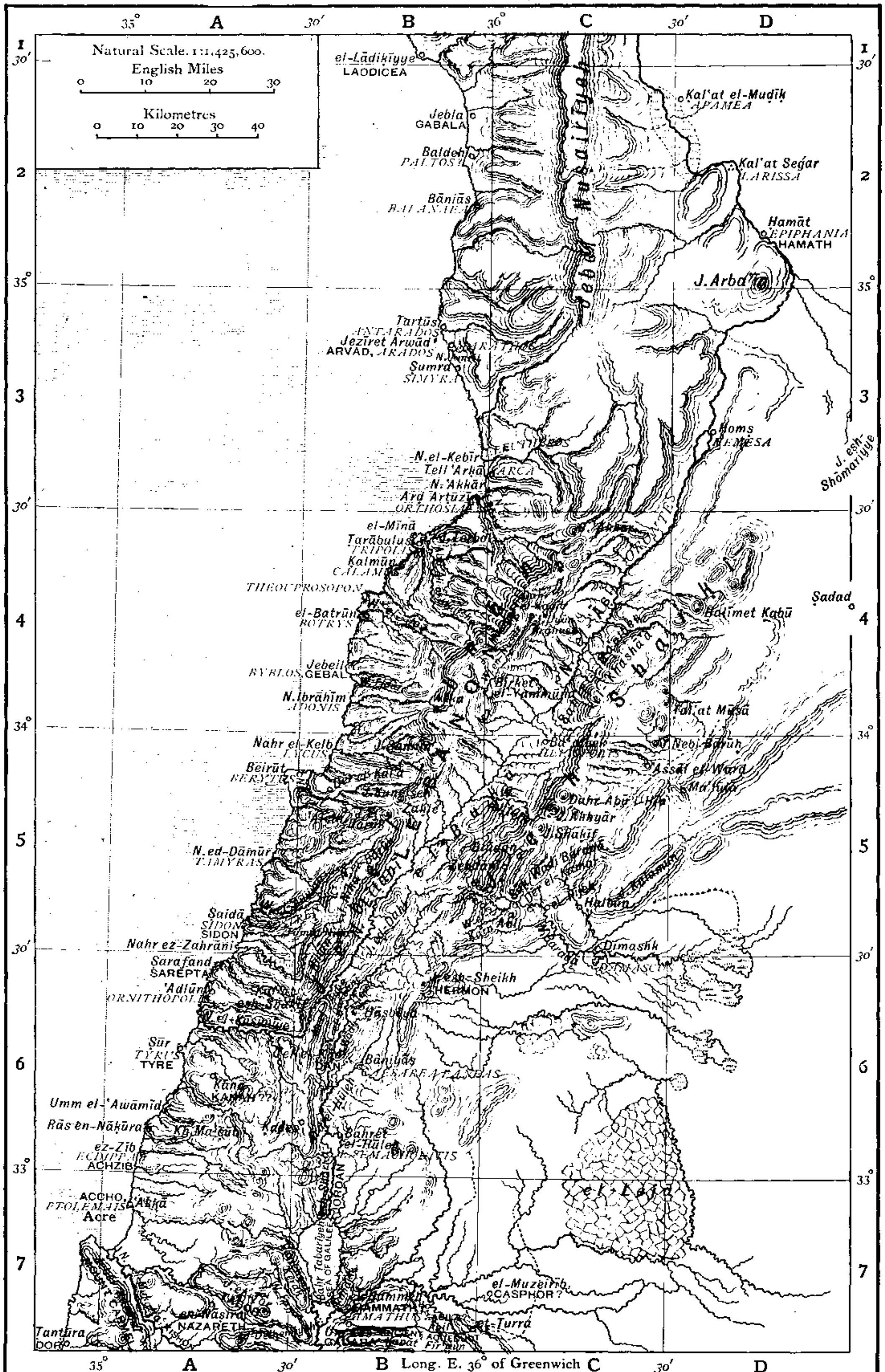
On the other hand, the Greeks of the Mycenæan time (with Crete and Argos as the great centres of their civilisation) were far more enterprising than scholars had supposed; they came to the E. as mercenaries, pirates, and tradesmen, and brought their wares (Mycenæan pottery, arms, etc.) to Cyprus and Egypt. There can be no doubt that at a very early period (perhaps in connection with the great migration under Ramses III.) they settled on the southern coast of Asia Minor (Pamphylia) and in Cyprus, before the Phœnicians had any colonies there. In the time of the Amarna tablets there were no Phœnician colonies; probably their colonisation did not begin before the twelfth century, and it never reached the extent which used often to be dreamt of. In Cyprus they founded Citium and some other places; but to the Ægean sea they always came only as traders (as we see in Homer), and never possessed more than a few factories (probably on some islands, on the Isthmus of Corinth, etc.), from which they carried on their trade with the Greeks. This is the character of Phœnician colonisation generally; by far the larger number of the Phœnician colonies were mercantile settlements, factories, planted at sheltered points of the coast, or, still better, on a rocky island off it, like the towns of Phœnicia itself.

For the task of occupying extensive territories, for subjugation of foreign peoples or even assertion of political supremacy over them, the Phœnician cities were not powerful enough; they did not even possess

[1] For the chronology of Rib-hadad's letters see Knudtzon in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 4 288 *ff.* (1901).

[2] Published by Golenischeff, *Receuil de Travaux*, 21, 1899; cp Erman, 'Eine Reise nach Phoenicien im elften Jahrhundert vor Chr.' in *ZÄ*, vol. 38 (1900).

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the interior of the country adjacent to themselves. Never, for example, could such an idea have occurred to them as that of bringing a people like the Greeks to a condition of dependence. The history of Phœnician trade and colonisation presents many analogies with those of Portugal and Holland. The territory discovered by the Phœnicians and opened up to their commerce was much too large to be acquired by them. As a rule they were quite satisfied if they could carry on business in a peaceful way, exchanging the native raw products for the articles of industry and luxury produced by the East; and for this purpose the small settlements they possessed furnished a sufficient basis of operations. This fully explains (1) why the colonies continued to be dependent on the mother country; (2) how it came about that, when the nation within whose territory they lay gained in political and commercial strength, these colonies could, quite easily and without a struggle, disappear completely and leave no trace (as for example on the Ægean, and for the most part also in Sicily); (3) how it was that their influence on the nations with whom they had dealings was always so slight and for the most part limited to trade transactions and the transmission of manual dexterities.

Colonisation of a more thorough order, out of which sprang large and flourishing new commonwealths, occurred only in Cyprus and on the north coast of Africa. Besides this, Gades, and some other colonies in the land of Tarshish—*i.e.*, Southern Spain—ought to be mentioned here. When we consider the smallness of the mother-country, this achievement was indeed of itself no inconsiderable performance, rendered possible only by the fact that a great proportion of the settlers came from the Syro-Palestinian interior, the Phœnician towns in many cases supplying only the leaders and mercantile aristocracy of the new community. Occasionally also, as the legendary story of the founding of Carthage shows, internal disputes may have led to the migration of the defeated party.

All the Phœnician colonies were anciently regarded as having been founded from Tyre, and so far as the towns of Cyprus and North Africa are concerned this is confirmed by all our other information. It cannot be shown that any other of the Phœnician towns planted colonies.[1] We shall see that within the same period Tyre had a leading position also in home politics.

A splendid picture of the commerce of Tyre is given by Ezekiel[2] (27). The prophet represents the nations

7. Trade, industries.

as the *servants* of Tyre; but this is only to heighten the impression of the queenly city's greatness. It is plain that the Phœnicians had commercial relations with countries in which they neither had nor could have any colonies.

Apart from Ezekiel, and from the evidence of Greek writers, we have the four Greek words *χιτών* (כתנת), *χρυσός* (חָרוּץ), *ὀθόνη* (אֵטוּן), and *παλλακίς* (פילגש), as records of early Phœnician trade with Greeks. In Egypt we are told of a 'Tyrian quarter' at Memphis (**Τυρίων στρατόπεδον**, Herod. 2 112). The friendly relations between Hiram and Solomon (who had command of the harbours of Edom) enabled the Phœnicians to carry out (with Solomon) naval expeditions to the coasts of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean as far as Ophir (1 K. 9 26 *ff.* 10 22). With the loss of Edom this field of activity was closed; on a later attempt of the men of Judah to reopen it see JEHOSHAPHAT.

The Phœnicians had also an overland trade, though this was less important than the waterborne. First in importance as Phœnician marts were the great trading *cities of Syria—Damascus, Hamath, etc. It is certain*, however, that Phœnician merchants had also direct relations with regions much more remote—Babylon, Nineveh, and various trade centres of Asia Minor and Armenia, as well as of Arabia. Detailed information, beyond what is known of ancient oriental commerce in general, is wanting here. The sketch given by Ezekiel (27) tells us only that all the peoples there enumerated brought their wares to the Tyrians, and this is quite accurate. It does not often occur that a centre of sea trade is also at the same time a city with extensive inland commerce. There can be no doubt whatever that the land commerce of the Semitic world was mainly in the hands of Syrian (Aramæan) merchants, and, next to these, in the hands of Arabian tribes living in the desert. It was by this agency that the wares of the East were brought to Tyre and the other cities of Phœnicia, where the products of the West, and of the native industries of Phœnicia, were received in exchange for them. In particular it may be regarded as certain that, apart from a short-lived attempt under Hiram, the Phœnicians never themselves brought from the country of its production the frankincense with which its merchants supplied the Mediterranean coasts (Herod. 3 107). Originally the incense-trade was from hand to hand; but afterwards, from the beginning of the last millennium B.C., the S. Arabian tribes—the Sabæans, and still more the Minæans—themselves took it up and sent yearly caravans to the Mediterranean centres of civilisation.

Herodotus (1 1) narrates: 'the Phœnicians as soon as they had arrived on the Syrian coast from their original seat on the shore of the Erythæan (Arabian) Sea at once began to make extensive voyages, and exported Egyptian and Assyrian (*i.e.*, according to the terminology of Herodotus, Babylonian) wares.' The picture thus given, though anachronistic, quite accurately expresses the essential features of Phœnician trade. Just as the history of the Syrian countries and the course of their civilisation was determined by their intermediate position between Babylon and Egypt, the two great foci of civilisation, so also it was from these countries that the Syro-Phœnician merchants derived not only many of their wares but also above all the patterns from which they worked, and their first artistic processes and methods.

By the Greeks the Phœnicians were regarded as the masters of invention; not only glass-making (cp GLASS, § 1), the preparation of purple and metal-work, but even weights, measures, and the art of writing (see WRITING) were carried back to them. The actual state of the case is certainly quite otherwise; not one of these discoveries was of Phœnician origin. All these conveniences the Phœnicians in common with the other Syrian peoples borrowed; but they carried them much farther after the appropriation.

Although the Phœnician cities drew a large proportion of their commercial wares from the interior, an extensive and busy native industry soon arose. Phœnician purple, Phœnician garments in colour, and Phœnician metal-work were specially famous, as the Homeric poems abundantly show (see *Il.* 6 289, *Od.* 15 415; *Il.* 23 741, *Od.* 4 618, 13 288 15 460, *Il.* 11 20). In *Od.* 15 425 Sidon is spoken of as 'rich in copper' (*πολύχαλκος*). Similarly the bronze and silver pateræ with engraved work after an Egyptianising style which have been found in the palace of Kalaḥ (Nimrūd), at Præneste in Latium, and elsewhere, are of Phœnician workmanship. The Egyptian monuments, too, frequently mention, in catalogues of tribute, Phœnician vessels of gold and silver, as also of iron and copper, often with blue and red enamel (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 306).

The character of the Phœnician merchant nation, so receptive, so practical and soberminded, is nowhere

8. Art.

more strikingly seen than in the region of art. The question as to the essential nature of Phœnician art has for long been one of the most burning and difficult in the whole field of archæology. The difficulty lay partly in the fact that until now from Phœnicia itself only a very few monuments, none at all of a date earlier than the Persian period,

[1] Two apparent exceptions—(i.) Leptis between the two Syrtes, the founding of which is attributed by Sallust (*Jug.* 78) to Sidonians whom internal dissensions had driven from their home, and (ii.) the island Oliaros near Paros which is called by Heraklides Ponticus in Steph. Byz. Σιδωνίων ἀποικία—are to be explained by the extended use, mentioned above, of the name Sidonians. Leptis, which Pliny (5 76) speaks of as a Tyrian settlement, was really founded by the Carthaginians about 512 B.C. Nor is any weight to be attached to the facts that according to Steph. Byz. the island Melos was originally called Byblis from its mother town, and that Tarsus (which was not Phœnician at all) is in Dio Chrysost. (*Or.* 33 14) represented as being colonised from Aradus, not, as the other authorities have it, from Argos.

[2] The text is unfortunately not free from corruption (see especially *vv.* 19 23). See CANNEH, CHILMAD, JAVAN, § 1, etc.

have come down to us. The chief trouble, however, was created by the investigators themselves, who set out in search of a 'Phœnician style' and could not find one. The solution of the problem is very simple; we are now able to say very positively that there never was such a thing as a Phœnician style. Phœnician art, like that of Syria in general, simply exhibits in combination the *motifs* derived by it from a variety of quarters (in the first instance mainly from Babylon and Egypt), without any attempt at fusing them into any higher essential unity.

The stele of king Yeḥawmelek of Byblos (Persian period) represents the king, in Persian dress and bearing, before a seated goddess who is exactly reproduced after the pattern of Isis and Hathor with cow's horns and the sun-disk upon her head. Over her head hovers, as in all Egyptian steles, the winged sun-disk (Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phœnicia*, 1 69, fig. 23). This is typically Phœnician. A stele of Marathus exhibits a god in Egyptian dress, wearing an Egyptian helmet with the uræus serpent, and holding in his right hand an Egyptian hooked sword. With his left hand he holds, in Assyrio-Babylonian fashion, a lioness by the legs; his feet rest upon a lioness who in turn stands upon a hill-like pedestal—*motifs* which Hittite-Asiatic art developed still further from Babylonian models. Above the god hover two Egyptian emblems; the moon (crescent, with full moon shown within) and the winged sun-disk (*op. cit.* 2 11, fig. 7).

A few examples may be given of the way in which borrowed artistic symbols were so modified as to lose their original meaning. The Egyptian emblem of the moon became a half-moon, with the sun or a star above it; the sphinx became womanlike in form; the uræus serpents dependent from the winged sun-disk were changed into a bird's tail; out of the cross  grew the symbol  so familiar on Phœnician seals and Carthaginian steles, having, apparently, arms and legs added to it. In decoration, however, Phœnician art (and Syrian art generally) shows a certain independence in its employment of flower-like ornaments—lotos blossoms and rosettes—or of ornaments taken from the animal world, such as heads of wild goats, oxen, lions, and so forth. In this field a decorative 'Western-Asiatic' mixed style was developed, which, as already indicated, began to exert an influence on Greek art from the ninth century onwards.

For the rest, the art of Syria and Phœnicia follows the 'fashion,' that is, the ruling power. In the second millennium B.C. Egyptian models prevail; with the rise of Assyrian ascendancy, Assyrio-Babylonian *motifs* come more strongly into play; and these in their turn had to give place to the influence of Persia. Alongside of these Asiatic models, however, from the sixth century onwards, the influence of Greek art made itself increasingly felt, and had already become predominant within the Persian period, in the first instance in the technique (*e.g.*, in coins), and soon afterwards in *motif* as well.

In one department the Phœnicians maintained their superiority—that of navigation. Even in Xenophon's time, when the Greeks, especially the Athenians, had long been keen rivals of the Phœnicians by sea, and had defeated them in naval battles, a great Phœnician merchantman was regarded as a pattern of order and of practical outfitting (Xen. *Œc.* 8 11); and still later even Strabo speaks of the absolute supremacy of the Phœnicians in the arts of seamanship (xvi. 2 23). When Sennacherib caused Syrian carpenters to build him a fleet upon the Tigris for the subjugation of the Babylonians, he manned it with Tyrian, Sidonian, and Greek (Cyprian) sailors, just as Alexander brought Phœnician ships to Thapsacus on the Euphrates for his projected Arabian campaign (Arr. vii. 19 3). When the Egyptians under Psammetichus and Necho brought together a fleet it consisted mainly of Phœnicians; and it was by Phœnicians that, under Necho, the circumnavigation of Africa was accomplished (Herod. 4 42). In the fleet of Xerxes the Phœnicians (and of these the Sidonians) supplied the best vessels (Herod. 7 96). The war between the Greeks and the Persians was pre-eminently a struggle between the sea-power of Greece and that of Phœnicia.

9. Navigation.

We proceed now to a brief survey of the Phœnician religion.

10. Religion: underlying conceptions.

The Phœnicians applied to their gods the term *'ēlīm*[1] less frequently than the longer form, *'alonim* (so in the inscriptions of Eshmunazar and Yeḥawmelek), fem. *'alonot* (in Plautus), just as in Heb. the plu. אלהים, and in Aram. the lengthened form *ilāh*, came to be the forms in common use (cp NAMES, § 114 *f.*). The general word for 'goddess' in the Semitic dialects is either *ilât* (cp below) or *'Aštar* (Bab. ištar); but the Phœnicians employed exclusively the form *'Aštart*, *'Aštoret* (with the feminine terminations added to the feminine word).

Like other Semites, they believed that these divine powers can enter into relations with human communities, and that when they do so they accord them their protection and live a common life with their clients. They bestow blessing, prosperity, and victory, grant increase of the flocks and herds, and of the field, and in return have a share in all that their worshippers acquire or enjoy, above all in the common meal and in the spoil. In this, essentially, do worship and sacrifice consist (cp SACRIFICE). The tutelary deities are the lords and kings of the community which worships them; the community and each individual member of it are their servants or handmaidens or even their Metoikoi (*gēr*, very common in Phœn. proper names), their protegés, taken up and cared for by them. [Cp STRANGER.]

Connected with this is the idea that the gods are the blood-relations of their worshippers—an idea which the Phœnicians shared with the rest of the Semites, as is shown in the proper names which designate an individual as the brother or sister, father or mother, son or daughter of the divinity (see ABI-, AMMI-, NAMES IN, etc.). These names, however, are not of frequent occurrence among the Phœnicians; the idea that underlies them had plainly ceased to be intelligible.

The gods manifest themselves to men in objects the most diverse. Not unfrequently in rocks and mountains; thus the name given by the Greeks to the conspicuous headland between Byblos and Tripolis ('Theouprosōpon'), plainly represents the Phœnician *Pĕnū'ēl*; see PENUEL. Near Theouprosopon there is a dedicatory inscription to Zeus (Renan, *Miss. en Phén.* 146), obviously the El of the headland. Another form of manifestation was in trees and animals, especially in serpents. Still more prevalent, and manifestly also of greater antiquity, is the idea that the god has taken up his abode in movable stones or bits of wood. These are veritable fetishes, which can be carried about everywhere, and in which, accordingly, the divinity in the primitive nomad stage could accompany the tribe on its wanderings. Such 'animated stones' were supposed to have fallen from heaven, and were called by the Phœnicians βαιτύλια—*i.e.*, bait-el, 'God's house'; cp Jacob's pillar at Bethel[2] (see MASSEBAH). These stones may originally perhaps have remained unhewn; but in later times it became usual to give them a certain form—either a cone, or an obelisk with a pyramid-shaped head, or even a simple stele.

Such 'set-up' stones were to be found in every cult[3] and at every altar; they form the most usual dedicatory offering to the

[1] More particularly in the names *'Abd'elim* ('Αβδήλιμος, Renan, *Miss. en Phén.* 709, in meaning identical with 'Abd'alonim 'Αβδαλώνυμος), servant of the gods; *Amat'elīm*, maidservant of the gods, *Mattān'elīm* (gift of the gods, cp *Muthunilim*, *CIL* 8 10525), *Kalb'elīm*, dog of the gods (*CIS* 1 49; abbreviated to *kalbā*, *ib.* 52).

[2] Cp Philo Bybl. fr. 2, 19, where the *baitylia* are spoken of as an invention of Uranos; Damascius (*Vit. Isid.*, ed. Westermann [ap. Didot], 94, 203) has it that *τῶν βαιτυλίων ἄλλον ἄλλῳ ἀνακεῖσθαι θεῷ, Κρόνῳ, Δι*í*, Ἡλίῳ, τοῖς ἄλλοις.* Hence *bætulus*, a species of magic stone, in Pliny (37 135 etc.).

[3] Thus from the coins of Byblos we know of the cones in the court of the great temple, where the goddess of the town had her seat, and similar objects were to be found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos, which, though Greek, was strongly influenced by Phœnicia.

divinity. By the Phœnicians, as by the Hebrews and other Canaanites, they were called *maṣṣēbath* (cp *CIS* 1 44—a maṣṣebah at Kition dedicated to Eshmūn; for votive and burial steles, as in the Piræus Inscr., see *Rev. Arch.* 3 ser. 11 5; *CIS* 1 116 etc.) or, otherwise, *naṣīb* (*CIS* 1 139—a naṣīb at Kition dedicated to Baalshamēm; cp the Malkiba'al steles [see below]; Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Νίσιβις [called Νάσιβις by Philo, 8]; σημαίνει δὲ, ὥς φησι Φίλων, Νάσιβις τὰς στήλας; ὁ δε Οὐράνιος νέσιβις, φησι, σημαίνει τῇ Φοινίκων φωνῇ λίθοι συγκείμενοι συμφορητοί,—in other words, cairns or stone-heaps like the Gr. ἕρματα, out of which on a precisely similar manner arose the hewn Hermæ or symbols of Hermes). Another name is *Ḥammān*, which in Phœnician must have been quite current (see below); it occurs also in OT (Is. 17 8 27 9, etc.) in conjunction with the Ashērim; so too in Palmyra. The name is probably identical with the Ἀμμουνεῖς of the Phœnician temples, from whose mystic inscriptions, according to Philo (1 5), Sanchuniathon derived his wisdom. The origin of the name is uncertain; Ḥammānīm in the OT is best translated 'ḥammān-pillars.'[1] Stone-cones of the kind described are often found delineated in the Carthaginian steles, also upon a stele from Libybæum (*CIS* 1 138). Cp MASSEBAH.

In close association with the stone-pillar we find the erected pole, or the tree-stump, precisely as in the Grecian cultus. This is called Ashērah (אֲשֵׁרָה) as in Hebrew (see ASHERAH). Copies of it in clay are very often found in the ruins of the temples of Cyprus.

A representation of a goddess, in clay, has been found in Cyprus, sitting within the tree-trunk of Ashera (cp Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 1 171; 2 Tab. 17 2), and we hear in the inscription of Ma'sūb of 'the Astarte in the Ashēra.' The word *Ashērah might therefore be used as a divine name. The only* known instance of this, however, is Abd-ašrat (also Abd-aširta) in the Amarna letters, where Ašrat is always written with the determinative sign of deity.

A variety of these poles may plainly be seen in Carthage steles; and closely associated with them, perhaps, are the quickly fading flowers and rootless plants of the Adonis gardens at the Adonis festival (cp ADONIS).

As to the origin of these modes of worship, Philo (2 8) relates that Usoos the brother of Hypsouranios of Tyre (cp below, § 12), after a sea voyage on a tree-trunk, erected two steles to the Fire and the Wind, worshipping them and making an offering of the blood of beasts. After the death of the two brothers, staves were consecrated to them, the steles adored, and their memory commemorated in a yearly feast. These staves and steles are the Ashērim and Maṣṣēbahs or *Ḥammānīm* —in the first instance doubtless, in Philo's view, some specially holy and ancient objects in Tyre.

When a people becomes settled, not only does it itself undergo a change as it accommodates itself to the land which it tills, the city it inhabits, the mountains and streams of its chosen home; its gods also no longer continue the same. They too abandon their nomadic life, settle, and become the lords of the soil upon which they are worshipped.

Thus an *El* or *Ilat* (or Astarte) becomes the *ba'al* or *ba'alat* of a definite locality, the god or goddess of some particular town or hill. Such divinities are many in Phœnicia. Thus the 'god of Sidon' is called 'Baal-ṣidon' (*CIS* i. 3 18 [Eshmunazar], Inscr. of Piræus, *Rev. Arch.* 3 ser. 11 5; on the gods of Tyre see below). The 'goddess of Byblos' is invoked as 'the mistress, the Ba'alat of Gebal' (*CIS* 1 1, cp GEBAL, 1). Rib-hadad too gives her this title in all his letters (the name is always written ideographically). In *Ḳarthadašt* (Kition) of Cyprus the people worship the god of the Lebanon on the mainland opposite, as

11. Gods without proper names.

[1] Baal-ḥammān was the chief deity of Punic N. Africa (found also in Libybæum, *CIS* 1 138). He is the god of the *ḥammān-stele* in which he had his abode, and the steles dedicated to him frequently bear the enigmatical name נצב מלכבעל (*CIS* 1 123 147 194 195 380; *Hadrumetum*, 9). Similarly the god Melki'aštart in Umm el-'Awāmid, S. of Tyre (*CIS* 1 8) and in the neighbouring Ma'ṣūb are designated *El-ḥammān.* His female counterpart is 'the Astarte in the Ashērah of El-ḥammān.' Melki'aštart is in fact the El-ḥammān. The *numen* occupying his *ḥammān*-pillar (Ba'al-ḥammān) is naturally his inferior, who in turn has an Ashērah in which dwells a female being, an Astarte.

'Baal-libanon, their lord' (*CIS* 1 5).[1] Among the hills behind Sidon there occurs a Ζεὺς ὄρειος—*i.e.*, a mountain-god pure and simple—to whom in an inscription (Renan, *Miss.* 397) two lions are dedicated.

A god can also take his name from specified attributes ascribed to him at a particular place of worship, or from his association with some particular religious object or custom.

A well-known instance of this kind is the BAAL-BERITH [*q.v.*] at Shechem: there was also a 'god of dancing' (Lat. Jupiter Balmarcodes, Gk. Βαλμάρκως κοίρανος κώμων), a god worshipped with festal dances at the sanctuary of Dēr el-Ḳal'a in the mountains behind Bērūt (cp *CIG* 4536, *CIL* 3 155, Cler.-Ganneau, *Rev. d'Arch. Orient.* 2 101 *ff.*; Euting, *SBAW*, 1887, p. 407, no. 129). Most renowned of all is Baal-ḥammān (*see above, § 10*).

All these gods and goddesses are strictly nameless, and are merely powers possessing a specified sphere of influence. So also with Ba'al-šamêm (see below, § 12). There is no god Ba'al and goddess Ba'alat. It is only very rarely that a genuine proper name occurs at all. The God of Tyre (Ba'al Ṣōr) indeed bears the name Melḳart (cp § 12); but even this is really no proper name but a compound of *Melek Ḳart*, king of the city. For worshippers, the god of their home, or of the temple which they frequent, is 'the Ba'al' or 'the Ba'alat' without qualification, and in ordinary life no other phraseology is used (cp 1 K. 17 *ff.*)

There is no need to specify what particular god is intended. It is quite usual, therefore, to give children such names as Ḥanniba'al, 'favour of Baal'; 'Azru-ba'al, 'help of Ba'al'; Ba'al'azar, 'Ba'al helps'; Ba'al-hanān, 'Baal is favourable'; 'Abd-Ba'al, 'servant of Baal'; Adoni-Ba'al, 'Baal is lord,' etc. In these cases the giver as a rule has in his mind some such god as Ba'al-hammān, Ba'al-šamēn, Ba'al-ṣidon, or the like. Often enough too, the god's name falls away altogether, and we get such names as Ḥanān or Ḥannō, 'Abdō, etc.

It is easy to understand how, ultimately, this should have given rise to the feeling that there was an absolute god Ba'al of whom the individual Ba'alim are only forms. This feeling must have developed greatly in Babylonia, and, to a certain extent, also among the Aramæans, where Bēl, Aram. B'el, actually became the proper name of a definite deity. It found its way into Phœnicia as well. In the first instance foreigners naturally formed the belief that there was a single Phœnician deity Ba'al. The Egyptians took over his cult and—in the new kingdom—worshipped him as identical with Sutekh (Set). The Greeks always designate him by his Aramaic name as Bēlos,[2] and identify him with Zeus,—and rightly, for everywhere the Baal of a place is the highest god of its proper pantheon. Similarly they explained Βααλτίς (so Philo, 2 25) or Βῆλθις (Melito in Cureton, *Spic. Syr.* 44; Hesych.) as the proper name of the goddess of Byblos. At last the Phœnicians themselves followed the example, at least in their system of the gods—the idea is found in Philo. In the native inscriptions indeed, and so, we may infer, in their worship, it never found a place; only one Greek inscription, from the neighbourhood of Antarados, mentions an altar of Βῆλος; here doubtless the Syrian, not the Phœnician, deity is intended (Renan, *op. cit.* 104).

Ba'alat is never employed in the formation of proper names, and is indeed of somewhat rare occurrence anywhere; to denote the feminine divinity the name Aštart is ordinarily used. In the religious conception, indeed, there is no difference between the two, only Astarte needs no complement of the name of a place; but the Astarte in the *Ashērāh* of *El-ḥammān* mentioned

[1] In Philo 2 7 these gods appear as mighty primæval men, from whom the mountains which they occupy (ὧν ἐκράτησαν) took their names. Thus the Lebanon, Antilibanus, Kasius, mount Βραθύ.

[2] It may here be remarked once for all that, later, the Aramaic form crept into use in all divine names. Philo has only the form Βῆλος. A late inscription from Berytus (Lebas, III. 1854 *d*) presents both forms in the two contiguous names Ἀβιδβηλου and Ὀζερβαλου. In Africa the pronunciation *ba'al* alone is found: cp Hannibal, Hasdrubal, etc. Serv. *ad Æn.* 1 729; 'Saturnus . . . lingua punica Bal deus dicitur.' The identification of Kronos and Ba'al is rare.

above might equally well have been called *ba'alath hā-ashērah.*

The Greeks were quite correct when for the most part they applied the designation *Astarte* to the goddess of Byblos (Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3 59, Plut. *de Is.* 15). In Tyre Hiram I. built a temple to Astarte (Menander ap. Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18, cp Philo 2 24). Itoba'al I. was priest of Astarte before he became king. In Sidon Astarte is the principal divinity (so throughout the OT; similarly, *e.g.*, Lucian, *Dea Syr.* 4). The Kings Eshmunazar I. and his son Tabnit are priests; the latter's sister, the queen-mother Am'aštart, is priestess of Astarte (cp inscr. of Tabnit and Eshm. II.); the king Bod'aštart raised a building to her (*CIS* 1 4). By the side of the goddess of the city we find also in Sidon an 'Astarte of the Baal of Heaven' (see below). From what we know we may presume that all the Phœnician towns had an Astarte as tutelary deity.

Alongside of Astarte is found the name Ilāt, 'goddess' (cp above). Ilāt had her priests in Carthage (*CIS* 1 243 *f.*), and, under the name 'the lady Ilāt,' a temple in Sulci. On the other hand, El is never found as the designation of any definite deity, and, even in personal names, occurs only in inscriptions from Byblos, in striking contrast to the Hebrew and Arabic usage[1] (cp NAMES, § 25). The same remark applies to *'adon*, 'lord.' The true name of the god known to the Greeks as ADONIS [*q.v.*] is undiscovered. Perhaps he remained nameless in the cultus, and it may well be that the case is similar with El. The ancients, indeed, have much to tell us of El (whom they identify with Kronos). Philo informs us that Ἦλος was made with four wings, of which two are at rest and the other two outstretched; also, he had two eyes open and two closed, so as to show that in sleeping he also waked and in resting flew. Upon his head he wore (after the Egyptian manner) two feathers. From this description De Vogüé (*Mélanges d' Arch. Orient.* 109) has identified him, perhaps rightly, upon Phœnician seals. His first seat was at Byblos; later he presented Byblos to Baaltis, Berytus to Poseidon and the Cabiri. In conformity with this, we find in Steph. Byz. the founding of Byblos and Berytus ascribed to Kronos. Thus the El of Byblos is probably one of the gods of the Byblos district. Accordingly El forms an element of the name of the king of Byblos, Elpa'al (אלפעל), known to us from coins; and also probably, in spite of the elision of א, in עינל, Ἔνυλος (Arrian, ii. 15 6)—*i.e.*, 'Ain'el, 'Eye of El.' In this case El (as Ba'al elsewhere) must be regarded as the abbreviation of some fuller divine name. But a similar El must also have been worshipped in other towns. It is stated by Philo (ii. 18 24; fr. 34 *f.*) that human sacrifices were offered to Kronos, and the Greek historians constantly speak of Kronos as the god to whom in Phœnicia, Carthage, and Sardinia, children were sacrificed.[2] This Kronos is certainly El, who, according to Philo, offered up his only son Ἰεουδ (cp ISAAC, § 3) in time of famine to his father Uranos, and also killed his son Sadidos and a daughter. Whether there was a separate El in every individual town, or whether he, too, had a no longer ascertainable proper name (such perhaps as El-Ḥamman Melki'aštart) we cannot say.

As man's civilisation and culture advance, the great cosmical forces, on which the course of the world depends, acquire for him increasing interest and importance. At first the community of worship takes no account of them at all. Sun, moon, and stars, it is thought, roll on in their courses unconcerned about men; the seasons come and go whether man sacrifices, or refrains from sacrificing, to the celestial powers by whom these changes are ordered. It is on the local powers who stand under these greater powers that the prosperity a man desires in his own immediate circle and in the home depends—fruitfulness of field and flock, success in trade, victory in war. To these local deities prayers are made and sacrifices offered, and to them the grateful worshipper returns thanks when the god has 'heard his voice and blessed him,' as the standing formula in the Phœnician inscriptions runs. Hence these local gods live with, and in, nature, like the 'Lord' worshipped at Byblos (see ADONIS), who according to the legend, was killed while hunting the boar far up in Lebanon, near the fountain of 'Afka, whereupon the spring became red with his blood (Lucian, *l.c.*).

Similar religious observances are met with elsewhere also. In Tyre the awaking (ἔγερσις; Menand., ap. Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18, § 119) of Melḳart-Heracles was celebrated in the Macedonian month Peritios (Feb.-March, according to the Tyrian calendar; cp Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* 4 474 *ff.*); his death in the West occurs in colonial legends. In other places the gods are associated with other elements. Thus the god of Berytus doubtless a 'Baal Berūt,' is treated as god of the sea (Poseidon; Philo, 2 25). A Poseidon, to whom offerings were thrown into the sea, is found also in Carthage (Diod. 13 83, Polyb. 7 9); but the name by which he was there called is not known. Similarly, in Sidon honour was paid to a θαλάσσιος Ζεύς (Hesych., *s.v.*). In Berytus, according to Philo (2 11 17 25 27), he has associated with him seven other gods, the sons of Sydyk, 'the righteous' (2 11 20—*i.e.*, צדיק), the discoverers and patrons of navigation, called the Kabiri, 'great gods.' We know that their worship also reached Greece; but its Phœnician form is quite obscure.

No such deities are found upon the inscriptions; perhaps we should identify them with the Phœnician Pataikoi mentioned by Herod. (3 37), dwarf-like images placed at the bows of the ships (see CASTOR AND POLLUX)—modifications of the grotesque Besa (Bes) figures (which the Egyptians of the New Kingdom borrowed from the Semites and prized so highly) which appear so frequently upon Phœnician monuments.[1]

When, with the advance in civilisation, the good things of life for which man cares and toils increase, when his interests and connections, both political and commercial, are extended, and the community steps forth from its narrow isolation into a larger world, the local gods no longer suffice. There arises the need for higher powers who can exert their influence and extend their protection everywhere throughout the world. At the same time the religious conceptions are raised and intensified; man begins to realise his dependence upon the great cosmic powers, and feels the necessity of coming into close relations with them. Its influence is shown in two opposite directions; in the elevation of the local deities to a rank in which their influence is not local, or at least not exclusively so, and in the introduction into the local worships of the great cosmic powers, with the development of a worship specially dedicated to them, which gradually pushes into the background and ultimately supersedes the cults of the old local deities. Among the Israelites the first of these two processes triumphed and obtained undivided supremacy; the tribal-god Yahwè became the universal God—the ruler of heaven and of earth, besides whom there is no other. Elsewhere we usually find the two processes going on side by side, with no consciousness of their mutual opposition. So it was in Phœnicia.

We have already seen how it came to pass that the local deities rose to a position of larger significance. It was quite natural that the god who had protected Tyre and made it great and prosperous should continue to grant his aid when his worshippers removed to distant lands and founded cities there; and that the goddess of Byblos and other Astartes should manifest

[1] On the other hand in Syrian territory a god אל is found in the inscriptions of Zenjīrli and Gerjin, among the gods of Ja'udi, but always mentioned after the god Hadad. Along with El is named the god Rkb-'el (pronunciation unknown), who seems to have been the chief divinity of Šam'al (Bauinschrift ed. Sachau, *SBAW*, 1896, p. 1051) and bears the title בעל בית, 'lord of the house' (inscr. of Panamu) [cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 94 n.].

[2] Plato, *Minos*, 315; Diodor. 13 86 20 14; cp Justin, 18 6; Plut. *de superst.* 13; Porphyr. *de abstin.* 2 56; Suidas, Σαρδάνιος γέλως=schol. *Od.* 20 302, etc.

[1] W. M. Müller's conjecture (*As. u. Eur.* 310) that they are derived from the Babylonian Izdubar-type seems highly probable.

themselves as givers of prosperity and fruitfulness, and as patrons of sexual life, not within the narrow confines of the city alone ; to those who worshipped them they became gods capable of showing their power far and wide over the earth. For this reason it was that foreigners also turned to them and, to gain their protection, dedicated to them altars and temples. The festival of Adonis, for example, was celebrated throughout the Phœnician world ; the god of Lebanon was worshipped in Cyprus, etc. Of still greater importance in this connection is the similarity of the functions of the various gods, the Baals, Astartes ('Aštārōth), etc., leading as it does inevitably to the view that they are all but forms of one and the same mighty universal being. They are deemed to be the gods who rule the world and regulate all the phenomena of the cosmos. Here, especially, the Babylonian conception that the gods manifest themselves in the stars, finds a place (so Astarte, according to Philo, 2 24). In the cultus all these views are represented ; but the local tie, by which their worshippers stand to them in a quite different relation from that which they occupy towards similar gods of neighbouring places, still subsists. In feeling, however, and in religious idea, the sense of this local tie retreats more and more into the background, and ultimately its place is taken by the larger, more generalised conception of *the Baal, the Astarte,* etc., spoken of above.

There are instances, however, of the opposite development also. In isolated cases in the Phœnician cities, on the evidence of proper names, we can trace the worship of the sun-god Shemesh (Adoni-šemeš, *CIS* 1 88 [Idalium] ; Abd-šemeš, *ib.* 116 [Sidon] ; 107 [Citium]), and of the moon-god Yeraḥ[1] ('Abd-yeraḥ, on a seal, *TSBA* 5 456). Reference in this connection may be made also to the earth-goddess, invoked in Carthage, along with the sun and the moon (Polyb. 7 9), of whom Philo has much to say.

Above all, however, worship was given to the 'god of heaven' Ba'al-Šamēm.

His temples are found in Tyre,[2] in Umm el-'Awāmīd (*CIS* 1 7), Carthage (*ib.* 379), on the Hawk's Island near Sulci in Sardinia (*ib.* 139). He is the Ζεὺς ἐπουρανιος of the altar in Sarba beside the Nahr el-Kelb near Beirūt (Renan, *op. cit.* 332). Carthage borrowed his cult from Cyprus (Just. 18 5). To the religious consciousness of a later age he became the chief deity, equivalent to the Greek Zeus (cp Plautus, *Pœn.* 5 6 *f.*); he alone of all the gods is by Philo explained not as a deified man, but as the sun, who has been invoked from the earliest times (2 5). This narrows the conception far too much, although we may assume that he was believed to manifest himself particularly in the sun.

Corresponding to the 'god of heaven' we have the 'goddess of heaven,' the 'Astarte of the heaven of Baal' (עשתרת שם בעל), to whom we find Ešmun'azar setting up a temple by the side of the sanctuary of Ba'al-Sidon—a temple which is not to be confounded with that 'of our lady Astarte in the sea-land (coast-land).' This goddess was worshipped by other Syrian tribes as well.

Herodotus calls her Aphrodite Urania (i. 105 131), and (very incorrectly) regards the sanctuary of the goddess of Askelon [Atargatis—*i.e.*, the 'Attār (Astarte) of the god 'Ate (see ATARGATIS)] as the centre of diffusion from which her worship passed to Cyprus and Cythera. Compare also the *'Ataršamain—i.e.*, Atār of heaven (an Aramaic form)—worshipped by an Arabian nomad tribe (Ašur-bani-pal, col. viii. 112 124 : cp *KAT*(2) 148 414), and the 'queen of heaven,' worshipped in Jerusalem (Jer. 7 18 44 17 *ff.*). The merchants of Citium brought the cult of their goddess with them to Athens and erected a sanctuary to her there in B.C. 333 (*CIA* 2 168). In *CIA* 2 1588 (a tolerably old votive-insciption erected by Aristoclea of Citium) she is called 'Αφροδίτη οὐρανία. See QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

This Astarte was pre-eminently worshipped in Carthage and all over Punic North Africa. In Latin authors and inscriptions she is called Cœlestis, 'the heavenly goddess.' She is a virgin (Aug. *Civ. Dei*, ii. 4 26 ; *CIL* 8 9796 ; 'Deæ magnæ virgini cœlesti,' etc.), and so not the wife of Ba'alšamem ; but she stands in the inscriptions by the side of Saturn (*i.e.*, probably, Ba'al-ḥammān) as the chief goddess of N. Africa. In the treaty with Philip (Polyb. 7 19) the two appear as Zeus and Hera at the head of the Carthaginian pantheon (cp Aug. in *Heptateuch.* 7 16 : 'lingua punica Juno Astarte vocatur'). Ancient writers identify her more commonly with Urania. Her image, probably a cone of stone, was brought by the emperor Elagabalus to Rome, and wedded to the stone fetish of Emesa which was an object of veneration with him (Herodian, 5 6, Dio Cass. 79 12). For her aspect as moon-goddess, see below, § 13.

The divinity is 'king' as well as 'lord.' He stands over the community which he protects, in the same way as the earthly ruler does, only that the latter also is his subject. 'King' and 'queen' (Melek and Milkat) are used with extraordinary frequency in Phœnician personal names to denote some divinity (thus we have the name Abi-milki of Tyre as early as the Amarna tablets), just as in Israel down to the exile Yahwè was very often invoked as Melek (wrongly vocalised Molech). But here also we meet the same phenomenon as in the cases of El, Ba'al, and Ba'alat ; there is not a single inscription in which any god named Melek or Milkat is invoked. These, like the others, were obviously mere titles, whilst the names by which the deities were invoked varied. Perhaps we may co-ordinate Melek with the Melki-'aštart mentioned above (but not with Melḳart, which, when occurring in proper names, remains unchanged),[1] and Milkat with the 'queen of heaven' (Jer. *l.c.*)—*i.e.*, the Carthaginian Cœlestis. Here, too, no certainty is possible. See MOLECH.

None of the divine names hitherto mentioned have been genuine proper names ; but such names are, nevertheless, abundant enough. To this class belongs that of Melḳart of Tyre (see § 11), with reference to whom it may here be added that according to Philo he is the son of (the otherwise quite unknown) Damarūs, son of heaven and earth (2 22, τῷ δὲ Δημαροῦντι γίνεται Μελκάθρος ὁ καὶ 'Ηρακλῆς) ; and according to Eudoxus (ap. Athen. 9 392) son of Asteria (Astarte) and of Zeus. Another name of this class is that of Ešmūn, one of the chief gods of Sidon, where Ešmun-'azar (*l.* 17) built him a temple.

12. Gods with proper names.

In personal names Ešmūn is exceedingly frequent (for the pronunciation cp 'Αβδυζμοῦνος ; Lebas, 3 1866 *c*). He was also worshipped in Citium (*CIS* 1 42 *ff.*), and had a temple in Carthage (*ib.* 252). A trilingual inscription in Phœnician, Greek, and Latin, from a temple in Sardinia, gives him the enigmatical cognomen מארח, which is simply retained in the translations (*Æscolapio Merre*, 'Ασκληπίῳ Μηρρη), plainly because even then unintelligible. The inscription shows that Ešmūn was identified with Esculapius, whom Philo (2 20 27) names as son of Sydyk by a daughter of Cronos (El) and Astarte, and as brother of the Kabiri. On Ešmūn-'Aštart and Ešmūn-Melḳart, see below.

Another deity frequently found in compound proper names is צד (probably to be pronounced *ṣid*).

A Tyrian living in the Egyptian On is called Ṣidyaton ('Ṣid gives'), son of Ger-ṣid ('metoikos of Ṣid') cp *CIS* 1 101. Yatonṣid and 'Abdṣid are very frequently met with in Carthage ; for Ḥan-ṣid cp *CIS* 1 292. We do not find any trace of a worship of Ṣid ; but the gods Ṣid-melḳart, and Ṣid-tnt are both met with (see below). We may hazard the conjecture that Ṣid is the 'Αγρεύς of Philo (2 9), 'the hunter,' or his brother 'Αλιεύς, 'the Fisher,' who figure in that work as men of the primæval time.

The name can scarcely be separated from that of SIDON [*q.v.*]. Is it not most probable that both town and people have taken their designation from the god (cp the tribal names Asher, Gad, Edom, etc., derived from deities)? It may also be noted that Cheyne (*ZATW* 17 189) has rightly discerned the eponym of Ušu = Palætyrus in the Usöos named by Philo (2 8) as

[1] The name Ben-ḥodeš (Gk. Νουμήνιος), so frequently found in Cyprus, has nothing to do with a cult ; it merely denotes a child born at the new-moon. See BAR-SABBAS, NAMES, § 72.

[2] Menand., ap. Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διός ; Dios, *ib.* 1 17, τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου Διός τὸ ἱερόν.

[1] The Melekbaal and Melek'osir mentioned above cannot help us here.

the brother and rival of Samemrumos[1] of Tyre, who settled upon the mainland opposite and became the first seafarer (see above, § 10). This being so, the identification with Esau disappears, unless perhaps the region took its name from this deity[2] (see ESAU).

We are still less in a position to speak of the rest of the deities found in the Phœnician inscriptions.

Sankun, in **Σαγχουνιαθών**, written סכן, Sakkūn, in the very frequent Carthaginian proper name Ger-sakkūn (cp also 'Abd-sakkun, *CIS* 112 *a* [Abydos]), and אסכן (Eskūn) in an inscription from the Piræus (*ib.* 118), where an altar is set up לאסכן אדר—*i.e.*, doubtless 'to the mighty Eskūn' (cp בעלאדר).[3] פמי is found in many Cypriote names, but also in Carthage (*CIS* 1 197 617 670), in the names Pmy-šama' and Pmyatōn; it is written P'm in 'Abdp'm in Abydos (*ib.* 112 *c*). Ykn occurs in Ykn-šillem in Citium (*CIS* i. 10 13) and Carthage (*ib.* 484), D'm in D'm-ṣilleḥ (cp above), son of D'm-hanni, Gr. Δομσαλως Δομανω from Sidon (Athens, *CIS* 1 115), and in דעמלך, D'm-malak in Tyre (*ZDMG* 39 317). ססם (perhaps sūsim, horses, cp 1 K. 23 11) appears in 'Abd-ssm in Cyprus (*CIS* 1 46 49 53 93); see SISMAI. Again, we have חטרמסכר, a god or goddess who possessed a temple in Carthage (*CIS* 1 253 *f.*); the first part of the name according to the editors is connected with the Egyptian Ḥatḥōr, whilst the second part appears in the name Ger-mskr (*ib.* 267 372 886; cp ISSACHAR, § 6, end).

Of the female deities, only one, Tnt, claims attention. It has become customary to pronounce the name as Tanith; but there is no authority for this.[4]

In the name of the Sidonian 'Abd-tnt, Gr. **Αρτεμιδωρος** (*CIS* 1 116: Athens) the goddess is interpreted as Artemis; but whether the seven **Τιτανίδες ἢ Ἀρτέμιδες** of Philo (2 20), daughters of El and Astarte, have anything to do with her we do not know. She is elsewhere found only in Carthage where, as 'the lady Tnt of the Pne ba'al'[5] (that is, as Halévy has recognised, a place-name—'face of Ba'al' corresponding to PENUEL), she has a temple which was held in high repute, and is invoked, along with 'the lord Baal ḥamman,' in countless inscriptions, in which she is always given the first place.

Once (*CIS* 1 380), in her stead, we find mention of 'the mother, the mistress of Pne'ba'al'[6] (לאם לרבת פנבעל ולארן לבעל חמן). From this it would appear that the 'lady mother' (אמא) who in Carthage (*CIS* 1 177) is invoked along with the 'goddess of the cella' (בעלת החדרת), is only another name of Tnt; but whether the 'mother of the Ashera' in Citium (אם האשרת so read for האודת; *CIS* 1 13) is so also, remains undetermined. If further combinations are sought, we may perhaps discern in this motherly divinity the earth-goddess.

Whether we are to assume that the Phœnicians had also a goddess of Fortune or Fate, Gad (=τύχη), we cannot say. The frequent feminine name Gadna'mat with its variations (in Plautus Giddeneme 'pleasant fortune') is no proof of this.[7]

A large class of Phœnician divine names is formed by combining two simple names. Other Semitic tribes also thus combined names of opposite sexes. The often-quoted Phœnician divine name Melki'aštart is doubtless to be explained in the same way, as meaning the Melech who is the husband of Astarte. So also in Carthage we find a god Ešmun-'Aštart (*CIS* 1 245); another Ṣid-tnt of Ma'arat (Megara, the lower town of Carthage; *ib.* 247-249).

There is more difficulty in explaining similar combinations of

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1 There was most probably a god bearing this strange name (Philo translates it Ὑψουράνιος) in Tyre.

2 Esau is as much a divine name as Edom. WMM rightly sees his female counterpart in the Syrian goddess 'Asīt (see EDOM, § 2; ESAU, § 1, n. 6). Whether the עבדאדם of the Carthaginian inscription (*CIS* 1 295; text difficult) should really be read 'Abdedom or 'Obed-edom (cp OBED-EDOM), and taken as proving the existence of a Carthaginian god Edom, the present writer does not venture to decide.

3 In Cirta, *CIS* 1 145, Baliddir, *CIL* 8 5279 19121 *ff.*

4 Hoffmann's acute combinations regarding this and other names (*Ueber einige Phœn. Götter*, 32 *ff.*) seem to the present writer quite untenable. At all events, they admit neither of proof nor of disproof.

5 Written פנאבעל, Euting, *Carthagische Inschriften*, 100.

6 This shows at the same time that P'ne-ba'al is really a locality, and that the rendering 'face of Baal' in which some have sought to find a mystic doctrine of theology is untenable.

7 Whether the masc. name גדעת in Idalium (*CIS* 1 93) ought to be pronounced Gad'ate, and is compounded from the Syrian divine name 'Ate (cp ATARGATIS), is doubtful; see Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 42 471 [1888], who compares Gid'on (see GIDEON).

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two masculine names, Ešmun-melḳart in Citium (*CIS* 1 16 *b*, 23-28), Ṣid-melḳart in Carthage (*ib.* 286), Melḳart Reṣeph (probably for Rešeph) on the old seal of Ba'alyaton—man-of-the-gods (*i.e.*, divine servant) of Melkarth-reṣeph: לבעליתן איש אלם איש למלקרת רצף (De Vogüé, *Mél.* 81; Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen*, 31, no. 18, from Tyre). Perhaps we should reckon also to this class such names as Ba'al-adīr, Melek-ba'al, Melek-'osir, and the like. In the case of these names there is hardly any other course open than to assume an identification of the two gods to be intended—not a very Semitic idea.

13. Foreign gods, etc.

The Phœnicians showed in religion, as in so many other directions, their readiness to appropriate what was foreign. As in art, so also here, the influences of Babylonia (in the form in which these had reached Syria) and of Egypt are most apparent (though there are also Syrian gods). The influence of the two civilisations upon the character of the deities and of the religious symbols and amulets employed, has been referred to already (§ 8). In this instance it is the Egyptian element that predominates. The Ba'alat of Byblos is modelled exactly on the pattern of Ḥatḥor or Isis—with cow-horns on her head, between them the sun-disk, in her hand a sceptre with flowers.

Astarte was often similarly represented (see ASHTAROTH-KARNAIM); as she was also in the Syrian interior—for example, at Kadesh on the Orontes, where the goddess of the city was so fashioned. Hence the statement of Philo (2 24) that Astarte assumed as royal ornament the head of an ox. The symbol, later, ceased to be understood and was taken for a crescent moon (whence Lucian's designation of Astarte as **Σεληναίη**, *De Dea Syr.* 4), which along with the interpretation of Ba'al-šamēm as meaning Sun-god (see above) led to the result that the heavenly Astarte (*οὐράνια*) came to be regarded as a moon-goddess; so Herodian 5 6: *Λίβυες μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι. Φοίνικες δὲ Ἀστροάρχην* [corrupted from Astarte, the reference being to her star, see above] *ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες.* Modern scholars have long mistakenly sought to find in this identification with a moon-goddess the central conception of Astarte-worship.

Ba'alat of Byblos was connected with Isis and Osiris. Later we find the name of Osiris frequently present in proper names (*CIS* 1 9 13 [Umm el'Awāmīd]; 122 [Tyre]; 46 58 65 [Cyprus]); also Bast[1] (Bubastis), Horus ('Abdḥor, *ib.* 53; Cyprus; cp 46), Isis (perhaps in 'Abdis [?] עבדס, from Sidon in Carthage, *ib.* 308). The god Τάαυτος son of Miṣōr (Egypt), that is, the Egyptian Thoth, who plays so great a part in Philo (1 4 2 11 25 *ff.* 5 9) as inventor of writing and all wisdom, has not as yet been met with in the inscriptions.

It was from Syria that two deities zealously worshipped by the Phœnicians in Cyprus originally came—Rešep (pronounciation uncertain) and (possibly from Babylonia) 'Anat—both of whom the Egyptians of the New Kingdom adopted as war-gods[2] (see RESHEPH, ANATH).

'Anat has a temple in Citium (Euting, *SBAW*, 1885, no. 130), and another in Idalium characterised by the absence of any of these votive images of the god so common elsewhere in Cyprian temples.[3]

To Babylonia is due the influence exerted on the ritual of Adonis of Byblos by the legend of Tammūz. From the same source also came the cultus of Hadad (for such appears to be the right pronounciation of the Babylonian-Assyrian deity usually called Rammān), which we meet with not only in Syria but also in Phœnicia at Byblos in the name of Rib-addi in the Amarna tablets

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1 אבסת in עבדאבסת, *CIS* 1 86 B 6 [Ḳartḥa-dašt in Cyprus] *ib.* 102 [Abydus]; Gk. Ἀβδούβαστος [Lebas, 3 1866 *c*; Sidon].

2 See WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 311 *ff.* Rešep is included, in the Hadad-inscription of Panamu, among the gods of the land of Ya'udi [Zenjirli]. He is identified with Apollo in the bilingual inscriptions, and has several names that are in part borrowed from the Greeks (Mkl='Αμυκλος [*CIS* 1 89 *ff.*, Idalium], אליית ='Ελειτας, and אלהיתם='Αλασιώτας—*i.e.*, of Alašia? [Euting, *SBAW*, 1887, p. 119 *f.*; Tamassus]). In Carthage he has a temple under the form ארשף, Aršaph (*CIS* 1 251; cp 'Abd'aršap *ib.* 393). Nöldeke (*ZDMG* 42 473 [1888]) rightly adduces also the name of the Palestinian town Arsūf (the Greek Apollonia); possibly the god had a temple there. [So, before Nöldeke, Clerm.-Ganneau, *Horus et saint Georges*, 16 *f.* (1877).]

3 See Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 16. In a Lapathos inscription we find ענת עז חים; cp עשתרת ארך חים and Dt. 30 20. That is, approximately, 'Anath in her fulness of vigour'; she is taken as the equivalent of Ἀθηνα σωτείρα νίκη (*ib.* 95). She is not elsewhere met with in Phœnician territory.

(see HADAD, RIMMON). His name does not occur in Phœnician inscriptions; but Philo (2 24) knows him as 'king of the gods' who, with 'the greatest Astarte' (ἡ μεγίστη Ἀστάρτη) and with Zeus son of Demarūs, rules the land by the authority of Cronos (El). Philo mentions also DAGON [*q.v.*], whom he takes for a corn-god, but who is of Babylonian origin, and whose cultus came to Philistia before the Philistine settlement (Dagan-takala, Am. Tab. 215 *f.*).

On Assyrian gods in Sidon, see below, § 21. Here and there also we find traces in the later period of the deity, originally from Gaza, known as Marna, 'our Lord' in the proper names 'Abdmarḥai (עבדמרני, *CIS* 1 16 *b*) and Maryeḥai (*ib.* 93 [Cyprus]; cp the Tyrian lamp with the dedication θεῷ Βεελμαρι *CIS* 1 p. 111). With the Macedonian period the Greek deities began to be introduced and, as we have already seen, to be put as much as possible on a level with the native ones.

Such, apart from a few other figures in Philo quite unintelligible to us, are the deities known to have been worshipped among the Phœnicians.

14. Pantheon, worship; state after death.

Though the general type, however, was the same everywhere, the details of the pantheon were, as might be expected, different in each individual city. The only one of these pantheons about which we possess precise information is that of Carthage, which we know through the Greek translation of the treaty between Hannibal and Philip of Macedon (Polyb. 7 9). In that treaty the gods of Carthage are arranged in groups of three, invoked in the following order:—(1) Zeus [Ba'al-šamēm], Hera ['Aštart šme Ba'al = Cœlestis], Apollo [unknown: hardly Rešep; many have thought of Ba'alḥammān, but Ešmūn is also possible]; (2) δαίμων Καρχηδονίων [Astarte of Carthage], Herakles [Melḳart], Iolaos [unknown; in any case he is thought of as a constant attendant of Melḳart];[1] (3) θεοὶ οἱ συστρατευόμενοι—by which we are to understand fetishes carried along with the army to the field as was the ark of Yahwè—, sun, moon, earth; (4) rivers, harbours, streams; (5) all the gods who inhabit (κατέχουσι) Carthage. The name most conspicuous by its absence is that of Tnt—for it cannot be represented by any of the deities mentioned.

The Phœnician worship differs in no essential particular from that of the allied members of the Semitic family. Sacred territories are dedicated to the various gods, and altars and maṣṣēbahs grow up. Out of these the image of the god is gradually developed, often (as we have seen) borrowing its forms from the nations more advanced in civilisation. The image of the god demands also a house for the god, a temple, which in the Phœnician cities was built throughout in the Egyptian style. Alongside of the newer, however, the older forms of religion continued to hold their ground. The arrangements of a Phœnician temple, as we learn from the coins and excavations in Cyprus (see Ohnefalsch-Richter; especially instructive is his [partly reconstructed] temenos of Idalium, Plate lvi.), included a large open court, in which stood the stone-fetish of the god and the worshippers set up their votive pillars (maṣṣēbahs) and divine images. Limitation of space forbids a lengthened discussion as to the various sacred animals (doves to Astarte, etc.), or of the festivals or the ritual.

From Carthage have been recovered several fragments of sacrificial ordinances (*CIS* 1 165 167-170—amongst them the great sacrificial tariff of Marseilles) which fix with exactitude the various dues of the priests, just as in P, or in the Greek ordinances relating to the same subject. Moreover, we have from Citium fragments of a list of expenses for temple servants and sacrifices (*ib.* 86), and from Carthage a fragment of a sacrificial calendar (*ib.* 166), as also of a list of large expenditures by the citizens on the temple (*ib.* 171). Amongst the personnel of the temple, the 'hair-cutters (barbers) of the gods' (גלב אלם, *CIS* 1 86 *a*(12), 257-259 588) have a prominent place (cp BEARD); as also have the temple-servants (86 247 *ff.*, etc.); other official designations (*e.g.*, 260 *f.* 377; and some in the passages already cited) still remain obscure (cp DOG, § 3).

Of all that the individual or the state receives by the favour of the god, a certain portion, and that the first and best—an ἀπαρχή or ראשית (*CIS* 1 5, as in OT)—is rendered to the giver. So also the deity receives a share of the spoils of war. The practice, the existence of which we know from the OT, of sacrificing to the god after any great victory or deliverance, if not all the prisoners, at least the best and choicest of them, 'upon the altar before the holy tent' was still followed in Carthage in 307 B.C., after the victory over Agathocles (Diod. 20 65). When angry, however, the godhead demands for propitiation also the blood of the worshipper's own kin. The maxim 'every firstborn is mine' plainly held good in Phœnicia also, and applied, as amongst the Israelites, to the firstborn of men as well as of earth (see FIRSTBORN). In ordinary times no doubt the debt was redeemed, as in Israel; but in times of extremity a man would offer to his god his own grown-up son. See MOLECH.

If it were his only son, the sacrifice would be all the more efficacious, as we learn from the story of El (like that of Abraham; see ISAAC) in the legend narrating the institution of this kind of offering (see above, § 11, col. 3743). As civilisation advanced, the Carthaginians sought to escape the dire obligation by setting apart for sacrifice children of slaves whom they brought up as their own. In 310, however, when Agathocles had reduced the state to the utmost straits and the enemy lay encamped before the city, they once more laid 200 boys of their noblest families upon the arms of the brazen image of Cronos where they were allowed to fall into the fiery furnace flaming beneath (Diod. 20 14). This seems to have been the last occasion on which matters were brought to such extremity; in the agonies of the Punic wars we do not read of any similar measure being resorted to.

In other cases, when a catastrophe threatens or has already befallen, the head of the state offers himself as a sacrifice to the offended deities and ascends the sacrificial pyre. So, according to the legend, did Dido-Elissa, the foundress of the city; so did Hamilcar after the battle on the Himera; and a similar step was meditated by King Juba of Numidia after the battle of Thapsus, and would actually have been taken by him if Cirta his capital had not shut her gates upon him.

The deity demands yet other sacrifices besides. Among these was circumcision—a practice borrowed by the Phœnicians, as by the Israelites, from Egypt (Herod. 2 108), and according to Philo (2 24) performed by El upon himself in the first instance and so imposed upon his subjects. We find no allusion, however, to the practice of castration in honour of the gods so frequently found in Syria and Asia Minor. On the other hand ecstatic 'prophets' who in honour of 'the Ba'al' perform wild dances and wound themselves with swords and spears in orgiastic frenzy, as was done by the followers of the goddess of Comana, and is even now done by the Persians at the mourning festival of Hasan and Husein, were known to the Phœnicians also (cp 1 K. 18 26 *ff.*). In the Golenischeff Papyrus (see § 5) a page of the King of Byblos, seized by the god during a sacrifice, gives an oracle in his ecstasy. Another sacrifice to the deity is the requirement that virgins should prostitute themselves in the service of the great goddesses and make over the profits to the temple treasury—a practice that was widely diffused among the Semites and the peoples of Asia Minor. Perhaps Robertson Smith is right in finding here a religious survival of primitive conditions, under which fixed marriages were still unknown and the sexual coitus was considered as a manifestation of the divinity in human life. We have direct evidence of the existence of the custom at Byblos (Luc. *De Dea Syr.* 6) and in Cyprus (Herod. 1 199, Justin 18 5). For another analogous practice in the service of the deity which seems to have been current in Phœnicia cp Eus. *Vit. Const.* 3 55.

With regard to what happens to men after death the views of the Phœnicians, as of the other Semitic peoples, remained quite undeveloped. From the sepulchral inscriptions of Eshmunazar and Tabnit we see that undisturbed rest in the grave was desired, and to ensure it imprecations were employed; to open a grave or coffin is an 'abomination unto Astarte' (Tabnit 6). It is, however, but a comfortless, shadowy existence that is lived in the dark kingdom of death 'among the ghosts or *Rephāīm*' (*Mot*, מות, the god of death, son of El, mentioned in Philo, 2 24). The Phœnician, like the Israelite, had no more heartfelt longing than for a descendant to continue his family and with it his earthly

[1] The existence of a God יאל (as conjectured by Berger in a dissertation cited by Nöldeke in *ZDMG* 42 471 [1888]) can hardly be said to have been sufficiently proved.

existence; 'to have no son or seed' is the heaviest curse the gods can inflict (Ešmun. 8 11 22, Tabnit 7).

In connection with the cultus, among the Phœnicians as elsewhere, there gradually developed a body of theological doctrines.

15. Theology and cosmogony.

The few allusions to these in the inscriptions, however, are practically unintelligible, as is shown by the texts of the Malakba'al-stelės,[1] and still more by the inscription of Ma'ṣūb (see above, § 10). This last would almost seem to suggest that the Israelite conception of an 'apostle' or messenger (מלאך) of the deity was not unfamiliar even in Phœnicia (cp the name Ba'al-mal'ak, *CIS* 1 182 455, etc.). In Cyprus arose the singular conception of a divinity in which man and woman are united, and which accordingly was represented as a bearded goddess.

The theologians of the Hellenistic period dragged this to light, calling the deity in question Aphroditus (Philochorus and Aristophanes *ap. Macrob.* iii. 8 2 *f.*, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀφρόδιτος, etc.), and the church fathers are very ready to refer to the subject; but this deity never possessed much importance. It is portrayed on no monument, and the attempt to associate it with any of the divinities named above, still more to find it (as has sometimes been done) in the compound names of gods, is very precarious. It is not even certain whether it is really Phœnician at all, since, according to Hesych. (*l.c.*), it seems to have belonged originally to Amathus, which was not a Phœnician town.

Phœnician theology had its speculations about the origin and growth of the world, of mankind, of civilisation, and of its own home. Presumably these were embodied in a religious literature of the subject, which dealt with it somewhat after the manner of the narratives of Genesis. All our actual information on the subject, however, has to be taken from late recensions of it, written in Greek, and showing marked traces of foreign influences. In these writings, as in the many Jewish writings of the Hellenistic age, we have native scholars with patriotic arrogance seeking to exhibit to the then dominant race the antiquity and depth of the native traditions, and to prove that the Greeks really stole their wisdom and theology from the East, at the same time distorting it in the process. That these writings, however, rest not only on native traditions, but also, as was the case with the Jews likewise, on native written documents, is not to be questioned. On the other hand, the names of wise men of remote antiquity, who are alleged as authors of these works, are of very problematic authenticity.

Two cosmogonies have come down to us, the one from Sidon, the other from Byblos.[2] The former was narrated in Greek by Eudemus a pupil of Aristotle, and from him it was borrowed by Damascius (*De pr. prin.* 125) who subjoined a Neo-platonic interpretation. In a somewhat modified form the same Sidonian tradition is cited at a later date as the work of the ancient Sidonian Mochos (Μῶχος)[3] which had been translated into Greek, ostensibly by a certain Lætos, along with other unknown Phœnician authors[4] (Theodotos, Hypsicrates) in the time of Posidonius of Rhodes (first half of the last century B.C.). Damascius (*De pr. prin.* 125) has preserved for us an extract from this cosmogony also. Posidonius detected in it the atomic theory (Strabo, xvi. 2 24), just as Damascius found in it the Neo-platonic conception of the world. It does not at all follow from this, however, either that the writing of Mochus contained a single word about atoms—how Posidonius arrived at his view can be perceived clearly enough from the fragment which has come down to us—or that the writing was a 'literary fraud' as Rühl supposed.

[1] Berger in his discussion of these has doubtless established the literal meaning correctly enough; but that does not solve the whole problem (*J. As.*, ser. 7, tome 8 [1896]).

[2] It is no proof of Byblos being the religious metropolis of Phœnicia that we usually find on its coins, from the Hellenistic period onwards, the surname 'the holy' (לגבל קדשת. ἱερᾶς Βυβλου); for similar expressions occur on the coins of Sidon and Tyre (Σιδῶνος τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου [also with personification of the city-deity Σιδῶνος θεᾶς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου καὶ ναυαρχίδος] and Τύρου ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου).

[3] According to Posidonius (Strabo, xvi. 2 24) he lived πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν. He passed into the later handbooks as one of the oriental founders of Philosophy; Diog. Lært. *prœm.* 1 (miswritten Ὦχος, followed by Suidas, *s.v.*), Iamblich. *Vit. Pyth.* 14 (ὁ φυσιόλογος, ancestor of the Sidonian prophets, and the rest of the Phœnician hierophants), Jos. *Ant.* i. 3 9 (with an unknown Hestiæus, and the Egyptian Hieronymus, and other writers of various nationalities, as alleged authorities for the story of the flood); Athen. 3 126 *a* (with Sanchuniathon).

[4] Tatian, *adv. Græcos*, 37 [copied by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21 117]; cp Rühl 'zu Menander von Ephesus u. Lætos,' *Rhein. Mus.* 50 141 *ff.*

Considerably later is our authority upon the Byblian traditions—Philo of Byblos, the well known writer of the period of Hadrian. He relied for his information upon an ancient sage, Sanchuniathon, who had drawn the primæval wisdom of Taaut from the writings of the Ἀμμουνεῖς in the temples (see above, § 10).[1] Whether there ever really was a Phœnician writing under the name of Sanchuniathon we do not know; in any case the tradition has been very greatly manipulated by Philo with two objects; first, to explain all mythology in the Euhemeristic sense, by making out all the gods to have been men—kings and others of primitive times who had been raised to divine honours after their death—and secondly to make out that the Greek mythology was only a depraved copy of the Phœnician.

The lateness of his traditions is shown also by the fact that he uses Aramaic forms of names (Βεελσαμήν, Ζωφασημίν, Βῆλος; only Σαμημροῦμος is the Phœnician pronunciation of Shamēmrām), and that he says the companions of El or Kronos bore the name Ἐλοειμ, *i.e.*, Κρόνιοι. This is of course the Heb. אלהים, *Elohim*, which is not met with in Phœnician, and thus Philo here betrays a Jewish influence not discernible elsewhere. From Philo we still possess large extracts in Eus. *Præp. Ev.*, which in their turn seem to have been taken from Porphyry.

In details the Sidonian cosmogony and that of Byblos differ from one another at many points. Fundamentally they are in closest agreement not only with each other but also with the old Hebrew myths which can still be clearly enough detected behind the narratives of Gen. 1 2 (see CREATION, § 7).

Of the Phœnician constitution and government we know almost nothing, even in the case of Carthage, not to speak of the other cities.

16. Constitution.

That their polity had a thoroughly aristocratic character might be presumed from the whole character of Semitic civil life, and is confirmed by the weight everywhere laid upon descent; this comes into special prominence in the long genealogies of the inscriptions. The 'eldest ones' (cp the πρεσβύτατοι in Marathos and Aradus; Diod. xxxiii. 5 2 3) who form the council of the king are the representatives of families; in Sidon the council seems to form a college of 100 members (Diod. 16 45). The most distinguished family is of course the royal; in Tyre the priest of Melḳarth ranks next the king (Justin. 18 4). In these little city-states, however, with their many wealthy merchant families the power of the king was limited in many directions by the council and the nobility. In Tyre at the time of the Chaldean suzerainty the monarchy was for a time abolished and a 'judge' (*šōphēṭ*) took his place as supreme authority (Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 21). Presumably the office was responsible, and limited in time, although in Tyre the tenure cannot have been for a fixed period, since we find individual judges ruling for 2, 10, 3 months, and then, apparently, two together ruling for 6 years (see below, § 20). Something similar may have occurred in other cities also, just as in Carthage from the time that we know anything of its history two suffetes (usually called 'kings' by the Greeks) figure as yearly officials at the head of the state; so also in other colonies, such as Gades. To the Hebrews also, as

[1] Compare the strange statement of Porphyry (Eus. *Præp. Ev.* i. 9 21 and x. 9 12) that Sanchuniathon, here called a native of Berytus, derived his account of the Jews from a writing of Jerombal (= Jeruba'al) the priest of God, of Jeuo (ἱερεὺς θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰευώ) that is, Yahwè, who had dedicated his work to King Abelbal or Abibal of Berytus. Whether this absurd story was Porphyry's own, or due to the inventiveness of others before him, we cannot tell; in any case it has nothing to do with Philo's Sanchuniathon. Its lateness is shown also by the part assigned in it to Berytus.

the Book of Judges shows, the conception of 'judges' as rulers of a state, with royal but not hereditary powers, was not unfamiliar.

17. Sources. Of the native histories written by the Phœnicians themselves nothing has come down to us, even in Greek translations, except a few extracts (preserved by Josephus), from the Chronicles of Tyre, which Menander of Ephesus had translated into Greek; they relate to the period extending from 969 to 774 B.C. (*c. Ap.* 1 18; *Ant.* viii. 5 3 [also viii. 3 1 on the era of Tyre], *Ant.* viii. 13 2) and to the siege under Elulæus (*Ant.* ix. 14 2). Josephus also (*c. Ap.* 1 21) gives the list of kings during the period from Nebuchadrezzar down to Cyrus (585-532 B.C.), but here, too, is doubtless dependent on Menander, although a little before (*c. Ap.* 1 20 = *Ant.* x. 11 1) he refers for the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar to the otherwise unknown Jewish and Phœnician history of one Philostratus.

In addition to these Josephus cites (*Ant.* viii. 5 3 = *c. Ap.* 1 17), for the period of Hiram I., the Phœnician history of Dios, who is closely dependent on Menander. He also is not otherwise known. It is probable that Josephus took all these fragments directly from a compilation by Alexander Polyhistor (v. Gutschmid; cp Wachsmuth, *Einl. in die alte Gesch.* 403 *f.*). These short fragments contain little that relates to the history of Phœnician colonisation.

18. Period of independence. We return now to the history of the mother country from the end of the Egyptian period onwards. The little we know for the immediately succeeding centuries relates only to Tyre. Tyre was successful not only in founding a colonial empire, but also in gaining the supremacy in the mother country. Our accounts begin —since they concern themselves with merely biblical interests—with the first HIRAM (*q.v.*).[1]

Of him we learn that he extended the city territory by mounds in the quarter Eurychoros (Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 13), substituted new temples for old, to Melḳarth and Astarte, dedicated a golden stele (κιών) to Ba'alšamēm in his temple and instituted the festival of the awakening of Melḳarth. He brought back to its allegiance the city of Utica which had refused to pay the usual tribute. Mention has already been made of his relations with Israel, and of his Ophir voyages (see also CABUL, HIRAM).

Josephus, in speaking of the successors of Hiram, gives only the duration of the life and of the reign of each down to the founding of Carthage. We may be sure, however, that Menander gave some further particulars. It is, at any rate, clear from the list of kings that usurpations and struggles for the succession were not unknown. Hiram's grandson was put to death by the four sons of his foster mother; of these the eldest held the throne for twelve years. Then followed further confusions, with regard to which tradition is very uncertain, until the priest of Astarte, Itoba'al, by violent means (see ETHBAAL) founded a new dynasty. Owing to his relation to Ahab, one or two facts respecting him have been preserved by Josephus. The length of his reign is unfortunately not known; Rühl, following the tradition of Theophilus, assigns him twelve years (876-866 B.C.), but according to most MSS he reigned thirty-two years (though the length of life assigned by tradition to him and to his son makes this doubtful) from 885-854 B.C. The three years famine of the period of Ahab and Elijah (1 K. 17 *f.*) is mentioned by Menander as having lasted one year.

Hiram I. is in the OT invariably called king of Tyre (2 S. 5 21 1 K. 5 15 9 10); Ethbaal, on the other hand, is king of the Sidonians (1 K. 16 31). This last is also the title borne on the oldest extant Phœnician inscription (*CIS* 1 5) by Hiram II.[2] who is also named by the Assyrians in 738; it is the inscription of a bronze sacrificial vessel which the 'governor (סכן) of Ḳarthadašt (Citium), servant of Hiram king of the Sidonians, dedicated to his lord the god of Lebanon (Ba'al-lebanon) as a "first fruits" (ἀπαρχή) of copper' (בראשת נחשת) in the temple upon the hill Muti Shinoas near Amathus (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 1 19). The Tyrian dominion in Cyprus must accordingly have extended thus far. These designations show that, in the interval between Hiram I. and Ethbaal, the 'kings of Tyre' had become 'kings of the Phœnicians,' and thus had considerably extended their authority, in particular by acquiring the sovereignty of Sidon. This is confirmed by the Assyrian data, that the whole coast from 'Akko (near the Israelite frontier) to near Berytus was in the possession of Tyre.[1] Of Ethbaal we are told that he pressed even farther north; having founded the city of Botrys, to the N. of Byblos, in the neighbourhood of the Theouprosopon. Plainly the intention, which was not, however, effected, was to reduce Byblos also to dependence on Tyre. Of Ethbaal we learn further that he founded Auza in Libya. Under the third of his successors, Pygmalion (820-774), Timæus (and, following him, Menander) placed the founding of Carthage in 814-3; its mythical foundress is called the sister of the king. With Pygmalion Josephus's extract from Menander (Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18) ends.

19. The Assyrian suzerainty. For the next century we get some information from the Assyrian data. The great westward campaigns of the Assyrians began in the beginning of the ninth century.[2] In 876 Ašur-nāṣir-pal invaded Syria and the dynasts of the interior as well as the kings of the sea-coast, of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Maḫallata (*sic*), Maisa (unknown), Ḳaisa (unknown), Amuri, 'Arvad in the sea,' brought tribute—brazen vessels and parti-coloured and white linen garments as well as silver, gold, lead, copper, and cedar wood. Shalmaneser II. (860-824) undertook the subjugation of Syria in a more thoroughgoing way. Only the more northerly, however, of the Phœnician dynasts were represented in the army of the allied Syrian princes which fought at Ḳarḳar in 854 (see AHAB, SHALMANESER). The remaining cities preferred to submit quietly and in 842 and 839 paid tribute to Shalmaneser as they also did later to his grandson Hadad-nirari III. (811-782) when he marched upon Syria.

As yet these expeditions led to no enduring suzerainty (see ASSYRIA, § 32). In the first half of the eighth century the movements of the Assyrians were restricted by the powerful opposition of the kings of Urartu. With Tiglath-pileser III. began those systematic invasions which ended in the virtual subjugation of the whole Syrian territory.

It is within this period that more precise information regarding Phœnicia first becomes accessible. Whilst the older Assyrian kings, as we have seen, mention (correctly or incorrectly) the names of a large number of Phœnician cities and dynasts, under Tiglath-pileser III. and Sargon there are only three Phœnician states —Aradus, Byblos, and Tyre. The coastland of the Eleutherus region, along with Ṣimyra, 'Arḳa, and Šiyana, now belongs to the kingdom of Hamath (Annals of Tiglath-pileser: 3 R. 9, 3 *ll.* 26 46), but is made by Tiglath-pileser into an Assyrian province. The Phœnician cities appear to have submitted without striking a blow. In 738 we find, amongst many other dynasts, Matanba'al of Arados, Šibittiba'al of Byblos, and Hiram II. of Tyre paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser. Soon afterwards Tyre showed signs of a longing for independence; a heavy tribute was exacted from Metinna (Mytton—*i.e.*, Mattān) of Tyre in consequence (about

[1] The individual items in Menander's list of kings vary in the tradition. We here follow the reconstruction of Rühl (*Rhein. Mus.* 48 565 *ff.*—although by no means certain at all points). In their original form the data seem to be quite authentic.

[2] That Hiram II., not Hiram I., is intended in the inscription has been shown by von Landau, *Beitr. zur Alterthumskunde des Orients*, 1 (1893).

[1] As cities taken by him from Tyre, Sennacherib (Prism Inscr. 2 38 *ff.*) enumerates:—Great and Little Sidon, Betzitti, Ṣarepta, Maḫalliba, Ušū (pr. Usū),—*i.e.*, Palætyrus,—Akzib, Akko. In Menander (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 14 2 28 5) we must, therefore, read ἀπέστη τε Τυρίων Σιδὼν καὶ Ἀκη καὶ ἡ Παλαιτύρος καὶ πολλαὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις (so LV), and not with the other MSS Ἀρκη = 'Arḳa.

[2] Various kings of Assyria set up steles by the Dog river near Beirūt; but these are in such bad preservation that not even the names can now be deciphered.

730 B.C.). The main portion of the Phœnician coastland still owned the sovereignty of Tyre; Elulaios (Ass. Lule), who reigned, as Menander says (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 14 2), thirty-six years (say 725-690), is therefore called by Sennacherib 'King of Sidon' (cp SIDON). On the other hand, Tyre lost its hold on Cyprus; seven Cyprian princes did homage to Sargon,[1] who set up a statue of himself in Citium. That Citium was lost to Tyre for a time is attested also by Menander.

Under Shalmaneser IV. (727-722) and Sargon (722-705) the Phœnicians appear to have remained quiet.[2] Under Sennacherib (705-681), however, when an anti-Assyrian league was planned in South Syria, Elulaios of Tyre gave in his adhesion to the project. The result is told elsewhere (see SENNACHERIB). It may suffice to quote the words of Sennacherib, 'From Lule king of Sidon I took his kingdom' (*COT* 1 279). Menander informs us that Elulaios again reduced Citium to subjection, and so reopened hostilities. In the great campaign of 701, however, Sennacherib in all essential respects recovered the supremacy, though Tyre, like Jerusalem, escaped being captured. The Tyrians lost the whole of their territory, and in Sidon a new king was installed, Tuba'lu (Ituba'al), who had to pay a fixed annual tribute. Elulaios himself fled to Cyprus, evidently to the recently re-acquired Citium. Here again Menander comes to our aid. He tells us that the Assyrian king Selampsas, after conquering all Phœnicia, made peace and returned home. Selampsas can only be Shalmaneser IV., as Josephus also assumes.[3] Therefore, doubtless, what is referred to is his campaign against Hosea of Samaria, who formed an alliance with Egypt against the Assyrians in 725. Perhaps the Phœnicians also at first participated in this action—it is to be observed that we learn nothing about Shalmaneser from Assyrian sources—but made their peace in good time.[4]

Next, however, Menander goes on to relate—taking no account of the intervening period, and without any knowledge of the wider political relations—that Sidon, Akko, Palætyrus, and many other cities of the Tyrians, revolted and yielded themselves to the Assyrian king. Accordingly, when the Tyrians themselves rebelled, and the king took the field against them, he was supported by 60 ships and 800 rowing boats, manned by Phœnicians. With only 12 ships, however, the fleet was scattered, and 500 were taken prisoners. The Assyrian king, withdrawing, stationed a garrison at Palætyrus (ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑδραγωγείων) to cut off the water supply. The Tyrians, however, with their reservoirs held out for five years (701-696), and presumably obtained satisfactory conditions. Thus one sees that the war followed the same course as under Abimelech at the time of the Amarna letters. The sea-fortress was impregnable—a fact admitted by Sennacherib himself, who passes over Tyre in eloquent silence. The possessions of Tyre on the mainland, however, were lost to it; in Usu Sennacherib received the tribute of the kings of the West, among others of Abdili'ti of Aradus and of Urumilki—the correct name also (אר[ו]מלך) of the grandfather of Yeḥaw-melek of Byblos (*CIS* 1 1)—of Byblos.[5] Her Cyprian possessions also Tyre had to forfeit; among the other names in the list of Cyprian vassal princes under Esarhaddon and Ašur-bani-pal appear these of Damišu, king of Karthadašt (Citium), Kistura of Idalium, and Rumišu of Tamassos.[6] From this date the Tyrians never again exercised sovereign rights in Cyprus.

Under Esarhaddon (680-668) arose new conflicts. Firstly, Sidon rebelled under king 'Abdimilkut (*i.e.*, Abdimilkat with the usual obscuration of the *a*), but after a long siege the city was conquered, and the king, who had taken refuge beyond seas with a Cilician dynast, was taken prisoner together with his host, and put to death (675). The rebellious city, which had so ill requited the Assyrians for its deliverance through them from the Tyrian ascendency, was destroyed, and its population deported. An 'Esarhaddon's town' was newly built on another site, and peopled with foreign settlers. Henceforward an Assyrian governor ruled here as well as in Ṣimyra. The possessions of Tyre on the mainland were now (if not before) placed under a similar officer, who received the high-sounding title 'governor of Tyre' although the city proper was never under his rule.[1] Tyre still remained unconquered, even though (presumably) compelled to pay tribute. The king, Ba'al (an abbreviation of some composite name), was attacked by Esarhaddon, probably on his second expedition to Egypt (670). The triumph stele of *Zenjirli* represents the king as leading captive the Æthiopian king Taharka and the king of Tyre[2] by a cord passed through rings on their lips; but in reality neither the one nor the other ever was his prisoner. Esarhaddon, however, caused the shore to be fortified, and cut off the Tyrians from water and supplies as his father had done. Neither he nor Ašur-bani-pal (668-626), however, met with more success than Sennacherib. On the subjugation of Egypt, however, Baal gave up the struggle, submitted to a 'heavy tribute,' sent his daughter and nieces to the harem of the great king, and despatched his son Yaḥimilki (Yeḥaumelek) to court, where Ašur-bani-pal received him to favour and dismissed him. At a later date we find Ašur-bani-pal, like Esarhaddon before him, placing Baal of Tyre at the head of the list of his Syrian and Cyprian vassals. Yakinlu of Arados, who seems to have made common cause with Baal, was less fortunate. He had to send his daughter and all his sons with rich gifts to the great king, and abdicate in favour of his son Aziba'al. Opposite Arados, at Antarados, Ašur-bani-pal raised a memorial stone (*PSBA* 7 141). These events belong to the earlier years of his reign. At a later date, after his expedition against Uaiti of Kedar, Ašur-bāni-pal called to account Usu and Akko which had been insubordinate, put to death the offenders, and deported some of the remaining inhabitants to Assyria.

20. The Chaldæan period.

The next decades are a blank. We have no precise information as to what occurred in the Phœnician cities during the period of the decline and fall of the Assyrian empire; this it would seem was materially hastened by the great Scythian invasion—which in 626 extended to Syria (see SCYTHIANS). At any rate the Phœnician cities, like Judah and its neighbours—the four Philistine cities, Edom, Moab, Ammon—recovered their independence for a while; in the list of all the existing states of which he prophesies the downfall, Jeremiah (in 604 B.C.) includes the kings of Tyre, of Sidon, and of the isles beyond the sea—*i.e.*, Cyprus (Jer. 25 22; cp 27 3 Ezek. 25-29). The inference is plain; Sidon also must have regained independence and received kings of its own—presumably of Phœnician origin (see below, § 21).[3] The time, however, for the independent life of petty states was past. When Assyria collapsed, Egypt sought once more to acquire the suzerainty of Syria (see EGYPT, § 68; JOSIAH). Its success was brief, though in 588 Apries

1 [Does this explain, 'even there (in Cyprus) thou shalt have no rest,' Is. 23 12? See Che. *Intr. Is.* 140; but cp Duhm, *ad loc.*]

2 The general expression 'who pacified Ḳuë (see CILICIA) and Tyre' [cp Che. *Intr. Is.* 144] supplies no sure evidence to the contrary.

3 [So Tiele, *BAG* 237 314; Che. *Intr. Is.* 144.]

4 In *GA* 1 (1884), p. 467, a different view is assumed; but the above now appears to the present writer the most probable solution. It is an untenable assumption of von Landau, in his study on the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser in Menander (*Beiträge*, 1), to suppose that in the closing portion of his account Menander passes from Sennacherib's campaign to the war of Esarhaddon and Ašur-bāni-pal against Ba'al of Tyre, so that Menander has compressed into one the various Assyrian campaigns against Tyre. That the same occurrences should repeat themselves in sieges of Tyre lies in the nature of the case; the Amarna letters and the history of Nebuchadrezzar bear out this view. Alexander was the first to contrive the means for the thorough subjugation of the sea fortress.

5 Under Esarhaddon and Ašur-bāni-pal these places are taken by Matanba'al and Yakinlu of Arvad (see below) and Milkiasaph of Byblos.

6 Cp Schrader, *SBAW*, 1890, pp. 357 *ff.* It is not inconceivable that these three principalities may only then for the first time have been added to the list of the seven which had done homage to Sargon.

1 Wi. *GI* 1 201, n., corrected by Wi. *AOF* 1 441, n.

2 The intention of the representation was first perceived by Pietschmann (*Gesch. Phœn.* 303). See 'Ausgrabungen in Zendschirli' in the *Mittheil. aus d. Oriental-Saml. d. Berl. Mus.* Hft. 11 17 (von Luschan).

3 Winckler's attempt to set aside this evidence (*Alt. Unt.* 114 *ff.*) seems to the present writer inconclusive.

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(Pharaoh-Hophra) still hoped to preserve Palestine from becoming a prey to the Babylonians. He penetrated into Phœnicia, the cities of which were on the opposite side, and fought successfully against Sidon and Tyre (see Herod. 2 161).[1] When Nebuchadrezzar's army approached, however, Apries retired, leaving Syria to its fate. No sooner had Jerusalem fallen (586) than Nebuchadrezzar marched upon Phœnicia. The other cities would seem to have again submitted; but King Itobaal II. of Tyre once more defied the apparently inevitable. For fifteen years (585-573) Nebuchadrezzar laid siege to Tyre.

Ezekiel, who in 586 had prophesied the approaching assault (26-29), expected the annihilation of the haughty city. He was mistaken, however; once more the sea-fortress asserted her strength; the prophet was constrained in 570 to confess that Nebuchadrezzar and his army had had 'no-recompense' for the manifold fatigues of the siege (Ezek. 29 18). Yet it is evident that in the end Tyre became more dependent on the Babylonian King than it had previously been.

The list of kings which here again has been preserved to us (Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 21) shows that with the close of the siege Itobaal's reign came to an end—doubtless he was deposed. His successor was Baal II. (572-563) after whom judges (see § 16) took the place of kings,—at first, single judges for a few months, and afterwards, if the reading be correct,[2] two priests (or brothers) for six years; between them (according to Gutschmid, 'after them') Balatoros was king for a year. Then a ruler Merbaal was fetched from Babylon (555-2), who in turn was succeeded by Hiram III. (551-532), under whom the Chaldæan fell into the hands of the Persians.

In the struggles of the Assyrian and Chaldæan period, the political power of the Phœnician towns, and the position of ascendancy which Tyre had occupied in the Phœnician world, came to an end. Nor could the sway of Phœnicia over its colonies be any longer maintained. The spread of Greek trade and the development of the Greek naval power, broke up their solidarity, and when, even during the continuance of Chaldæan suzerainty, the Phœnicians of the west combined to withstand the Greeks, it was no longer Tyre but Carthage that stood at their head. Carthage never indeed broke with Tyre,[3] and for a long time continued to send tithes to the Melkarth of the mother city; but politically the relations came to be inverted; Carthage was a great power, Tyre a city-community subject to foreign lords. Even when, in consequence, the transmission of the tithes had been reduced to that of a trifling present, Carthage still continued to show filial piety by regularly sending festal embassies to Tyre (Arr. ii. 24 5 Polyb. xxxi. 20 12) until, after the defeat by Agathocles, the Tyrian Melkarth again once more received propitiatory offerings (Diod. 20 14).

The prosperity and commercial importance of Tyre suffered much less by the vicissitudes of war than is often supposed. Even if the connection of the city with the shore was cut off repeatedly for periods of years, the Assyrians and Chaldæans could do little to her sea power and her trade; the attempt to overwhelm her by the aid of the fleets of the other Phœnician towns was an entire failure. As soon as peace was restored the old relations with the interior were resumed; in fact, the import and export traffic forthwith became all the brisker from the temporary check. As for Sidon, which otherwise might have been a formidable rival, it needed a long breathing time in order to recover from its catastrophe under Esarhaddon. We must not forget, moreover, that during the period between Tiglath-pileser III. and Cyrus for 20 years of war there were 180 years of peace, in which trade and the general well-being must have prospered, the more because the connection with the great continental empire made business relations easier and more extensive; the sovereigns, too, were energetic in protecting the safety of the routes of traffic. Finally, her loss of colonial supremacy affected Tyre's commerce but little because it came about without any violent shock, and the community of speech and sentiment as well as the sharp antithesis to the Greeks kept the two portions of the Phœnician nationality together. If in Carthage the wares and art-products of Greece were imported in ever increasing quantity, neither could that city dispense with the products of the East; and it need not be said that the Carthaginian merchants sought for these at the fountain-head of Phœnician life rather than from Greek middle-men.

How prosperous Tyre was, and how dominating was her position in Phœnicia in 586 B.C., is visibly shown by Ezekiel[1] (27). It was not by a single blow that this queen of the seas lost her imperial state; the transference of power was gradual.

21. Persian period.

When the Persians in 539 entered upon the inheritance of the Chaldæans without meeting with any resistance from the peoples of Syria and Phœnicia, Sidon became the first and richest city of Phœnicia (cp Diod. 16 41). The best ships in the fleet of Xerxes were contributed by the Sidonians, whose king took the place of honour next the great king. Next in order came the king of Tyre, and after him the other vassal princes (Herod. 7 44 96 98 8 67; cp also 3 136 7 100 128; Diod. 14 79). This superiority of Sidon is doubtless chiefly to be accounted for by the fact that the advantage of situation which remained with Tyre during the period of the wars became a positive disadvantage when peace prevailed, and all the Phœnician cities equally belonged to a great empire.

It then became a positive disadvantage that Sidon was able to expand freely while Tyre was confined within a narrow space (in Strabo's time it was very closely built, the houses having more stories than in Rome); the many purple manufactories were indeed a great source of income, but did not add to the amenity of the city as a residence (16 2 23). Above all, the merchants and caravans must have found it much more convenient to expose their goods in Sidon than to ship them over to Tyre. Sidon accordingly became a successful competitor with Tyre. That the Persian kings deliberately set themselves to advance Sidon at the expense of Tyre is hardly likely; the situation existed before they came, and was not of their making. But they promoted its development; in Sidon the Persian kings had a park (*παράδεισος*), and it was here that the satraps of Syria resided when they came to Phœnicia.

Perhaps there was another factor in the change. As a result of its destruction and re-foundation by Esarhaddon Sidon received a very mixed population; and even although, after the fall of the Assyrian monarchy, the Phœnicians recovered the ascendancy, the foreign elements (as in Samaria) continued strongly to assert themselves; indeed, we can still trace them even in the scanty materials that have come down to us.[2] We can thus understand how in Sidon the national narrowness may have been counteracted, and the rejuvenated commonwealth have acquired an international character which had a favourable influence also upon its trade. Hence we find in Sidon, during the whole Persian period, in spite of the opposing political interests and

[1] In Aradus has been discovered a fragment referring to his deputy Psamtik-nofer (Renan, *Miss. en. Phen.* 26 *ff.*) De Rougé connected it with Psamtik I., but hardly with justice. W. M. Müller (*Mitth. d. vorderas. Ges.* Hft. 4, 1896) tries to detect a king of Byblos on a very mutilated Egyptian monument of this time from Phœnicia (published *TSBA* 16 91); but this is highly problematical.

[2] See Rühl, *Rhein. Mus.* 48 577. It is perhaps significant that the reign of Baal II. came to an end with that of Nebuchadrezzar, whilst Merbaal's begins with that of Nabuna'id.

[3] In its second treaty with Rome (348) Tyre is named along with Carthage, though it is not mentioned in the first, about 503 (?) (Pol. 3 24).

[1] The 'oracle on Tyre' (Is. 23) is too uncertain to be referred to here (see 'Isaiah' in *SBOT*, and cp Che. *Intr. Is.* 138-145, and the commentaries).

[2] The fact has been recognised by Winckler (*AT Unt.* 1892, p. 117). The tomb of 'Ασέπτε Συμσελήμου Σιδωνία (*i.e.*, Asephat, daughter of Ešmunšillem, of Sidon) in Piræus (*CIS* 1 119; *CIA* 2 119) was erected by Yatonbel, son of Ešmunšilleḥ, chief priest of Nergal (רב כהנם אלם נרגל). We see that the Assyrian god Nergal is worshipped even in the Sidonian colony at Athens. Moreover the name Yatonbel is compounded from that of the Assyrian Bel, not from that of the Phœnician Baal. Similarly a Sidonian in Carthage (*CIS* 1 287) bears the name of עבדבל, 'Abdbel.

repeated hostility between the Greek and Phœnician fleets, the traces of a singularly strong and ever growing Philhellenism.[1] We find this in its highest degree under King Straton (probably a corruption for 'Abd'ašt-art) in the first half of the fourth century. He maintained a most luxurious court, and brought together from all parts of Greece singing and dancing women, who competed at his feasts for prizes in their art (Theopomp. fr. 126 in Athenæus 12 531; Ælian, *Var. hist.* 7 2).[2] He had close relations with Athens, and gave his support to the embassy which went to the Persian court in 367. In return the Athenians granted him and his successors the right of *proxenia* and the Sidonian merchants staying at Athens were exempted from all taxes (*CIA* 2 86.) The same king's name probably occurs in the bilingual inscription from Delos in *CIS* 1 114, where only the beginning of his name ... עבדע is preserved; perhaps also in *CIS* 1 4.

In other respects the conditions of Phœnicia seem to have altered but little under the Persians. Now as before it consists of four states—Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Arados. All four are in separate existence in the time of Alexander the Great (Arr. ii. 13 7 15 6 *f.* 20 1 = Curtius 4 1 6 *ff.*), whilst Herodotus (7 98) in his catalogue of Xerxes' fleet mentions only the kings of Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus. He does not name Byblos at all; plainly in his time this city occupied politically and commercially a very subordinate position, and partook of the character rather of a country town.

Also the cities which took part in the settlement of a level strip of coast near the northern end of Lebanon beyond the Theouprosopon, called by the Greeks Tripolis (its Phœnician name is unknown) were the same three—Arados, Tyre and Sidon. Each of these had a special quarter to itself, surrounded by a wall and separated from the others by an interval. Here, as Diodorus (following Ephorus) informs us, the Phœnicians were wont to hold a federal meeting and joint political council; the king of Sidon attends it with 100 councillors. (Scylax, 104; Diod. 16 41 45; Strabo 16 2 15.) It is hardly probable that the town, or this attempt to bring the whole nationality under a combined organisation, was older than the Persian period.

From the end of the fifth century the Phœnician states also began to introduce the employment of coinage—that is, the issue of pieces of precious metal of a standard money weight, bearing the emblem and often also the name of the state or of the lord of the issuing mint. The Persian kings since Darius had already, as we know, been in the habit of coining, and reserving the right of gold coinage as a royal privilege, whilst the issue of silver money was left to the discretion of the vassal princes and communities and of the satraps. Arados coined by the Persian standard, the three other cities by the Phœnician. We are able to determine with absolute certainty, however, only the coins of Byblos, which invariably bear the name of the king (Elpa'al, Adarmelek, 'Azba'al, and 'Ainel) and of the city; the names of two other—earlier—kings of Byblos we know through the stele of Yeḥawmelek. Of Tyre, Sidon, and Arados, also many coins are still extant; but the name of city and ruler is either absent or inscribed in characters that cannot be clearly made out. Their assignment to the three cities seems to have been satisfactorily determined by the researches of Six and Babelon;[3] on the other hand the attempt to determine the name of the individual king, and hence establish fresh historical data, as for example the reign of a certain Euagoras in Sidon, is highly precarious.

[1] This is visibly brought before us in the sarcophagi of the Sidonian royal sepulchres discovered by Hamdy Bey. See Hamdy-bey and Th. Reinach, *Nécropole royale à Sidon*. On the interpretation and on the place of the sarcophagi in the history of art, see especially Studniczka, 'Ueber die Grundlagen der geschichtlichen Erklärung der sidonischen Sarkophage' in *Jahr. d. archaeol. Inst.* 10 (1894). But the present writer cannot concur in Studniczka's dating of the tombs of Tabnit and Eshmuna'zar (see below).

[2] Probably the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women dates from his reign.

[3] Six, *Numism. Chron.* 1877; *Rev. numism.* 1883; Babelon, *Bull. de corresp. hellen.* 15, 1891, and in *Cat. des monnaies grecques de le Bibl. Nat.* 2 ('Les Perses Achéménides,' 1893).

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It is clear that Berytus throughout belonged to the kingdom of Byblos. Then comes the territory of Sidon to which also Ornithopolis N. of Tyre belonged, whilst Sarepta nearer Sidon was a possession of the Tyrians. The coast down to Akko and Carmel is Tyrian. The Palestinian maritime plain during the Persian period was also shared by the two states. Dor, probably also Joppa, was Sidonian; Ashkelon and presumably Ashdod (Azotus) to the N. of it were Tyrian.[1] Only Gaza formed an independent commonwealth of very cosmopolitan character which steadily rose in importance, above all as the goal of the S. Arabian caravans. During the Persian period it issued coins of Attic type and Attic standard.

Of Sidon we have already spoken. Regarding Tyre we possess only the quite legendary narrative preserved in Justin (18 3).

According to Justin's story, the city was long and variously attacked by the Persians, and came off from the struggle, victorious indeed, but so exhausted that it fell into the hands of the slaves who rose in insurrection and massacred their masters. Only one, a certain Straton, was saved by his slaves, and afterwards, after he had shown the superiority of his gifts, made king by the insurgents. In consequence, Alexander at his conquest of Tyre, by way of exemplary punishment, caused all the survivors to be crucified with the exception of the descendants of Straton, whom he reinstalled as rulers. If this narrative contains any historical element at all, the struggles with the Persians of which it speaks can in reality only be the Assyrian and Chaldæan sieges, and it might perhaps be assumed that after these a revolution may have broken out, in which the dependent population made themselves masters of the city. Possibly the introduction of *Suffetes* in the Chaldæan period may have been connected with this. The whole story, however, is of so dubious a character that it is hardly possible for us to give it any place in history.[2]

Arados rose in importance during the Persian period; the whole of the opposite coast was subject to it: on the N. Paltos and Balanaia; then, opposite Arados, Karnos or Karna (so Plin. 5 78), which in the second century B.C. for some time issued coins inscribed קרן (Ant-Arados, mod. Ṭarṭūs, is of later origin and is mentioned only in Ptolemy); then Marathus (on Hellenistic coins מרת), which though never mentioned in the older period had in Alexander's time become a great and prosperous town; finally, Simyra and the regions of the Eleutheros (Arr. ii. 13 7 *f.* = Curt. iv. 1 6; Strab. xvi. 2 12 2 16).

Under the Persian rule Phœnicia, in common with all Western Asia, enjoyed for a period of a century and a half an epoch of peaceful prosperity, within which, apart from the intervention of the Phœnician fleets in the struggle with Greece (480-449) and afterwards in that against Sparta (396-387), there is nothing of importance to relate. It was not until the decline of the Empire had become growingly evident under Artaxerxes II. (404-359) that Phœnicia also became involved in the confusions and contests which again broke out.

Euagoras of Salamis, who in the unceasing conflict between Greeks and Phœnicians for supremacy in the island had once again for a short time secured the ascendancy for the Grecian element in 387, supported by Akoris of Egypt, conquered Tyre also and ruled it for a time (Isocr. *Euag.* 62; *Paneg.* 161; Diod. 15 2). Straton of Sidon (see above) held close relations with his son Nicocles; both became involved in the great Satrap revolt of 362 and, on the victory of the Persians, were compelled to seek their own death—Straton by the hand of his wife (Jer. *adv. Jovin.* 1 45).

Most disastrous was the revolt of all Phœnicia which in 350 Tennes of Sidon in alliance with Nectanebos of Egypt stirred up, embittered by the harsh oppression exercised by the Persian kings over Egypt and by the deeds of violence perpetrated by the satraps and generals in Sidon. The outbreak in Sidon was one of great violence; the populace wasted the royal park, burnt the stores at the royal stables, and put to death as

[1] See the (unfortunately very fragmentary) notice in Scylax, 104.

[2] One is strongly tempted to suspect that it is in some way connected with the story of Abdalonymos (referred by Diodorus to Tyre) and derived from that. This appears to be the supposition of Judeich also (*Jahrb. d. archæol. Inst.* 10 167, n. 2).

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many of the Persians as fell into their hands. At first the movement seemed likely to succeed. When, however, Artaxerxes III. advanced at the head of a great army, Tennes and his captain of mercenaries, the Rhodian Mentor—who afterwards played so great a part, as also did his brother Memnon, in the Persian service—surrendered the city to the king, who gave free course to his vengeance. Sidon was given up to massacre and flame. More than 40,000 inhabitants are said to have perished—chiefly by their own hands or in the flames of the conflagration they themselves had kindled. The traitor Tennes himself, after he had served his turn, the Persian king caused to be put to death. Hereupon the other Phœnician cities surrendered (Diod. 16 41 *ff.*). In Sidon we again at a later date find a king Straton installed by the Persians.

22. Macedonian and Roman period.

When Alexander, after the battle of Issus (Nov. 333), marched on Phœnicia, the city-kings with their contingents were with the Persian fleet in the Ægean. The cities, however, opened their gates to him and the Persian fleet dispersed. In Sidon Alexander was received with enthusiasm; he deposed king Straton and elevated to the throne a descendant of the old royal house, Abdalonymos, who is alleged to have been living as a gardener in very humble circumstances.[1] Tyre alone was recalcitrant, and declined to admit Alexander to the island city, where he wished to make an offering to Heracles; plainly its hope was to regain its independence, and as in former days to be able to defy the lords of the mainland. Alexander, however, was too strong for it. The fleets of the other Phœnician cities, those of the kings of Cyprus, as well as ships from Rhodes and Asia Minor, were at his disposal. By a causeway which he constructed in the sea—it has ever since connected the island with the mainland—he brought his siege engines to bear. After a seven month's siege the city was carried by storm (July 332). The entire population, so far as it had survived the horrors of the siege, was sold into slavery, to the number of 30,000; mercy was shown only to those who had sought asylum in the sanctuary of Herakles, among them king Azemilkos, the higher officials, and the members of a festal embassy from Carthage. The city itself had a new population sent to it, and in the period immediately following Tyre figures as one of the chief garrison-cities of the Macedonians.

The subsequent history of Phœnicia can be told very shortly. After Alexander's death the satrapy of Syria fell to Laomedon; but in 320 he was displaced by Ptolemy of Egypt. In 315 Antigonus made himself master of Syria, and maintained himself there despite repeated attempts of Ptolemy to dislodge him. He died on the battlefield of Ipsus (301), and his kingdom fell to pieces. Demetrius secured, amongst other fragments, Sidon, Tyre, and portions of Palestine; it was not until he went to Greece in 296 that Seleucus came into possession. Among the many cities which he founded, we must probably reckon Laodicea, to the S. of Tyre, the ruins of which are now known as Umm el-'Awāmīd. After the death of Seleucus (281) Ptolemy II. became master of Palestine, Cœlesyria, and Phœnicia, and not only he but also his successors continued to hold them despite all efforts of the Seleucidæ to dispossess them, till 197. Aradus alone and its territory (also Orthosia; see Euseb. *Chron.* 1 251, ed. Schœne) were retained by the Seleucidæ, who greatly favoured that city.

The era of Aradus dates from the year 259, which may be taken as marking the termination of the native kingdom; it is probable that in that year the city along with the republican constitution granted by Antiochus II. took at the same time the position of a free city—*i.e.*, became exempt from the jurisdiction of the satraps, like the cities of Ionia. Seleucus II. (247-225), having been supported by Aradus in his struggle with his brother Antiochus Hierax, added the further privilege that it was not compelled to surrender a subject of the Seleucidæ who had taken refuge there, but was permitted to intern him—a concession that greatly raised the prestige of the city (Strabo, xvi. 2 14). In 218 the city is completely free, and enters into a treaty of alliance with Antiochus the Great in the war against Ptolemy IV. (Polyb. 5 68).

Marathus, on the other hand, seems to have made use of the political situation to emancipate itself from Aradus; from 278 onwards it coins money after the Seleucid era, but with the heads of Lagid kings and queens.[1] The other Phœnician possessions of Aradus also seek to gain independence; in 218 Antiochus the Great mediates between them and Aradus. At a later date Karnê also for some time issued autonomous coins. But the Aradians were in the end successful in reasserting their supremacy. About 148 they attempted, after having bribed Ammonius the minister, to destroy Marathus with the help of the royal troops by an assault which, at the last moment, after the Aradians had already put to death the ambassadors of the hated city contrary to the law of nations, was frustrated by the warning of an Aradæan sailor, who by night swam over to Marathus (Diod. 33 5). Finally, in the time of Tigranes, with whom (or soon afterwards) the coins of Marathus come to an end, they achieved their object, Marathus was destroyed and its territory like that of Simyra divided into agricultural lots (Strabo, xvi. 2 12). Under the Roman rule, the whole coast from Paltos to the Eleutherus belonged to them.

Of the cities of the Ptolemæan domain Sidon is again the only one of which we know anything. Here the kingship continued to subsist for a long time. When Ptolemy I. in 312 became for the time lord of Phœnicia he appears to have made his general Philokles, son of Apollonides, king of Sidon, for this title is borne by Philokles in inscriptions of Athens and Delos (*CIA* 2 1371; *Bull. Corr. hell.* 4 327 14 409, cp 407, etc.). His rule can have been only quite transitory, however, although he continued to take the title, for in 311 Phœnicia and all Syria had already been reclaimed and readministered by Demetrius the son of Antigonus. Philocles, although as already said he continued to wear the title, appears in the immediately following years as Ptolemy's commander-in-chief on the Ægean.[2] In the third century we again meet with a native royal family which also exercised the priesthood of Astarte (see above); to it belong kings Eshmunazar I., Tabnit (pronunciation quite uncertain; perhaps identical with Τέννης) and Eshmunazar II., all of whom we know of through the sarcophagi of the two last named.

The sarcophagi are Egyptian, in mummy form; that of Tabnit bears the epitaph of an Egyptian general Penptah, and seems to have been stolen from an Egyptian tomb, perhaps in the conquests of Artaxerxes III., and then to have passed into the hands of the king of Sidon. Both coffins bear a Phœnician inscription with imprecatory formulas against the violator of tombs;[3] that of Eshmunazar also enumerates his buildings and other benefactions to Sidon. The date of these inscriptions has been much disputed, but should most probably be assigned to the Ptolemæan period and to the middle of the third century B.C.[4] The preference shown for poor Egyptian coffins, and these stolen, over the splendid Greek works of art which the kings of the Persian period had caused to be made, certainly shows an amazing degeneracy of taste, a native reaction against the Greek polish of Straton and Abdalonymus. In priests of

1 The story is related in thoroughly romantic style by Curtius (iv. 1 15 *ff.*) and Justin (11 10). In Diodorus (17 47) it is referred to Tyre, and in Plutarch (*De fort. Al.* 2 8) even to Paphos, and the house of the Cinyradæ. Abdalonymos of Sidon is mentioned also in Pollux (6 105).

1 For this and subsequent data derived from coins see Babelon, *op. cit.*

2 That the case was so has been shown by Homolle in *Bull. Corr. hell.* 15 137. Formerly a later date was given to him.

3 [For the inscription of Tabnit, cp Driver, *TBS*, Introd. pp. xxvi-xxix.]

4 Eshmunazar designates his overlord as 'Lord of kings' (ארן מלכם), which is the standing title of the Ptolemies in Phœnician inscriptions (*CIS* i. 93 95, inscriptions of Ma'ṣūb. and of Larnax Lapithu; transferred to the Seleucidæ, *CIS* 1 7). So far as we know, the Persian king always took the title 'king of kings,' מלך מלכם. At present we must allow decisive weight to this argument of Clermont-Ganneau.

Astarte, however, and under the rule of the Ptolemies such a phenomenon presents nothing surprising. The Ptolemies were never favourable, as the Seleucidæ were, to Hellenism and the fusion of nationalities and civilisations, but dealt with the native populations as subject races sharply separated from the ruling Macedonian Greek race.

Eshmunazar II. reigned for 14 years in conjunction with his mother Am'aštart the sister and wife of Tabnit. 'In compensation for the great tribute paid by me, the lord of kings presented us with Dor and Joppa, the magnificent grain lands[1] in the plain of Sharon, and we added them to the territory so that they became for ever the possession of the Sidonians.' The old Sidonian possessions on the Palestinian coast thus came back to them once more. Eshmunazar died while still young, leaving apparently no children. On his death perhaps, or at all events not long afterwards, a republican constitution was introduced in Sidon.

To this, not to the later era of 111 B.C., must be referred the era by which a bilingual honorary decree of the Sidonian colony in the Piræus is dated: 'in the 15th year of the people of Sidon.'[2] The inscription (Renan, *Rev. Arch.* 3 ser. t. 11 [1888], p. 5 *f.*; Hoffmann, 'Ueber einige Phœn. Inschr.,' in *Abh. Gött. Ges.* 1889, p. 36) belongs, as Köhler observed (*CIA* ii. suppl. 1335 *b*), to the third century or only a little after it.

In Tyre the same thing occurred in 274; it is by the era of 'the people of Tyre' (274-3) that one of the inscriptions of Umm el'Awāmid (*CIS* 1 7) and of Ma'ṣūb is dated. This district accordingly must have remained Tyrian. On the other hand, Akko became independent. Coins are extant, with Phœnician legends (עכא), dated most probably according to the Seleucidan era, down to the year 47 (=267 B.C.),[3] when Akko was changed by Ptolemy II. into a Greek city bearing the name Ptolemais (first mentioned Polyb. 4 37). With regard to Byblos we have no information. Tripolis had doubtless been an independent commonwealth from the beginning of the period of the Diadochi (Diod. 19 58 85); Babelon attempts to make out for it an independent era from the year 156, the place of which was afterwards taken by the Seleucidan era. Berytus also issued autonomous coins for some time during the second century.

From 197 onwards all Phœnicia belonged to the Seleucidæ; but not for long. Soon after, with the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (164 B.C.), began the collapse of the kingdom—the revolt of the Jews, the appearance of rival claimants to the throne, the loss of the eastern provinces. At last came the complete break up at the end of the second century. For some time the kingdom was in the hands of Tigranes of Armenia (82-69).

Phœnicia was affected in various ways by these confusions. Berytus was destroyed by Diodoros Tryphon (141-138; Strabo, xvi. 2 19). On the other hand Tyre, probably in 126 B.C., 'for a small sum' (Strabo, xvi. 2 23), and Sidon in 111, received complete autonomy; with these years new eras begin for each of the respective cities. Aradus in the time of Tigranes destroyed Marathus (see above), and regained all its old territory. On the other hand Arabian robber tribes established themselves in Lebanon, wasting the territories of Byblos and Berytus, and seizing Botrys and other places on the coast (Strabo, xvi. 2 18). In Byblos and Tripolis usurpers or 'tyrants' (Strabo, *l.c.*; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3 2) arose, as in so many other places in Syria.

To this intolerable state of affairs an end was put by Pompey in 64. He made Syria a Roman province and established order everywhere. The robber tribes were subjugated, the tyrants of Byblos and Tripolis put to death. The privileges and the territories of Aradus, Sidon, and Tyre were confirmed and enlarged (Strabo, xvi. 2 14 2 23; Jos. *Ant.* xv. 4 1). In an inscription

[1] Or 'lands of Dagon'; see DAGON, DOR, § 3.

[2] As long as the kingship lasted, dates were given by the regnal years; when it ceased the dating was given according to the years of 'the people'—*i.e.*, of the republic (where not along with, or exclusively by, the Seleucidan era).

[3] Cp Babelon, *op. cit.* clxxvii.

Tripolis also is called ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος καὶ ναυαρχίς. In the main these arrangements proved permanent, though of course not without certain modifications. Thus Augustus on account of internal disturbances deprived Tyre and Sidon of their freedom; that is, he placed them under the direct oversight of the imperial legate (Dio Cass. 54 7; in 20 B.C.). Their civic self-government, however, with aristocratic institutions, he preserved and maintained in the Phœnician communities as elsewhere throughout Syria.

In the centuries that followed Alexander's time, the Greek influence in Syria became continually stronger. The Phœnician language occasionally appears in conjunction with the Greek legends on coins down to the second century A.D., and in the mouth of the common people was superseded, as in the case of the Jews, not by Greek but by Aramaic, as Philo of Byblos shows (see above, § 15). Greek everywhere makes its appearance alongside of it, however, and in the inscriptions Greek rules alone from the beginning of the Roman period. Relations with the Greek world become continually more and more active; here Sidon takes the pre-eminence by far. Among the Phœnicians who are named in Greek inscriptions the Sidonians form a majority.

As early as the end of the fourth century we find a Sidonian—Apollonides son of Demetrius (he may have been the father of king Philocles mentioned above)—receiving, on account of the services he had rendered to Attic merchants and sailors, the honour of a Proxenos and Benefactor, and the right to acquire landed property in Attica (*CIA* 2 171). Of a still earlier date is the decree in favour of two Tyrians (*ib.* 170).

From the second century the sons of Sidonians, Berytians, and Aradians enter the corps of the Attic ephebi (*CIA* ii. 482 467 469 471 482), and among the victors in gymnastic games there figure in Athens (*ib.* 448 498 966 968 970) and elsewhere (*Bull. corr. hell.* 5 207 [Cos], 6 146 [Delos]) Sidonians, Tyrians, Berytians, Byblians. Soon we meet with artists (*e.g.*, *CIA* 2 1318) and philosophers who come from Sidon and Tyre (Strabo, xvi. 2 24); and, however much they may try to preserve their native traditions, they become imbued with Greek elements, as Philo's exposition of the Phœnician religion visibly shows.

The Roman rule introduced also a Latin element. Augustus in 14 B.C. caused Berytus to be rebuilt as a Roman colony, and settled in it two veteran legions (Strabo, xvi. 2 20, etc.). From that time Latin became the official and prevailing language of the city, which was endowed with an extensive territory reaching as far as to the source of the Orontes. Under Claudius, Ptolemais, under Septimius Severus, Tyre, and under Elagabalus, Sidon became Roman colonies.

The trade and prosperity of the Phœnician towns received a great impetus under the peaceful, orderly rule of the Roman emperors and their governors. On the other hand the Phœnician speech and nationality—like so many others—became extinct within the same period. In N. Africa alone did they continue to drag on a further existence for some centuries longer—how degenerately, is conclusively attested by the language and writing of the inscriptions.

23. Literature. Among works dealing with Phœnician history or portions of it, after Bochart's *Phaleg et Canaan* (1646), special mention is due to Movers' *Die Phönizier* (1842-1856), which long enjoyed a great reputation. In reality it is quite uncritical and unscientific, and at every opportunity falls into the most fantastic combinations; it is impossible to warn the reader too earnestly of the need for caution in its use. Good and very useful, on the other hand, are the short surveys by von Gutschmid (art. 'Phœnicia' in *EB*(9) 18 801 *ff.*; in German in the 2nd vol. of his *Kleine Schriften*) and by Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phoenizier*, Berlin, 1889 (in Oncken's *Allgem. Gesch. in Einzel-darstellungen*). See further the Phœnician sections of the larger works on ancient history; in particular, Duncker's *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, Maspero's *Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient*, and E. Meyer's *Gesch. d. Alterthums*. Also H. Winckler's 'Zur phönizisch-Karthagischen Geschichte,' a number of often very bold hypotheses (*Altor. Forschungen*, 1 [1897] 421-462). For Carthage Meltzer's *Gesch. d. Karthager* (2 vols. as yet; 1879, 1895) is thorough. On Phœnician religion see further Baudissin, *Stud. zur semit. Rel.-gesch.* 1 [1876], 2 [1878], Baethgen, *Beitr. zur*

sem. Rel.-gesch. [1888], Nöldeke in *ZDMG* 42 470 *ff.*, several articles of E. Meyer in Roscher's *Lex. d. Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie*, in particular the article 'Baal,' 1 2867 *ff.* (the older articles 'Astarte' and 'El' are antiquated) and W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 1894. E. M.

PHŒNIX (חוֹל, or [the reading of the Massoretic school of Nehardea and of the Western recension, Ginsb. *Introd.* 515, but cp Ḳimḥi, *Bk. of Roots*, who attests only the former] חוּל, 𝔊 below).

The name of a certain long-lived bird, Job 29 18 RVmg. (text of EV has 'sand,' which can hardly be right). This rendering harmonises with the preceding stichus in MT, which EV renders, 'Then I said, I shall die in my nest' (*i.e.*, in my home), but RVmg. more correctly, '. . . beside [Heb. with] my nest.' An allusion is supposed (Ew., Hi., Del., Bu., Du.) to the story of the bird called the Phœnix (Herod. 2 73), which lived 500 years, and then consumed itself and its nest with fire, to rise again as a young Phœnix out of the ashes. Franz Delitzsch even produces linguistic justification for the identification of חֹל, *ḥōl*, or חוּל, *ḥūl* (so pointed to preclude the rendering 'sand') with the Phœnix. But though Ezekielos, the Jewish dramatist of Alexandria (2nd cent. B.C.), introduces the Phœnix into his drama on the Exodus (Del. *Gesch. d. jüd. Poesie*, 219, quotes the passage in its context), it is most unlikely that the Phœnix myth was known to Jewish writers as early as the composition of Job. There are three further objections to Ewald's view—viz. (1) that the next verse leads us to expect a figure from a tree rather than from an animal, (2) that there is considerable difficulty in explaining 'with my nest,' in the first stichus, with reference both to Job and to the Phœnix, and (3) that 𝔊 points to a different and much more natural form of the text.

𝔊 renders *v.* 18 thus,—

εἶπα δέ, ἡ ἡλικία μου γηράσει·
ὥσπερ στέλεχος φοίνικος πολὺν χρόνον βιώσω.

This suggests reading for עִם־קִנִּי, 'with my nest,' בְּזִקְנִי, 'in my old age,' and for וְכַחוֹל, 'and as the sand' or 'and as the phœnix,' וּכְנַחַל, 'and as the palm tree'[1] (cp Che. *JQR*, July 1897). When we remember that the Phœnix of later literature is merely a materialised form of one of the fine old Egyptian symbols of the sun-god (of which another is the CROCODILE [*q.v.*]), we can give up Job's supposed reference to the fable without a pang. On the Phœnix, see art. 'Phœnix' in *EB*(9) (where references are given); Delitzsch on Job 29 18; Bochart, *Hieroz.* 6 5; Charles, *Secrets of Enoch*, 12 *f.*; James, *Texts and Studies*, v. 1 88 (4 Bar. 6), and cp ON, 2. For the Midrashic stories see Hamburger, *RE des Judenthums*, 2 908.

T. K. C.

PHŒNIX, Acts 27 12 RV, AV PHENICE (*q.v.*).

PHOROS (φορος [BA]).

1. 1 Esd. 5 9 = Ezra 2 3, PAROSH (*q.v.*).
2. 1 Esd. 8 30 RV = Ezra 8 3, PAROSH (*q.v.*).
3. 1 Esd. 9 26 = Ezra 10 25, PAROSH (*q.v.*).

PHRURAI (φρουραι [BLℵ]), Esth. 11 1 RV, AV PHURIM. See PURIM.

PHRYGIA (φρυγια [WH Ti.], Acts 16 6, 18 23, doubtful whether as noun or as adjective [χωρα understood]. In 2 Macc. 5 22 the ethnic [Φρυ.] is applied to Philip, governor of Jerusalem under Antiochus Epiphanes—*i.e.*, about 170 B.C.).

1. Geography. Phrygia, the country of the Phryges, was the name given to a vast and ill-defined region in central Asia Minor. Speaking generally, we may say that it embraces the extreme western part of the plateau and the fringing mountains, from the confines of Bithynia to those of Pisidia. 'The more eastern portion of this country consists of broad open valleys, gradually merging into the great steppe which forms the centre of Asia Minor; to the west it is more broken; it has several important mountain ranges; and its cities lie in mountain valleys, through which pass the main-lines of communication [*e.g.*, the valley of the Lycus]. Throughout it run the two great roads [the old Royal Road, and the Eastern Trade Route] which have at different periods connected the sea-coast and the interior; and Phrygia has in consequence always had a double history—on the one side linked with the central plateau and the East, on the other with the sea-coast towns and the Greek peoples of the West' (Headlam, in *Authority and Archæology*, 363 *ff.*). The original extent of Phrygia was much wider than is indicated above; but it was only for a short time that there was an independent Phrygian kingdom.

The Phryges were a group of invaders from Macedonia (Herod. 7 73) who split up the old empire (Hittite?) that had its capital at Pteria in Cappadocia. Crossing the Hellespont, the Phryges spread over Asia Minor, eastwards across the Sangarius as far as the Halys, and south-eastwards to Lycaonia and the Taurus. In the south-east, Iconium was the last city of Phrygia. In the opposite direction, they bordered upon the Hellespont and the Propontis (cp the Greek tradition of a Phrygian Thalassocracy lasting twenty-five years from 905 B.C.; Diod. 7 11; Hom. *Il.* 24 545). The Trojan city and the dynasty of Priam belonged to this people. Tribes from Thrace, the Mysi, Thyni, and Bithyni, crossed the Bosporus and severed Phrygia into two parts—Hellespontine or Little Phrygia, an undefined strip along the southern shore of the Propontis, of no account in history, and Great Phrygia (*Phrygia Magna*) the remainder (Strabo, 571).

The centre of power of Great Phrygia lay in the region of the Midas Tomb (see Murray's *Handbook to AM*, 134 *ff.*): with this kingdom are connected the names of Gordius and Midas; and to it the early kings of Lydia (the western fragment of the old Hittite [?] monarchy) owed allegiance. (For echoes of the Phrygian power, cp Hom. *Il.* 3 187 2 862; Hom. *Hymn to Aphrodite*, 112.)

The Cimmerian invasion (about 675 B.C.) broke the Phrygian power, and caused a reversal of the relations

2. History. with Lydia, which now developed into a great kingdom, and ruled as suzerain over Phrygia as far as the Halys (see LYDIA). There was henceforward no unity in Phrygian history; for the old conquering race itself was absorbed by the native race which it had conquered: the Phryges 'sank to that placid level of character which belonged to the older subject population and is produced by the genius of the land in which they dwelt—the character of an agricultural and cattle-breeding population of rustics, peaceful and good-humoured' (E. Meyer, *GA* 1 300). This absorption was already complete when, in 278 B.C., the Gauls entered Asia Minor. As the result of their victories over the then unwarlike Phrygians,[1] and of their defeats at the hands of Attalus I., king of PERGAMUM (*q.v.*), the Gauls were finally restricted to north-eastern Phrygia, which thus became known as Galatia.[2] The northern part of Phrygia also gained a special name about 205 B.C. As the outcome of war with Prusias, king of Bithynia, Attalus I. made himself master of the region in which lay Cotiæum and Dorylæum, which henceforth was called Phrygia Epictetus (Acquired Phrygia: Strabo, 576).

The south-eastern corner, between the ranges now called *Emir-Dagh* and *Sultan-Dagh*, was called Phrygia Paroreus (Παρώρειος); it contains the cities Polybotus, Philomelium, Tyriæum, and others (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 139 *f.*). S. of the *Sultan-Dagh*, as far as the Taurus, came the district known as Pisidic (Pisidian) Phrygia, or Phrygia towards Pisidia (Strabo, 576, ἡ μεγάλη Φρυγία . . . ἐν ᾗ ἔστιν ἥ τε παρώρειος λεγομένη Φρυγία καὶ ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ. Cp Polyb. xxii. 5 14, Ptol. v. 5 4);[3] its one important city was Antioch (Ἀντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ, Strabo, 557, 569, 577).

When Phrygia came to form part of the Roman provincial system it was dealt with in a way that did violence to history and ethnology. For, on the one hand, the eastern portion in which lay Iconium, and the southern portion in which lay Antioch, were attached to the province Galatia, whilst the rest fell to the province Asia; on the other hand, the name Phrygia was extended in the W. to embrace all the Lycus valley, and in the SW. to embrace all the country towards Lycia. That part of Phrygia which belonged to Galatia was called *Phrygia*

[1] Cp Ecclus. 50 12, where נחל = φοῖνιξ. See PALM.

[1] Cp Herod. 9 32, App. *Mithr.* 19, ἀνδράσιν ἀπολέμοις.
[2] The Gauls also extended their conquests eastwards, over territory claimed by the Pontic kings and the Cappadocians.
[3] See Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 1 316 *f.*

Galatica; that which belonged to Asia was *Phrygia Asiana* (Galen, 4 312 [Kuhn, 6 515]).[1] Hence many inscriptions enumerate Phrygia as a component part of the province Galatia (*e.g.*, *CIL* 3 6818, where the parts are Galatia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Isauria, Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus, and Pontus Polemoniacus; date, after 63 A.D.). Phrygia experienced many vicissitudes; but these fall outside the province of the student of NT history (for details, see Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 151 *ff.*).

3. Jews in Phrygia. The Jews were much favoured by the Seleucid kings, who planted large colonies of them on the routes leading from the Syrian Antioch through Lycaonia into Lydia and Phrygia. Antiochus the Great settled 2000 Jews in the cities of Lydia and Phrygia about 200 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 3, § 148 *f.*). Seleucus Nicator had granted the Jews full rights of citizenship, equal to those of Greeks and Macedonians, in all his foundations (*id.*, *Ant.* xii. 3 1, § 119), and the later kings maintained this policy. Hence the Jews were members of the aristocracy in the Phrygian cities (see on this Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 2 667 *ff.*). The Phrygian Jews were considered in the Talmud as the Ten Tribes (for many of them had been transplanted from Babylonia); and it is said of them that the baths and wines of Phrygia had separated them from their brethren—by which we must understand that they had failed to maintain their own peculiar religion, and had approximated to the Græco-Roman civilisation by which they were surrounded (cp Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, 315; Rams. *St. Paul the Traveller*, 142 *ff.*). The marriage of the Jewess Eunice to a Greek at Lystra, and the fact that Timotheus, the offspring of the marriage, was not circumcised, is an illustration of this declension from the Jewish standard (Acts 16 1). The result was that the Jews had in their turn strongly influenced their neighbours, and thus prepared unconsciously a favourable field for Paul's teaching (cp the many proselytes at Antioch, Acts 13 43 50). On the other hand, the Phrygian Christians were strongly inclined to Judaism (Gal. 1 6 4 9), for there was no strong racial antipathy between the natives and the Jews (cp Rams. *Hist. Comm. on Gal.* 189 *f.*).

4. Phrygia in the NT. The distinction between Galatic and Asian Phrygia which held during the first century A.D. (§ 2), explains the passage in Acts 16 6 (*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, AV 'Phrygia and the region of Galatia'; RV 'the region of Phrygia and Galatia'). The word *Phrygian* is here an adjective, connected with the following 'country' (*χώραν*); and the whole phrase denotes that territory which was at once Phrygian and Galatian—Phrygian from the point of view of history and local feeling, Galatian from the point of view of the Roman provincial classification, *i.e.*, 'the Phrygo-Galatic Region,' or, 'the Phrygian or Galatic Region.'

Even if 'Phrygian' (*Φρυγίαν*) in this passage be regarded as a noun, the interpretation must be the same. Paul was at Lystra (*v.* 3); and unless he abandoned his intention of visiting the brethren 'in every city' in which the word had been preached (Acts 15 36), he must necessarily have crossed the frontier of Lycaonia a few miles N. of Lystra (cp Acts 14 6) into Galatic Phrygia, the region (*χώρα*, *Regio*) in which the cities of Iconium and Antioch lay.

This interpretation is entirely independent of any view that may be held with regard to the whereabouts of the churches of Galatia. [See, however, GALATIA, §§ 10-14.]

More difficult is the explanation of Acts 18 23, where the same words are found, but in reverse order (*τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*, AV 'the country [RV region] of Galatia and Phrygia'). The phrase in Acts 18 23 covers a larger extent of ground than does that of Acts 16 6; for the latter, we saw, fell NW. and W. of Lystra, but Derbe and Lystra are now included. The order of words is also important; whereas in Acts 16 6 two epithets are attached to one noun following them, in Acts 18 23 an epithet and noun are connected by 'and' with a following epithet (if *Φρυγίαν* be an adjective here also) to which the preceding noun must be supplied.[1] The explanation set forth by Ramsay is that *Φρυγίαν* is here an adjective—the 'Phrygian Region' being simply the briefer description of the territory spoken of in Acts 16 6 as the 'Phrygo-Galatic Region.' The region is combined with another, lying E. of it, the region containing the towns of Derbe and Lystra—*i.e.*, Galatic Lycaonia, as opposed to Antiochian Lycaonia which was ruled by king Antiochus (see LYCAONIA). This explanation involves the assumption that the titles *Lycaonia Galatica* and *Lycaonia Antiochiana* could become 'Galatic region' (*Γαλατικὴ χώρα*) and 'Antiochian region' (*Ἀντιοχιανὴ χώρα*), respectively, in the mouth of a Greek (or of Greek-speaking Paul) passing through the country. Put in this way the parallelism is deceptive. On the one hand, of the Latin titles only the second, *Lycaonia Antiochiana*, has been found (*CIL* 10 8660), whilst the other is inferred from the analogy of *Pontus Galaticus;* on the other hand, of the Greek terms only the second '(*Ἀντιοχιανὴ χώρα* : Ptol. v. 6 17) occurs. The use of the term 'Galatic region' (*Γαλατικὴ χώρα*) for the Roman part of Lycaonia (and even its supposed Latin equivalent, *Lycaonia Galatica*), however possible on grounds of analogy and desirable in the interests of symmetry, is not yet proved. On this ground, not on that of its complexity, we reject Ramsay's explanation. Its weakness lies in the necessity of taking the passage in close connection and comparison with Acts 16 6.

Still, even so, what is there to suggest the contrast with the non-Roman part of Lycaonia whereby alone the expression 'Galatic region' (*Γαλατικὴ χώρα*) is justified and explained? In Acts 16 6 'Galatic region' (*Γαλατικὴ χώρα*) receives its explanation and limitation precisely from the word 'Phrygian' (*Φρυγίαν*) with which it appears in combination; but in Acts 18 23 the defining words 'of Lycaonia' (*τῆς Λυκαονίας*; cp Rams. *St. Paul the Traveller*, 104) have to be supplied by reference to Acts 14 6 (where Lystra and Derbe are called 'cities of Lycaonia'). On formal grounds also the expression 'the Galatic region and *Phrygian*' (*τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*) becomes objectionable if explained as Ramsay explains it. For the adjective 'Galatic' in the first member of it indicates the province, and the part (Lycaonia) is to be supplied by the reader; but the adjective 'Phrygian' (*Φρυγίαν*) in the second member of it indicates the part, and the province (Galatia) is to be supplied by the reader; for, according to Ramsay, the expression means 'the Galatic Region (of Lycaonia) and the Phrygian Region (of the province Galatia).' Cp GALATIA, § 12.

It is a mistake to insist upon the parallelism of the two phrases; Acts 18 23 must be interpreted independently of Acts 16 6. In 16 6 'Phrygian' (*Φρυγίαν*) is an adjective, in 18 23 it is a noun. In Acts 18 23 'Phrygia' is not *Phrygia Galatica* but *Phrygia Asiana;* the words 'the Galatic region' sum up the whole breadth of the province Galatia from Derbe to Antioch, including, therefore, both the Galatic part of Lycaonia (which, in Acts 14 6, is described as 'Lystra and Derbe' and 'the region that lieth round about') and the Galatic part of Phrygia (which, in Acts 16 6, is described as the 'Phrygo-Galatic Region'). See GALATIA, § 9, col. 1598. On this view, Paul travelled westwards from Antioch (Pisidian) and struck the eastern trade route perhaps at Metropolis (in the *Tchal-Ova*); but, instead of following the road through Apameia and the Lycus valley, he took the more direct road through Higher Phrygia, by way of Seiblia (see Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 2 579 *f.*). This journey through Phrygia is described in Acts 19 1 as a journey 'through the upper coasts' (*τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*, RV 'the upper country'). It is vain to explain this phrase as having reference to the distinction between High Phrygia and Low Phrygia (Rams. *Church in Rom. Emp.*(5) 94) if non-Galatian Phrygia has not previously been mentioned, but only Galatic Phrygia; for that distinction had no validity for Galatic Phrygia. The phrase in

1 'Δορύλαιον ἥ ἐστι μὲν ἐσχάτη τῆς Ἀσιανῆς Φρυγίας.

1 For the grammatical point here involved, see Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.*(5) 486; *St. Paul the Traveller*, 210 *f.*

Acts 19 1 refers back to, and is an expansion of, the word *Phrygian* (Φρυγίαν) in Acts 18 23.

Phrygia is also mentioned in Acts 2 10 (on this list, see PONTUS). If we are not to admit here a cross-division (the names of Roman provinces being used indiscriminately with pre-Roman national divisions embraced by them), Phrygia must be taken to stand for Galatia; *Phrygia Galatica* being, from the point of view of Jews, the most important part of the Phrygian province (cp Acts 13 14 *f.* 14 1).

5. Christianity in Phrygia.

Christianity was introduced into Galatic Phrygia by Paul and Barnabas on the 'first missionary journey' (Acts 13 14 *f.*, Pisidian Antioch; Acts 14 1 *f.*, Iconium; both revisited, 14 21). On the 'second journey' Paul and Silas traversed Asian Phrygia, probably from (Pisidian) Antioch to Dorylæum (Acts 16 6 *f.* See MYSIA); but no public preaching was attempted as they were 'forbidden to preach the word in Asia.' On the 'third journey,' *Phrygia Galatica* was traversed a fourth time, and *Phrygia Asiana* a second time; but we have no record of the establishment of churches in the latter region. There is, however, no reason at all for imagining that the churches of the Lycus valley (Colossæ, Laodiceia, and Hierapolis) were the earliest foundations in Phrygia; although it is clear from Rev. 1 11 that Laodiceia was the representative church, at any rate in SW. Phrygia, in the first century A.D. The tradition that Bartholomew was the apostle of the Lycaones makes it probable that central Phrygia was the scene of his labours, for the Lycaones lay NW. of Synnada (Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 2 709). In the history of Christianity in Asia Minor, Phrygia holds an important place, and from it comes a larger number of inscriptions claimed as Christian than from any other part of the world except Rome itself.

Christian remains come from four districts: (1) central Phrygia, the region of the Pentapolis. From it comes the famous tomb-inscription of Avircius Marcellus, bishop or presbyter of Hierapolis (192 A.D.).[1] He was the leader of the anti-Montanist party, a 'disciple of the pure Shepherd, who feedeth flocks of sheep on mountains and plains,' who, 'with Paul for a companion followed while Faith led the way' (Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 2 709 *ff.*); (2) the districts of Eumeneia and Apameia; (3) Iconium and the country N. and NE. from it (Rams. *Hist. Comm. on Gal.* 220); (4) N. Phrygia, the valley of the Tembris (Rams. *Expos.*, 1888, 2 401 *f.*).

'These facts point distinctly to three separate lines of Christian influence in Phrygia during the early centuries. The first comes up the Mæander valley, and reaches on different lines as far as Akmonia, and the Pentapolis and Apameia and Pisidian Antioch; the second belongs to Lycaonia and the extreme SE. district; the third belongs to the NW. The spheres of these three influences are separated from each other by belts of country where early Christian inscriptions are non-existent' (Rams. *Cit. and Bish.* 2 511). Ramsay would trace all three centres to a Pauline source (*ibid.* and 715). The persecution of Diocletian practically destroyed Christianity throughout Phrygia.

See Ramsay's monumental work, *The Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, of which only two parts—i., Lycos Valley; ii., West and West-Central Phrygia—have as yet appeared. W. J. W.

PHUD (φουδ [BℵA]), Judith 2 23 AV, RV PUT (*q.v.*).

PHURAH, RV **Purah** (פֻּרָה; as if 'vat'; cp יֶקֶב זְאֵב, Judg. 7 25, but see below; φαρα [BAL]), Gideon's attendant, or armour-bearer, Judg. 7 10 *f.* That a mere attendant's name is recorded, is remarkable. Purah must either be, or spring from, some clan-name, either פֻּוָּה (see GIDEON, § 1, n. 2, PUAH), or more probably Ophrah (Judg. 6 11 etc.) or Ephrath. Cp MEONENIM, MOREH. T. K. C.

PHURIM (φρουραι [BLβ]), Esth. 11 1, AV. See PURIM.

PHUT (פּוּט), Gen. 10 6 1 Ch. 1 8 AV, RV PUT (*q.v.*).

[1] [The view that this inscription owes its origin to a Christian is extremely doubtful. A mass of literature on the subject is cited, for example, in *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* 1897, p. 418 *f.* The most noteworthy defence of its pagan origin is in Dietrich, *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios*, Leipsic, 1896.]

PHUVAH (פֻּוָּה), Gen. 46 13 AV, RV PUVAH = 1 Ch. 7 1 PUAH (*q.v.*).

PHYGELLUS, RV better, **Phygelus** (φυγελος, ℵCD), is mentioned in 2 Tim. 1 15† beside Hermogenes as having become alienated from Paul. Pseudo-Dorotheus speaks of both (see HERMOGENES), and represents Phygelus as having been a follower of Simon (Magus), and afterwards bishop of Ephesus. Otherwise the voice of legend is silent.

PHYLACTERIES (φυλακτηρια), Mt. 23 5. See FRONTLETS.

PHYLARCHES (ο φυλαρχης), 2 Macc. 8 32 RV$^{mg.}$, AV PHILARCHES, RV 'the phylarch.'

PHYSICIAN (רֹפֵא, Gen. 50 2 etc.; ιατρος, Mt. 9 12 etc.). See MEDICINE.

PIBESETH (פִּי־בֶסֶת; βουβαστος [BAF], στομα εμπειρα [Q]; *Bubastus*), a city of Egypt which along with On-Heliopolis is threatened with destruction by the Babylonian armies (Ezek. 30 17).

1. Name.

In view of the connection with cities on the Western frontier of the Delta (Tahpanhes, *v.* 18) and the renderings in the versions, we must recognise here the famous city not far from the W. entrance to Goshen. Its ruins, which are still known as Tel(l) Basṭa, are situated just S. of the modern city and railway-centre Zaḳāziḳ.

The earliest Egyptian name of the city was (*W*)*bst*[1] (signification unknown), probably to be pronounced *Ubēset.* The place acquired a religious importance so high that its divinity, a cat (sometimes also in form of a lioness) or cat-headed goddess, had no other name than (*W*)*bstt*,[2] *Ubastet*, 'the one of Ubeset.' Later, the city was called 'house (or temple)[3] of Ubastet,' *P* (originally *Per*)-*ubaste*(*t*). The Greek rendering of this form changes the P to B, as always before w,[4] and drops the ending in accordance with the vulgar pronunciation. The Coptic version of the OT gives the rather old form φουβαςθι. The Hebrew orthography has hardly been handed down correctly; it is certainly influenced by the analogy of פִּי, 'mouth,' (cp 𝔊^Q as above). Besides, the vocalisation *-beseth* instead of *-bast* must have been introduced at a quite recent date after an analogy of Hebrew grammar. Originally, the name must have been pronounced by the Hebrews also like Pubast(e?). The modern shortening Basṭa(h) is as old as the Arabian conquest.

2. History.

Our knowledge of Bubastus has been greatly increased by the excavations of Ed. Naville, in the winters 1887-89, described in Memoir 8 of the Egypt Exploration Fund (1891), where also the literature relating to the city and its history are collected.

The city, the capital of the eighteenth nome of Lower Egypt, must have been very old. Naville found remains of buildings by the pyramid-builders Cheops and Chephren (*Ḫwfw*[*i?*] and *Ḫa'f-rē'*). At a still earlier date, the local goddess *Ubastet*-Bubastis (presupposing the existence of the city) is mentioned in the texts of the pyramids (cp EGYPT, § 46). This goddess was called Artemis by the Greeks; the

[1] . Cp Brugsch, *Dict. Geog.* 206.

[2] The singular freedom of Egyptian writing allows the suppression of the initial in the common orthography. Occasionally, however, it is written, and the form of the name is made certain by the foreign transcriptions.

[3] .

[4] Cp ETHAM. Notice that the classical writers give Bubast*us* for the city, Bubast*is* for the goddess. The confusion between the forms which, unfortunately now prevails, is due to Herodotus, who does not distinguish (in the present text).

Egyptians emphasised her joyous and benign nature as contrasted with various warlike goddesses in lioness-form. Cp the feasts of Bubastis at which hundreds of thousands of pilgrims from all Egypt assembled for the revelries so vividly described by Herodotus (2 60). Of course, the goddess, like all important divinities, soon received a solar character, and one of her chief titles is, 'eye of the sun-god,' by which evidently she is designated as the sun-disk itself. The cat was sacred to Bubastis, and consequently there was near the city an enormous cemetery for cats (and ichneumons), which in our prosaic time has been exploited for manure. That the cat was considered sacred not only in Bubastus but also throughout all Egypt proves the general worship of Bubastis. Male divinities worshipped along with her were Nefer-tēm and Ma-ḥes, in lion-forms.

Various kings of all dynasties (6, 12, etc.) built at Bubastus, even the Hyksos-rulers Ḫeyān and Apopi; above all, however, the pharaohs of dynasty 22 among whom Lower Egypt had completely gained the upper hand over the Thebaid. Osorkon II. erected there a very large hall in commemoration of one of those jubilee-festivals called *ḥeb-sēd* by the Egyptians, *τριακονταετήριδες* (Inscr. Rosettana, 3) by the Greeks. See for the curious sculptures of that building Memoir 10 of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The twenty-second and twenty-third dynasties seem to have had their residence in Bubastus; for the question, why Manetho calls them Bubastide kings, see EGYPT, § 64. Herodotus gives a very impressive description of the temple. Later it was enlarged by Nectanēbēs (*Neḫtnēbef*), one of the last Egyptian kings. Diodorus (16 49) narrates the capture of the place by the generals of Artaxerxes Ochus. Although the Greek and Roman rulers do not seem to have expended much on the temple, Bubastus continued to be a flourishing city down to Arab times. During the middle ages, it was abandoned; the present ruins do not offer many attractions to tourists.

W. M. M.

PICTURES. The rendering is found only in AV.

1. שְׂכִיּוֹת, *śekiyyōth*, Is. 2 16, RV 'imagery,' RVmg. 'watch-towers.' 'Figured works' would be the most natural rendering; but we expect something tall to be mentioned. There seems to be corruption in the text. 'Ships of Tarshish' in *v.* 16*a* cannot be right; they do not come in at all naturally after 'high towers' and 'steep walls.' To correct שְׂכִיּוֹת into סְפִינוֹת, 'ships' (Siegfr.-Stade), is therefore unsatisfactory, even apart from the fact that this word, well known in Aramaic, only occurs in the late Book of Jonah [1] (Jon. 1 6). We can hardly defend it by 𝔊BℵA, *πᾶσαν θέαν πλοίων κάλλους*, which is paraphrastic. See EBONY, § 2 (*e*).

2. מַשְׂכִּיּוֹת, *maśkiyyōth*. (*a*) Nu. 33 52 (*σκοπιαί*), rather 'figured (stones),' as RV; cp Lev. 26 1, אבן משכית, 'figured stone' (AVmg., RV), and see IDOL, § 1 *f.* (*b*) Prov. 25 11 (on 𝔊 see BASKET), RV 'baskets'; but the 'baskets of silver' are as doubtful as the 'pictures.' See BASKET.

PIECE OF MONEY, PIECE OF SILVER, or **OF GOLD.**

1. קְשִׂיטָה, *keśîṭāh* (Gen. 33 19 and ‖ Josh. 24 32 [RV; AV has 'pieces of silver']; also Job 42 11). A doubtful reading. See KESITAH.

2. *στατήρ*, Mt. 17 27† AV, EVmg. 'stater,' RV SHEKEL (*q.v.*).

3. אֲגוֹרַת כֶּסֶף, *'ăgōrath késeph* (*ὀβολοῦ ἀργυρίου*; *nummum argenteum*, 1 S. 2 36; EV 'a piece of silver'). Doubtful (see SPELT).

4. In 2 K. 5 5 EV has 'six thousand [pieces] of gold' for ששת אלפים זהב. RVmg. suggests 'shekels' for 'pieces'; cp Zech. 11 12 *f.* '[pieces] of silver.' See MONEY.

5. In Lk. 15 8 *f.* the 'piece of silver' is *δραχμή* (EVmg. 'drachma; a coin worth about eightpence'). The 'pieces of silver' of Mt. 26 15 27 3 *ff.* are *ἀργύρια*; the fifty thousand pieces of silver in Acts 19 19, *ἀργυρίου μυριάδες πέντε*.

PIGEON (גּוֹזָל, Gen. 15 9; יוֹנָה, Lev. 12 8). See DOVE, FOWL.

PI-HAHIROTH (פִּי־הַחִירֹת; in Ex. ΤΗϹ ΕΠΑΥΛΕΩϹ [BAFL], in Nu. ϹΤΟΜΑ ΕΠΙΡΩΘ [B], ϹΤ. ΕΙΡΩΘ [B^{ab}AFL]; *Phihahiroth*) Ex. 14 2 9 Nu. 33 7; also HAHIROTH (הַחִירֹת; ΕΙΡΩΘ [BAFL]; *Phihahiroth*) Nu. 33 8. See EXODUS i., § 11; also BAAL-ZEPHON, and MIGDOL, 1.

[1] Gunkel (*Schöpf.* 50) thinks שְׂכִיּוֹת to be a rare word for 'ships'; but his theory has no solid basis.

PILATE, PONTIUS (ΠΟΝΤΙΟϹ ΠΙΛΑΤΟϹ [ΠΕΙΛΑΤΟϹ ℵBD]).

1. Name and titles.

In Mt. 27 2 *Πειλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι*; thereafter *ὁ Πειλᾶτος* or *ὁ ἡγεμών* simply; Mk. 15 1 *Πειλάτῳ* simply, thereafter *ὁ Π.*; Lk. 3 1 *ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πειλάτου* (here only and Acts 4 27 the double name); for the title cp 20 20; in other places *ὁ Π.* as in 23 1 *ff.* or *Π.* simply (as also in Acts 3 13); Jn. 18 29 *ff.* has 4 27 only *ὁ Π.*

The NT, as above shown, uses only the title *ἡγεμών*, = Lat. *præses*, a general term (cp *ἡγεμονία* used in Lk. 3 1 of the emperor, in which place it is translated 'reign,' EV), used also by Josephus in speaking of the 'governor' of Judæa (*Ant.* xviii. 3 1, § 55). Josephus also often employs the word *ἔπαρχος* (*Ant.* xix. 9 2, § 363) or *ἐπιμελητής* (*Ant.* xviii. 4 2, § 89); but the specific title of the governor of Judæa was *procurator*, in Greek *ἐπίτροπος*, and so he is called by Jos. *Ant.* xx. 6 2, § 132, *BJ* ii. 8 1, § 117, 9 2, § 169 and elsewhere (cp Tac. *Ann.* 15 44—the only passage in which Pilate is mentioned by a Roman writer). For an account of this office see PROCURATOR.

Pilate's birthplace is unknown; but the legends offer an ample choice (Müller, *Pont. Pil.* 48 *f.*). His *nomen* Pontius suggests a connection with the famous Samnite family of the Pontii; his *cognomen* Pilatus, if it were really derived from the word *pileatus* (*pilleatus*), 'wearing the *pilleus*, or felt cap of the manumitted slave,' would suggest the taint of slavery in the history of his family (cp the case of Felix, who although actually only a freedman held the procuratorship of Judæa). The word Pilatus may, however, just as probably be connected with *pilatus* (*pilum*) or *pilatus* (*pilo*), either of which derivations would start us upon a very different train of imagination, the conclusion of which would equally have no historical validity whatever.

On the death of Archelaus in 6 A.D. his kingdom, which had included Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, was made a Cæsarian province (see HEROD [FAMILY], § 8). Of the seven procurators who administered the province between 6 A.D. and 41 A.D. Pontius Pilate was the fifth; he held office for ten years (26-36 A.D. Cp Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4 2, § 89).

2. Story of imperial image.

According to Philo, Agrippa I. in his letter to Caligula describes Pilate as 'inflexible, merciless, and obstinate' (*τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπὴς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ αὐθάδους ἀμείλικτος*), and charges him with 'corruption, violence, robbery, ill-usage, oppression, illegal executions, and never-ending most grievous cruelty' (Phil. *Leg. ad Caium*, 38). The few incidents recorded of his career are supposed to furnish completely satisfactory evidence of this undoubtedly overdrawn characterisation. So 'the very first act by which Pilate introduced himself into office was characteristic of him who treated with contempt the Jewish customs and privileges' (Schürer, *GJV* 1 400; ET i. 2 83). In order to satisfy Jewish scruples it was a standing order that the image of the emperor borne upon Roman military standards should be removed before troops entered Jerusalem; but on one occasion, probably soon after Pilate's entry upon office, it was discovered that this rule had been evaded by a detachment which had entered the city by night (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3 1, § 56; *BJ* ii. 9 2, § 169). For five days Pilate was deaf to the protestations of the crowd which gathered before his palace at Cæsarea. On the sixth day the malcontents were surrounded by troops in the race-course; but their fanatical obstinacy was proof against this display of power, and Pilate was obliged to give way. It was his first experience of that strange intractable temper which made the Jews so difficult to govern; he learnt now, at the outset of his career as governor, how far the people were prepared to go for

the sake of their religious scruples. That a massacre of the mob was seriously contemplated, it would be foolish to assert; for the imperial system was a sensible attempt to govern by means of sensible men. The utmost that can be extracted from the narrative, in our ignorance of the exact circumstances of the breach of regulations, is the conclusion that the procurator erred through inexperience of the people and an inopportune insistence upon a point of honour. Pilate's Roman sentiments must claim weight equally with the punctilios of the Jewish mob; but this is often overlooked.

The other instances of friction will be found upon a fair review to bear a very different interpretation from that usually put upon them.

3. Other stories. The treasure accumulated in the temple was in part appropriated for the construction of an aqueduct to Jerusalem. This excited vehement opposition, and a visit of the procurator to the city was made the occasion of a great popular demonstration. Pilate having received previous information of the intended outburst issued the necessary orders, and the soldiers mingling with the crowd dispersed the rioters with bludgeons, and effectually silenced all open opposition to the scheme; this was not accomplished without some loss of life (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3 2; *BJ* ii. 9 4).

The incident to which reference is made in Lk. 13 1 ('the Galilæans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices') is not elsewhere recorded. When account is taken of the disturbed state of the country, due to the fanatical mutual hatred of the various religious groups (cp, for example, the act of the Samaritans who threw bones into the temple just before the Passover in order to pollute it—Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2 2, § 30), we must recognise in the incident only the strong hand of a governor concerned to carry out impartially the duty which was in fact the prime requirement of a provincial governor—the maintenance of order (cp Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 174 *f.*). The permanent difficulty of this task in the case of Judæa is evidenced by the insurrection in which Barabbas had been prominent (Mk. 15 7 Lk. 23 19), and also by that collision between the government and the Samaritans which led to Pilate's recall. These Samaritans, under the leadership of an impostor, who promised to reveal the sacred utensils which were supposed to be concealed on Mt. Gerizim since the time of Moses, gathered in great numbers armed at the mountain, but were dispersed with bloodshed by Pilate's troops, and those of repute and influence among them executed. The Samaritans made complaint to Vitellius, who had come as *legatus* to Syria, and Vitellius sent Pilate to Rome to answer for his conduct, making over the administration of Judæa to Marcellus (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4 2).

The true nature of the two incidents last sketched is clear. Upon the whole, we must refuse to subscribe to

4. Pilate's administration. that unfavourable verdict which has been passed upon Pilate on the strength of evidence derived from hostile sources, whether Jewish or Christian. The peculiar misfortune of Pilate, that he was connected with the tragedy of Jesus (see ROMAN EMPIRE), has resulted in all treatment of his career being merely a search for evidence in support of a foregone conclusion. His ten years' tenure of office (a length of tenure equalled only by that of his predecessor Valerius Gratus, 15-26 A.D.) is evidence of the general success of his administration; for the reason assigned by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 6 5), that long tenure was due to deliberate intention on the part of Tiberius to secure if possible a mitigation of official rapacity, on the principle that 'it is better to leave the gorged flies on a sore than to drive them off' is simply foolish if taken as more than the *jeu d'esprit* of a malcontent (for other assigned reasons, cp Tac. *Ann.* 1 80). Pilate's suspension and dismissal to Rome just before the death of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 6 32) proves only the greatness of the pressure brought to bear upon the newly-appointed legate of Syria, or at most the desire on the part of the central government to go still farther on a path of conciliation, signs of which tendency had not been wanting even before this event. For Pilate had already been compelled by imperial mandate to remove to Cæsarea certain votive shields, without figures, gilded only and inscribed with the emperor's name, which he had hung up in the palace at Jerusalem, 'less for the honour of Tiberius than for the annoyance of the Jews,' as the letter of Agrippa I. unfairly puts it (Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 38). This was probably after the death of Seianus (31 A.D.) if it be true that Seianus was an arch-enemy of the Jews (cp Schürer, *GVI* 1 411; ET i. 286 note). Here a correct interpretation will see, not 'a piece of purely wanton bravado on the part of Pilate,' but a small concession on the part of his imperial master overriding and correcting the attitude of a subordinate, in deference to a petition supported by powerful names. This new departure was entered upon very energetically by Vitellius (for the details, see Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4 3), and had its natural sequel in the favour shown by Caligula to Agrippa I. and the great advancement of Agrippa by Claudius (see HEROD, FAMILY OF, § 12).

Pilate has won notoriety through his connection with the trial and sentence of Jesus (Mt. 27 2 *f.* Mk. 15 1 *f.*; more fully in Lk. 23 1 *f.* Jn. 18 28 *f.* adds much to the Synoptic accounts). See, further, ROMAN EMPIRE.

Of Pilate's end nothing is known. Before he reached Rome Tiberius was dead (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4 2). Various

5. Legends. traditions were current. Eusebius (*Chron.* and *HE* 2 7) asserts, on the authority of unnamed Greek or Roman chroniclers, that he fell into such misfortunes under Caligula that he committed suicide. In the apocryphal *Mors Pilati*, his suicide follows upon his condemnation to death by Tiberius for his failure to save Jesus. His body was cast into the Tiber; but evil spirits disturbed the water so much that it was carried to Vienna (*Vienne*) and cast into the Rhone, and after various vicissitudes, ended in the recesses of a lake on Mt. Pilatus, opposite Lucerne (for this legend and its origin, see Müller, *Pont. Pil.* 82 *f.*; Ruskin, *Mod. Paint.* 5 128). In the apocryphal Παράδοσις Πιλάτου it is related that Tiberius called Pilate to account for the crucifixion of Jesus and condemned him to death; and both he and his wife died penitent, and were assured of forgiveness by a voice from heaven (see Tisch. *Evang. Apocr.* 449 *f.*). According to other accounts, Pilate's execution occurred under Nero (so Malalas, ed. Dind. 250 *f.*; and authorities quoted by Schürer, *op. cit.* 88 n.). The tendency of the tradition to represent both Pilate and his wife as embracing Christianity is easily understood, and is in contrast with the unsympathetic estimate of later times (cp Tertull. *Ap.* 21, *jam pro sua conscientia Christianus*, 'already in conviction a Christian,' at or immediately after Jesus' death; *Gosp. of Nic.* 2; Orig. *Hom. on Mt.* 35; Stanley, *East. Ch.* 13). Tradition gives the name of Pilate's wife as Claudia Procula or Procla, and by some she has been identified with the Claudia mentioned in 2 Tim. 4 21.

6. Literature. G. A. Müller, *Pontius Pilatus der fünfte Procurator von Judæa*, etc., 1888; with full list to date of the literature on Pilate. Arnold, *Die neronische Christenverfolgung*, 116 *f.* Articles in *Expos.* ser. 2. vol. 8 (1884), 107 *f.* (Cox), and ser. 6, vol. 1 (1900), 59 *f.* (Macgregor). Taylor Innes, *Trial of Jesus Christ, a legal Monograph*, 1899. The many *Lives of Christ* may also be consulted, but with little profit as regards obtaining a correct view of Pilate himself. For the so-called *Acts of Pilate* (*Gospel of Nicodemus*) consult J. C. Thilo, *Codex apocr. NT* i., 1832, 118 *f.* 487 *f.*; R. A. Lipsius, *Die Pilatus-Akten*, 1871.

W. J. W.

PILDASH (פִּלְדָּשׁ), b. NAHOR (Gen. 22 22: φαλλαc [AD'? L], -λ [D*]). The name, however, looks doubtful, and may have been partly assimilated to the name ידלף which follows (Che.).[1]

[1] Dillmann (*ad loc.*) cites a Nab. name פלרשו; but the reading is more than doubtful.

PILEHA, RV **Pilha** (פִּלְחָה; cp Palm. פלחא), signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7), Neh. 10 24 [25] (φαδαεις [B], -εω [א], φαλαει [A], φαλλ. [L]).

PILLAR. 1. (עַמּוּד, עַמֻּד, *'ammûd* [√עמד, to stand]; στυλος; thrice κιων; once στασις). See Judg. 16 25 *ff.* 1 K. 7 2 6 21 (Jachin and Boaz) Job 9 6 (pillars of earth), 26 11 (pillars of heaven) Ps. 75 3 [4] etc. Judg. 16 25 *ff.* gives the story of Samson's last feat of strength. The Philistines, both men and women, were making merry (at Gaza) at a sacrifice to Dagon, and Samson was sent for to make sport before them, and was stationed between the two middle pillars on which the house[1] rested. But it was deadly sport that he made, for he took hold of the pillars, 'bracing himself against them' (Moore's rendering), and the house fell upon the lords and upon all the people. Perhaps these two pillars are analogous to the pillars called Jachin and Boaz in the temple at Jerusalem (see JACHIN AND BOAZ), which appear to have been symbols of the vast 'mountain of God' (or, of the divine beings). See CONGREGATION [MOUNT OF THE]. To pull down these pillars, which represented the most immovable thing in the material world (there is a moral world too which has its 'pillars,' Ps. 75 3 [4]), was a proof of supernatural strength, which justifies us in supposing a (perfectly harmless) mythical element in the Samson story, to some extent analogous to the mythical element in the Babylonian story of Gilgameš. For only of a divine being can it be said, 'who shakes the earth out of its place, so that the pillars thereof (here the mountains) tremble' (Job 9 6). Cp SAMSON.

For pillars of the tabernacle and temple, see TABERNACLE, TEMPLE. By the חֲשׁוּקִים, *ḥăšûḳîm* (EV 'fillets') of the tabernacle Gesenius (*Thes.*) and others understand connecting rods joining the tops of the pillars, from which curtains were hung. Dillmann, Holzinger, and others (see BDB) prefer the meaning 'fillet' or 'ring' (clasping or 'binding' the pillars); to these rings the nails bearing the curtains were fastened.

A pillar is the emblem of firmness and steadfastness (Jer. 1 18 Rev. 3 12), and of that which sustains or supports (Gal. 2 9 1 Tim. 3 15).

In 1 K. 7 18 RV reads עַמֻּדִים for רמנים; the clause, however, should be transferred to *v.* 17 (The., Sta., Klo., Ki.). הָעַמּוּדִים at the beginning of *v.* 18 should be הָרִמֹּנִים (cp 𝔊). Cp POMEGRANATES.

2. מָצוּק, *māṣûḳ*, 1 S. 2 8 (𝔊 otherwise; of the 'pillars' of the earth). The only other occurrence of the word is in 1 S. 14 5, 'the one crag *rose up*' (RV for מצוק), on which see MICHMASH, § 2, *ad fin.*

3. מַצֵּבָה, *maṣṣēbāh*. See MASSEBAH.

4. נְצִיב, *nĕṣîb* (στήλη), Gen. 19 26 (pillar of salt). On 1 S. 10 5 13 3 *f.*, see SAUL, § 2, note; cp EZION-GEBER.

5. מֻצָּב, *muṣṣāb*, Judg. 9 6 (στάσις), see GARRISON; cp Is. 29 3, AV 'mount,' RV 'fort.'

6. אֹמְנוֹת, *ŏmenōth*, 2 K. 18 16† = doorposts; ἐστηριγμένα.

7. מִסְעָד, *mis'ād* (√סעד, to support), 1 K. 10 12†; EVmg. rails, props; BDB 'precise meaning unintelligible,' ὑποστηρίγματα.

8 and 9. תִּימָרָה,* 'pillars of smoke,' Cant. 3 6 (στέλεχος), Joel 3 3 [2 30], Acts 2 19, 'vapour (ἀτμίς) of smoke,' and תֹּמֶר, Jer. 10 5, RVmg. See SCARECROW. T. K. C.

PILLAR, PLAIN OF THE (אֵלוֹן מֻצָּב), Judg. 9 6 AV, RV OAK OF THE PILLAR. See TEREBINTH, § 3 (4), and MASSEBAH, § 1.

PILLAR OF CLOUD AND FIRE. In the stories of the Exodus and the subsequent wanderings in the wilderness, cloud as indicative of the divine presence is frequently referred to. The pillar-like form of the appearance is alluded to only in the two earliest Hexateuchal strata (J, E); but the references to 'the cloud' in the later narratives (D, P) as well as in some narratives outside the Hexateuch are so closely related that they must be discussed together.

In immediate connection with the Exodus, J relates that Yahwè led the people by going before them in a pillar of cloud (עַמּוּד עָנָן) by day, and a pillar of fire (עַמּוּד אֵשׁ) by night; and that this mode of guidance was continuous (note the participle הֹלֵךְ, Ex. 13 21), and perpetual (Ex. 13 22)—*i.e.*, presumably, till the end of their journeyings. One exception to the continuity is related. When the Hebrews, on becoming aware that the Egyptians were in pursuit, were seized with fear, the pillar of cloud removed to the rear and prevented the approach of the Egyptians (Ex. 14 19*b* 20*b*). In the morning watch of the same night Yahwè looked out on the Egyptians and confounded them (Ex. 14 24), the narrative perhaps implying that the confusion was occasioned by terrifying phenomena connected with the cloud (cp Di. *ad loc.*; Ew. *Hist.* 2 74). The only other reference in J to cloud as indicative of the divine presence is to a different phenomenon: when Moses ascended Mt. Sinai Yahwè descended in the cloud and stood with him (Ex. 34 5). In this case, the purpose of the cloud was no doubt to conceal the form and dangerous brightness of Yahwè.

1. The conception in J.[1]

In E the appearance of the pillar of cloud is regarded as intermittent: moreover it serves a different purpose and appears in a different place from that indicated by J; nor is any fiery appearance of it ever alluded to. It came down from time to time and stood at the door of the 'tent of meeting,' which was pitched *without* the camp. When Moses went thither to consult Yahwè and Yahwè spoke with Moses, as often as the people observed it they rose up and worshipped at their tent doors, Ex. 33 7-11 (the tenses are throughout frequentative). For special instances of the appearance of this pillar of cloud, see Nu. 12 5 Dt. 31 15; and of 'the cloud' Nu. 11 25; note also the reference to the departure of the cloud in Nu. 12 10.

2. In E.

There is therefore no real point of contact between the representations in J and E beyond the fact that both record a pillar-like appearance of cloud as indicating the divine presence. The theophanic character of the pillar of cloud is particularly marked in E in Ex. 33 9, where it speaks with Moses; cp the identification of the angel of Yahwè and Yahwè (see THEOPHANY).

There are, however, other references to cloud in E. As in J, so in E, cloud accompanies the theophany on Sinai, Ex. 19 9 16.

Dt. 1 33 is dependent on J, though the term pillar is not used. The only other references in Dt. are to the clouds on Sinai, 4 11 5 19 [22].

3. References in D.

As in the earlier narratives, so in P, cloud covers Mt. Sinai at the giving of the law (Ex. 24 16-18); it forms the accompaniment of the fiery appearance of the glory of Yahwè (*v.* 17), and the envelope of the divine being (*v.* 16). This forms the starting point of P's narrative of the cloud which indicates the divine presence: subsequently it is frequently, as in this first instance, associated with the glory of Yahwè. It first appears in the camp on the day of the completion of the tabernacle; it then covered, while the glory of Yahwè filled, the building, preventing Moses from entering (Ex. 40 34 *f.* Nu. 9 15). For other instances of the association of the cloud and the glory of Yahwè, see Ex. 16 10,[2] which belongs to a narrative that must originally have *followed* the record of the completion of the tabernacle in Ex. 40 (Di., We., Bacon, etc.), and Nu. 16 42 [17 7], and in 𝔊, 14 10. The presence of the cloud, which became fiery at night, was permanent from the day of the completion

4. In P.

[1] For conjectures respecting this 'house,' see Moore on *v.* 27, and cp VESTRY.

[1] The account of the different conceptions given in the text rests on a critical analysis which has commanded very general acceptance. The only disagreement of importance is Kuenen's reference (*Hex.* 151) of the *whole* of *vv.* 19-22 of Ex. 14 to E. We have followed Dillmann in regarding the phrase ועננך עמד עליהם in Nu. 14 14, and the present form of Nu. 10 34 as due to R.

[2] Where restore הַמִּשְׁכָּן, 'the tabernacle,' for the senseless redactorial הַמִּדְבָּר, 'wilderness.'

of the tabernacle till the journeys of the Israelites were over, Ex. 40 38 Nu. 9 16; with this Nu. 16 42 [17 7] might appear to conflict, but cp Di. (*ad loc.*), who distinguishes between the permanent abiding of the cloud *over* the tabernacle and the intermittent complete envelopment of the tabernacle by the cloud indicated by the word 'cover.' This explanation fails to take account of Nu. 9 16, or the equivalence of Ex. 40 34 *f.* In any case the permanence of the cloud is quite unambiguously asserted in Ex. 40 38 Nu. 9 16.

Thus P differs from E in making the phenomenon permanent and connecting it with the *centre* of the camp, where according to P the tabernacle was placed; and from both E and J with regard to the form of the phenomenon. Not only does P never use the term 'pillar'; he speaks of the cloud in ways which do not suggest, and perhaps exclude, such a form: thus the cloud 'covers' (כסה) or 'abides over' (שכן על), or 'goes up from resting over' (נעלה מעל) the tabernacle; contrast with these expressions those of E with whom the pillar of cloud stands (עמד) at the door. With J, P agrees in making the phenomenon permanent and a means of guidance on the march; he differs, however, as to the place of appearance, the time of its first appearance (in J it appears directly after leaving Egypt, but in P not till after Sinai has been reached), and the manner in which it directed the march—in P it simply indicates by rising or falling that the march is to begin or cease (Nu. 9 15-23 10 11 *f.*), in J it actually precedes and leads the host.

The appearance of Yahwè over the mercy-seat also is in cloud (Lev. 16 2). Whether this cloud is rightly identified by Dillmann with the cloud perpetually resting over the tabernacle may be questioned, though he is probably right in rejecting the suggestion that the cloud intended by the writer is the cloud of incense (cp Lev. 16 13).

Such are the various accounts of the cloud in connection with the wanderings. It must suffice to allude, without discussion, to (1) similar accounts of the later history—viz., those of the cloud that filled Solomon's temple when the ark was brought in (1 K. 8 11 = 2 Ch. 5 14, cp Ezek. 10 3), and of the great cloud of fiery appearance that enveloped the chariot of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 1 4); (2) allusions in biblical literature to the cloud of the wanderings (Is. 4 5 Ps. 78 14 105 39 Wisd. 10 17 1 Cor. 10 1 *f.*); (3) the part played by the cloud in the transfiguration (Mt. 17 5 Mk. 9 7 Lk. 9 34), the ascension (Acts 1 9), and pictures of the Parousia (Mt. 24 30 26 64 Mk. 13 26 14 62 [all modified citations from Dan. 7 13] 1 Thess. 4 17).

5. Origin of conception.

It has been very generally held that the idea of a pillar of cloud preceding the people in the wilderness had its origin in the custom of carrying braziers containing burning wood at the head of an army or a caravan, the smoke by day, the fire by night serving to indicate to all the line of march.

Such a custom is vouched for by ancient authorities and modern travellers; Curtius (v. 2 7) relates it of Alexander's march through Babylonia and (iii. 3 9) of the Persians generally; Harmer of Arabian caravans, and Pococke of a night-journey made by himself from the Jordan to Jerusalem (Pitts in Harmer, *Observations* (4), 2 278). The accounts given by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 24) of a fiery pillar guiding Thrasybulus by night, and by Diodorus Siculus (16 66) of Timoleon being guided to Italy in a somewhat similar manner, may be cited as legendary parallels to the biblical story.[1]

The form which the story has assumed in the narratives as we now possess them evidently owes much to the more general ideas concerning theophanies (see THEOPHANY), and in particular to the idea that, even when God manifested his presence by a physical appearance, some screening of the effulgence of his brightness was requisite. In brief, the cloud was the physical sign of Yahwè's presence, and its movement in guidance of the host, the indication that Israel's way through the wilderness was of Yahwè's ordering. In P's conception of the cloud that abode over or covered the tabernacle, the smoke rising from the altar *may* have been the physical basis, for the Heb. *'ānān* denotes a cloud of smoke (*e.g.*, Ezek. 8 11) as well as atmospheric cloud; but here again the writer of course intends much more; it is the visible sign of Yahwè's presence in the camp and, at the same time, the covering of the brightness of his glory. G. B. G.

[1] For further references to earlier literature on these points, see Rosenmüller, Kautzsch, or Di. on Ex. 13 21. [Cp also Frazer, *Golden Bough* (2), 1 305.]

PILLOW (כְּבִיר [constr.], 1 S. 19 13 16; כְּסָתוֹת [plur.], Ezek. 13 18 20). See BED, § 4.

PILOT (חֹבֵל), Ezek. 27 8 27 29; also Jon. 1 6, where EV 'shipmaster.' See SHIP.

PILTAI (פִּלְטָי; cp PALTIEL), head of the priestly b'ne MAADIAH (*q.v.*), Neh. 12 17 (om. BN*A, φελητει [Nc.a mg.], αφεληθι [L]).

PIN (יָתֵד), Ex. 35 18; also 'tent-pin,' 'stake.' See TENT, § 3.

PINE occurs in AV as the rendering of two words.

1. *'ēṣ šémen*, עֵץ שֶׁמֶן, the oleaster, in Neh. 8 15 AV 'pine,' but 'oil tree' in Is. 41 19. See OIL TREE.

2. *tidhār*, תִּדְהָר (Is. 41 19 60 13†, RVmg. in 41 19 'plane,' Tg. מְרָנִין), is the name of some large tree growing on Lebanon. The word has been very variously interpreted. Celsius (2 271 *ff.*) finds the uncertainty too great to allow of his offering an opinion. Lagarde (*Uebers.* 130), however, has thrown fresh light upon the matter by comparing and indeed identifying תדהר with Syr. *daddār*, *deddār* (see Payne Smith, *Thes.*), which denotes occasionally the oak, but usually the elm (Löw, 98 *ff.*). The πτελέα of Sym. and *ulmus* of Vg. in Is. 41 19 would thus be justified as against the πεύκη of 𝔊 (60 13; where Sym. has πύξος with πεύκη for תאשור). The only difficulty is that the common elm—*Ulmus campestris*, L.—though found in northern Palestine, is uncommon (*FFP*, 411). N. M.

PINNACLE. 1. שֶׁמֶשׁ, *šémeš*, Is. 54 12, RV. See BATTLEMENT.

2. πτερύγιον, Mt. 4 5, RVmg. 'Wing.' See TEMPLE.

PINON (פִּינֹן), a 'duke' of Edom (Gen. 36 41; φινεc [A], φ[ε]ινων [DEL]; 1 Ch. 1 52, φ[ε]ινων [BA], φινα [L]). Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 299 85; 123 9) speak of a little village called Fenon (φαινων or φινων) in the Idumæan desert between Petra and Zoar, where mining was carried on by convicts; cp the ruins called Kal'at Phenan (Lagrange, '*Phonnon*,' *Revue biblique*, 7 [1898] 112 *ff.*).

The φεννήσια μέταλλα, 'metalla ad Phœnum,' are referred to by classical authors among the places to which Christian confessors were often condemned.

This Pinon is doubtless the PUNON (פּוּנֹן) of Nu. 33 42 *f.* (פינן [Sam.], φ[ε]ινω [BAL], φινων [F]), a station of the Israelites in their wanderings.

PIPE. 1. חָלִיל, *ḥālīl* √חלל, bore, pierce; αὐλός; *tibia*: 1 S. 10 5 1 K. 1 40 (𝔊BA χοροῖς; so χορῷ in the two Psalm passages; cp also א in Is. 5 12) [Ps. 149 3 150 4, read חליל for מחול, with Che.]; Is. 5 12 30 29 Jer. 48 36 1 Esd. 5 2 Ecclus. 40 21 1 Macc. 3 45 1 Cor. 14 7; cp Mt. 9 23 Rev. 18 22 αὐλητής.† See MUSIC, § 4 *a*.

2. עוּגָב, *'ūgāb*, Vg. *organum*; AV 'organ'; Gen. 4 21 (κιθάρα); Job 21 12 30 31 (ψαλμός), Ps. 150 4 (ὄργανον). See MUSIC, § 4 *b*. In Ps. 150 4, for בְּמִנִּים וְעוּגָב Cheyne (*Ps.* (2)) reads בְּנְעִימַת עגב, 'with the sweet sounds of the flute'; cp Ecclus. 45 9 (Heb.). מִנִּים, 'strings' cannot be defended by Ecclus. 39 15 (Heb.), where כלי מיני is a corruption of כנורות, 𝔊 ἐν κινύραις (Hal.); nor by Ps. 45 9*b*, where we should perhaps read מָנֵי כַרְכְּמִישׁ לָךְ, 'minas of Carchemish (they will bring) unto thee' (Che. *Ps.* (2)); cp MANEH.

3. נֶקֶב, *nékeb*, Ezek. 28 13† ἀποθήκη? *foramen?* Most, as BDB, explain as a 'term techn. of jewellers' work, probably some hole or cavity'; it is best at present, to abstain from a translation, the text being corrupt (see CHERUB, § 2).

PIRA (πειραc [B]), 1 Esd. 5 19, AV = Ezra 2 25, CHEPHIRAH.

PIRAM (פִּרְאָם, *i.e.*, perhaps, stripping off the gentilic ending, פֶּרֶא, 'wild ass'; but cp Ass. *purimu*

'wild ass,' and *pir'u*, 'a sprout, scion,' also used as a prop. noun [see below]), the king of JARMUTH (*q.v.*) defeated by Joshua (Josh. 10 3; φειλων [B], φεραλμ [A], φελαμ [L]). In the time of Sargon the king of the N. Arabian land of Muṣri was called Pir'u (see MIZRAIM); but this gives no support to the view that the Jarmuth of Josh. 10 3 was in the coast-lying region to the S. of Palestine, where it is possible (but not certain) that the Yarimuta of Am. Tab. was situated.

For Max Müller's bold suggestion that the original reading in Josh. 10 3 was 'Pharaoh of Jarimuta,' and that 'king' was inserted after the name had become unintelligible, see *MVG*, 1897, 327 *ff.*

PIRATHON (פִּרְעָתוֹן; φαραθωμ [B], φρααθων [AL], φαραθω [Jos.]), originally no doubt a clan-name (= Pir'ath), but in Judg. 12 15, and virtually in 1 Macc. 9 50, a place-name.

1. ABDON (*q.v.*), the **Pirathonite** (פִּרְעָתוֹנִי; Judg. 12 13 15 *ὁ φαραθωνείτης* [B], *ὁ φραθωνίτης* [A], *ὁ ἐφρα-αθωνίτης* [L]), was buried 'in Pirathon in the land of Ephraim, in the hill-country of the Amalekites' (RV). Most scholars identify this Pirathon with the mod. *Fer'atā*, 6 m. WSW. of Nāblus (but see OPHRAH, 3). It is to be observed, however, (1) that in 1 Ch. 8 23 8 30 (= 9 36) Abdon appears as a Benjamite family name. Benaiah, one of David's thirty, was also a **Pirathonite** (פִּרְעָתֹנִי; 2 S. 23 30, ? *του εφραθαιου* [BA; om. L]; 1 Ch. 11 31, *φαραθων[ε]ι* [BAL], *φαραθωθει* [א*], *φαραφωνει* [א c.a]; 1 Ch. 27 14, *ὁ ἐκ φαραθων τῶν υἱῶν εφρ.* [BAL]); surely he was more probably a Benjamite than an Ephraimite. That Abdon was really an Ephraimite, now becomes doubtful. (2) Another important point is that the situation of Pirathon is described twice over, and that the second description is extremely difficult to reconcile with the first.[1] The text therefore must be suspected. אפרים may be a corruption of ירחמאל (as in 1 S. 1 1 9 4, etc.). Saul's hill-country (see SAUL, § 1) appears to have been known as Jerahmeelite; in this region Pirathon may have been situated. Probably we should read in Judg. 12 15, 'in Pirathon in the hill-country of Jerahmeel,' הר and ארץ being variants, and עמלקי, like אפרים, a corruption of ירחמאל. Judg. 12 15 is thus reconciled with 1 Ch. 8 23 30. Were it not for the passage in 1 Ch. we might place Pirathon in Judah, where there seems to have been a clan-name פרעה or פרעת (Par'ah or Par'ath); see PAROSH, BITHIAH.

2. We also meet with PHARATHON (AV PHARATHONI), *i.e.*, Pir'athon, in 1 Macc. 9 50; it was one of the 'strong cities in Judæa' fortified by Bacchides. Perhaps, as G. A. Smith suggests (*HG* 355), it stood at the head of the Wādy Fāri'a, an important strategical position.

In 1 Macc. 9 30 𝔊ᴬᴺⱽ gives *καὶ τὴν θαμναθα φαραθων*. Probably *καί* has dropped out before *φαρ.*; it is supplied, with correct insight, by Jos., Syr., and Vet. Lat. (The absence of *τήν* is of course unimportant; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 3. So Schü., *GJV* 1 170). T. K. C.

PISGAH (הַפִּסְגָּה; φαсгα). In Dt. 34 1 as the text stands, the 'top of the Pisgah' (κορυφην φαсгα [BAFL]) is identified with MOUNT NEBO (*q.v.*). Elsewhere (in D) 'the Pisgah' appears as the mountain from which Moses surveyed the promised land, Dt. 3 27 (*λελαξευμενου* [B], *του λ.* [AFL]), and was perhaps so regarded by JE (*κορυφην φ.* [BAFL]), who certainly name it as a station in Nu. 21 20 (*του λελαξευμενου* [BAFL]) and, as a place where Balak sacrificed (cp ZOPHIM, BAMOTH-BAAL) in 23 14 (*λελαξευμενου* [*ibid.*]). Elsewhere in D it is a boundary mark; we hear of 'the slopes of Pisgah' Dt. 3 17 (*ασηδωθ την φ.* [BAL], *α. τ. φαραγγα* [F]), 4 49 (*ασηδωθ την λαξευτην* [BAFL]), Josh. 12 3 (*μηδωθ φ.* [B], *ασηδωθ φ.* [AF], *μεσιδωθ φ.* [L]); cp also Josh. 13 20 (P: *ασηδωθ φ.* [BA], *ασιδωθ φ.* [L]).

φασγω, *Fasga*, was still used for the region of Mount Nebo in the time of Eusebius (*OS* 216 69 89 10 13). The name has disappeared; for the combination of it with *Rās el-Feshkha* on the NW. coast of the Dead Sea (Buhl) is surely very doubtful. (For a suggestion of new critical problems connected with the names of Nebo and Pisgah, see NEBO.) F. B.

PISGAH, SLOPES OF (אַשְׁדּוֹת הַפִּסְגָּה), Dt. 3 17, etc. RV, AV ASHDOTH-PISGAH (*q.v.*).

PISHON, AV **Pison** (פִּישׁוֹן; φ[ε]ιсων, *PHISON*), one of the four arms of the river of Paradise, Gen. 2 11; coupled with Tigris, Ecclus. 24 25†. Eusebius (*OS* 298 59) copies Josephus, who says (*Ant.* i. 1 3) that *φεισων* means multitude, and identifies it with the river called by the Greeks Ganges. The current explanations of the name are:—(1) from the Ass. *pisan(n)u*, (*a*) a repository of clay, (*b*) a conduit of clay or wood (Del. *Ass. HWB* 532 *f.*, but with ?). Cp Del. *Par.* 77. To this Nestle (*Marg.* 5) objects that we should in this case have expected the form פִּישָׁן, cp נִיסָן סִינָן; (2) from √פּוּשׁ, 'to spring up' (𝔊 *σκιρτάω*), of calves, as Jer. 50 11 Mal. 3 20 [4 2], or of horses, as Hab. 1 8, and (cp Syr. *paš*) 'to spread oneself,' as Nah. 3 18. Nestle (*l.c.*) renounces Nah. 3 18 and Hab. 1 8 as probably corrupt, but thinks Jer. 50 11 Mal. 3 20 safe. In both passages, however, the text probably needs a slight alteration, so that we should read תִּמְפְּשׁוּ, מְפַשְׁתֶּם, from מפשׁ, 'to be fat' (so too Grä. in Mal.). The presumption therefore is that 'Pishon' is corrupt. For a probable key to its meaning, see PARADISE.

T. K. C.

PISIDIA (η πιсιδια [WH], Acts 14 24; Acts 13 14, αντιοχειαν την πιсιδιαν [Ti. WH after אABC], της πιсιδιας [TR]; on the ethnic in Acts 13 14 see end of art.), the broad mountain-region of the western Taurus, intervening between the plateau of Phrygia and the coast-plain of Pamphylia, and extending for about 100 m. between Lycia and Isauria (Cilicia Tracheia). It is one of the wildest and most picturesque regions of Asia Minor, the birth-place of the three Pamphylian rivers (the Cestrus, Eurymedon, and Melas), and the country of the beautiful lakes *Egirdir Göl* (ancient Limnai), *Bey-Shehr G.* (anc. Caralis), *Buldur G.* (anc. Ascania), and others of less size. (See Murray's *Handbook to AM*, 150 *ff.*)

1. Geography.

2. History.

The Pisidian highlanders occupied the ridges of the Taurus, and its offshoots on the N. and S. (Strabo, 570: *οἱ μὲν εἰσι τελέως ὀρεινοί, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὑπωρειῶν καθήκοντες ἐφ' ἑκάτερα*). They were ruled by hereditary chieftains, and, like the western Cilicians, were born brigands, continually descending upon the lowlands and defying subjugation (Strabo, 571: *ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κάτω τῆς τε ἐν τῇ Παμφυλίᾳ καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου διεμάχοντο πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἀεί*). Their conquest was taken in hand by the Galatian Amyntas, who reduced many of their fastnesses (Strabo, 569), but finally lost his life in operations against the Homonades lying on the skirts of Lycaonia (25 B.C.). The Romans were thus compelled to undertake the work of pacification themselves.

To this end Augustus, in 6 B.C., established a series of Roman Colonies or garrison towns on the flanks of Pisidia. In western Pisidia he founded Olbasa, Comama, and Cremna, all connected by a military road with the Pisidian Antioch. From Antioch another military road ran south-eastwards to Parlais and Lystra, the Colonies which held in check eastern Pisidia and Isauria (see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of AM*, 398).

The policy of the Imperial government was to protect the existing Hellenic civilisation of Asia Minor, without attempting to force Roman civilisation upon the people in its place. The mountaineers of Pisidia, however, were practically untouched by Hellenic influences, and the attempt directly to Romanise this region was imperatively demanded in the interests of peace. Inscriptions show that the rural population, here as in Phrygia, spoke little or no Greek (cp Ramsay 'Inscr. en Langue

[1] Cp AMALEK, and Moore, *Judges*, 311.

Pisidienne,' in *Rev. des Univ. du Midi*, 1895, p. 353 *f.*; cp id. *Hist. Comm. on Gal.* 150).[1]

Politically the whole country formed part of the Roman Province of Galatia, until 74 A.D., when great part of it was joined to the new double province Lycia-Pamphylia. After this date the name Pisidia gradually drifted northwards until it included most of southern Phrygia.

3. Paul's visits. On his first journey Paul passed through Pisidia, apparently without stopping on the way, to Antioch (Acts 13 14). On the return, Paul and Barnabas 'passed throughout Pisidia' (Acts 14 24 AV, *διελθόντες τὴν Πισιδίαν*; RV 'passed through'), which seems to imply preaching (see Ramsay in *Exp.* May, 1895, p. 385); but apparently little success attended the effort.[2]

Nevertheless, there seems to remain a trace of Paul's presence in Pisidia, in the name *Kara Bavlo* given to the imposing ruins of the town Adada (Ἄδαδα), the only important city on the direct road from the Pamphylian coast to Antioch. *Bavlo* is simply Παῦλο: the modern town, also called *Bavlo*, lies 5 or 6 m. to the S. of the ancient site. A fine church of early date stands in ruins about 1 m. S. of the remains of Adada. (See Ramsay, *Church in the Rom. Emp.*(5) 20 *f.*)

In passing through this region, Paul may have experienced those 'perils of waters,' and 'perils of robbers,' of which we hear in 2 Cor. 11 26 (*κινδύνοις ποταμῶν, κινδύνοις λῃστῶν*). The 'perils of waters' are very real in this country of mountain torrents (cp the implication in Strabo's remark, p. 571, *γέφυραι δ' ἐπίκεινται ταῖς ὁδοῖς*. See also the dedication in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 3 479). The danger from robbers is illustrated by the inscriptions referring to the corps guarding estates (*ὀροφύλακες, παραφυλακῖται*: Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of AM*, 174); and by the epitaph on a tomb near Hadrianopolis dedicated by his parents to *Σούσου υἱῷ ὀροφύλακι ἰσφαγέντι ὑπὸ λῃστῶν* (Sterrett, *Epigraphic Journey in AM*, no. 156; cp Ramsay, *op. cit.* 178). An inscription found on the borders of Pisidia proves that in later times there was a distinct corps charged with the maintenance of order in the mountains (Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phryg.* 1 328, no. 133: *Αὐρ. Εἰρηναῖος εἰστρατιώτης ἐστρατεύσετο ἐνδόξως, πολλοὺς ὤλεσε λιστὰς διὰ χιρῶν κ.τ.λ.*).

In Acts 13 14 occurs the ethnic Πισιδία, 'Pisidian,' applied to Antioch, the proper style of which was Ἀντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ. The adjective was used by a natural development in order to distinguish the town from others of the same name. It was not until a much later period that it could be correctly described as τῆς Πισιδίας 'in Pisidia' as translated in AV (see ANTIOCH, 1, col. 184, and col. 1597, n. 2).

In Mk. 14 3, *νάρδου πιστικῆς* (cp Jn. 12 3), Jannaris conjectures Πισιδικῆς, and refers to Strabo 570 *f.* (the ointments of Selge).

W. J. W.

PISPAH (פִּסְפָּה), b. Jether, in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4, ii.), 1 Ch. 7 38 (φαcφαι [B], -φα [AL]).

PISTACHIO NUTS (בָּטְנִים), Gen. 43 11 RVmg., EV NUTS (*q.v.*).

PIT. The words to be noticed are:

1. בּוֹר, *bōr*. For its uses see CONDUITS, § 1, 1, and cp PRISON. The phrase 'those that have gone down to the pit' (Is. 38 18 Ps. 28 1 cp 30 4 [3], 88 4 [5]) sounds strangely. 'Pits' were not commonly used for burial; Jer. 41 9 is of course no proof that they were. בּוֹר 'pit' or 'cistern' and בְּאֵר 'well' are used metaphorically for Shĕōl, which was regarded as spacious below but narrow at the top (cp Ps. 69 16 [15]). See Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 132, n. 8, and cp 2.

2. בְּאֵר, *bĕ'ēr*. See SPRINGS. Note that בְּאֵר, like בּוֹר, sometimes = Shĕōl (Ps. 55 24 [23], 69 16 [15]). In the latter passage 'the mouth of the בְּאֵר' is spoken of.

3. שַׁחַת, *šáḥath*, שוחה *šūḥāh* and שִׁיחָה *šīḥāh* (√שׁוּחַ, to sink down, to be sunk into mire), literally a pit made to serve as a snare for animals or for men by being deceptively covered over with branches or with slight matting. Hence used figuratively (cp Eccles. 9 12), Ps. 16 10 30 10 [9] 49 9 [10] 55 24 [23] Job 17 14 33 24 28. In some of these passages EV, following 𝔊 (which in Ps. 9 16 16 10 30 10 has *διαφθορά*, but in Ps. 7 16 94 13 15 Prov. 26 27, *βόθρος*, and in Job 14 7 33 18, etc., *θάνατος*), gives 'corruption'; but the supposed derivation from √שחת 'to destroy, corrupt' is unnecessary and improbable.

4. גֶּבֶא, *gébhe'* (√גבא, to gather together), rendered 'pit' in AV Is. 30 14. See CONDUITS, § 1, 2.

5. שְׁאֹל, *šᵉ'ōl*. See SHEOL.

6. גּוּמָּץ, *gūmmāṣ*, *βόθρος*, Eccles. 10 8.

7. פַּחַת, *páḥath* (2 S. 17 9 18 17). Used figuratively in Is. 24 17 *f.*, Jer. 48 43 *f.*, Lam. 3 47. Cp SNARE. On Jer. 48 28 see DOVE, § 4, iv.

8. The Gr. *βόθυνος* (Mt. 15 14, etc.) = *βόθρος* (no. 3 above), signifies any hole or hollow.

9. *φρέαρ* (Lk. 14 5 Jn. 4 11) corresponds rather to no. 2 above, an artificial excavation; for *τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου* (Rev. 9 1 *f.*) see ABYSS.

10. For *ὑπολήνιον* (Mk. 12 1 RV) see WINEPRESS.

PITCH. 1. זֶפֶת, *zépheth*, Ar. *zift*, perhaps a loan word from Aram. *ziphtā* (Fränkel); Ex. 2 3 (בחמר ובזפת, αcφαλτοπιccα, *bitumine ac pice*), Is. 34 9 (πιccα, *pix*); Ecclus. 13 1 (Heb. נוגע בזפת תדבק ידו, 'Whoso touches pitch, it cleaves to his hand' [so Syr.]; 𝔊, ο απτομενοc πιccηc μολυνθηcεται); also Bel 27 Dan. 3 46 𝔊 [Song of Three Children, 23]. A wide term including both vegetable and mineral pitch (see Is. 34 9, which Sir W. J. Dawson regards as a description of a bitumen eruption, *Exp.*, 1886 *b*, p. 76). On Ex. 2 3 cp BITUMEN.

2. כֹּפֶר, *kṓpher*, *ἄσφαλτος*, *bitumen*, Gen. 6 14†. See BITUMEN.

PITCHER. 1. כַּד, *kad*, *ὑδρία*, Gen. 24 14. See CRUSE, 1.

2. נֵבֶל, *nébhel*, Lam. 4 2. See BOTTLE.

3. *κεράμιον* Mk. 14 13 Lk. 22 10. See POTTERY, cp BOTTLE.

PITHOM (פִּתֹם; πειθω [B], πιθωμ [A], πιθωθ [F*], φιθωθ [F1mg], πιθω [L], πειθων [etc., cp פיתון, Sam.]), one of the store (? see below) cities built by the Israelites during the Egyptian oppression, according to Ex. 1 11. We assume it to have been identical with ETHAM (*q.v.*).

1. Tell el-Maskhûta. Uncertain as the geography of Goshen and of the Exodus remains in most points, the locality of Pithom is now generally assumed to have been determined by the excavations of E. Naville (in the spring of 1883), described by him in vol. 1 of the *Egypt Exploration Fund Memoirs* under the title: 'The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus,' to which the reader is referred (1st edition 1885, reprinted and revised three times since then).

The ruins excavated by Naville are situated in the E. of the Wādy Ṭūmilāt, between the railway to Ismā'ilīye-Suēz and the new (Ismā'ilīye) sweet-water canal. The place is now called Tel(l)-el-Maskhûṭa, 'hill of the statue,' from a granite group of Rameses II., which represents the king standing between the two sun-gods Rē'-Harmachis and Atum. Lepsius (*Chron.* 348, etc.) concluded from this sculpture that it indicates a place where Rameses II. was worshipped as a local deity (no cogent argument), and that, consequently, we have here the locality of the biblical city of Rameses. This hypothesis led the engineers engaged in excavating the Ismā'ilīye canal to call the temporary railway-station at that place 'Ramsès,' and some maps still retain that name, although Lepsius's theory has not been confirmed by the excavations. Some former visitors called the place Abû-Keïsheïb (or Kashab, Kêshêb, Keïsheïd); the correct Arabic form seems to have been *ḥašab*. After the removal of the monuments (the group just mentioned, sphinxes, etc.) to Ismā'ilīye, very little remained to indicate the site of the city. Naville, however, traced a great square brick wall, enclosing about 55,000 square yards, and inside of it ruins of a temple and

[1] Cp *id.* Phrygian Inscriptions of the Roman Period, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, 1887, p. 381 *f.*

[2] If any church was founded, it would be accounted Galatian, and be included among those to which the Ep. to Gal. was sent.

of store chambers (see below, § 4). Several inscriptions were found, from which Naville concluded that the name of the city was *P-atûm*[1] (or *etôm*, earliest form *etômu*), 'house (*i.e.*, abode) of Atum.'[2] The city Pithom had its name from the sun-god of Heliopolis, the protector of the whole valley of Goshen, which was considered as a dependency of On-Heliopolis. The god Atum, represented in human form with the royal crown of Egypt on his head, was by later theology distinguished from other solar deities as the representative of the sinking sun. See ON. It is to be observed that the Coptic version of the OT has the more correct form ⲡⲉⲑⲱⲙ (see below). Herodotus (2 158) states that the canal dug by Necho and Darius 'ran somewhat above the city Bubastis at the side of Πατουμος, the Arabian (*i.e.*, eastern) city. It runs into the Red Sea.' This description is evidently very vague. Formerly scholars inferred from it the identity of the place where that canal branched off to the E. with Patumos.[3] This conclusion was, however, always uncertain, Patumos being probably mentioned by Herodotus only—as the most important city on the shore of the canal—to determine its direction.[4]

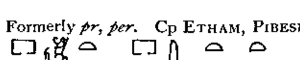
2. Old names.

The geographical lists of the ancient Egyptians mention *P(er)-atûm* (or *etôm[u]*, see above) as the capital of the Heroopolitan nome of Ptolemaic time, the 8th of Lower Egypt, and describe it as situated 'at the Eastern entrance of Egypt.' For the most part the name *Ṯku* (read *Ṯuku*?) is connected with that place. Elsewhere (EXODUS, § 10) the question of identity or distinction of the names Pithom and *Ṯ(u)ku* (Succoth?) has been touched on. It might almost be assumed that the one was the sacred, the other the profane name. Naville's (p. 5) hypothesis is that *Ṯ(u)ku* was originally the name of the region and was at a later date transferred to the town. The present writer would rather prefer the theory that the two names marked two neighhouring places (*Petōm* being evidently the younger foundation) which had grown together by expansion so as to form one city. Cp the passage, Pap. Anastasi, 6 4 16, speaking of 'a royal frontier castle (*ḫtm*) of *Ṯ-ku* close by the pools of Pithom.' In the monuments found by Naville at Tel(l) el-Maskhûṭa the name *Ṯku* is used very often and refers undoubtedly to the place of the excavations, whilst the other name, 'house of Atum,' occurs rather rarely,—in the great inscription of Ptolemy II., *l.* 14, together with *Ṯku*. Thus we seem to have the two biblical places Pithom and Succoth so closely adjoining each other that their names might be interchanged (as is done in the geographical lists) without their being fully identical. Finally, the biblical ETHAM seems to be the same place. Ex. 13 20 could, of course, not indicate a full day's march between Succoth and Etham, notwithstanding Nu. 33 6 which is usually understood thus.

The excavations have shown that the city was founded by the coloniser of Goshen, the great Rameses II. See GOSHEN. It has to be added that the tradition in Strabo, 38 (Sesostris first connected the Nile with the Red Sea) contains an element of truth. It refers to the construction of a canal through Goshen to the Bitter Lakes, which canal, however, was evidently intended only to furnish a regular water supply. We have no proof that Rameses II. connected the Bitter Lakes with the Red Sea, which connection alone would have allowed successful navigation to the E. The traces of a large ancient canal, near Tel(l) el-Maskhûṭa, belong,

3. History.

[1] Formerly *pr*, *per*. Cp ETHAM, PIBESETH, etc.

[2] 

[3] Lepsius, accordingly, tried to identify Pithom with the ruins of Tel(l) Abû Islêmân near that junction, before the entrance to the valley of Goshen.

[4] Naville tried to alter the text, so that it would read: 'at the side of Patumos, etc., it (the canal) runs into the Red Sea.' Unfortunately, this alteration is rather violent.

probably, to the later constructions of Necho, Darius, and Trajan. The kings of dynasty 22 left traces of their building activity in Tel(l) el-Maskhûṭa, later Nectanebo. It must have been a very important place under the later dynasties and the Ptolemies, after the connection between the Bitter Lakes and the Red Sea had made it a port of trade. The Greeks, who called it Heroopolis or Heroönpolis,[1] describe it as such. Passages which speak of Heroopolis as a port of the Red Sea seem to refer to its situation on the canal (about the middle of its course) and not to mean that it was actually on the Red Sea. For the objections to the popular theory that a gulf of the Red Sea extended, at that time, as far as to Pithom-Succoth, see EXODUS. [A large inscription of Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, was found there, commemorating various expeditions to the coast of Eastern Africa sent forth from that place.] The Romans built there a large fortified camp, Hero Castra, for which they seem to have destroyed most of the earlier monuments, much to the disadvantage of modern archæology. The Thou of the Itinerarium Antonini, however, does not seem to be Pithom as was assumed by Lepsius, etc. Only two MSS read *Thoum*; the Notitia Dignitatum has the better reading *Thohu*, and the situation, 50 R. m. from Heliopolis, 48 from Pelusium, does not agree with our Pithom (thus, correctly, Naville). The Coptic versions render the Heroonpolis of Gen. 46 29 𝕲 by ⲡⲉⲑⲱⲙ, thus proving that the place retained its old Egyptian name by the side of the Greek one, even in the Christian period.

It remains to speak of the designation of Pithom, Rameses (and On, 𝕲) as 'treasure' (AV) or 'store' cities. The word used in Ex. 1 11 is מִסְכְּנוֹת which seems to mean 'cities for magazines.' Cp STORE CITIES. The translation of 𝕲, 'fortified cities,' is inadequate (although, of course, such frontier places must have been fortified, and we have read of fortifications above, Papyrus Anastasi, 6). It is very remarkable that on the spot of Naville's excavations large store-houses or granaries were found for the first time. Naville (p. 9-10) describes them: large buildings with thick walls, 2 to 3 yds. thick, of crude bricks, consisting of a great number of rectangular chambers of various sizes, none of which had any communication with each other. These are the granaries which, according to numerous pictures, were filled from the top and could be emptied from above or through a reserve door in the side. The hieroglyphic sign *šnwt*,[2] 'granary,' represents two such magazine chambers without connection between each other, constructed on a thick layer of beaten clay to keep the rats from digging into them. No other examples have been excavated besides those in Tel(l) el-Maskhûṭa, which is a very significant fact, and may serve as a confirmation to the translation given above. Whether those large royal granaries of Pithom-Succoth had a special (military or other) intention cannot be determined at present [cp *Crit. Bib.*]. W. M. M.

4. Store cities.

PITHON (פִּיתוֹן, 1 Ch. 8 35, פִּיתֹן 9 41†, cp PUTHITE [פּוּתִי]; φ[α]ιθων [B; ℵ in 9 41], φιθων [A], φιθωθ [L]), descendant of Saul mentioned in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 35 = 9 41.

PLACE, ABSALOM'S (יַד אַבְשָׁלוֹם), 1 S. 18 18. See ABSALOM, end; and MONUMENT.

PLAGUE (מַכָּה, מַגֵּפָה, נֶגֶף, נֶגַע), cp DISEASES, col. 1104; also LEPROSY, and PESTILENCE. For **Plague-boils** (עפלים; Dt. 28 27 RVmg., 1 S. 5 *f.*) see EMERODS, begin.

PLAGUES, THE TEN.[3] The signs and judgments which preceded the deliverance of the Israelites from

[1] We have other examples in which the Greeks translated the name Atum, Etōm, by 'hero.'

[2] .

[3] Cp EXODUS (BOOK), § 3, ii.

the Egyptian bondage. They are described in detail in Ex. 7 8-11 10, to which 12 29 14 26-29 form an appendix, and are epitomised in Ps. 78 42-51 53 *b*, 105 27-36[1]; see also rhetorical references in Wisd. 16-19. The common term 'plague' is not strictly accurate. Some of the occurrences referred to have the character of 'reprisals'; they are divine 'strokes' (נֶגַע, *nĕga'*, מַגֵּפָה, *maggēphāh*) or judgments on the obstinate king of Egypt. Others are rather 'signs,' 'portents,' 'significant wonders' (מוֹפֵת, *mōphēth*) and serve to accredit Moses and Aaron as Yahwè's ambassadors; they are, however, not without a strong magical tinge, and it is even possible for the Egyptian magicians to reproduce, or at least attempt to reproduce, the same thing at Pharaoh's command.

So much by way of preliminaries. Further details will follow as soon as we have given some attention to the circumstances under which the events are reported to have occurred.

1. Circumstances.

It should be noticed that, however patriotic the writers are, they enable us to look at things to some extent from Pharaoh's point of view; probably enough, the story which they severally reproduce is based on a much simpler tradition, which said nothing of 'portents' or 'plagues,' and traced the Exodus of the Israelites to the apprehensions caused to the Miṣrites[2] by the excessive multiplication of their visitors, which occasioned frequent and bitter racial strifes, and also to a matter of profound religious importance to which we shall return. The later editors of the tradition are therefore perhaps, in spite of themselves, not wholly unjust to Pharaoh. This is what stands in Ex. 1 8 (J):

Now there arose a new king who knew not Joseph. And he said to his people, Behold, the people of the b'ne Israel are too many and too mighty for us; come, let us deal cleverly with them, lest they multiply (further), and when any war happens, they join themselves to our enemies, and fight against us, and (so) withdraw from the land.

We learn in the sequel that Pharaoh set the Israelites to great public works, treating them with the oppressiveness usual to Oriental rulers in such cases, and that Moses, who enjoyed the immunity from personal violence proper to a prophet, and could therefore approach Pharaoh, asked leave for the Israelites to go three days' journey into the wilderness to hold a *ḥag* (see FEASTS, § 6, DANCE, § 3) to their God. Now begins that strange contest between the two great powers, in which we cannot but blame the imperfect truthfulness (cp MOSES, § 9) alike of Pharaoh, who breaks his word, and of Moses, who (according to J) attempts to mystify the Egyptian king by making believe that the Israelites only desire to go three days' journey into the wilderness. It must be admitted, however, that both E and P ascribe a higher moral standard to Moses, whom they represent as saying with the utmost plainness, 'Thus saith Yahwè, Let my people go'[3] (5 1; cp 6 11), and that the imperative demands of Egyptian patriotism explain, if they do not altogether excuse, the conduct of Pharaoh. All Egyptian kings understood the danger to which the state might be exposed by the machinations of fugitives from Egypt. Ebers has already referred to a provision in the treaty between Rameses II. and Ḥetasar, the prince of the Ḥeta, relative to such fugitives (*Durch Gosen*, 86). Pharaoh might well have thought that a combination of the Israelites with other Semitic tribes would have imperilled his kingdom. Hence, we can understand how, trusting in the protection of his own great god (Amen-rē' ?), and acting on the advice of his priests and prophets, the 'Pharaoh of the Exodus' could turn a deaf ear to the Semitic prophet. It was only natural too that, when entangled in a net which enfolded him the more tightly the more he sought to break from it, he gave way for a moment, and sought to impose conditions on the spokesman of the Israelites. At first they were not all to go; then, they were not to go very far away (*i.e.*, not to leave the land of Egypt); then, they were to leave their flocks and herds behind as a pledge of their return. To this last demand Moses replies that 'not a hoof' shall be left, and the enraged king threatens even Moses with death if he enters his presence again.[1] The Hebrew leader rejoins with cutting irony, 'Thou hast spoken well; I will see thy face again no more.' Thereupon Moses announces what should be Yahwè's final judgment—the death of the firstborn (though Yahwè still has in reserve another known only to himself). The threat is fulfilled. In hot haste the Israelites are dismissed—apparently however, in Pharaoh's intention, only for a time,[2] and the king even beseechingly says, as he dismisses them, 'bless me also'—*i.e.*, save me by your potent influence with your God from a prolongation of his wrath.

We now return to the plagues. It has long ago been remarked that, with the exception of the first (the rod and the serpent, 7 8-13), which has the character of a magical performance, all stand connected with definite natural occurrences, and that the plagues related by P have a specifically Egyptian character.

2. Threefold representation.

Nevertheless all these natural events have such intensifying details and occur in such rapid succession that we feel that we are not reading the record of an extraordinarily bad year but that a supernatural agency is at work. It is, however, a threefold representation that we have before us. The purpose of the wonders, as we have seen, is expressed in two different ways. It may be added that the agency is represented in three modes. At one time it is Aaron who is the wonder-worker, stretching forth his rod at the bidding of Moses; at another it is Moses himself who does so at the command of Yahwè; in yet other cases it is Yahwè who works the wonder after having announced it by Moses.

This threefold mode of representation corresponds to a threefold literary source (P J E). According to E, Moses has received from Yahwè the potent rod, or staff, of God (cp 4 17 20, and cp MOSES, § 8). We may therefore attribute to E all those instances in which Moses is the wonder-worker. According to P, Yahwè sends Moses and Aaron to Pharaoh (cp 7 1 *ff.*); thus we may assign to P all the passages in which Aaron works the wonders on the instructions of Moses. To J there will belong all those 'plagues' properly so called which are sent directly by Yahwè after being announced by Moses.

It is fortunate that in some cases the narratives of P and J have been preserved intact, so that we know the scheme or plan of representation adopted in these two documents, and, where there is a fusion of elements, can restore the original form of the respective accounts. The usual frame-work of P is as follows:[3]

[1] The epitome in Ps. 78 is the more important; that in Ps. 105 appears to imitate Ps. 78. The writer of Ps. 78 draws his material from J, on which Rothstein (*ZWT*, 1890) bases a theory that underlying our Ps. 78 is an earlier and shorter psalm of pre-exilic origin. It is perhaps more probable, however, that the contents of our Ps. 78 are a selection from a longer poem on the edifying use of the history of Israel, and that this poem had a wider range as regards the Egyptian plagues. Duhm's theory that 78 49 *f.* is an interpolation 'which originally had probably nothing at all to do with the Egyptian plagues' is based on the unemended MT. 'Their soul,' however, in *v.* 50 refers, not to the Egyptians in general, nor to 'godless Israelites,' but to the firstborn of the Egyptians, who are described in the (doubtless) true text as 'the sons that they delighted in,' ויצו למלאך משחית להשפיל בני תאותם. (See Che. *Ps.*(2).)

[2] 'Miṣrites,' to leave the question open, whether Egyptians or Muṣrites of N. Arabia are meant. See MOSES, § 6.

[3] We assume (with Bacon) that the words 'that they may hold a feast (וְיָחֹגּוּ) to me in the wilderness' (5 1) are a harmonistic insertion.

[1] Moses, then, can hardly have been resident in an outlying province of Egypt. The old tradition seems to have placed the Israelites in the midst of the land of their sojourn (see Beke, *Orig. Biblicæ*, 1 277; MOSES, § 4).

[2] Only for a time,—otherwise 12 31*b* and 32 would be superfluous; note also כאשר דברתם (*v.* 32, 𝔊 om.) and כְּדַבֶּרְכֶם (*v.* 31, Knob. Di. Rys.).

[3] See Baentsch's full and lucid note on the Plagues in his commentary.

PLAGUES, THE TEN

Then Yahwè said to Moses, say to Aaron, Stretch forth thy rod . . . and there shall be . . . And they did so and Aaron stretched forth his rod and there was . . . And so did the magicians with their enchantments . . . And Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he did not listen to them, as Yahwè had said.

J's formula is quite different :

And Yahwè said to Moses, Go in to Pharaoh, and say to him, Thus saith Yahwè, the God of the Hebrews, Let my people go that they may worship me, and if thou refuse to let them go, behold I will . . . And Yahwè did so and sent . . . And Pharaoh called for Moses and said Entreat for me that Yahwè cause to depart . . . And Moses went out from Pharaoh and cried to Yahwè. And Yahwè did according to the word of Moses and caused to depart . . . But Pharaoh hardened his heart and did not let the people go.

It is noticeable here that the delivery of the divine command to Pharaoh by Moses and the refusal of Pharaoh to let the people go, are not expressly stated. The formula of E is best seen in 10 21 *f.* :

And Yahwè said to Moses, Stretch forth thy hand to . . . that there may be . . . And Moses stretched forth his hand to . . . and there was . . . But Yahwè made Pharaoh's heart firm and he was not willing to let them go.

With these data as a clue we are able to assign the various portents and plagues to their several sources thus :

P	J	E
1. Rod and serpent.		
2. Water into blood.	1. Waters smitten ; fish die.	1. Nile water into blood.
3. Frogs.	2. Frogs.	[2. Frogs ; perhaps.]
4. Lice.		
	3. Flies.	
5. Boils.		[3. Boils ; perhaps.]
	4. Murrain.	
	5. Hail.	4. Hail.
	6. Locusts.	5. Locusts.
		6. Darkness.
	7. Death of firstborn.	7. Death of firstborn.

It will be noticed that in P there are only five plagues. P's object is to make them all specifically Egyptian. The second, third, and fourth follow the natural order of certain phenomena which are of regular recurrence in Egypt (cp Macalister, 'Plagues,' Hast. *DB* 3 892*b*, but see criticism below, § 3). They are also wrought by Aaron by means of his rod or magic staff. Hence their co-ordination with the rod-and-serpent miracle, and their separation from the death of the firstborn and the destruction of the Egyptians in the *yam sûph* (see RED SEA). These two events, however, serve as an appendix to the list of 'portents' ; in the case of the *yam sûph* the stretching forth of the 'rod' is specially mentioned. Thus even with P the sacred number seven is duly recognised.

In J the 'plagues' strictly deserve the name : their one object is to break down the resistance of Pharaoh. Hence nothing is said about the rod and the serpent, and the death of the firstborn can be included. There is no human agency in the sending and in the removal of these calamities. All that Moses has to do is to announce the plague, and at Pharaoh's request to intercede for its removal. Moreover the events are described realistically. It is only in the circumstances that the miraculous element appears. Natural succession has nothing to do with this arrangement ; they are in an ascending scale of severity. Moreover, it is only the first three that are quite specifically Egyptian.

E, as we have seen elsewhere (MOSES, § 8), coincides to some extent with P in the importance attached to the wonder-working staff. Hence the wonderful works are at once credentials of Moses (who is the agent), and proofs of the might of him by whom Moses is sent. That E's heptad is less perfectly preserved than J's is a mere accident.

The last of the plagues is the only one that is dated ; the death of the firstborn was in the spring—in the month of Abib.

3. Period.

P gives one the impression that blow follows on blow without any pause. E, too, since there is no mention of constantly renewed negotiations, presupposes a rapid succession of blows. Still, one of the plagues requires three days (Ex. 10 22 *f.*), and afterwards the Israelites have time enough to obtain ornaments from the Egyptians. It is in J that the longest time is required for the due observance of solemn formalities, etc. Even in J, however, it is a question only of days, not of months ; otherwise, indeed, Pharaoh would have had time to plan new measures of oppression. We can hardly therefore venture with Macalister (Hast. *DB* 3 392*b*) to suppose that, in the intention of the narrators, the plagues are to be spread over the period between August and the following April.

It is unnecessary to give a complete investigation here of the natural phenomena described in the narratives.

4. Details.

See the various illustrative articles—*e.g.*, LICE, FLY, BOIL, HAIL, LOCUST, FIRSTBORN. Let us notice, however, that P's first sign—that of the rod and the serpent (Ex. 7 9)—is the converse of the common juggler's trick of benumbing venomous serpents so that they are as stiff as rods (cp SERPENT, § 3). Macalister (Hast. *DB* 3 889*a*) states that he has seen both a snake and a crocodile thrown by hypnotism into complete rigidity. Unintentionally supplementing this, Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Kypros*, 195 *f.*) compares the snake-staves (staves ending with the heads of snakes) of Cyprus, which he thinks originally belonged to sorcerers.

The plague of the water made blood is no mere natural phenomenon, though it may seem to resemble one. The Nile in Egypt towards the close of June changes colour from the successive floods turbid with mud. 'In eight or ten days it has turned from grayish-blue to dark red, occasionally of so intense a colour as to look like newly shed blood.' The Red Nile, however, is not unwholesome like the Green Nile (Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 23), and when a famous hymn to the Nile (*RP*(1) 4 3 ; *RP*(2) 3 51) speaks of the unkindness of the Nile as bringing destruction to the fishes, it is the Nile at its lowest (first half of June) that is meant.

The plague of frogs is one that would frequently occur in Egypt but for the ibis. 'The bird, by seeking its proper food, does the country a singular service, freeing it from vermin, which, were they to remain and rot, would certainly occasion a stench mortal to men and beasts' (Hasselquist, *Voyages*, 86).

It is stated respecting the locusts that they were brought by an east wind (רוח קדים, 10 13). It is not often that this wind brings locusts to Egypt ; on the other hand, it would be a perfectly natural phenomenon in Palestine where the writer lived. The writer of 𝔊, living in Egypt, substitutes the *νότος* or south(-west) wind. That locusts were in fact dreaded by ancient agriculturists in Egypt is attested by Erman, though Hasselquist (*Voyages*, 233) states as the result of inquiry, that they 'at least never occasion a *plague* to the country (Egypt), as they do in other places.'

The plague of darkness reminds one forcibly of the darkness of a great sand-storm such as the Ḥamsīn (S. or SW.) brings in early spring. This electrical wind may be expected during the twenty-five days before and the twenty-days after the vernal equinox (hence its name *ḥamsin* = 50). It blows, however, only for two or three or four days at a time. The French traveller Denon (*Voyages*, *ap.* Di.) remarks that the dust-clouds of the Ḥamsīn sometimes travel in streaks, so that some parts of a country might be free from the pernicious blast (cp Ex. 10 23*b*, 'but all the bne Israel had light in their dwellings').[1]

It has been thought by some that the death of the firstborn was due to plague. The parallelism of 2 K. 19 35 Is. 37 36 might suggest this ; but though a pestilential disease might, as Dr. C. Creighton points out, fall upon one class of people and spare another, the narrative distinctly confines its incidence to the Egyptian firstborn of men and beasts, which cannot be called a class in Dr. Creighton's sense. We are evidently to suppose the direct agency of a supernatural being called

[1] Elsewhere E presupposes that Israelites and Miṣrites dwelt together. See Baentsch's note, and Beke, *l.c.*

'the destroyer' (see DESTROYER); cp Ex. 12 23 Ps. 78 49 *f.* (for emendation see col. 3785, note 1).

A fresh light, however, seems to be thrown on the story by the well-grounded theory that the scene of the striking narrative in Gen. 22 1-14 was originally placed in Jerahmeelite or Muṣrite territory, not far (probably) from Kadesh; see MORIAH, and cp Winckler, *GI* 2 44, n. 1.

5. Death of firstborn.

The object of that legendary narrative was to oppose the practice of sacrificing firstborn sons which must have been prevalent in the land of Muṣri where Israelitish clans (represented alike by Abraham and by Moses) probably sojourned (cp ISAAC, JACOB, MOSES). It is difficult not to think that the tradition on which the narrative in Ex. 12 29-36 was based had a similar object.[1] The clans of Israel, it was probably said, came out from Miṣrim, from the house of the Arabians (Ex. 13 3, emended, see MOSES, § 11), because Yahwè had told them not to go on sacrificing their firstborn sons, but to redeem them (Ex. 13 11 *ff.*). There was a time when the divine voice had spoken otherwise (cp Gen. 22 2); but now that voice bade them leave their native land, like Abraham, rather than persist in an antiquated and undesirable religious practice. When the story of the peaceful Exodus (see MOSES, § 11) from Miṣrim (Muṣri) was transformed into the story of an Exodus in trembling haste from 'the land of Miṣraim (Egypt), from the house of servants,' it became necessary to reshape the old tradition, so as to make the slaying of the firstborn of the Egyptian Miṣrites the punishment inflicted upon the foreign oppressors by the offended Yahwè. In a word, it became a 'plague,' and the imagination of great narrators was at once stirred to produce other plagues to accompany it.

Taking the institution of the Passover (*pěsaḥ*) in connection with the slaying of the firstborn of the Miṣrim, one may ask whether the original tradition must not have represented the paschal sacrifice as Israel's *substitute* for the sacrifice of the firstborn of men (cp Gen. 22 13). We are not at all obliged to accept this representation (cp *RS*(2) 365); the simplest and most natural view of this characteristically Arabian practice (cp *RS*(2) 227) is different. See FIRSTBORN, PASSOVER. But it is one which would naturally suggest itself at a certain stage of religious reflection.

It is useless to appeal in behalf of the historicity of the 'ten plagues' to the threefold tradition of JEP, or to the comparatively accurate local colouring. Egyptologists inform us that Min-mes was the name of the chief magician under Rameses II., and that Me(r)neptaḥ lost a son. What critical use can we possibly make of these facts? Egyptian history is silent on all the points of real critical importance. Even OT critics have thought it worth while to conjecture that some calamities which may have fallen upon Egypt and facilitated the Exodus may have been transformed into the so-called plagues. A needless suggestion, even from a conservative critical point of view. The fact of the migration, and the supernatural powers of the leader being granted, it was natural to make the departure of the Israelites as full of the marvellous as possible, in order to enhance the greatness of Yahwè.

In truth it is a 'theologoumenon' that we have before us, and as such the story of the plagues is of deep interest.

6. Religious characteristics.

Let us close this article with a description (from Baentsch, p. 57) of the distinctive religious characteristics of the three great narrators.

'The Yahwè of J is the Yahwè who personally interferes with the course of nature, and manifests himself as lord of the elements, who makes his personal presence everywhere felt, and transacts history under our very eyes. E's conception of God is more abstract; still more so is that of P. In both Yahwè is seated above the world and does not interfere personally in its affairs. The growing tendency to introduce intermediate agents between God and the world finally led to the later development of the doctrine of angels.' Above all let us in conclusion remember that God is not banished from the history of Israel even if the Exodus was attended by no physical signs and wonders, no slaughter of the Egyptian firstborn, no drowning of a hostile king in the Red Sea.

T. K. C.

[1] The connection between the story in Ex. 12 29 *ff.* and that of the sacrifice of Isaac has been pointed out by Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 2 49, who, however, works out the idea quite differently.

PLAIN, corresponds to seven Hebrew words in OT and one Greek word in NT.

1. אָבֵל, *'ābēl*, 'a meadow' (§§ 89-100); so Judg. 11 33, mg. (ABEL-CHERAMIM).

2. אֵלוֹן, *'ēlōn*, 'oak' (?), or perhaps rather 'sacred tree' (see OAK, TEREBINTH). Only in place-names; thus Gen. 12 6, see MOREH; 13 18 14 13, see MAMRE; Judg. 4 11 9 6 37, see BEZAANANNIM; 1 S. 10 3, see TABOR, ALLON-BACHUTH. Here AV, like Vg., is guided by the euphemistic rendering of the Targg. (מֵישְׁרֵי), but 𝔊 and Pesh. render correctly.

3. בִּקְעָה, *biḳ'āh*, 'a highland plain' (see VALLEY).

4. כִּכָּר, *kikkār*, 'circle,' often applied to some part of the Jordan valley, primarily the district of Jericho, see JORDAN, § 2 (𝔊 generally ἡ περίχωρος or τὰ περίχωρα [BℵADEFL], less often ἡ περίοικος [BADEL], and in two passages treated as a proper name; 2 S. 18 23, κεχαρ [BL], καιχαρ [A]; Neh. 3 22, αχεχαρ [B], αχχεχξαρ [A], χεχαρ [ℵ], where 𝔊L confusing כ with ב has πρωτοτοκου) called by Jos. (*BJ* iv. 8 2) τὸ μέγα πεδίον a still common name for which is no. 6. In Neh. 3 22 the word 'plain,' RVmg. 'circuit,' probably means 'district' (of Jerusalem). On 2 S. 18 23 ('by the way of the plain,' RV) see MAHANAIM, and cp Wi. *GI* 2 235.

5. מִישׁוֹר, *mīšōr*, 'level land,' as, *e.g.*, in Is. 40 4 ('the rugged shall become a level land'; AV 'the crooked shall be made straight'), but very often in the specialised sense of 'the table-land of MOAB' [*q.v.*, and cp SHARON], *e.g.*, Josh. 13 9 16 *f.* (AV in Dt. 4 43, 'plain country' = τῇ γῇ τῇ πεδινῇ [BAL]). 𝔊 oftenest treats it as a proper name (μ[ε]ισωρ [BℵAFQL], βισωρ [A once]), but sometimes renders πεδίον, πεδινή.

6. עֲרָבָה, *'ărābāh*, preserved in RV (and Josh. 18 18 AV) as a proper name, Arabah, meaning the whole depression from the Sea of Galilee to the Gulf of 'Aḳăba, the S. part of which is still called W. el 'Araba; see DESERT, §§ 2 (4), 3 (2). We also hear of the 'plains (*'arbōth*) of Jericho' (*e.g.*, 2 K. 25 5); for this phrase and also for 𝔊's renderings see ARABAH, but cp MOAB, § 1, n. 1. In 2 S. 15 28 and 17 16 Ḳr., 'the plains of the wilderness' (ערבות המדבר) might mean 'the plains of Jericho' (cp 2 K. 25 5); still, though the versions (but see L) support Kr., the Kt. reading, 'the fords of the wilderness' (adopted by RV; AV 'plain,' 'plains'), is preferable. See FORDS; FERRY-BOAT. L in 2 S. 15 28 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλαίας ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (cp *vv.* 18 23).

7. שְׁפֵלָה, *šephēlāh*, 'lowland,' very frequent, *e.g.*, Jer. 17 26 Ob. 19 Zech. 7 7; usually rendered in AV 'vale, valley, valleys,' by RV everywhere correctly 'lowland.' See SHEPHELAH.

In EVmg. of Gen. 14 5 שָׁוֵה ('a level place'), regarded in the text as part of a pr. n. (see KIRIATHAIM and cp SHAVEH in *v.* 17), is rendered 'plain,' as is אֵיל, 'tree' (τερ[ε]μίνθου [AE], τερεβινθου [L], similarly Pesh.; Vg. *campestria*) in AVmg. of Gen. 14 6. See EL-PARAN, and cp the explanation above under (2).

8. The only Greek word in the NT to be recorded is πεδινός (both πεδ[ε]ινός and πεδίον are frequent in 𝔊 and Apoc.). In Lk. 6 17 AV, 'stood in the *plain*' should be 'stood on a spot in the plain' (ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ), *i.e.*, at the foot of the mountain (according to Mk. and Lk. probably some definite hill near Capernaum) referred to in *v.* 12. RV renders 'on a level place,' as if some flat place on the side of the mountain. Plummer remarks that this would suit the multitudes bringing sick people to be healed better than a plateau high up the mountain. πεδίον Judith 1 5 (borders of Ragau) 1 6 (of Arioch) 1 8 (of Esdraelon) 2 21 (of Bectileth) 2 27 (of Damascus) 3 3 [BA] (fields of wheat) 4 5 (fields) 4 6 (open country near Dothaim) 5 1 (champaign countries) 6 4 (fields) 6 11 (plain) 7 18 (plain) 8 3 (field) 14 2 (field) 15 2 (plain) Wisd. 19 7 Ecclus. 24 14 1 Macc. 3 24 (plain = Shephelah) 4 6 14 *f.* 21 5 52 10 71 73 77 83 11 67 *f.* 12 49 13 13 14 8 16 5 11 2 Macc. 14 33.

PLAIN, CITIES OF THE (עָרֵי הַמִּישֹׁר), Dt. 3 10. See ADMAH AND ZEBOIM, SODOM AND GOMORRAH, BELA, ZOAR; also (Dt. 3 10) MOAB.

PLAISTER. Passing over with brief mention 'the plaister (Dan. 5 5, גִּיר, *gīr*; κονιαμα) of the wall' on which MENE, MENE (*q.v.*) was written, directions as to 'plaistering' anew the leprous house (Lev. 14 42, טוּחַ, ἐξαλειφω), the 'plaister' in Jer. 30 13 (RVmg. for תְּעָלָה, but inconsistently not in 46 11), and the verb 'to plaister' (מָרַח) in Is. 38 21, the last two of which references have to do with wounds (see MEDICINE, and for

Is., *l.c.*, FIG, § 3), we pause on the command of Moses in Dt. 27 2 that the Israelites set up great stones *and plaister them with plaister* (שַׂדְתָּ בַּשִּׂיד, ΚΟΝΙΑCΕΙC ΚΟΝΙΑ, *calce levigabis*). If the text is correct, the 'plaistering'—which means here giving a coat of gypsum (see LIME)—stands in close relation to the recording of 'the words of this law.' The word used for this recording is כָּתַב, which, according to Dillmann, means writing with ink (cp 17 18 31 9), but, according to Driver, inscribing with some special pigment analogous to that employed in the wall-paintings and inscriptions of Egypt. The exegetical question, however, must be subordinated to a historical and text-critical one.

If—as many converging phenomena show—there was an older story of the migration of certain Israelite clans, which said nothing of crossing the Jordan, and represented the immediate goal of the migration to be the Negeb (see MOSES, § 6; NEGEB), and if the text of Dt. 1 1 and 11 29 has been correctly restored elsewhere (SUPH, MOREH), it follows that the text of Dt. 27 2 needs careful revision in accordance with those passages. The duty is in fact urgent, for the commentaries are by no means satisfactory, and we are justified in building on the well-grounded textual emendations referred to. The scene of the address of Moses to the Israelites was originally represented as 'opposite Zarephath' (1 1), and the 'mountains' spoken of in 11 29 were in 'Arab-jerahmeel, at the entrance of Cusham, in the land of the Kenites.' Consequently it becomes natural to emend 27 2 thus, 'When ye have passed through Jerahmeel to the land . . . thou shalt set thee up great stones *in Zarephath of Miṣṣur.*' (Cp ZAREPHATH.) See *Crit. Bib.* The 'words of this law' were presumably to be engraved (cp Now. *Arch.* 1 290, and WRITING), not, however, on the altar-stones (as the writer of Josh. 8 32 supposed), but on the 'great stones,' which were of course not unhewn like the altar-stones.

T. K. C.

PLAITS (תּוֹרִים), Cant. 1 10 *f.* RV. See NECKLACE.

PLANE (מַקְצֻעָה, ΠΑΡΑΓΡΑΦΙC [? Aq. in Q^mg.] BℵAQΓ om.), Is. 44 13†. 𝔊 incomplete and corrupt. Cp HANDICRAFTS, § 2.

PLANE TREE AV **Chestnut Tree** (עַרְמוֹן, *'armōn*; ΠΛΑΤΑΝΟC, Gen. 30 37; ΕΛΑΤΗ, Ezek. 31 8† [Th. ΠΛΑΤΑΝΟC]). The Hebrew name is most likely connected with a root meaning 'to scale off' (Ges. *Thes.*), and is thus appropriate to the plane (*Platanus orientalis*, L.) which peels annually. According to Tristram (*NHB*, 345)—who says 'we never saw the chestnut in Palestine, excepting planted in orchards in Lebanon'—the plane 'is frequent by the sides of streams and in plains, both on the coast and in the northern parts of the country. . . . It is common on the banks of the Upper Jordan, and of the Leontes, where it overhangs the water.' The identification is supported by nearly all ancient authorities, though 𝔊 goes astray in Ezek. 31 8. The mistaken rendering of AV is of Jewish origin.

For the תִּדְהָר, *tidhār*, of Is. 41 19 60 13† RVmg., see PINE, 2.

N. M.

PLANETS (מַזָּלוֹת), 2 K. 23 5 EV. See STARS.

PLANTINGS OF ADONIS (נִטְעֵי נַעֲמָנִים), Is. 17 10 RVmg. See ADONIS.

PLATE. 1. EV rendering of צִיץ, *ṣīṣ*; πέταλον; lamina), the golden object in the high priest's mitre, Ex. 28 36 etc. See MITRE, § 3 *f.*

2. לוּחַ, *lūăḥ* (𝔊 om.), an obscure term in the description of the bases of the 'molten sea,' 1 K. 7 36.

3. סְרָנִים, *s^erānīm* (τὰ προσέχοντα), axles of bronze belonging to bronze wheels, 1 K. 7 30.

4. פַּחִים, *paḥḥīm* (λεπίδες), thin plates of metal, Ex. 39 3 Nu. 17 3 [16 38]. Cp EMBROIDERY, OUCHES.

PLATFORM (עַמּוּד), 2 K. 11 14 23 3 RVmg., EV PILLAR (*q.v.*).

PLATTER (ΠΙΝΑΞ), Lk. 11 39. See CHARGER, 3; also meals, § 9.

PLEDGE (חֲבֹל, *ḥăbōl*; ΕΝΕΧΥΡΑCΜΟC or -ΜΑ, Ezek. 18 12 16 33 15 [𝔊A ἐνεχυρον], or עֲבוֹט, *'ăbōṭ*, ἐνέχυρον, Dt. 24 10 *ff.*; also עֵרָבוֹן, *'ērābōn* ἀρραβών, Gen. 38 17 18 20, whilst עֲרֻבָּה, *'ărubbāh*, occurs once in a general sense (1 S. 17 18, 'token,' see BDB; 𝔊A ὅσα ἂν χρῄζωσιν, 𝔊B omits, 𝔊L τὸ ερουβα) and when used in a technical legal sense means 'security' (Prov. 17 18†). The corresponding verbs are עָרַב, 'to give in pawn,' 'to pledge,' and also 'to become security,' and חָבַל, 'to take something in pawn or pledge.'

Elsewhere (LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16) it is pointed out that the old legislation as to pledges goes on the supposition that indebtedness between Israelites can only have its origin in the poverty of one of the parties which compels him to have recourse to his more prosperous brother for a loan of the means of subsistence. The provisions even of the oldest legislation on this subject, and still more those of Dt., have therefore the express tendency and intention to protect the poor debtor against the oppression of his creditor. The usual method adopted by the creditor to secure his money was to exact a pledge. Houses and vineyards were so given (Neh. 5 3), although as to the form in which this was done we learn nothing. From Neh. 5 3 *f.* compared with 5 5 it would appear that the mortgaged land passed into the possession of the creditor and was redeemed only by repayment of the loan. So far as earlier times are concerned, we read nothing about the mortgaging of lands, nor yet does the law mention such a thing; we are thus left in ignorance as to what the ancient custom was in this respect. If the needy person had no land he could give his sons and daughters in pledge; when this happened they passed into the possession of the creditor as slaves (Neh. 5 5; see SLAVERY); where loans of comparatively small amount were concerned the creditor took such pledge as suited him from the household goods of the debtor—such as clothing, hand-mill, or other domestic implement, staff or signet-ring (cp Gen. 38 18).

1. Practice.

The old law in the Book of the Covenant intervenes in behalf of the debtor so far at least, as to enact that if the pledge be the upper garment or mantle it must be returned to its owner before nightfall, 'for it is his only covering: wherein shall he sleep?' (Ex. 22 26 *f.*). Garments seem, as a rule, to have been favourite pledges (Am. 2 8 Job 22 6 Prov. 20 16 27 13).

2. Laws.

Dt., with the humane disposition which it everywhere displays (cp DEUTERONOMY, § 32, col. 1093), extends the law of the Book of the Covenant just stated so as to prohibit the pledging of necessaries altogether. That articles necessary to life must not be pledged is the plain meaning of Dt., although the law does not express this generally but only in a series of detailed enactments: the garments of a widow, the hand-mill, or even only a part of it, may not be taken in pledge, for that would be to take a man's life in pledge (Dt. 24 6 17). In particular—and this is an important check upon the exorbitance of the rich creditor—the creditor is no longer to have the right he seems formerly to have had, of going in person into the house of the debtor and choosing a pledge at his own discretion, but must stay outside before the door of the borrower and wait to receive what the latter may choose to give by way of pledge. The proviso that the pledge must be restored before nightfall is repeated here also; although the expression is worded generally, we ought, no doubt, to see here a reference to the mantle in the first instance, as in the case of the earlier law, for it is added: that he (the debtor) may sleep in his own garment (Dt. 24 10-13). That the law was abundantly justified in its interposition against the merciless abuse of the system of pledging, but also that on the other hand it did not succeed in doing away with all hardship and even sometimes played into the hands of the unjust rich in their oppression and overreaching of the poor is clear from the many complaints upon the subject (Am. 2 8 Ezek. 18 7 12 16 33 15 Job 22 6 24 3 Prov. 20 16 27 13 Neh. 5 2 *ff.*).

In later Jewish times the law of pledges often supplied the means of evading the strict sabbath law which forbade any payment of money on that day; the buyer gave, instead of the

money for goods received, a pledge—usually his upper garment—which was redeemed when the sabbath ended, at sunset.

3. Security. Security, that is a pledge given by a third party, is strangely enough never mentioned in the earlier period, nor alluded to in the Book of the Covenant or in D. It is not till the later literature is reached that many warnings against the danger of suretyship show how common it was, and with what disastrous results it was often attended (Prov. 6 1 *ff.* 11 15 17 18 20 16 22 26 *f.* Job 17 3 Ecclus. 8 12 *f.* 29 14 *ff.*). Cp DEPOSIT, EARNEST. I. B.

PLEIADES (כִּימָה; παντα [BAQ] in Am. 5 8? αρκτουρον in Job 9 9? [so Aq. Am. 5 8] πλειαδες in Job 38 31? with Sym. and so Sym. Th. Am. 5 8), either Sirius, if this is not rather the 'bow-star' of Job 38 36, or the Pleiades (which may, however, be the 'Ayish of Job 38 32; see STARS, § 3 *c*, and Che. *JBL* 17 [1898] 105).

PLOUGH. See AGRICULTURE, § 3 *f.*

PLUMBLINE (אֲנָךְ; αλαμας [BAQ], *trulla* [trowel] *cæmentarii*), Am. 7 7 *f.*†. See LEAD and HANDICRAFTS, §§ 1, 2.

PLUMMET.[1] 1. מִשְׁקֹלֶת, *miškōleth* (2 K. 21 13, *στάθμιον* [B], *σταθμόν* [AL]), or מִשְׁקֶלֶת, *miškéleth* (Is. 28 17, *σταθμοί* [BℵAQΓ], *mensura*). See HANDICRAFTS, §§ 1 *f.*

2. In Is. 34 11 RV has 'plummet of emptiness' for אַבְנֵי־בֹהוּ, *'abnē bóhu* (AV 'stones of emptiness'; 𝔊 reads differently, but *γεωμετρία* seems to stand for אבני, *perpendiculum in desolationem*).

3. הָאֶבֶן הַבְּדִיל, *hā-ében habbĕdīl*, Zech. 4 10; lit. 'the stone, the tin,' so AVmg.; *τὸν λίθον τὸν κασσιτέρινον* [BℵAQΓ, *κασσιδεριον* ℵ*]; *lapidem stanneum*). But 'the stone of tin' (AVmg.) is scarcely grammatical,[2] nor is 'plummet' the term that is wanted here, but rather הָאֶבֶן הָרֹאשׁ (cp *v.* 7)—*i.e.*, 'the top-stoning.' אבן, however, would suffice here, and since הבדיל cannot have sprung out of הראש, it is better to suppose that it is either an incorrect gloss (Marti, Nowack) or a corruption of ביד זרבבל, or of some name corresponding to זרבבל (see ZERUBBABEL). T. K. C.

POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM (פֹּכֶרֶת הַצְּבָיִם, or, Neh., הַצְּבָיִים) AV, RV POCHERETH OF ZEBAIM. The names of two families reckoned among the 'sons of Solomon's servants' (or rather 'men of Salmæan Arabia,' see SOLOMON'S SERVANTS, CHILDREN OF) rolled into one.

Ezra 2 57 (*υἱοὶ φασραθ υἱοὶ ασεβωειν* [B], . . . *φακεραθ* . . . *ασεβωειμ* [A], . . . *φακεραθ τῶν σαβωειμ* [L]; Neh. 7 59 . . . *φακαραθ* [B], *φαχαρατ* [ℵ], *φαχαραθ* [A], . . . *σαβαειμ*; . . . *φακεραθ* . . . *σαβωειμ* [L]).

In 1 Esd. 5 34, however, as in 𝔊 above, Zebaim (AV SABI, RV SABIE; *σαβ(ε)ιη* [BA], *τῶν σαβωειμ* [L]) is distinct from Pochereth (AV PHACARETH; *φακαρεθ* [BA], *φακεραθ* [L]), and the sense 'hunter of gazelles' is in itself improbable for a family-name (see, however, NAMES, § 96). AV is, therefore, more correct than RV, except that 'sons of' should have been prefixed to Zebaim. Pochereth is parallel to HASSOPHERETH (*q.v.*) in *v.* 55, which we take to mean ZAREPHATH (a N. Arabian place). It is grouped with Shephati[ah] (*i.e.*, Zarephathite), with Hattil (*i.e.*, Ahit[al] = Rehobothi), with Zebaim, and with Ami or rather 'Adlon (see 1 Esd. 5 34, *υἱοὶ αδλων*, cp SHAPHAT, 5) = עדלם, probably a corruption of ירחמאל (MT עֲדֻלָּם, Adullam). On the analogy of SOPHERETH for Zarephath, we may read 'Rehoboth' for 'Pochereth,' so that two Rehobothite clan-names (misread Hattil and Pochereth) are mentioned together. Zebaim, too, seems to be a place-name; cp צְבֹאִים (see ZEBOIM). T. K. C.

POETICAL LITERATURE

1. Amount of poetry in OT. Poetry occupies a large space in the OT, even if we take note only of the poetical books in the stricter sense, viz., Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Lamentations. The number of these will be increased if we include Kōhéleth on the one hand, in which the restraints of metrical form give place to the freedom of poetic prose, and on the other hand Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and the Psalms of Solomon, which were not received into the canon.

In reality, however, poetry plays a much greater part than this in the literature of the OT. In the Tōrāh and the Former Prophets (Josh.-2 K.) we find many songs and lyric fragments, and the Later Prophets (Is.-Mal.) are full of poetry.

2. Complete survey impossible. Yet we have not the means of obtaining a complete survey of the history of Hebrew poetry, and for the following three reasons:—

(i.) *Much lost.* First, it is plain that only a small fraction of the poetical pieces once in existence has been preserved in the OT. The earliest collections are lost. We no longer possess the 'Book of the Righteous' (AV 'of Jasher'; RV 'of Jashar'; סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר, Josh. 10 13 [om. BA]; 2 S. 1 18 [*βιβλίον τοῦ εὐθοῦς*, or *εὐθέως*] 1 K. 8 53 [*β. τῆς ᾠδῆς*: BAL] = השיר, *i.e.*, הישר, the whole phrase being omitted in MT [see JASHAR, BOOK OF]), or the 'Book of the WARS OF THE LORD' (Nu. 21 14, סֵפֶר מִלְחֲמֹת יהוה; *βιβλίῳ Πόλεμος τοῦ κυρίου* [B], *βίβλῳ Π. [τοῦ] κυρίου* [AL]), or the 3000 proverbs and 1005 songs that 1 K. 5 12 *f.* [4 32 *f.*] assigns to Solomon—which have nothing in common with the collections traditionally associated with his name that are still extant. Of the wealth of popular poetry—wedding-songs, dirges, drinking-songs (Am. 6 5), recitations of rhapsodists (Nu. 21 27)—nothing has reached us but a few specimens and illustrations. Of the older devotional poetry too (Am. 5 23) we have not now the means of forming any true idea. Naturally the men to whom we owe the selection and arrangement of the sacred writings sternly suppressed all those old poetic productions that were too obviously in conflict with the spirit of the (later) religion of Yahwè.

(ii.) *Uncertain date and authorship.*—Secondly, even in regard to the poems that have been preserved, we can only occasionally determine the date of composition, still more rarely the authorship. Much as the Israelites wrote, they were devoid of the real spirit of the man of letters, and never cared for what we call the history of literature. Neither did the poets themselves work for future literary glory, nor did the general public trouble itself much about the authorship of what it read or sang. We must not be misled by the superscriptions in Psalms and Proverbs. It is not on any tradition or even a primitive literary criticism that they rest. They are prefixed to the poems with the arbitrariness and undiscerning recklessness that characterise the historical attempts of the last centuries, B.C. [Cp PSALMS, PROVERBS.]

Besides, a comparison of the Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and other Aramaic texts, shows that the superscriptions varied greatly in different MSS. So long, therefore, as we know hardly a single poet, and only exceptionally the occasion and object of the poems, and their date and manifold mutual relations, a history of poetry cannot but be incomplete.

iii. *Lack of information about metre and music.*—A third consideration adds to our uncertainty. We know that the Israelites used definite metrical forms, and that their songs were provided with an accompaniment of more or less artistic instrumental music (see MUSIC). We have, however, but few positive data on the subject, and these, some of which are concealed in the Psalm superscriptions, are, for the most part, unintelligible to us. We are consequently often in doubt where prose passes into metrical poetry, and one commentator will find clearly marked verses and strophes, where another will find plain prose, or at best a poetical

[1] *i.e.*, *plumbet.*
[2] Cp C. H. H. Wright, *Zechariah*, p. 550.

style. Almost the whole of the prophetic literature is involved at the present time in this ambiguity.

3. Three periods. If, notwithstanding these difficulties, the attempt must be made to determine the great outstanding periods in the history of Hebrew poetry, the following must be distinguished.

i. The period of *popular* poetry, from the beginning of Israelitish history to the age of written prophecy. [Cp § 10, B. 'Popular poetry.'] From the earliest times down to Solomon we may call the pre-literary age; much was sung, but little written. Its most important documents are the 'Song of Deborah' (Judg. 5), the 'Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. 49), and the elegies of David (2 S. 1 3).[1] From Solomon onwards the art of reading and writing seems to have spread widely in Israel. Since the popular connection—attested by the author of 1 K. 5 12 *f.* [4 32 *f.*]—of the proverbs and songs referred to above with the name of Solomon, can hardly be entirely destitute of foundation of some kind, we may probably assume that Solomon had the 3000 proverbs and fables treating of all beasts and plants written down, either in whole or in part, for the glorification of his power, though it is quite improbable that so many fables and maxims replete with cosmopolitan wisdom should have originated within the limits of Israel, much less have been composed by the king himself. If we are to credit Solomon with this step it could not fail to lead to further production, and may have laid broader foundations for the rise of a poetic literature, of which unhappily we possess few relics.

ii. The second period, from Amos to Ezra, we may call the *prophetic*. Judged by such remains as have reached us, the prophets are, in both the stricter and the wider sense of the term, the most distinguished poets of this age, and even the poems that we owe to other authors—Job, Lamentations, the songs of the Servant of Yahwè—are subject to their influence. If we exclude a very few narrative pieces, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Deutero-Isaiah, and (to coin a new term) Trito-Isaiah (Is. 56-66) write in strict poetic form. The same seems to be true of the original notes of Jeremiah, although these are now indeed in great measure obscured by additions, made either by himself or by others, which are more or less of the nature of prose. Ezekiel frequently intersperses poetical pieces among his prose writings.

iii. The third period likewise contains many prophetic poems; but it is pious *lyric* and *didactic* poetry that preponderates—poetry founded on the Law and on a scheme of ethics, the key-word of which is the 'fear of God.' Little secular poetry has found a place in the Canon (examples are Ps. 45 Is. 23 15 *f.*).

We should reach about the same results if we adopted as a principle of classification the various species of poetry.

4. Species of poetry. i. *Common life.*—The poetry of *common life* is common to all periods. Mourning women skilled in the dirge, 'wise women,' mothers, teaching their daughters to lament the dead, are known to Amos (5 16) and Jeremiah (9 17 19) as well as to the NT (see MOURNING CUSTOMS, § 1). And equally common will have been the songs of joy to which women in their processional dances played the tabret and carousers plucked the guitar (see MUSIC, § 3 [1]; DANCE, § 5). The Song of the Well (see BEER), which Nu. 21 17 *f.* assigns to nomadic times, could also have been produced 1000 years later.

ii. *Epic.*—On the other hand, epic poetry is for us confined to the first period. Unfortunately so little of it has been preserved that before the decipherment of the cuneiform literature it was even supposed that the Semites had no epic poetry.

(1) In reality, however, Israel actually possessed epic poems with *mythical* features. The reference to the primeval contest between the god of light and the

[1] See JUDGES, § 7; GENESIS, § 8 (*b*); SAMUEL (BOOKS).

powers of chaos in Is. 51 9 and in Job 7 12 9 13 26 reminds us of the cosmogonic myths of the northern Semites (see CREATION, LEVIATHAN, RAHAB). These myths, however, which, though a product not of religious instinct, but of poetic philosophic thought, spring up only on the soil of nature-religion, must have undergone a radical transformation when poetically wrought up by an adherent of Yahwè, the god of plain history. In Gen. 6 1-4, too, we seem to detect features of the poetry of mythic epos; it bespeaks a poetic original, *e.g.*, when we read in *v.* 1 that daughters were born to men—a prose writer would have spoken of sons and daughters.

(2) Other poems again take us from the realm of myth more into that of *legend*. From the culture-legend of the people of Kain (cp CAINITES), of which we have an abridgment in Gen. 4 16-24, we have (*a*) the Song of Lamech (*v.* 23 *f.*). Then there are fragments of song telling of Yahwè's coming down from heaven, the material of which is not Israelitish in origin. One of these underlies the narrative of (*b*) the Babylonian tower-building[1] (Gen. 11 1-9), the author of which rather clumsily mixes up prose and verse. The following is in verse:—

v. 3. Come, we will make brick,
And bake them till they are hard.

v. 4. Come, let us build a city,
And a tower with its head in heaven,
And let us make us a landmark,
That we be not scattered over the earth

v. 7. Come, let us go down,
And confound there their speech.

It is clear that the last distich belongs to the poetic original, as the prose writer has already made Yahwè come down in *v.* 5. Some strophes of (*c*) a second song have been subsequently inserted into the Yahwistic story of the overthrow of Sodom (Gen. 18 *f.*), a story which they do not at all suit. The first strophe (18 20 *f.*) plants us in heaven:—

The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah, ah! it is great;
And their sin, ah! it is very grievous;
I will go down and see whether . . .
Or, if it be not so, I must know.

Here the poet must have told of Yahwè's coming down. Farther on we read (19 24 *f.*):—

And Yahwè rained on Sodom and Gomorrah,
Brimstone and fire came from Yahwè out of heaven,
And he overthrew the cities and the whole district,
And all that dwelt in the cities and all the fruit of the ground

That these strophes are not the work of the Yahwist is clear, apart from their poetic diction, from the following considerations:—(1) 19 24 *f.* separates the prose account of Lot (*v.* 23) from that of his wife (*v.* 26); (2) the Yahwist always speaks simply of Sodom, whilst these strophes, and later allusions to them, speak also of Gomorrah; (3) according to the Yahwist Sodom is destroyed by the two men that came thither, whilst, according to the poet, this is the work of Yahwè from heaven; (4) the determination of Yahwè (18 20 *f.*) 'to go down' conflicts with the prose narrative—it is either a descent into the vale of Sodom that is meant, in which case the Yahwist does not after all make Yahwè go down at all, or it is a coming down from heaven to earth, in which case the determination is quite out of place in chap. 18, where Yahwè is already on earth.

That the subject-matter of the poems is not old Israelitish seems sufficiently proved by the fact of Yahwè's being thought of as dwelling in heaven. The Sodom legend is pre-Israelite; the story of the Tower of Babel must have grown up among people to whom the tower served as a landmark—the caravans of the desert.

(3) Not only myth and legend, however, but also real *history* is represented in song. The rhapsodists, whose recitations kept alive the lays of popular history, are called in Nu. 21 27 *Mōšĕlīm* (מֹשְׁלִים), and would seem, to judge from the usage elsewhere of the word *māšāl* (cp PROVERB), to have also recited satirical songs on living persons. In the earlier days songs, treating of the fights and heroes so dear to the heart of peoples still in their youth, are, for the most part, improvised by the women,

[1] See BABEL, TOWER OF, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

and naturally only in exceptional cases handed down to later generations. It appears to the present writer possible that (*a*) Ex. 15 21, the couplet that extols in glad wonder the unimagined might of the desert god :

> Sing to Yahwè, for he hath greatly exalted himself;
> The horse and his rider hath he cast into the sea,

is really to be attributed to Miriam, whilst the long poem *vv.* 2-19 is certainly a quite late artificial product (cp EXODUS [BOOK], § 6). Moreover it is probable that a poem underlies the description of (*b*) the Red Sea catastrophe in Ex. 14 24 *f.* The song (*c*) in Nu. 21 27-30 is, perhaps, not earlier than the monarchy. Of the ancient song of victory on (*d*) the fight at Gibeon we have some fragments in Josh. 10 10 *ff.* which do not everywhere stand out from the prose framework, but are still sufficient to show that the supposed marvel of sun and moon standing still, rests on the early poetic conception of the stars as warlike beings lingering here as sympathetic spectators of the deeds of Yahwè, just as in (*e*) the Song of Deborah they actually take part in the fight (Judg. 5 20).

This Song of Deborah (Judg. 5) is the most important document of the whole period from Moses to David. In support of the view that it is of later date than the age of Deborah, no serious grounds have as yet been adduced. The song is the composition of some one who was more interested in the marshalling and organising of the forces than in the fight itself, and who had authority to speak in the name of the mal'ak Yahwè (see THEOPHANY); for this reason we are justified in regarding Deborah herself as the author. The 'song' spoken of in *v.* 12, however, cannot be urged in proof of this; it is rather the warlike benediction with which this Veleda of ancient Israel sends the warriors to the fight. The poem is composed in six-line strophes, the dialect is N. Israelitish (according to *v.* 15 Deborah belonged to Issachar), the text very corrupt. Cp JUDGES (BOOK), § 7.

It is to the early days of the monarchy, when David was king at Hebron, that we are inclined to assign (*f*) the 'Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. 49 1-27), which, though inferior to the 'Song of Deborah' from an æsthetic point of view, does not fall far below it in historical value. Its author, who prophesies a time of glory for Shiloh and Judah, might conceivably be Abiathar, the last scion of the priestly clan of Shiloh, and faithful friend of David. Cp GENESIS, § 8 (*b*).

The author hopes that Judah, brother of the Israelitish tribes, enriched and become great by plunder, may not lose its leader David, as Benjamin lost its Saul, till at Shiloh he attains to the hegemony of the tribes. The early monarchy suits the utterances about the other tribes: Issachar, which, fleeing from its seat on the overthrow of Saul (1 S. 31 7), returns later to its but too attractive abode, only to submit to the yoke of the Philistines; Gad, which under the leadership of Abner gallantly defends itself; Reuben, which has lost its leading position (see 1 Ch. 5 10); Levi and Simeon, whose stubborn adherence to the old, wild, Bedouin life was irreconcilable with the milder spirit of a now agricultural people; Dan, clearly no longer living, as at the time of the Song of Deborah, by the sea, but already removed to Laish (Judg. 17 18), and yet still self-governed—a proof that a monarchy after the Solomonic type does not yet exist. Only the saying about Joseph, differing as it does also in other respects from what is said of the other tribes, may be assigned to the days of the monarchy, at least if the expression נְזִיר אֶחָיו (EV 'him that was separate from [RVmg. 'that is prince among'] his brethren'), *v.* 26, is to be rendered 'the crowned one of his brethren.'

To the category of historical songs of the first rank belong also (*g*) David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 1 19-27), and (*h*) the lament on the death of Abner, of which only a four-line fragment (2 S. 3 33 *f.*) has reached us, unless part of *v.* 38 *f.* also should be assigned to it—songs that give us a most favourable idea of David's character and poetic gifts. Much less certain, though not after all impossible, is the Davidic origin of (*i*) the 'swan-song,' 2 S. 23 1-7. See DAVID, § 13; JASHAR, BOOK OF, § 2.

What remains is confined to some fragments. Mention should be made of (*j*) the song about Saul and David that the women sang as they danced (1 S. 18 7); (*k*) the insurrectionary song of Sheba with which the Israelites renounced their allegiance to the Davidic as an alien dynasty (2 S. 20 1 1 K. 12 16); (*l*) the tetrastich on the temple building put into the mouth of Solomon,[1] though certainly belonging to a later time, 1 K. 8 12 (see 𝔊 1 K. 8 53); finally (*m*) the popular song of N. Israel mentioned in Is. 9 9 [10]:—

> Bricks are fallen
> But we build with hewn stone,
> Sycamores are cut down
> But we set in their place cedars.

(4) Of the *didactic* poetry of the earlier times once so abundant (1 K. 5 12), all that remains to us, if we pass over the unmetrical fable of 2 K. 14 9, is the fable of Jotham (Judg. 9) and perhaps the riddle of Samson (Judg. 14 14). Jotham's fable marks the Israelitish peasants' low estimate of the monarchy, to win which none would give up his useful work. The determination of its date is, as always in the case of fables, a precarious undertaking.

(5) The question whether the Israelites possessed a *dramatic* literature, may most probably be answered in the affirmative. It is true the OT gives not the slightest hint that they had a theatre like the Greeks or Indians. But a dramatic character belongs even to the primitive cultus, the festive processions and dances, certainly also many rites in which pilgrims to the various shrines had to take part, a liturgy making use of question and answer (cp, *e.g.*, Ps. 24), and those songs, mostly improvised, in which leader and choir alternately perform. If here those taking part do so in their own proper persons, the women who yearly bewailed the daughter of Jephthah (Judg. 11 39 *f.*) played the part of another, and the same is true after all of the mourning-women when they raised the common cry for a stranger: Ah, my brother! Ah, Lord! (Jer. 22 18); and every wedding was a small drama. It is therefore not without reason if the question whether the so-called 'Song of Solomon' is a kind of drama, is more and more generally answered in the affirmative. Difference of opinion is practically confined now to the question whether it is a sort of peasant's drama, like those still performed in Syria at weddings, perhaps, too, simply a collection of songs composed for such occasions, or on the other hand, a drama in the ordinary sense, or rather a sort of operetta akin to the miracle-plays of mediæval times. The second alternative appears to the present writer the more natural [cp Driver, *Introd.* ch. 10, § 1]; it does not of course require us to assume an artificial stage or other theatrical accessories, nor any professional actors. The 'Song,' or operetta, falls into twenty lyrico-dramatic passages, developing a very simple plot, in which true love gains the day over all the efforts of Solomon to part the attached lovers, and make the maiden of Shulem (Shunem?) his favourite wife (see CANTICLES). The songs are sung partly by individuals—the Shulamite, Solomon, the young swain—partly by choruses: the maidens of the harem, the women of Zion, the friends of the bridegroom, the bridesmaids, the kinsmen and kinswomen of the lover. Some of the songs are in dialogue form; but the dialogue remains throughout in the background as in the oldest dramas of the Greeks.

The composition is of N. Israelite origin, and belongs to the century following Solomon, when the bitterness engendered among the N. Israelites by the severity of that king's rule had disappeared, but when it was still not unpleasing to give a burlesque description of his character. In spite of a certain Oriental redundancy the work contains many passages of a graceful and tender poetry. Specially worthy of mention is the fine psychological insight in the poetical treatment of the heroine. (On the disputed questions involved, see CANTICLES.)

(6) With Amos begins for us the age of *prophetic* poetry. We refer not merely to poems explicitly indicated as such by the prophets themselves, such as Am. 5 1 *f.* Mic. 1 8 *ff.* 2 4 Is. 5 1 *ff.* Jer. 9 19 *ff.* etc. On the contrary, by far the greatest part of the prophetic literature consists of poems, which, if not sung, were also not declaimed

[1] [See JASHER, BOOK OF, § 3, and cp Cheyne, *Or. Ps.* 212, 475, where further references are given; Driver, *Intr.*(6) 192; *Expositor*, 1891 (1), pp. 398 *ff.*]

after the manner of Demosthenes, but delivered with ecstatic fervour. Probably the *hithnabbē* (הִתְנַבֵּא, see PROPHET, § 1 [1]) or γλώσσαις λαλεῖν of the NT (see SPIRITUAL GIFTS) resembled in the first place the ecstatic babbling of the Pythia, and was then, if the subject-matter were sufficiently important, brought, as in the case of the Pythia, into a certain metrical form, when the ecstasy (בְּחֶזְקַת הַיָּד, 'when the hand grasped' Is. 8 11) had ceased, but the exaltation of spirit had not yet vanished. Hence the earliest oracles (cp, *e.g.*, Gen. 25 23, or the Balaam speeches [Nu. 23 *f.*], as well as the 'Blessings' uttered under divine influence [Gen. 9 25 *ff.* 24 60 27 27 etc.]) are also in poetic form; and the musician who was set to excite the enthusiasm of Elisha will have likewise accompanied his words. The prophets were, moreover, aware that, like the *vates* of the Romans, they were prophets and poets in one, since they not seldom make use, in speeches designated 'the word of Yahwè,' of poetical artifices such as the refrain (*e.g.*, Is. 9 8 [7] *ff.* Am. 1 3 *ff.* 4 6 *ff.*). In fact religion is the mother of all arts, and it was originally not a form of speech when poets addressed the gods as the actual source of their creations.

That the prophetic addresses are really not speeches but songs, is sufficiently clear from their brevity, but still more from their being divided into equal strophes. Most common are the four-line strophes in which, *e.g.*, Hosea invariably writes; but more artificial forms are quite frequent. In so far as the utterances of the prophets give expression to the objects and demands of the divine ruler, and are addressed to the body of the people or the ruling classes, dealing therefore with foreign and home politics, they are political poems. Often indeed must the poet speak for himself, and in the case of Jeremiah the political element often gives place to the personal and even the lyric, so that of all the prophets he is most markedly a poet in the proper sense of the term. From the time of the exile, however, when the nation as a political power ceased to be, there begin to make their appearance—*e.g.*, in a Deutero-Isaiah—those elements which suggest the spiritual song of a later time: it is to Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah, therefore, that such spiritual song traces its pedigree. Unhappily it was for the most part with ill-preserved, mutilated, and illegible texts that the later collectors of the early writings had to deal, and they made them still worse by glosses, additions, erroneous conjectures, and transpositions. Hence not seldom, in addition to internal criticism and comparisons of the Hebrew text with that of the LXX, metrical considerations have to be laid under contribution to secure a text representing in some measure the original. What a confusion, for example, now prevails in such passages as the following:—(*a*) Am. 5 4-17. In *vv.* 4-6 14 *f.* we have the following poem:—

5. True nature of prophetic addresses.

Seek Yahwè and live,
And seek not Bethel,
And to Gilgal come not,
And to Beersheba go not over.
Seek Yahwè and live
Lest there break out a flame,[1]
Fire in the house of Joseph,
And consume with none to quench.
Seek good, not evil,
That ye may live,
And so Yahwè be with you,
As ye have said.

Between *vv.* 6 and 14 has been inserted a genuine piece (*vv.* 7 10-13) belonging to *v.* 16 *f.*, and a later addition (*v.* 8 *f.*). Only *v.* 15, though its beginning is different, may belong to the same poem:—

Hate evil and love good,
And establish in the gate justice;
Perhaps Yahwè will be gracious,
The god of hosts to the remnant of Joseph.

1 Read יצלח לַהַב אֵשׁ and take אש with the next clause. The letters לה will have fallen out from their resemblance to the preceding pair.

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We add some further examples of prophetic poems (*b*) Hos. 5 14-6 6:—

I am like a lion unto Ephraim,
    And like a young lion unto the house of Judah;
I, I rend and go away,
    I carry off, none rescuing.

I will go back to my place,
    Until they are brought to nought,[1]
And seek my face,
    In their distress search after me:

Up, let us return
    To Yahwè our God;
For he hath rent, and will heal us,
    And smitten,[2] and will bind us up.

He will revive us after two days,
    On the third day make us stand up,
That we may live before him,
    And know . . .

We will pursue after Yahwè;
    As we seek him, so do we find him;[3]
And he will come as a winter rain for us,
    Like a late rain that waters the earth.[4]

What should I do unto thee Israel (Ephraim?)
    What should I do unto thee, Judah,
Your love being like morning clouds,
    And like dew that early disappears?

(*c*) Mic. 3 9-12:—

Hear, ye heads of Jacob,
    And chiefs of the house of Israel,
Who abhor judgment,
    And make all that is straight crooked;

Who build[5] Zion with blood,
    And Jerusalem with iniquity,
Where the chiefs give judgment for a bribe,
    And the priests give counsel for hire;

Where the prophets prophesy for silver,
    And lean on Yahwè saying:
Is not Yahwè in our midst?
    There cannot befall us any evil!

Therefore on your account
    Zion like a field shall be ploughed,
And Jerusalem become heaps,
    And the temple mount a wooded height.[6]

(*d*) Jer. 4 23-26:—

I saw the earth and lo a chaos!
    (I looked) to the heavens, and their light was gone;
I saw the mountains, and lo, they quaked,
    And all the hills had begun to totter.

I saw and lo man was gone,
    And all the birds of heaven were fled;
I saw and lo, the fruitful spot was desert,[7]
    And all its cities were overthrown before Yahwè.

(*e*) Jer. 20 7-12:—

Thou didst infatuate me, Yahwè, and I became infatuated,
    Thou seizedst me, and didst prevail;
I became a laughing-stock every day;
    Every one mocks me.

As often as I speak I cry out violence,
    I bewail outrage.
The word of Yahwè became to me a reproach,
    And an insult every day.

And I said: I will no more think of him,
    Nor speak in his name;
And it became in my heart as burning fire,
    An oppression[8] in my bones.

And I became weary of bearing it,
    And hold not out;
For I heard the whisper of many:
    'Denounce! we will denounce him.'

All men of mine acquaintance
    Watch for my fall;
'Perhaps he will be infatuated, and we can master him,
    And take our revenge.'

But Yahwè [of hosts][9] is with me
    As a mighty hero,

1 So 𝔊.
2 Read וַיַּךְ with Wellhausen.
3 Read with Giesebrecht (cp 𝔊) כְּשַׁחֲרֵנוּ כֵּן נִמְצָאֵהוּ.
4 Read יַרְוֶה.
5 𝔊 בֹּנֵי.
6 𝔊 בָּמַת for בָּמוֹת.
7 Read מדבר (without article).
8 Read עֹצֶר for עָצַר.
9 צבאות has in MT made its way from here to *v.* 12, where it is lacking in 𝔊.

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Therefore shall my pursuers stumble
And not prevail :

They shall be greatly ashamed,[1]
For they have no insight ;
Their shame lasts for ever,[2]
Will not be forgotten.

Yahwè is a righteous judge,
Seeing reins and heart ;
I shall see my revenge upon them,
For on thee have I rolled it.[3]

6. Lam., 'Servant of Yahwè,' Job.

To the prophetic period belong (*a*) the five Lamentations, which, it is true, exhibit a metre favoured by Jeremiah, and are in the Greek text ascribed to him, but are a later artificial product and come probably from different authors. So also (*b*) the 'Servant of Yahwè' Songs (Is. 42 1-4 49 1-6 50 4-9 52 13-53 12), prophetic lyrics of deep import and noble diction, belonging to the time of the post-exilic community. Probably also (*c*) the Book of Job (apart from the pre-exilic prose introduction and conclusion) was written before Ezra, although a later date is possible. The poem deals with that deep problem which called Buddhism into being—the problem of misfortune—in an unrestrained, yet deeply religious, anything but philosophical spirit, and with a keen polemic against the Deuteronomistic theory of retribution. See JOB [BOOK].

Noteworthy, in a poem wholly based on the ethics of the prophets, is the absence of any reference to the prophetic hope of a better world ; this lack of the thought of a redemption, which gave such immense help to Christianity, as it did to Buddhism, explains how the theodicy does not turn out satisfactory, and the poet found more opponents than followers. The text is very badly preserved and has received many foreign additions (especially 12 4-6 7-10 24 1-24 30 2-8 28 32-37 40 15-41 26 [34]); both the original and the added speeches are in tetrastichs, only 12 4-6 24 30 2-8 being written in tristichs.

7. Lyric and didactic.

If some prophetic poems were still produced in the time following Ezra, most of the poems of this period belong to lyric and didactic literature. Single specimens are to be found in the historical books as well as in the prophetic collections. In an age when pseudonymous authorship is prevalent it is a favourite practice to assign to celebrities of the past, not merely prophecies and prayers, but also religious songs, without always noticing whether the songs suit the person or the situation (cp, *e.g.*, 1 S. 2 1-10 Jon. 2 2-9). This predilection for the names of illustrious poets of the past finds special expression in the two great collections of the time—the Psalter, containing the lyric, and Proverbs containing the didactic poetry. Both collections have grown out of smaller collections for the most part still discernible. How late the smaller collections were united appears from 1 Ch. 16 8-36 (see PSALMS [BOOK], § 8).[4] But the songs themselves are also late and refer to the inner and outer struggles of the community of the second temple.

8. Metre.

Had the second temple been preserved and with it the temple song, we should perhaps have had better traditional information regarding the metrical form of Hebrew poetry than is afforded us by the marginal notes of a musical nature, and the late accentual system devised for use in liturgical recitation. Only a few poems are stichometrically arranged (Judg. 5 Ex. 15 Dt. 32 33 2 S. 22), and not even the Psalms.[5] Still less are the strophes indicated ; even the refrains, recurring after a definite number of lines and indicating the end of the strophes, have through the excessive carelessness of the old copyists often fallen out (*e.g.*, in Ps. 46 49 Job 28). Still, the expositor of the OT is in duty bound to take note of the metre, not simply because it offers the greatest assistance to the *textual* critic but also on *æsthetic grounds*, and above all out of respect *for the authors* who certainly did not choose without reason to submit themselves to the restrictions of metre.

(i.) *Distich.*—The real basis of Hebrew metre is the distich. This was already known to the older theologians, who found the characteristic of OT poetry in the 'parallelismus membrorum,' the device namely of having the second 'stichos' reproduce the first not in identical but in similar terms—*e.g.*, Dt. 32 1,

Give ear, ye heavens, that I may speak,
And let the earth hear the words of my mouth.

This parallelism, in stricter or looser form, may be due to the earliest improvised verses having originated in responsive song amongst the women, the chorus taking up, modifying, supplementing, the thoughts expressed by the leader.

(ii.) *Scansion.*—The first question at issue is how the stichos is to be scanned. Opinion has latterly come to be unanimous that the *stresses* are to be counted ; all that remains to be determined is whether the unaccented syllables are also to be counted. Bickell, to whose work we are far more indebted than to that of any other for our understanding of Hebrew metre, holds that they are [so Merx, Gietmann], and since he assumes an unaccented between every two accented syllables, he recognises only iambic and trochaic measures. But although he has succeeded in carrying his system through with wonderful consistency and without excessive violence, it seems to the present writer more prudent to give up counting the unaccented syllables and the rule that between each two accented syllables there must stand one and only one unaccented syllable. It is simpler and less exposed to the risk of artificiality to suppose that Hebrew poetry, just like the German *Volkslied*, attended only to the number of accented syllables, and not to the number or position of unaccented, and allowed the greatest freedom in the treatment of long and short, permitting long syllables in the thesis and even—like German popular poetry—short syllables in the arsis. [So Ley, Neteler, Grimme, and (as repeatedly stated by himself) C. A. Briggs.] In this case we must of course give up the idea of definitely determining the tone syllable in each case ; but that is in any case wise, for we do not now know where the word-stress, which probably did not always agree with the system followed by the Massoretic punctuators, originally fell.

[Sievers claims to have found a uniform and definite rhythm which may be called pseudo-anapæstic, two unaccented syllables of any quantity being followed by a long accented syllable—*e.g.*, וַיִּשְׁמַן יְשֻׁרוּן וַיִּבְעַט, Dt. 32 15. Sievers' researches (on which see Buhl, *op. cit.*, Zimmern, *ZA*, 1897, p. 383) are based on the MT ; see 'Metrische Studien' in the *Abhandl.* of the Saxon Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften, vol. 21.]

(iii.) *Various metres.*—The distich spoken of above would accordingly have to be regarded as a verse of 3 + 3 accents, or (as Josephus says) a hexameter. Many poems are in this measure—*e.g.*, the whole of Job. Distichs of 2 + 2 accents are not so common, those of 4 + 4 again frequent—the former chiefly in lightly moving popular songs, of which indeed not many have survived, the latter often in the utterances of the prophets.

On this simple basis somewhat more artificial forms of verse were easily reared. The distich could become a tristich, the two stichoi might differ in the number of accents. Specially attractive is the long line produced out of the ordinary 'hexameter' by the dropping of one accent in the second stichos, and containing therefore 3 + 2 accents—it might be called pentameter. It is the favourite verse of Jeremiah, and is also often used elsewhere in poems where feeling predominates, expressing with equal ease the energy of triumph and scorn (Is. 14 47) and the intensity of pain (cp Jer. 20 7 *ff.*

1 Read בּוֹשׁ יֵבֹשׁוּ. 2 Read with 𝔊 כְּלִמָּתָם לְעוֹלָם.

3 Read גִּלִּיתִי, *for a revealing of the quarrel is unnecessary* when Yahwè sees heart and reins.

4 On the still later so-called 'canticles' of the Apocrypha and NT, see also HYMNS, PSALMS [BOOK], § 44.

5 See, however, Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), p. 17 *f.*: 'In the best MSS the lines [in the Psalter, Proverbs, and Job] are poetically divided and arranged in hemistichs.'

above), the rapture of joy (Is. 40 1-4 9-11), and idyllic repose (*e.g.*, Ps. 23 27 1-6). To call this measure the *Kīnāh*-metre (קִינָה, elegy) would therefore be a mistake, all the more that it is by no means universally chosen for elegies. [See LAMENTATION; but cp König, *Stylistik*, 315 *ff.* According to Grimme, the 'halting metre' took its origin in prophetic oracles.]

(iv.) *Strophes.*—A remarkable controversy has also broken out as to whether or not OT poetry combined those stichoi into strophes. It is indeed easy to understand how gnomic poetry could content itself with the distich form; but that lyric poetry should also have done so would be very strange. The poems, however, —by no means rare—that intersperse refrains after every so many lines, are of themselves enough to prove the opposite. In fact, in spite of the frequent disfigurement of the text, it will force itself upon every reader that it is much easier to find symmetrical strophes in Hebrew poetry than in Greek choruses. The simplest and commonest strophe is naturally the tetrastich originating in the doubling of the distich. [So, *e.g.*, not only in Job and often in Psalms, but also in Ezek. 15; cp Bertholet and Kraetzschmar.] The prophets probably further combine two tetrastichs together, and in Is. 9 8 [7] *ff.* every three tetrastichs are held together by a refrain of two stichoi, the result being a strophe of fourteen stichoi; similarly in Job 28, except that the refrain, which in this poem begins each strophe, has fallen out before *v.* 1 and *v.* 7. In Am. 1 3 2 10, too, the refrain precedes, and is followed by two tetrastichs, which in turn repeat certain phrases. Of strophes of more than fourteen lines, as far as the present writer is aware, there are none.

Tristichs are comparatively rare (*e.g.*, Job 24 1-24 30 2-8 Cant. 3 1-4). Six-lined strophes have arisen from the combination of three distichs, rarely of two tristichs. A stately effect is produced by a strophe of 7 pentameters, as in Is. 13 2-22 14 4-21 47—in the first two cases subordinate groups of 2+2+3 being combined to form each strophe. Five-line strophes of many kinds are also to be met with.

These are the outlines of the Hebrew metrical system. Simple as it is it cannot be charged with monotony, even when we must do without such artificial versification as is indulged in, *e.g.*, in Is. 26 1-19—long lines of 3 × 2 or 2 × 3 accents, in imitation, it would seem, of Greek hexameters.

9. Other artifices.

That advantage was taken of word-plays, assonances, even rhyme, to heighten the colour, every student of the Hebrew text knows, as also how many alphabetic poems were written. There is at least one acrostich (Ps. 119), whilst occasionally a writer of alphabetic songs seems to have interwoven his name (Ps. 25 22 34 23 [22]: Pedaiah). Artifices of this kind show that art is conscious. A complete knowledge of Hebrew versification we could hope to attain only if we were acquainted also with Hebrew music and the way in which prophets recited their productions. Here our knowledge must always be more fragmentary than in the domain of literary history.

10. Literature.

A. *General.*—E. Meier, *Gesch. der poet. National-litt. der Hebräer* (1856); E. Reuss, 'Hebr. Poesie,' in *PRE*(2) 5 671 *ff.*; Fr. Buhl, 'Dichtkunst bei den Israeliten,' *PRE*(3) 4 [1898] 626-638.

B. *Popular poetry.*—Budde, 'Das Volkslied Israels im Munde der Propheten,' *Preuss. Jahrbb.* Sept. 1893; 'Noch etwas vom Volksliede,' *ibid.*, Dec. 1895; 'The Song of Songs, *New World*, 1894, pp. 56 *ff.*

C. *Form of poetry.*—Clericus, *Diss. critica de poese Hebræorum* (1688); J. Ley, *Die metr. Formen der hebr. Pœsié* (1866); Casanowiez, *Paronomasia in the OT* (Boston, 1894; also in *JBL*).

D. *Metre.*—Gomarus, *David's Lyra, seu nova Hebr. Script. ars poetica* (1637); Hare, *Psalmorum liber in versiculos metrice divisus* (Lond. 1736); Bellermann, *Versuch über die Metrik der Hebräer* (1813); Saalschütz, *von der Form der hebr. Poesie* (1825); *Form und Geist der bibl.-hebr. Poesie* (1853); E. Meier, *Die Form der hebr. Poesie nachgewiesen* (1853); J. Ley, *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- u. Strophenbaues in der Hebr. Poesie* (1875); *Leitfaden der Metrik* (1887); Merx, *Das Gedicht von Hiob* (1871), pp. lxxxiv *ff.*; Neteler, *Grundzüge der Metrik der Pss.* (1879); Bickell, *Carmina V.T. metrice* (1882); *Dichtungen der Hebräer . . . nach dem Versmasse des Urtextes übersetzt* (1882); *Kritische Bearbeitungen der Texte der Klagelieder, der Sprüche, u. d. B. Hiob*, *WZKM* 5-8; Budde, *ZATW*, 1882, pp. 1 *ff.*; 1891, pp. 234 *ff.*; Schlottmann, *Ueb. den Strophenbau* (1884); C. J. Ball, 'Text of Lamentations.' *PSBA* 9 [1887] 131 *ff.*; P. Vetter, *Die Metrik des B. Hiobs* (1897); Zimmern, 'Ein vorläufiges Wort üb. babyl. Metrik,' in *ZA* 8 121 *ff.* (The Babylonian creation-story consists almost throughout of strophes or stanzas of two verses each, in which each half-verse has two beats.) C. A. Briggs, *Biblical Study* (1883), and articles in *Hebraica* (1886-1888), see also his forthcoming *Book of Psalms* (General Introduction); König, *Stylistik* (1900), 312 *ff.*

E. *Strophes.*—Köster, *Theol. Stud. u. Kr.*, 1831, pp. 40 *ff.*; Sommer, *Bibl. Abhandlungen*, 1 106 *ff.*; Merx, *Hiob*, 75 *ff.*; Delitzsch *Die Psalmen*(4), 21 *ff.*; *Das B. Iob*(2), 12 *ff.*; Budde, *ZATW* 2 49 *ff.*; D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprungl. Form* (1896); *Strophenbau u. Responsion* (1898); Perles, *Zur althebr. Strophik* (1896); Zenner, *Die Chorgesänge im B. der Pss.* (1896); P. Ruben, 'Strophic Forms in the Bible,' *JQR* 11 (1899) 431 *ff.*; König, *Stylistik* (1900), pp. 347 *ff.* (on Müller and Zenner).

H. D.

POISON. 1. חֵמָה, *ḥēmāh*; θυμος, ιος (√יחם, to be hot; Aram. חֶמָא, Arab. *ḥumatun*, Ass. *imtu* 'spittle, breath, poison'), only of animal poison in the phrases חֲמַת זֹחֲלֵי עָפָר (Dt. 32 24), ח׳ תַּנִּינִם (Dt. 32 33), ח׳ נָחָשׁ (Ps. 58 5 [4]), ח׳ עַכְשׁוּב (Ps. 140 4), all referring to the venom of snakes (see SERPENTS, especially § 2), unless Ps. 140 4 be an exception (see SPIDER).

2. רֹאשׁ, *rōʾš*, in the expression רֹאשׁ פְּתָנִים (Dt. 32 33 Job 20 16; also, apparently, Ecclus. 25 15). See GALL, 1.

3. ἰός, Rom. 3 13; cp 𝔊, Ps. 139 3 Jas. 3 8 (the tongue: 'full of deadly poison').

POLITARCHS (πολιταρχαι), Acts 17 6†, EV 'rulers of the city.' See THESSALONICA.

POLLUX. See CASTOR AND POLLUX.

POMEGRANATE, tree or fruit (רִמּוֹן, ροα; Ex. 28 33 *f.* 39 24-26 Nu. 13 23 20 5 Dt. 8 8 1 S. 14 2 1 K. 7 18 20 42 2 K. 25 17 2 Ch. 3 16 4 13 Cant. 4 3 13 6 7 11 7 12 [13] 8 2 Jer. 52 22 *f.* Joel 1 12 Hag. 2 19†), bears the same name in Heb., Aram., Arab. and Eth., and might therefore be supposed to belong to the group of plants—vine, olive, fig, palm—which were known to the common stock of the Semitic peoples before they separated (except the Assyrians and Babylonians; see Hommel, *Aufs. und Abh.* 93), were it not that there is special reason to doubt whether *rummān* (like *tuffāḥ* = תַּפּוּחַ) is a genuine Arabic word at all, and not rather borrowed from Aram. or Heb. (cp Fränkel, 142). The origin and first home of the word are uncertain (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.* 123; Guidi, *Della Sede*, 19; Hommel conjectures a source in Asia Minor, *op. cit.* 98). The connection with the divine name Rimmon—if such connection there be (it is denied by H. Derenbourg)—is obscure and throws no light on the etymology (cp Baudissin, *Stud.* 1 306). Cp RIMMON.

1. Derivation.

The pomegranate tree (*Punica Granatum*, L.) is indigenous in Persia, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, and perhaps Beluchistan, also S. of the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus; farther west its growth is mainly connected with cultivation (De Cand. *Origine*, 189). It has been since early times cultivated in Egypt[1] (cp Nu. 20 5), Assyria, Palestine, and most countries round the Mediterranean.

[The pomegranate is a shrub or low tree with small deciduous dark-green foliage, which well sets off the crimson calyx and petals of the flowers, whilst the large reddish-coloured fruit, filled with many seeds, each surrounded with juicy pleasant-tasted pulp, gave it additional value in a warm country. The rind and bark and the outer part of the root are valued as astringents for the tannin which they contain. The fruit is frequently represented on Assyrian and Egyptian sculptures, and was a religious symbol in several ancient cults (see Baudissin, *Studien*, 2 207 *ff.*, but cp HADAD-RIMMON).

2. Description.

According to Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Kypros*, Text, 115) the

[1] It was imported in historical times; see EGYPT, § 8 n.

pomegranate was sacred to Adonis in Cyprus, just as in Crete it was sacred to Dionysus, which throws light, as he holds, on the confusion made in MT between רִמּוֹן, 'pomegranate-tree' and רַמָּן, Rammān (the Assyrian storm-god). See RIMMON.]

3. OT references. The biblical references—especially Dt. 8 8 Joel 1 12 Hag. 2 19—show that the pomegranate was one of the common fruit-trees of Palestine.[1] There was a large tree at Gibeah in the time of Saul (1 S. 14 2). We hear of a pomegranate orchard or garden (פַּרְדֵּס = παράδεισος; see GARDEN) in Cant. 4 13; the beautiful flowers are referred to in Cant. 6 11 7 12 [13]. The פֶּלַח הָרִמּוֹן, Cant. 4 3 6 7 (EV 'piece of a pomegranate') is explained by Wetzstein (*ap.* Delitzsch, 437 *ff.*) as referring to the cleft in the ripe pomegranate, which shows the flesh of the fruit with the seeds shining through it. The mention of pomegranate wine, Cant. 8 2 (EV 'juice'), is illustrated by the account of ῥοίτης οἶνος in Diosc. 5 34.

As is well known, the pomegranate supplied forms (1) for the embroidery at the base of 'the robe of the ephod,' Ex. 28 33, etc. (see BELLS, 1), and (2) for metal ornamentation on the tops of pillars in the temple, 1 K. 7 18, etc.

[According to Flinders Petrie the design of bells and pomegranates is 'the old Egyptian lotus and bud border, such a pattern having lost its original meaning in course of transfer to other lands' (Hastings, *DB* 1 269). If so, the design is misnamed. As the text stands, a small golden bell was to be attached to the hem between each two of the 'pomegranates' (*i.e.*, balls like pomegranates made of threads of the three colours mentioned).] N. M.

[1] [See also Nu. 13 23, where the spies are said to have brought pomegranates and figs, as well as grapes, from Eshcol. Cp NEGEB, § 7.]

POMMELS (גֻּלּוֹת), 2 Ch. 4 12 *f.* AV, RV BOWLS (*q.v.*).

POND. 1. אֲגַם, *'ăgam*. See POOL, 1.

2. מִקְוֶה, *mikweh* (√קוה, in Niph, 'to gather, collect'), in Ex. 7 19 RV (AV 'pool'; συνεστηκὸς ὕδωρ; *lacus aquarum*); used also widely in Gen. 1 10 Lev. 11 36 [see RV]. Cp מִקְוָה, *mikwāh*, 'reservoir,' Is. 22 11 Ecclus. 48 20 *d*† (Heb.); see CONDUITS, § 1 (5).

PONTIUS PILATE. See PILATE.

PONTUS (ΠΟΝΤΟϹ, Acts 2 9 1 Pet. 1 1; ΠΟΝΤΙΚΟΝ ΤΩ ΓΕΝΕΙ, Acts 18 2). The 'maritime' state, in the NE. corner of Asia Minor.

1. Geography. It was, in fact, merely the coast-land of Cappadocia, lying N. of the mountains which separate the central plateau from the sea-board: hence it was called 'Cappadocia on the sea (Pontus)'—Καππαδοκία ἡ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ (Strabo, 534). It is a land of mountains and well-watered fertile valleys, and of great natural wealth.

The chief river was the Iris (*Yeshil Irmak*), with its tributary the Lycus (*Kelkit Irmak*). Amaseia (*Amasia*) and Comana Pontica (near mod. *Tokat*) were centres of trade (cp Strabo, 559, ἐμπόριον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀξιόλογον, of Comana): the former was the cradle of the power of Pontus, the latter the chief seat of the worship of the great goddess Mâ, around whose shrine dwelt six thousand consecrated courtesans (Strabo, 557 *f.*; cp Comana in Cappadocia, *id.* 535, and the cult of Anaitis in Armenia, *id.* 532).

On the coast were flourishing Greek settlements, of which the most important was Amisus (mod. *Samsun*), the natural outlet for the products of eastern Asia Minor northwards. Farther E. was Trapezus (*Trebizond*), and W., Sinope (*Sinub*), which ultimately became the capital of the kingdom.

2. History. The independent career of Pontus dated from the overthrow of the Persian monarchy (Strabo, 534). Under the sway of the family of Mithridates (from about 280 B.C.) its importance gradually grew, at the expense of its eastern and western neighbours (see sketch by Holm, *Gk. Hist.* ET 4 285 *f.*). The glorious period of Pontic history was during the reign of Mithridates IV., Eupator (111-63 B.C.), who created a great maritime kingdom (cp Holm, *op. cit.* 4 569), and extended his power westwards over the coast beyond the river Halys and over the inland country (Paphlagonia: of which he ruled τὴν ἐγγυτάτω, Strabo, 544),[1] to the borders of Bithynia (Strabo, 540). The campaigns of Lucullus and Pompeius overthrew the Pontic Kingdom, and in 65 B.C. Pompeius organised the double province Bithynia-Pontus.

This was created by combining with the former kingdom of Nicomedes III. (see BITHYNIA) all the western part of the kingdom of Mithridates—*viz.*, the coast-land of Paphlagonia from the Pontic Heraclea (mod. *Eregli*) as far as Amisus, inclusive,[2] together with those parts of inner Paphlagonia that had been acquired by the Pontic kings. The rest of Paphlagonia, together with eastern Pontus, remained non-Roman, being handed over to semi-independent, in some cases priestly, dynasts (Strabo, 541). These territories were, however, from time to time incorporated, not with the province of Pontus-Bithynia, but with that of Galatia.

In 5 B.C. the Paphlagonian kingdom of Deiotarus Philadelphus, brother of Castor, the capital of which was Gangra (mod. *Changra*), was thus incorporated; in 2 B.C., the kingdom of the Gaul Ateporix—*i.e.*, the territory of Karana which had formerly belonged to Zela (mod. *Zilleh*, S. of Amaseia); at the same date the territory of Amaseia was absorbed, along with the district of Gazelonitis (with the exception of its seaboard) on the lower Halys; in 34 or 35 A.D. Tiberius incorporated Comana Pontica and its territory; finally, in 63 A.D., Nero incorporated the kingdom of Polemon II., the only remaining part of Pontus as yet unabsorbed (Pontus Polemoniacus was its name after absorption, to distinguish it from Pontus Galaticus. See GALATIA, § 3).

3. NT references. The word Pontus in the NT has, therefore, two possible significations. It may indicate that part of the Pontic Kingdom which was added to Bithynia (τῆς Ποντικῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς συντεταγμένης τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ Strabo, 543); or it may stand for the full title of the double province Pontus-Bithynia, just as is the case with the word Bithynia (see BITHYNIA). It is in this latter sense that the word is used in Acts 2 10, in the list of regions from which came certain Jews and proselytes present in Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost. That list (cp GEOGRAPHY, § 26, end), in spite of some irregularities, is made on the principle of naming the regions according to four groups (so Page, *Acts of the Ap.*, note *in loc.*), and follows a natural geographical order from Cappadocia in the E., round by the N., and southwards to Pamphylia. Pontus stands for the Province Pontus-Bithynia, in the coast-towns of which Jews would be settled for purposes of trade (cp Acts 18 2). On the other hand, in Acts 18 2, where Aquila is said to have been 'born in Pontus' (so AV; RV, 'a man of Pontus by race'), we must understand the word in the first sense, of Roman or western Pontus, the eastern section of the double province. We may conjecture that Aquila, who was a tent-maker (σκηνοποιός, Acts 18 3), came from the district E. of the Halys, in which Amisus lay, for there alone in the province was wool raised in any quantity (cp Strabo, 546, Gazelonitis ἔχει δὲ καὶ προβατείαν ὑποδιφθέρου καὶ μαλακῆς ἐρέας, ἧς καθ' ὅλην τὴν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τὸν Πόντον σφόδρα πολλὴ σπάνις ἐστί).

There remains the mention of Pontus in 1 Pet. 1 1. The enumeration 'Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia' employs the terms in the Roman sense and 'sums up the whole of Asia Minor N. of the Taurus range' (Rams. *Church in the Rom. Emp.*(5) 110). Why then are the two names Pontus and Bithynia both employed, and so widely separated? The question depends to some extent upon the date of 1 Peter (see PETER [EPISTLES OF]). If it was written as early as 63 A.D., it is conceivable that Bithynia is used for the double province (as in Tac. *Ann.* 1 74 16 18), and that Pontus = the kingdom of Polemon, the last free relic of

[1] Light is thrown upon the geography of this region by Anderson and Munro in *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, 20 150 *ff.* (1900).

[2] Relying on Strabo, 544, Momms.-Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsv.* 1 350) say that Amisus was not included in the province until after 33 B.C.; but see Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM*, 191 *f.*

the old Pontic realm. It is at least more probable, however, that the Epistle belongs to a period not earlier than 75-80 A.D. Pontus will therefore be the eastern part of the double province Pontus-Bithynia, and Bithynia the western part, which bore the name Bithynia before its erection into a province. Nor is such separation without justification in point of fact, for the two parts of the province had a certain independence.

Amastris was the μητρόπολις of the Pontic part, as Nicomedeia of the Bithynian, and the provincial synods (*consilium*, κοινόν) met separately in those towns (see Momms.-Marq. *Röm. Staatsv.* 1 355 *f.*). The only difficulty is then to account for the *order* of the names. On this point the view put forward in Hort's dissertation, 'The Provinces of Asia Minor included in St. Peter's address' (1 *Peter*, 157-184) is the most satisfactory.[1] He shows that the order of names indicates the course of the journey projected by Silvanus the bearer of the letter. Silvanus was to enter Asia Minor by a seaport of Pontus, and thence to make a circuit till he reached the neighbourhood of the Euxine once more. He would, perhaps, land at Sinope (more probably at Amisus), and leave Asia Minor by a port of Bithynia.

As to the date of the planting of the church in Pontus we have no information. Paul had been forbidden to set foot in the western part of the Province (Acts 16 7). We gather from Col. 4 10 and 2 Tim. 5 11 that Mark's work lay in Asia during the years succeeding 61 A.D., and he is mentioned in 1 Pet. 5 13 in a way that suggests that he was known to the eastern congregations. Hence we may conjecture that Mark laboured in the eastern provinces of Anatolia, and that the evangelisation of Pontus was due in part to him. Possibly it was suggested to him by Aquila, who probably saw him in Rome on the occasion of Paul's first imprisonment (cp Rom. 16 3 Col. 4 10 Philem. 24) and at Ephesus some years later (cp 2 Tim. 4 12 and 19).

4. Christianity in Pontus.

The tradition of Peter's work, in association with Andrew, in Pontus and the Provinces of Asia Minor is, probably, merely an inference from the Epistle itself. See SIMON PETER. The earliest authority for the statement is Origen (cp Eus. *HE* 3 1), who simply repeats the list of 1 Pet. 1 1 (with changed order) and says that he seems to have preached (κεκηρυχέναι ἔοικεν). The Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles* (Cur. *Anc. Syr. Doc.* 33) says that Peter 'laid the foundation of the Church' in Antioch, Syria, Cilicia, and Galatia, even to Pontus; and the route followed is given as starting from the Syrian Antioch and going by way of Tyana in Cappadocia to Sinope, where there was a tradition of Peter's presence (see Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* ii. 1 4 *ff.*).

The route is indeed quite correct, as the road from Syria, through the Cilician gates, and then by way of Tyana and Cæsareia in Cappadocia, was the great N. route to the Euxine, and is to-day the only road between Cæsareia Mazaca and *Samsun* that is practicable for *arabas* (see Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM*, 268, 446). The point of issue upon the Pontic coast-land was not, however, Sinope, but Amisus, for 'Sinope is cut off from the interior by broad and lofty mountains, most difficult to traverse' (Rams., *op. cit.*, 28).

We learn from Pliny's correspondence with Trajan that in 112 A.D. renegade Christians were found at Amisus in considerable numbers; and that some claimed to have abandoned Christianity even twenty-five years previously (*Ep.* 96). This would prove that Christianity had obtained a hold in Amisus as early as 87 or 88 A.D.

Ramsay (*Church in the Rom. Emp.* 225) concludes that we may place the introduction of the new religion into this part of Pontus between 65 and 75 A.D.; but he appears to take too narrow a view in ascribing the evangelisation of Asia Minor too exclusively to Paul and Pauline influence, as though Christianity in the northern provinces was due only to infiltration from Ephesus and other centres (Id., *op. cit.*, 284 *f.*).

For the history of the Pontic Kingdom, Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator, roi de Pont* (Paris, 1890). W. J. W.

POOL.[2] The words are:

1. אֲגַם, *'ăgam* (√אגם 'troubled' 'sad'?; Ass. *agāmu*; properly of 'troubled' or muddy pools or marshes; see BDB), applied, for example, to the pools left by the inundation of the Nile (Ex. 7 19 8 1 [5]: AV 'pond'; ἕλος; *palus*) and probably to the 'marsh' of Jordan (1 Macc. 9 42 45; *palus*; see *Comm.*). Frequently used in poetry in contrast with the dry sand of the desert (Is. 14 23 35 7 41 18 42 15; in last three cases ἕλος, *stagnum*); Ps. 107 35 (λιμένας ὑδάτων, *stagna aquarum*), 114 8 (λιμνας ὑδ., *st. aq.*). In Jer. 51 32 (συστέματα) AV renders 'reeds' (cp REED, 3), but RVmg. has 'or *marshes*, Heb. *pools*.' On the אַגְמֵי נֶפֶשׁ, AV 'ponds of fish,' of Is. 19 10 see under SLUICE; also FISH, § 5.

2. בְּרֵכָה, *berēkāh* (?√ברך, of camels kneeling to drink, but cp Ges.-Bu.); κρήνη, κολυμβήθρα; once λίμνη, Cant. 7 4; Vg. *piscina*; once *aquæductus*, Neh. 2 14; cp Arab. *birkeh* and Span. *alberca*. See CONDUITS, §§ 1, 3; also, on the 'pools' (κολυμβήθρα) of Bethesda and Siloam, see JERUSALEM, § 11, and SILOAM.

3. מִקְוֶה *mikweh*. See POND, 2.

[1] The secret of the peculiar order of the list was divined first apparently by Ewald, in his *Sieben Sendschreiben des NB*, 2 *ff.* (see Hort, *l.c.*, 168 *n.*).

[2] Cp POND. When RV in Ex. 7 19 substitutes 'pool' for 'pond' as a rendering for *'ăgam* and 'pond for 'pool' as a rendering for *mikweh*, it seems to be guided by a sense of the probable etymology of 'pool' as akin to πηλός and *palus*.

POOR. Dismissing with a bare notice the word ראשׁ רשׁ, *rāš*, which is the proper term in Hebrew for 'poor' in the sense of 'indigent,' 'without means' (1 S. 18 23, etc., esp. frequent in Proverbs; πένης, πτωχός, ταπεινός) we come to an interesting group of words אביון, *'ebyōn* (πένης, πτωχός, ταπεινός, ἐνδεής), דל, *dal* (ἀσθενής, πένης, πενιχρός, πενόμενος, πονηρός, πτωχός, ταπεινός) and עני, *'ānī* (πένης, πενιχρός, πραΰς, πτωχός, ταπεινός)—all three synonymous in usage but with a different significance and denotation in different books. In legal documents where it is in the absence of material goods that the point of the reference lies, all three terms denote the poor man in the material or legal sense.

1. Terms.

So in the Book of the Covenant (אביון, Ex. 23 6 11, דל, Ex. 23 3, עני, Ex. 22 24 [25]), the Law of Holiness (עני, Lev. 19 10 23 22), the Priestly Code (דל, Ex. 30 15 Lev. 14 21), or Deuteronomy (אביון, Dt. 15 4, etc., עני, Dt. 15 11, etc.), and generally in the Wisdom Literature (אביון, Job 29 16 Prov. 14 31, etc.; דל, Prov. 10 15 28 11, etc.; עני, Job 24 9; Prov. 14 21, etc.).

In the older prophets (Am. 2 6 Is. 3 15, etc.), where the opposition between tyrannical ruler and downtrodden subject is the point to be emphasised, the words denote primarily the lower classes of the people, oppressed and miserable, but relatively righteous; in later prophecy (Is. 14 30 32 29 19 49 13, etc.), and often in the Psalms (Ps. 22 25 35 10, etc.), they serve to denote that pious remnant, still chastened by suffering and oppression, which constituted, ideally at least, the post-exilic Israel.

Of the three terms, *'ebyōn* is the narrowest in connotation, and signifies originally 'in want'—*i.e.*, either (1) of material assistance hence 'poor,' 'indigent' (Esth. 9 22, etc.), or (2) of help in time of trouble or oppression, hence 'afflicted,' 'miserable' (Is. 25 4, etc.): the religious colouring it so often possesses (Jer. 20 13 Ps. 37 14, etc.) is due to frequent association with *dal* and *'ānī*.

Dal on the other hand has the widest range: its root-meaning is that of lowness or dependence and it signifies (1) weak, in poor condition physically (Gen. 41 19), (2) of a family, reduced, insignificant (Judg. 6 15 2 S. 3 1), (3) poor materially (Ruth 3 10 Prov. 10 15, etc.), (4) weak, oppressed, miserable, always with a religious connotation (Am. 2 7 Is. 10 2 Zeph. 3 12, etc.).

Most spiritual in significance of the three terms is *'ānī* which, whilst denoting originally 'one in a humble or servile position' (cp Ass. *enu*, Del. *Ass. HWB* 99, and Arab. *'ānin* a captive, slave), and sharing with *dal* the significations 'poor' and 'oppressed,' tends always to take on less of a material and more of a religious colouring. *'Ānī*, עני, is never opposed to *'āšīr* as poor to rich (but *dal* five times) whilst its by-form *'ānāw*, ענו has never a material significance at all.

On the relation between *'ānī* and *'ānāw* see Driver, art. 'Poor' in Hastings' *DB*, and Rahlfs, עני *und* ענו *in den Psalmen* 53 *ff.* (1892). Rahlfs' determination of the meaning of *'ānāw* by means of the form of the word is too ingenious to be assured of general acceptance, while the line of demarcation between a 'religiously coloured,' and a 'religious,' idea ('religiös gefärbter' and 'religiöser Begriff') is faint: *'ānāw* is merely a by-form of *'ānī* having its origin perhaps in textual corruption but fixed and perpetuated by a Rabbinic taste for fine distinctions. Neither *'ānī* nor *'ānāw*, however, should ever be rendered

'meek'; the cursings of Pss. 69 and 109 are inconsistent with such a rendering, and EV's rendering in Nu. 12 3, 'the man Moses was very meek (*'ānāw*)' can hardly be sustained.[1] On עני see also Lagarde, *Mittheil.*

A loan-word from the Assyrian (Eccles. 4 13 9 15 *f.*†) is מִסְכֵּן, *miskēn* (πένης) from Ass. *muškēnu*, Šafel part. from √כאן to be humble (before the deity).

In the sense of 'poor' the word passed from Assyrian into Aramaic, Hebrew, and Arabic; the Arabs brought it with them to Europe, and it appears in Italian *meschino*, Span. *mesquino*, Port. *mesquinho*, and French *mesquin*. (For another derivation of מסכן see Del. *Prol.* 186, n. 3.)

Other words for 'poor' are *ar'ar* (ערער), Ps. 102 17 (πτωχός S(1) [ταπεινός ABS(2)]), literally 'stripped,' hence 'naked,' 'destitute,' and the doubtful word *ḥēlkah*, חלכה (Ps. 10 8 10 14, 𝕾 πένης, πτωχός).

'That there is no connection with חַיִל, "host," as MT supposed, is obvious. Since Schultens (*Opera minora*, 182 *f.*) must have assumed a word חֶלְכָּה (Ew.) or חֵלְכָה (Kön. ii. 1 118), "dark," "unfortunate"; see BDB. One might also suppose חֶכְלָה; cp חכלילי and Ass. *akkulu* "troubled" (root-idea, darkness), *ikkillu* "lamentation." . . . A strange and as yet unexplained word, says Wellhausen. But we have the key to it, knowing who were the chief oppressors of the Jews in Palestine after the fall of the Jewish state. Read יְרַחְמְאֵל; cp the error in 5 5.' So Che. *Ps.*(2), who reads in 10 8*b*, עֲנִיִּים יְרַחְמְאֵל יְצַפֶּה, 'Jerahmeel watches the sufferers.'

In Lev. 25 25 35 39 (H), 25 47 27 8 (P) the verb מוּךְ, to be low, depressed, is used of impoverished Israelites (𝕾 ἀπορεῖσθαι, πένεσθαι, ταπεινὸς εἶναι, ταπεινοῦσθαι). In Gen. 45 11 (E), Prov. 20 13 23 21 30 9 the Niphal of ירשׁ, 'to dispossess' is found in the sense 'to be impoverished,' 'be poor,' unless, as is probable, the punctuation of the Massoretes is due to misunderstanding and ירשׁ is really a by-form of רושׁ, 'to be poor,' cp Piel, Judg. 14 15, לירשׁני, 𝕾 πτωχεῦσαι ἡμᾶς (A); (see for other instances of duplicate forms, Barth, *Etym. Stud.* 11).

That *'ānī* does not primarily mean 'poor' is indicated by the fact that the corresponding substantive *'ŏnī* (עֳנִי) invariably denotes 'misery,' 'wretchedness,' and only once 'poverty' (1 Ch. 22 14, 𝕾 πτωχεία), the proper Hebrew terms for which are רִישׁ, רֵישׁ or רֵאשׁ (𝕾 πενία, 7 times in Proverbs), מַחְסוֹר (Prov. 6 11 14 23, etc., 𝕾 ἔνδεια), חֶסֶר (Job 30 3 Prov. 28 22, 𝕾 ἔνδεια), cp also מִסְכֵּנֻת (Dt. 8 9, πτωχεία).

Words signifying 'poor' in the Apocryphal books are ἐνδεής, Wisd. 16 3 Tob. 2 2 (S, etc.); πένης, Wisd. 2 10 1 Esd. 3 19; πτωχός, Tob. 2 2 (𝕾), 2 3 (𝕾), 4 7 (AB), while ἔνδεια occurs Tob. 4 13 (AB), Wisd. 16 4. In the NT we have ἐνδεής, Acts 4 34; πένης, 'poor,' 2 Cor. 9 9; πενιχρός, 'poor,' Lk. 21 2; πτωχός, 'poor,' Mt. 5 3 Mk. 10 21 Lk. 4 18, and 29 times 'beggar,' Lk. 16 20 22 (but Mk. 10 46 Jn. 9 8, προσαίτης), 'beggarly,' Gal. 4 9; πτωχεία, 'poverty,' 2 Cor. 8 2 9 Rev. 2 9; ὑστέρημα, 2 Cor. 8 14 9 12, etc.; ὑστέρησις, Mk. 12 44 Phil. 4 11; χρεία, 'need,' Phil. 2 25 4 16, etc.

2. OT references.

i. In the historical and legal books the poor are the indigent, the hired servant (Dt. 24 14) who cannot wait a day for his wage (*v.* 15), the poor Israelite who has no effects but his *śalmā* (see MANTLE, § 2, 1) (*v.* 13), who has no vineyard of his own (Lev. 19 10 H) and no harvest-field (23 22 H). Although in Dt. 15 4 the promise is made 'there shall be no poor with thee,' the condition on which it turned was never fulfilled, and in view of the facts (*v.* 11) charity is enjoined (Lev. 25 35 [H], Dt. 15 7 *ff.* Ex. 23 11 [E]; see ALMS, § 2) and oppression forbidden (Dt. 24 14). The poor Israelite may neither lose his freedom (Lev. 25 39 *ff.* *v.* 47 *ff.*) nor alienate his property (*v.* 25 *ff.*). To lend to the poor on usury is unlawful (Ex. 22 25 E, Lev. 25 36 H); but a PLEDGE may be taken (Dt. 24 12) if restored at sundown (*v.* 13). Rich and poor are equal in the eye of the judge (Ex. 23 3 6 E), if not in that of the temple assessor (Lev. 14 21 27 8, but cp Ex. 30 15).

[1] Dillmann and Kautzsch, it is true, render 'sanftmüthig'; König (*Lehrgeb.* ii. 1 76), 'demuthig.' It would seem that we must render, either 'very pious' (which indeed may be the meaning of 𝕾's πραΰς) or (as We. in *EB*(9), art. 'Moses') 'heavily burdened.' The narratives do not make Moses live before us as an individual (see MOSES).

ii. It is a dark picture that meets us in the pages of the prophets. The ruling class, both in Israel and in Judah, the elders of the people and the princes thereof (Is. 3 14) with their wives, 'the kine of Bashan' (Am. 4 1, if the text is correct[1]), oppress their subjects; they sell the righteous for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes (Am. 2 6, according to MT[1]), crush the people and grind the face of the poor (Is. 3 15). The great land-owners sell the plebs bad corn, scant measure at double prices (Am. 8 5). The poor man cannot call his own life (Jer. 2 34) or honour (cp 2 S. 11 2 *ff.*) or patrimony (cp 1 K. 21 1 *ff.*). Whilst the rich lie upon beds of ivory and eat the lambs of the flock (Am. 6 4) the poor go naked and hungry (Is. 58 7), as helpless against the oppressor as the widow or the orphan (Is. 10 2 Zech. 7 10): a poor man cannot hope for justice (Am. 5 12 Is. 32 7 Jer. 5 28). And yet, to judge the cause of the poor and needy—is not this to know Yahwè? (Jer. 22 16). To feed the hungry, give shelter to the poor, clothe the naked, is not this the fast he has chosen? (Is. 58 7). To judge the poor with righteousness is significant of the Messiah (Is. 11 4).

iii. The 'poor and needy,' who figure so prominently in the Psalms (35 10 40 18 72 13 74 21 109 16, etc.) represent either the weak and oppressed Israelitish nation, or the pious in Israel afflicted by hostile nations without or the wicked within. The reference in any given case must be determined by such internal evidence as the passage may afford. That the term 'poor' was not inappropriate as a designation of Israel at the time of the exile and immediately after the 'return' may be seen from the account given in ISRAEL, §§ 45, 54 end; and that at the time of the birth of Jesus there actually was a party of pious Jews calling themselves perhaps אביונים, *'ebyōnīm*, and distinguished from the Zealots by their attitude of patient waiting, would seem to be indicated by the narrative at the beginning of Lk. (see esp. Lk. 2 25 38). Cp Renan, *Les Évangiles*, 44 *ff.*

These *'ebyōnīm* were not a political party like the Zealots; the bond between them was little more than the sympathy inspired by a common hope; and if, as is probable, their political inactivity was a necessary consequence of their poverty and social insignificance, they may well have been an earlier form of the later Ebionites. In the Psalms they are represented as suffering persecution (Ps. 10 2 102 1), but waiting patiently for Yahwè (40 2), who hears their cry (34 7), answers them (34 5), delivers them (35 10) and bestows of his goodness upon them (68 11) whilst the wicked perish (37 2).[2]

iv. In Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Ecclesiasticus, a store of practical wisdom has been preserved to us on the subject of poverty. The causes of the evil are found in sloth (6 11 10 4), gluttony and drunkenness 23 21), love of pleasure (21 17), or gossip (14 23), in over-carefulness (11 24), want of thoroughness (21 5), refusal of correction (13 18), the following after vain persons (28 19). The disabilities which it entails are loss of friends (19 4), the hatred of neighbours (14 20) and brethren (19 7 Ecclus. 13 21), and the liability to oppression (Pr. 28 3, where 'needy' [רָשׁ] should of course be 'wicked' [רָשָׁע], see Toy). Even great wisdom and great service cannot secure for the poor man recognition (Eccles. 9 15, an enigmatical passage). At the same time if poverty be his only crime (Pr. 10 15), it is not right to despise or mock him (17 5 Ecclus. 10 23); God made both rich and poor (Pr. 22 2). He that has pity on the poor honours God (14 31) and secures his own happiness (14 21), God will hear him when he calls (21 13). He who helps the poor shall be blessed (22 9), he shall not lack (28 27), God will repay him (19 17). The king who faithfully judges the poor, his throne shall stand for ever (29 14). It is not distinctly implied in these books that the poor man may be presumed to be pious (see, however, Ecclus. 21 5?); but a haughty poor man is asserted by Ben Sira to be incongruous and

[1] [The text is not free from suspicion. See *Crit. Bib.*]

[2] Cp Isidore Loeb, *La littérature des Pauvres*, 31-42; Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 113-125.

intolerable (Ecclus. 25 2). On the propitiatory value of charity see ALMS, § 3.

The poor man is better than the fool (19 1) or the liar (19 22) or the perverse man (28 6). One advantage he has over the rich man; he has nothing to lose (13 8). But the golden mean is best of all (30 8).

From the sayings of Ben Sira (Greek version) two may be quoted here:—

(1) A poor man is glorified for his knowledge;
And a rich man is glorified for his riches.
But he that is glorified in poverty, how much more in riches?
And he that is inglorious in riches, how much more in poverty? (10 30 *f.*).

(2) Wild asses are the prey of lions in the wilderness
So poor men are pasture for rich (13 18).

For the comparison in this distich, and for remarks on its bearings, see HYÆNA.

On the position of the poor in the NT see ALMS, also COMMUNITY OF GOODS, and, on Ebionitic passages in Lk., GOSPELS, § 110.

A. C. P.

POPLAR (לִבְנֶה, 'whiteness'; cp its Syr. name *ḥaurā*). According to EV the *libneh* was one of the trees from which Jacob made white rods (Gen. 30 37, *ῥάβδον στυρακίνην, virgas populeas*); and it is referred to by Hosea as a sacred tree of the paganising Israelites, like the oak and the terebinth (Hos. 4 13, λεύκη). The poplar tree is common enough in Palestine, especially in the country about the Lebanon and Damascus. The varieties known are *Populus alba*, L., and *P. Euphratica*, Ol. (cp WILLOW), which, by the way, forbids us to identify the Baca tree of 2 S. 5 24 with the *P. tremula*[1] (cp MULBERRY). This much is clear: in Hos. 4 13, the storax cannot be intended, whereas it may be meant in Gen. 30 37 (so RVmg., Kau. *HS* etc.).

PORATHA (פּוֹרָתָא), one of the sons of HAMAN [*q.v.*] (Esth. 9 8: φαραδαθα [BL], φαρααθα [ℵ], βαρδαθα [A]). 𝔊's form may presuppose the Persian ending *-data* (*e.g.*, *purdata* 'given by fate'?), with which cp the preceding names PARSHANDATHA, ARIDATHA. See ESTHER, § 3; PURIM, § 3.

PORCH. Among the following five words, note especially 2, in connection with EHUD (*q.v.*).

1. אוּלָם or אֻלָם, *'ūlām*, αιλαμ, 1 K. 6 3 7 6 Ezek. 8 16 40 7, etc. [Co., Ki. אילם]. See PALACE, § 7, and TEMPLE. Cp אֵילָם, Ezek. 40 16 etc., αιλαμ, EV arch(es), RVmg. 'colonnade' doubtfully; Ezekiel's architecture is obscure.

2. מִסְדְּרוֹן, *misdĕrōn*, ἡ προστάς, Judg. 3 23. But 'he (or, it) went out to . . . (*hammisdĕrōnah*)' cannot be treated apart from 'and he (or, it) went out to . . . (*happarshĕdōnah*)' (*v.* 22 end), and וַיֵּצֵא הפרשדנה is one of those cases in which coarsenesses (see AV *v.* 22) are due to corruption of the text (cp DOVE'S DUNG, HUSKS, JEHU, WASHPOT). These troublesome words appear to have been caused by dittography (see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*). Neither פרשדן nor מסדרון, however, can possibly be right; some third word or phrase must underlie both. Read probably, שַׁעַר הַפִּנָּה, 'the corner gate' (see CORNER). After going out by this gate, Ehud shut up Eglon, whom he had killed, in the chamber (עֲלִיָּה).

Moore (*Judges*, 98) suggests that פרשדן, *parshĕdōn* (RVmg. 'antechamber'), may possibly represent προστῷον (a Greek gloss); cp PALACE, § 1 (3) (on ארמון in Kings). He prefers, however, to emend הַפֶּרֶשׁ (so Nö., Bu.)—*i.e.*, 'the *fæces*.' But surely the repetition of וַיֵּצֵא is very suspicious, and the view of the accidental conformation of *parshĕdōn* to *misdĕrōn* is less natural than the view here given.

3. προαύλιον (Mk. 14 16), RVmg. 'forecourt'; see HOUSE, § 2.

4. πυλών rendered 'porch' (cp προαύλιον, above) in Mt. 26 71, is elsewhere in NT rendered 'gate' (Lk. 16 20 Acts 10 17 12 13 *f.* 14 13 Rev. 21 12 *ff.*). A large gateway or portico is meant.

5. στοά, Jn. 5 2 10 23 Acts 3 11 5 12 See TEMPLE. Delitzsch ('Talmud. Studien,' *Zt. f. Luther. Theol.* 17 [1856] 622 *ff.*) even explains 'Bethesda' as בית־סמין, οἶκος στοᾶς. T. K. C.

PORCIUS FESTUS. See FESTUS.

PORCUPINE (קִפּוֹד). Is. 14 23 etc. RV, AV BITTERN, (*q.v.*).

[1] According to Boissier, this is not a Syrian tree.

PORPHYRY (בַּהַט), Esth. 1 6† RVmg. See MARBLE.

PORPOISE (תַּחַשׁ), Ezek. 16 10 Ex. 25 5 RVmg., AV BADGER.

PORTER (שׁוֹעֵר, Bibl. Aram. תָּרָע, Ezra 7 24†; nom. agent. from שׁעֵר, see GATE; θυρωρος [2 S. 4 11 2 K. 7 11 1 Esd. and in NT], πυλωρος only in LXX), used of the guardian of the gate of a city (2 S. 18 26 2 K. 7 10 *f.*), or house (Mk. 13 34 metaph. Jn. 10 3; fem. 2 S. 4 6[1] Jn. 18 16 *f.*), or of the temple.

In 1 Ch. 15 25 *f.*, however, EV has DOORKEEPERS; 'be a doorkeeper' is even retained from AV in RV of Ps. 84 10 [11] for the difficult word הסתופף. It is true the post of doorkeepers (שֹׁעֲרִים) in the temple was assigned to two Korahite families and one Merarite family according to 1 Ch. 26 1-19. It is very doubtful, however, whether הסתופף can mean 'to keep the door.' 'To keep the threshold' would be more plausible. Baudissin (*Priesterthum*, 260) conjectures that in the pre-exilic time to which he refers Ps. 84, there may have been subordinate keepers in addition to the three distinguished keepers of the threshold (2 K. 25 18, EV wrongly 'door'). Certainly the office of keeper of the threshhold cannot have existed in post-exilic times (cp Baudissin, *op. cit.* 218 *f.*), to which Ps. 84 is most reasonably assigned. Another suggested meaning is 'to lie at the threshold' (from סַף, 'threshold'). A layman—and for laymen on pilgrimage Ps. 84 is supposed to have been written—could not set foot in the temple (Bä.). 𝔊 gives παραρίπτεῖσθαι, Jer. *abiectus esse*. There are other obscurities in the verse which suggest the necessity of a close inspection of the text with a view to its amendment (cp Ch. *Ps.*(2), *ad loc.*).

The classing of the doorkeepers under the heads Korah and Merari mentioned above represents a middle stage of development. At an earlier period they were kept distinct from the singers, the Nethinim, and the Levites; and last of all they became thoroughly Levitised, and included among the Korahites and Merarites; see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (ii.). For the post-exilic 'families' of the porters, see especially Ezra 2 42 Neh. 7 45, and note that some of the names which appear there are elsewhere those of individuals; cp 1 Ch. 9 17 Neh. 11 19 (add also Neh. 12 25, on which see MATTANIAH, 2). Originally, however, they were doubtless place-names or clan-names, and elsewhere it has been conjectured that השערים, the word rendered in EV 'porters,' is a corruption of an ethnic name, most probably of הָאַשּׁוּרִים, 'the Asshurites' (= Geshurites, see GESHUR, 2), parallel in Ezra 2 Neh. 8 to הַלְוִיִּם, 'the Levites,' and הַנְּתִינִים, a distortion of הָאֵיתָנִים, 'the Ethanites' (Che.).

POSIDONIUS (ποσιδωνιον [A], -ιδον- [V*], -ειδωνη [V a]), one of Nicanor's ambassadors to Judas the Maccabee in 161 B.C. (2 Macc. 14 19).

POSSESSION, DEMONIACAL. See DEMONS.

POSTS. The word is רָצִים, *rāṣīm*,[2] literally 'runners.' The passages in which 'posts' or 'state-messengers' are really referred to are Jer. 51 31 (διώκων, *currens*), 2 Ch. 30 6 10 (τρέχων, *cursor*), Esth. 3 13 15 (βιβλιαφόρος,

[1] A fem. שׁערת (ה) is to be read with 𝔊 and most modern critics. For female doorkeepers cp also Acts 12 13.

[2] [At first sight it appears to be the same word as that rendered 'guard' by EV in 2 K. 10 25 11 6, and by RV in 1 S. 22 17 (AV 'footmen'). It is, however, in the highest degree probable that *rāṣīm* in these passages is a mutilated form of *ṣarephāthīm* (Zarephathites), which occurs side by side with פלתי (Pelethites), just as כָּרִי (RV Carites) stands side by side with כרתי (Cherethites). That 'Cherethites' and 'Pelethites' are but conjecturally vocalised corrupt forms of 'Rehobothites' (רְחֹבֹתִי) and 'Zarephathites' (צָרְפָתִי) is maintained elsewhere (see PELETHITES). In 2 K. 10 25 we can still detect a gloss on רצים (*rāṣīm*), which asserts its equivalence to פלשתים (in MT Pĕlištīm), which again is most probably a corruption of צרפתים, Ṣarephāthīm (or פרצתים, Pāreṣāthīm?). (For לרצים ולשלישים read [לפלשתים] לרצים or לצרפתים). The case is parallel to that of הפלשתי הערל (1 S. 17 26 36), where הערל (הירחמאלי) represents a gloss on הפלשתי. See *Crit. Bib.* We must also keep out of our list of words for 'post' the corrupt word רץ in Job 9 25 (δρομεύς, *cursor*), for, probably, we have in the true text the first of three comparisons of Job's fleeting days to swiftly-flying birds (see OSSIFRAGE).—T. K. C.]

cursor), 8 10 14 (*ἱππεύς, veredarius*). In Esther the reference is no doubt to the system of posts said to have been first devised by Cyrus the Great (Xen. *Cyrop.* 8 6 17 *f.*). According to Herodotus (8 98) 'nothing mortal travels so fast as the Persian messengers.' . . . 'The Persians give this system of riding post the name of ἀγγαρήιον.' The ἄγγαροι had authority to press into their service men, horses, or anything that might serve to hasten their journey. Hence the verb ἀγγαρεύω, 'to compel,' in NT (Mt. 5 41 27 32 Mk. 15 21), and the אנגריא (ἀγγαρεία) of the Talmud. The etymology of ἄγγαρος is disputed. Andreas (in Marti's glossary) explains it 'express messenger' (*Eilbote*), and connects it (like Bibl. Aram. אִגְּרָא, Heb. אִגֶּרֶת) with Middle Iranian *hangērt*, etc., new Pers. *angāra*, 'narrative, report.' But אגרת is no doubt = Ass. *êgirtu* (see EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 5), and *êgirtu* is certainly not a Persian loan-word. The reverse process is much more intelligible; *i.e.*, ἄγγαρος is of Assyrian origin. Jensen,[1] however, leaves *êgirtu* (√אגר, to pay) out of the question, and derives ἄγγαρος from Ass. and Bab. *agru* (√אגר), one engaged, or pressed, for service.

Jensen argues that the etymology is excellent in itself, and also that its synonyms ἀσκάνδης, ἀσγάνδης (ἀστάνδης), and *berīd* (cp 'veredarius'?) can be satisfactorily explained only from Babylonian; cp also Rawlinson's note on Herod. 8 98.

POT. For 1. סִיר, *sīr;* 2. פָּרוּר, *pārūr;* 3. דּוּד, *dūd;* 4. קַלַּחַת, *ḳallāḥath*, see COOKING, § 5, i. *a, c, d, e;* also *ib.* § 2 for *dūd*, and POTTERY, § 3 [6] for *pārūr.*

For 5. כִּרַיִם, *kīráyim*, see COOKING, § 4.

6. אָסוּךְ, *'āsūk* (2 K. 4 2†), is used of the widow's 'pot of oil'; but אסוך (√סוך) can hardly mean 'pot' (𝔊BA, ὃ ἀλείψομαι; 𝔊L, ἀγγεῖον, but with ὃ ἀλείψ. at end of verse). אם may come from the preceding אם. We expect פַּךְ, *pak* (see BOX, 1), which Klostermann restores.

7. צִנְצֶנֶת, *ṣinṣéneth*† (Ex. 16 33, if correct), of the pot of manna, containing a homer (στάμνος; Pesh. קסטא; Onk. צְלוֹחִית). 𝔊 makes it a golden pot (στάμνον χρυσοῦν); cp Heb. 9 4.

8. גָּבִיעַ, *gābīă'*. See CUP, MEALS, § 12, and POTTERY.

9. שְׁפַתַּיִם, *š*e*phattáyim* (Ps. 68 13 [14]). See SHEEPFOLDS.

10. עֶצֶב, *'éṣeb* (Jer. 22 28†), AV 'idol' (cp IDOL, § 1 *b*), RV 'vessel' (√עצב, to fashion), RVmg. 'pot'; see POTTERY, § 3 [10].

11. מַצְרֵף, *maṣrēph* (Prov. 17 3 27 21). See METAL WORK.

12. στάμνος (Heb. 9 4). See above, 6.

13. ξέστης (Mk. 7 4); Lat. *sextarius*. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

See also PURIFICATION ('waterpots,' Jn. 2 6 *f.*), WASHPOT.

POTIPHAR (פּוֹטִיפַר; πετεφρης [ADEL], see below; *Putiphar*), a high Egyptian official, the master of Joseph, Gen. 39 1 *f.* The name is evidently only a shorter writing of POTIPHERA with which it is identified by 𝔊. On the Egyptian etymology see POTIPHERA. The position of Potiphar is described first as סָרִיס (*sārīs*) of Pharaoh. This word means 'eunuch' (𝔊, Vg.), as well as 'court-official,' (thus Tg. Onk. רבא), the most important offices having been in the Ancient Orient (cp especially Assyria) in the hand of royal slaves who were often eunuchs (cp EUNUCH). The fact of Potiphar's being married decides against the translation 'eunuch.'[2] It has to be mentioned that the word was known also to the later Egyptians in the non-sexual sense. In two rock inscriptions in the valley Hamâmât, Persian officers are called: '*srys* of Persia,' where, evidently, it means 'official.' See EGYPT, § 29, on the fact that no representation or mention of eunuchs has been found, so far, in Egypt, although it must be presupposed that the Egyptians knew eunuchs at least by contact with the neighbouring nations. The chief title of Potiphar was 'chief of the cooks' (שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים). Thus it is correctly rendered by 𝔊 (ἀρχιμάγειρος). The attempt to explain the title as 'chief of the executioners' (already Onk. Syr.) might be supported by the imprisonment (Gen. 39 20 *f.*) at the command of Potiphar, but has no lexicographic authority. On the other hand, the inmates of the prison—viz., the baker and the butler or cup-bearer decide for the first interpretation of the title. Is the superintendent of the royal kitchen and wine-cellar intended? The inclusion of the cup-bearer under his authority might point to such an extended sphere. At any rate, the office would include the command over a host of officials and slaves so large that the holder might well have a prison of his own. For the interpretation that no private prison is meant but the general royal prison, it might be argued that the office of cup-bearer was higher in rank, at least in dynasties 19 and 20, and could not well come under the authority of the superintendent of the kitchen, so that Joseph's meeting the two royal officials in that prison would be accidental rather than due to Potiphar's position. It is not easy to find a corresponding office in the Egyptian inscriptions. The office of the 'scribe of the royal table' (*sḫ' wdḥ*) who had to register the expenses, was usually different from that of the *mr-st* 'superintendent of the kitchen,' and this one from that of the 'superintendent of the brewery' (*mr-w'bt*), etc. If the words of Genesis be taken literally, the second office would be meant. We do not, however, know the court and its officers sufficiently well in all periods to be able to deny the possibility that all those offices may once have been united in one person.

W. M. M.

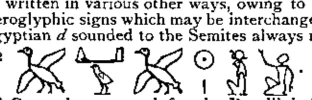
[1] See P. Horn, *Grundriss d. Neupersischen Etymologie* (Strassburg, 1893), 29 254.

[2] Exceptional cases of eunuchs having wives will not alter the rule. See Ebers, *Ægypten und die Bücher Mosis*, 299 (who still retained the error of the early Egyptologists who saw eunuchs in representations of fat old men).

POTIPHERA, RV, AV **POTIPHERAH** (פּוֹטִי פֶרַע, πετρεφη [A], πετεφρη [EL], see below), an Egyptian priest of On-Heliopolis whose daughter was married to Joseph by Pharaoh (Gen. 41 45 50 46 20 †). On the fame of the learned priests of On and on that ancient city see ON. The name Potiphera is of great importance, allowing us to recognise its Egyptian etymology and to use it for criticism of the documents of the Pentateuch reporting the story of Joseph.

The consonants of the Hebrew traditions are a faultless rendering of the Egyptian name *p*[']-*edy*[*u*][1]-*p*[']-*Rē'*,[2] 'the one whom the sun-god has given'; cp Greek Heliodorus. In later pronunciation *Pedep*(*h*)*rē';* cp the rendering Πετεφρη in 𝔊EL. The Greek version treats the name Potiphar as identical, and transliterates it, consequently, in the same way. This is, undoubtedly, correct. See for the many similar names Lieblein, *Dict. of Hierogl. Names*, 1056 (the biblical name, however, which points to the local cult of Heliopolis-On is not given there). Names of the same form, 'given by god X' are, *e.g.*, the Egyptian prince *Pedubaste*(*t*) whose name Ašur-bāni-pal renders *Puṭubasti*, *Pedam*(*m*)*ûn*, which, on a bilingual sarcophagus (in Turin), is Hellenised as 'Αμμώνιος, *Pedēset*, in Greek Πετισις; Πετοσιρις, etc. On the question of the antiquity of these formations of names[3] see the discussion in *ZÄ* 30 (1892) 49 *f.* There is no doubt about their rather recent use. No example from the Mosaic time can be furnished as yet, and it is questionable whether any certain examples occur before the time of dyn. 22—*i.e.*, before 950 B.C. In the discussion referred to (*ZÄ*, 1892) it is claimed that such names become frequent only after 700 B.C., and that the writer of Joseph's life (E or E_2) who adduces the name Pedephrē' as belonging to two persons is, therefore, to be placed in the seventh century B.C. (cp JOSEPH, § 4, col. 2588 *f.*). Our material is not exhaustive enough to allow such

[1] The *u*/*w* is later always omitted. Of course, the name can be written in various other ways, owing to the great variety of hieroglyphic signs which may be interchanged. Notice that the Egyptian *d* sounded to the Semites always nearer *ṭ* than *d*.

[2] 

[3] Correctly compared first by Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, text i., 117 (Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher Mosis*, 296). Champollion, *Système Hierogl.*, had come near the truth in assuming 'the one who belongs (*et*[*e*] for earlier *ente*) to the sun'; but no similar name can be found. See also col. 3728, n. 3.

exact statements. At any rate, however, it must be confessed that in a writer of the period before 1000 B.C., the name could not appear as of characteristic frequency among the Egyptians. On the other hand, the transcription with ט and ע gives a good, archaic impression, and would militate against too extravagant attempts at bringing down the date. W. M. M.

POTSHERDS, GATE OF (שַׁעַר הַחַרְסִית, Kr.; שׁ׳ הַחַרְסוּת, Kt.), Jer. 19 2†. See JERUSALEM, § 24; cp POTTERY, § 7.

POTTAGE (נָזִיד, Gen. 25 29; ἕψεμα, Bel. and Drag. 33). See FOOD, § 4 (1), and LENTILES.

POTTER'S FIELD (τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως), Mt. 27 7. See ACELDAMA.

POTTERY. Though the art of pottery was presum-

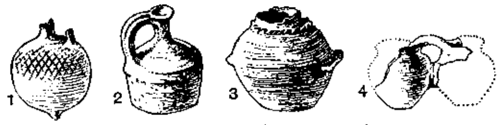


FIG. 1.—'Amorite' or pre-Israelite pottery: before 1500 B.C. (From Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities.* 1. no. 83; 2. no. 92; 4. no. 93. All handmade, with simple incised ornament.)

ably known to the Israelites from an early period, references in Hebrew literature to the manufacture and use of earthen vessels are rare, and for the most part ambiguous.

1. Introduction.

The ample vocabulary of names for vessels is derived mainly from roots descriptive of their forms or uses, not of their material; and more than once (Is. 30 14 Jer. 48 12 Lam. 4 2) an express reference to earthen vessels is attached to words which properly mean vessels of skin. Probably the earliest express reference, though vaguer phrases occur in the Hexateuch, is 2 S. 17 28, where, in a list of supplies, earthen vessels accompany (wooden) beds and (brazen) basons (cp the similar classification, Mk. 7 4, *βαπτισμοὺς ποτηρίων καὶ ξεστῶν καὶ χαλκίων*). It is only in prophetical literature that allusions to the manufacture and characteristics of pottery become at all frequent.

This all corresponds with what the history of the Israelites would lead us to expect.

2. In Egypt and Palestine.

In Egypt, it is true, pottery was in use from the pre-dynastic period onwards; and wheel-made vessels, from the time of the fourth dynasty—though handmade fabrics survived to a much later date.[1]

Into Palestine the use of the potter's wheel seems not to have been introduced until the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, and then probably from Egypt. A variety, however, of hand-made fabrics for the most part rude though characteristic, and occasionally later of some elegance, were in use among the pre-Israelite populations, and persisted among these and their conquerors after the introduction of the wheel.

The whole series of Palestinian pottery has been fully illustrated by excavations at Tell-el-Ḥesy,[2] the probable site of LACHISH [*q.v.*].

[1] *E.g.*, eighteenth dynasty, see Leps. *Denkm.* 274 *a*; Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 3 164.

[2] Flinders Petrie, *Tell-el-Ḥesy* (1891); Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities* (1894). Cp also the 'finds' at Tell Zakariya (*PEFQ*, 1899, pp. 102 *ff.*, 1900, p. 11 *ff.*); Tell eṣ-Ṣāfieh (*ib.* 1899, pp. 324 *ff.*); Tell Sandaḥannah (*ib.* 1900, pp. 319 *ff.*), and Tell ej-Judeideh (*ib.* 1900, pp. 199 *ff.*); the examples from Jerusalem (Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem* [1898], p. 261, pl. 25, Warren and Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem* [1871], pp. 472 *ff.*), and those figured in Per. Chip., *Art in Sardinia, Judæa, etc.*, 1 351, fig. 235 *ff.*

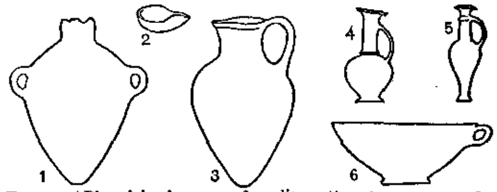


FIG. 2.—'Phœnician' or proto-Israelite pottery: 1500-1000 B.C. Scale about 1/10.
(From Petrie, *Tell el-Ḥesy.* 1. no. 124; 2. no. 137; 3. no. 125; 4. no. 115 [occurs also in Mycenæan Cyprus and in 18th dyn. Egypt]; 5. no. 141 [occurs as no. 4]; 6. no. 110. Almost all handmade, without ornament: the forms often imitated from leathern vessels.)

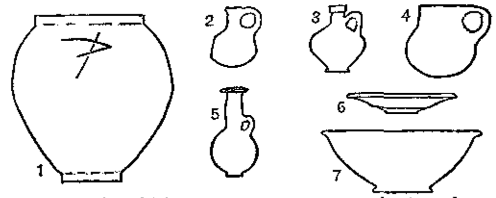


FIG. 3.—'Jewish' pottery: 1000-500 B.C.: scale about 1/10.
(From Petrie, *Tell el-Ḥesy.* 1. no. 201 [with owner's mark, א]; 2. no. 192; 3. no. 202; 4. no. 187; 5. no. 198; 6. no. 218, 7. no. 219. Often wheel-made: the forms analogous to the contemporary pottery of Cyprus, and of Carthage.)

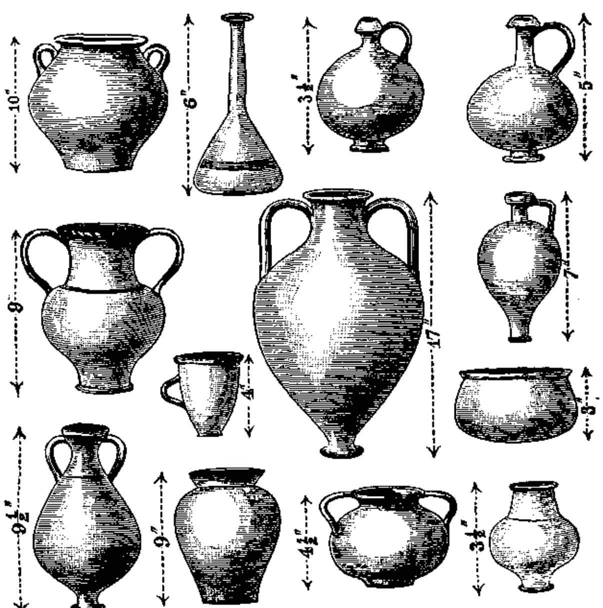


FIG. 4.—Typical Hellenistic and Græco-Roman pottery.

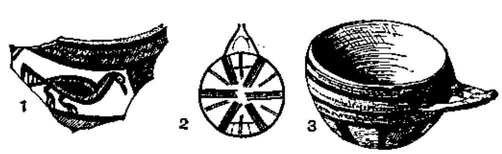


FIG. 5.—Painted pottery showing Cypriote influence.

(1. Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, no. 106. buff clay, red and black pigment, wheel-made, resembles Cypriote style; 800-500 B.C.: 2. Petrie, *Tell-el-Ḥesy*, no. 157. bottom view of bowl, like 3; dark clay, white slip, black pigment; hand-made; common in Cyprus, 1500-1000 B.C.: 3. Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, no. 181, bowl like 2.)

POTTERY

On this site occur: (1) early, rude, and apparently indigenous fabrics, all handmade, which have been provisionally described as 'Amorite' (fig. 1); (2) some characteristic varieties of the fabrics which have been described as 'Phœnician,' from their frequency in Cyprus, and in foreign settlements in Egypt of eighteenth dynasty date. They occur also occasionally on the less known Syrian mainland (fig. 2); (3) imitations, clumsy and barbaric, of the Phœnician fabrics above mentioned, which have been regarded as very probably 'Jewish,' since examples of the same style recur on a number of sites in Jewish territory. But few of these scattered examples are from undisturbed sites, and none are of accurately determinable date (fig. 3). In the chronological series, as indicated at Tell-el-Ḥesy, their upper limit approximately coincides with that of the Israelite occupation of Palestine; the lower is more vague, for the native forms are gradually modified and give place in the third and second centuries B.C. to (4) degenerate Hellenistic forms, which have persisted almost without change to the present time (fig. 4).

Painted decoration was very rarely applied to pottery either in Phœnicia, or in any other part of non-Hellenic Asia; and, when it occurs, may generally be referred either to Egyptian or to Ægean influence. One imperfect vase from Jerusalem (fig. 6 1), like a modern Egyptian *gulleh*, found only 4-6 metres (19 ft.) deep in the Mūristān (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 478 *f.*, Per.-Chip. *op. cit.* 1 355, fig. 244 *f.*), and a few fragments found near Barclay's Gate and the Genneth Gate (Louvre; Pottier, *Catalogue des Vases*, 92; Per.-Chip., *op. cit.* 1 356 *f.*, fig. 246-8), and fragments from Tekoa (Brit. Mus.) and from Moab (Brit. Mus. A, 1676-77, cp H. de Villefosse, *Notice des Mon. Phén. du Louvre*, no. 7) seem to be influenced by the geometrical style of Cyprus; but their date is quite

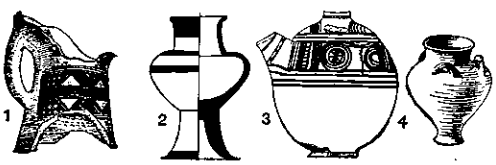


FIG. 6.—Painted pottery showing Ægean influence.

(1. Jerusalem (Muristan), Wilson and Warren, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 478, geometrical ornament: 2. Tell Zakarīya, *PEFQ*, 1900, p. 13, pl. iii. 1, Ægean form and painted ornament: 3. Tell es Ṣāfieh, *ib.* 1899, p. 314, pl. ii., native copy of Ægean form and spiraliform ornament; on front, a bird like Fig. 5 1 above; buff clay, red and black paint: 4. Tell-el-Ḥesy, Bliss, *op. cit.* no. 179, native copy of characteristic Ægean (Mycenæan) form, unpainted.)

uncertain, and similar fragments, found in Malta (Valetta Museum) seem to be of mediæval Arab fabric. Other fragments from er-R'maīl (Louvre, H. de Villefosse, *Notice des Mon. Phén.* no. 81) have the characteristic (7th-5th cent. B.C.) Cypriote ornament of concentric circles, which occurs also at Kuyunjik on imported—probably Levantine—pottery (Brit. Mus. NH, 18, 28). At Tell-el-Hesy, painted pottery of quasi-Cypriote forms (fig. 5 1), together with the 'painted Phœnician' bowls (which are probably actually Cypriote), begins to appear about the time of the eighteenth dynasty (figs. 5 2, 5 3); but none of the 'Jewish' types are painted (fig. 3). Clear traces of the influence of the Mycenæan civilisation, probably introduced by the seafaring raiders who harried the Levant, appear during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Egypt. (See PHILISTINES, § 6 *ff.*) But this phase was short-lived.[1]

In a nomadic state, the use of brittle earthenware is reduced to a minimum, owing to the difficulties of transport. Its place is taken by vessels of leather, wood, and gourds, and by metallic utensils where commercial intercourse permits. Such pottery as there is in such circumstances is either very rude and temporary, or is imported and preserved as a luxury.[2]

3. Hebrew terms.

Thus among the Israelites, three words for vessels, *nēbel* (*nébel*), *ḥēmeth*, *nōd*, besides *'ōb*, Job 32 19, properly denote vessels of skin (see BOTTLE, § 1), whilst in the accounts both of the tabernacle and of the temple the great majority, if not all the sacred vessels were of metal (Ex. 38 3 1 K. 7 45 10 2 2 Ch. 4 16 9 20 35 13), and so at the same time of greater intrinsic value, more durable, and less liable to contract pollution (Lev. 6 28 *ff.*). For minor sacrificial purposes earthen vessels are specified more than once in the Levitical code (Nu. 5 17 Lev. 6 21 14 5 50).

The difficulty of determining the usage of the Hebrew terms is increased by the fact that, in all the versions, the words for vessels of pottery and other materials are rendered for the most part quite at random. Least of all, either in AV or RV, is the key-word 'pot' confined to earthenware; it includes vessels of wickerwork, skin, and metal. With this qualification, the following outline gives the forms and uses of pottery which are expressly mentioned in Hebrew literature.

1. כַּד, *kad* (√heave? draw water, ὑδρία, AV 'pitcher'; Gen. 24 14 Judg. 7 16 Eccles. 12 6, κάδος, *cadus*; AV 'barrel'; 1 K. 17 12 18 33) is a capacious vessel large enough to conceal a lighted torch, Judg. 7 16; cp Mt. 5 15, or to serve as a meal tub, 1 K. 17 12 *ff.* (see Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, 1897, frontispiece). It was commonly used for carrying water, Gen. 24 14 Eccles. 12 6 1 K. 18 33; cp ὑδρία, Jn. 4 28, and was borne on the shoulder, Gen. 24 14. See COOKING, § 2.

2. בַּקְבֻּק, *baḳbūḳ*, see BOTTLE, § 2 (*a*), CRUSE, 2.

3. פַּךְ, *pak* (√drop, φάκος [lentil]; *lenticula*, EV 'vial,'; 1 S. 10 1; AV 'box,' 2 K. 9 1 3) is a lenticular flask or pilgrim bottle, with a narrow neck between small handles for suspension. The form is derived from a leathern prototype, and is common in 'Phœnician' and 'Jewish' fabrics of pottery, see fig. 2, 3 *f.*

4. גָּבִיעַ, *gābīă'* (√round; κεραμίον, *scyphus*, AV 'bowl' Jer. 35 5) is a large round bowl from which wine could be served out into cups. In Jer. 35 5 it is probably of clay (𝔊); but the same word is used Gen. 44 2 for the 'divining cup' of Joseph, which is expressly of silver (cp DIVINATION, § 3 [3]), though late Chaldæan bowls with magic inscriptions, in Brit. Mus., are of clay. See MEALS, § 12.

5. כּוֹס, *kōs* (√contain; ποτηρίον, *calix*, AV 'cup' freq.) is frequently used for a drinking-cup. Such cups were often of metal; but for common purposes clay was in use at all periods. In Mk. 7 4 ποτηρία are distinguished from ξεστά (wooden) and χαλκία (bronze) vessels, and are presumably of clay; cp κεραμίον ὕδατος, Mk. 14 13 Lk. 22 10, and Is. 30 14. See MEALS, § 12.

6. פָּרוּר, *pārūr* (√be hot; χυτρά, *olla*, 'pot' AV Nu. 11 8 Judg. 6 19 1 S. 2 14 Joel 2 6) seems always to represent the common clay cooking-pot, and is repeatedly distinguished from the metallic cauldron. Cp COOKING, § 5 (i. *c*).

7. כּוּר, *kūr* (√cook, κάμινος, *caminus*, Prov. 17 3 27 21 Is. 48 10 Ecclus. 2 5, *fornax* Dt. 4 20 1 K. 8 51 Jer. 11 4 Ezek. 22 18 20 22) is the earthen crucible or melting pot of the metallurgist (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.*); but in Lev. 11 35 the dual, lit. 'pair of crucibles,' is explained by Jewish commentators as 'a pot with its cover'; 𝔊 χυτρόποδες indicates a clay tripod, such as is occasionally found; hence EV 'range for pots,' mg. 'stewpan'; in any case the utensil was of clay, as it was to be destroyed by breaking in pieces. Cp FURNACE, § 1 (2).

For 8. צַפַּחַת, *ṣappáḥath*, and 9. צְלֹחִית, *ṣĕlōḥīth*, see CRUSE, 1, 3.

10. עָצֶב, *'éṣeb*, Jer. 22 28 (with *nāphūs*, 'broken vessel' [RVmg., 'pot,' AV 'idol'; σκεῦος, *vas fictile*]; cp IDOL, § 1 *b*). The allusion is probably to a broken terra-cotta figurine, a piece of modelled clay, cheap and fragile [cp below, § 5 (2)].

4. Potsherds.

Besides the express terms already mentioned, earthen vessels, *kĕlē ḥéreś* (כְּלִי־חֶרֶשׂ), of undefined form are recorded as being in use:—

1. For ritual purposes (Nu. 5 17 Lev. 4 5 50).

2. For cooking, frequently—*e.g.*, Lev. 6 28 [21], where it is clear that they are of unglazed clay, and consequently absorbent of contamination; cp Ezek. 24 6, where the metaphor is from cooking, and 'rust' of AV, should be 'scum.' Cp Lev. 11 35 AV, 'range for pots,' above (§ 3 7); and Is. 30 14. Cp COOKING, § 5.

3. To preserve documents, Jer. 32 14; cp buried treasure, 2 Cor. 4 7, which is frequently found thus protected.

The word *ḥéreś* (√'scratch,' ὄστρακον, *testa*, *vas fictile*) is used of a *whole* vessel, Prov. 26 23 and as adj. Lev. 6 21 11 33 14 5 50 15 12, as well as of broken pottery; as a ladle, Is. 30 14; as an extemporised brazier, *ib.*, cp Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 522 (1868); or, on account of the sharpness of its broken edges, as a scraper, Job 2 8.

[1] Cp Welch, 'The Influence of Ægean Civilisation on South Palestine' in *PEFQ*, 1900, pp. 342 *ff.* The pottery in question was found at Tell el-Hesy (Petrie, *l.c.*, figs. 46, 145, 164-7; Bliss, *l.c.*, fig. 179); Tell eṣ-Ṣāfieh (*PEFQ*, 1899, p. 314), and Tell Zakarīya (*ib.* 1900, pp. 11-13).

[2] Niebuhr, *Voy.* 1 188; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 214.

All these makeshifts may be commonly observed still in the East.

4. To these we may add the making of concrete (mod. Ar. *ḥomrah;* cp חֲסַף, *ḥăsaph*, Dan. 2 33 *ff.*, *ὄστρακον*, *fictilis*, *testa;* EV 'clay,' see § 6 below). For this purpose broken potsherds are finely pounded and mixed with lime (cp Roman *opus Signinum*). It is as if for this purpose that Jeremiah is directed to shatter the 'potter's vessel' in Jer. 19 1-11, and the process may still be seen on the same spot outside the city (Neal, *Palestine Explored*, 116 *ff.* [1882]).

Proverbially, mention is made, especially in the later books, of

5. Proverbial references.

1. The plasticity and passivity of clay in the hands of the potter; frequently—*e.g.*, Is. 29 16 45 9 64 6 Jer. 18 2 *ff.*

2. The fragility of pottery in the kiln, Ecclus. 27 5, and in use; frequently—*e.g.*, Ps. 2 9 Eccles. 12 6 Is. 30 14 45 19 Jer. 19 1-11 (cp § 4 [5]) 22 28 Rev. 2 27, cp Judg. 7 19 *f.*

3. Consequently, its small value—*e.g.*, Lam. 4 2 Zech. 4 13 Mt. 27 9.

4. Its menial uses—*e.g.*, Ps. 60 8 2 Thess. 2 20; but *not* Ps. 68 13 AV 'pots,' RV 'sheepfolds' Che. *Ps.*[1] 'dunghills'; Ps. 81 6 AV 'pots,' RV 'basket,' though the reference is, in fact, to work in a brickfield; see below, § 6.

5. Its dry and dusty texture, Ps. 22 15.

The manufacture of pottery among the Israelites may be outlined from the same later sources, especially Jer. 18 1-3 Ecclus. 38 32-34.

6. Clay.

Clay is usually חֹמֶר, *ḥômer;* πηλός, *lutum;* √חמר, 'red,' cp חֵמָר, *ḥēmār;* ἄσφαλτος, *bitumen;* from the frequent red colour of pot-clay, especially of the surface clays of the Levantine limestones; cp our chalk soil; also Bibl.-Aram. חַסְפָּא (חֲסַף, Dan. 2 33, see § 4 [5]); πηλός, *lutum;* once טִיט, *ṭîṭ;* πηλός, *lutum*, Is. 41 25, which is properly 'mud' for sun-dried bricks, Nah. 3 14, or merely 'mire.'

The clay is kneaded with the feet to the proper uniformity and consistency (Wisd. 15 7 Is. 41 25, cp Nah. 3 14, where brickmaking is meant, and Ecclus. 38 33 AVmg., 'tempereth with his feet'). Even prepared clay, however, is liable to fail on the wheel (Jer. 18 4), in which case it can be worked up afresh; or in the furnace (Ecclus. 27 5), in which case it is ruined utterly, and is cast aside among the 'wasters,' which mark the site of many ancient potteries.

The same clay, חֹמֶר, is also used to receive the impress of a seal (Job 38, cp Jer. 32 14); and for baked brick, לְבֵנָה, Gen. 11 3 Is. 45 9, cp Ezek. 4 1. See BRICK.

According to the MT the bronze castings of king Solomon were made *in the clay ground between Succoth and Zeredah, in* the plain of Jordan (2 Ch. 4 17, ἐν τῷ πάχει τῆς γῆς, *in argillosa terra*, cp 1 K. 7 46). The text is corrupt (see ADAM i.); but the Jordan furnishes a strong clay suitable for moulds. Cp BABYLONIA, § 15; BITUMEN, BRICK, CLAY, SEAL.

7. The potter.

The potter (usually יוֹצֵר, *yōṣēr;* κεραμεύς, *figulus*, *plastes;* √יצר, 'mould'; and not confined to this kind of manufacture, Is. 45 7 18; also Bibl. Aram. *peḥḥār*, פֶּחָר; *figulus*, Dan. 2 41) sits at his work, turning the wheel with his feet, and modelling the clay revolving upon it with his hands (Jer. 18 3 Ecclus. 38 32). Like many other craftsmen, the potters in Jerusalem appear to have formed a hereditary guild of the bnē SHELAH (*q.v.*), which is mentioned in 1 Ch. 4 23 at the end of an enumeration of the tribe of Judah (see GEDERAH, 2).

The Potter's Field, Aceldama (mod. Ḥaḳl ed-Damm), is traditionally situated in the lower part of the valley of Hinnom, south of Zion, where traces of former potteries are still seen. The furnaces of the valley of Hinnom were proverbial, and the area in question *may* have extended as far up the valley, and W. of Zion, as the 'Gate of Potsherds' (Jer. 19 2), if not even as far as the 'Tower of the Furnaces' (Neh. 3 11 12 38). See ACELDAMA.

The 'Gate of Potsherds' (Jer. 19 2 Krē, RVmg.) obtained its name perhaps from the waste heaps of these potteries (to which it offered direct access from the city), perhaps from general refuse heaps, as this Gate is probably identical with the Dung Gate (Neh. 2 13 3 13 *f.*), see HAKSITH, HINNOM [VALLEY OF, § 4 (2)], and JERUSALEM, § 24, col. 2423.

8. The potter's wheel.

The wheel (עַל־הָאָבְנָיִם, dual; ἐπὶ τῶν λίθων; *super rotam*, Jer. 18 3, AVmg. 'seats,' 'frames'; τρόχος, *rota*, Ecclus. 38 29; cp Ex. 1 16) appears from the Hebrew to have been originally of stone, but was, perhaps, also later of wood. Two types of wheel, both known in antiquity, and still used in the Levant, would suit the biblical passages.

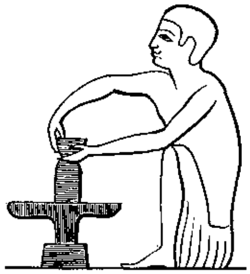


FIG. 7.—Potter's wheel turned by the hand. Egypt; about 1800 B.C.

1. That described by Abulwalid, *Heb. Roots*, Lex. (ed. Neubauer, col. 18), 'The instrument is double [expl. the dual form] upon which the potter turns earthen vessels. It consists of two wheels of wood, like a handmill; the one is larger, which is the lower one; the other is smaller, and this is the upper. This instrument is called '*obnáyim* "a pair of stones," although not made of stone, because of their being like a handmill, which is generally made of stone.' In this (fig. 7), which is the old Egyptian type (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 3 164; Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* Pl. L.; Leps. *Denkm.* 2 13 126; Erman, *Life in Anc. Eg.* 457 [figure[1]), and persisted in the East, though not in NW. Africa (Abulwalid, *l.c.*); the lower 'wheel' is stationary, and serves merely as a base or pivot (Benz. *HA* 214).

2. Both wheels revolve with the same vertical axle, to which they are fixed at some distance apart. The lower is driven by the feet of the potter (Ecclus. 38 29) who sits on a bench (cp the interpretation of אָבְנַיִם in Ex. 1 16, and AVmg. in Jer. 18 3); the upper wheel, as before, supports the clay. This more advanced type is first depicted in Greece in the sixth century B.C. (*Annali dell' Instituto*, 1882, pl. U, 2; Reinach, *Repert. d. Vases Grecs*, 1 346), and has spread over all Europe, and many parts of W. Asia (fig. 8). It appears to be the wooden wheel of the Talmud (סַדָּן, *cippus*, cp 1 K. 7 30 AV 'wheels,' properly trunk of a tree; √סָדַד, bar, cp סַד, 'stocks,' Job 13 27 37 11), and is the common type now, in Syria (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 521, at Jaffa). Of these alternatives no. 2 suits Ecclus. 38 32 better than no. 1, as the wheel here is turned with the feet, but no. 1 by the hand, either of the potter or of an attendant (as in Harrison's work cited below, n. 1); in Jer. 18 3 either interpretation may be assumed.

9. The kiln.

The kiln (κάμινος, Ecclus. 27 5 38 34) in which pottery is baked is not clearly distinguished from the furnace of the metallurgist, or the oven of the baker. See FURNACE. The 'burning fiery furnace' of Nebuchadrezzar seems, from its large chamber, in which four men could walk, its side door (*θυρά*, *ostium*), and its moderate normal heat, to have been a pot- or brick-kiln, such as David may be supposed to have used as an instrument of torture מַלְבֵּן, (*malbēn;* πλινθεῖον, *fornax lateraria*, 2 S. 12 31; cp Jer. 43 9 Nah. 3 14).[2] On this mode of punishment see AHAB, 2 (col. 93), FURNACE. The potter's kilns represented on Egyptian (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 99 192; Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* 2 251; Leps. *Denkm.* 2 126) and early Greek monuments (*Ann. d. Inst.*, 1882, pl. U, 1) are, how-

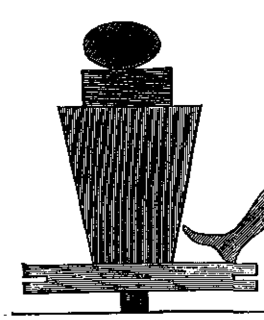


FIG. 8.—Potter's wheel, turned by the foot, showing the *two* stones. Egypt, Ptolemaic.

[1] Cp (in Greece) Harrison and MacColl, *Greek Vase Paintings*, 9.

[2] But see BRICK, § 1, n. 3; DAVID, § 11 *c.* ii., and especially *Crit. Bib.*

ever, on a much smaller scale (fig. 9). Von Ihering (*Evolution of the Aryan*, 100, 416) points out the daily necessity for public kilns, when business documents were preserved, as in Babylonia, on tablets of baked clay.

Though the name of Nebuchadrezzar's furnace refers to its smoke, a clear fire and a clean kiln are essential to the production of fine pottery, and must be maintained night and day (Ecclus. 38 34).

10. Glazing and glass.

The glazing in Ecclus. 38 34 EV (*χρίσμα* [BaאA], *χάρισμα* [B*b], *linitionem*) is properly a smearing with either slip or paint. Smearing with slip is common, in Palestine as elsewhere, on all but the commonest sorts of vessels, but would not call for special remark in this context. Smearing with paint—especially paint of a warm red colour, smeared over the whole surface of the vessel, and frequently polished by hand—is characteristic of the earlier 'Amorite' pottery (§ 2) and persists to a late date. If *χάρισμα* be read, something of the nature of a pattern must be understood (§ 2).

Actual vitrified glazing is rarely, if ever, found on Palestinian pottery before Roman times. The characteristic Egyptian glazed *faience* was imitated in Cyprus, and perhaps also in Phœnicia, from at least the beginning of the Jewish kingdom; and glazed earthenware has been found occasionally on Jewish sites, but never of certainly native fabric, or of clearly pre-exilic date. The 'earthen vessel overlaid with silver dross' of Prov. 26 23 AV has been interpreted of a crucible, or broken potsherd, on which dross has been spilt; but the Hebrew implies *intentional* 'overlaying' (cp 1 K. 6 20), and the use of dross or slag as glaze, though unsubstantiated, is not in itself unlikely, whether merely as a *tour de force*, or as a means of imitating a metallic lustre like the *bucchero nero* of early Greece and Italy.

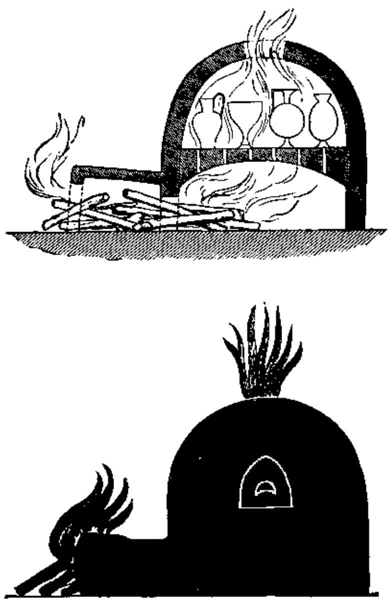


FIG. 9.—Potter's kiln; elevation and conjectural section. Early Greek: the Egyptian kiln is narrower and taller, and has no dome.

GLASS [*q.v.*] itself hardly comes into use in Palestine before late Ptolemaic times, though opaque coloured glass was made in Egypt under the eighteenth dynasty, and imitated in Cyprus and elsewhere. For Palestinian specimens of the later transparent glass see Bliss and Dickie, *Excav. at Jerus.* 362, and Per.-Chip. *op. cit.* 1 358 *f.* fig. 251 *f.* J. L. M.

POUND. 1. *Mānè* (מָנֶה; ΜΝΑ, *mina* or *mna*), Ezra 3 69, etc. Cp MANEH, and see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

2. *λίτρα*, Jn. 12 3 19 39. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

POWDERS OF THE MERCHANT (אַבְקַת רוֹכֵל; ΚΟΝΙΟΡΤΩΝ ΜΥΡΕΨΟΥ [BאA, -ΕΨΙΚΟΥ א*], *pulveris pigmentarii*), mentioned along with myrrh and frankincense (Cant. 3 6†). See PERFUME.

POWER OF GOD (Acts 8 10), **POWERS** (Rom. 8 38 1 Cor. 15 24 Eph. 1 21). There were many *δυνάμεις*, or angelic 'powers,' of the same class, but of different degrees; Simon Magus, however, passed as 'that power of God which is called Great' (RV). It has been proposed to take *megalē* (*μεγάλη*) as a transliteration of the Samaritan name of the 'power' (מגלא or מגלי—*i.e.*, 'he who reveals').[1] But Deissmann (*Bibelstudien*, 19, n. 6) quotes from a papyrus this invocation, 'I invoke thee as the greatest power which is appointed in heaven by the Lord God.'[2] See SIMON MAGUS; ANGEL, § 1.

PRÆTOR. On the Roman office of prætor (*i.e.*, *præitor*, 'he who goes before,' 'a leader'), originally a military title, and in classical times a designation of the highest magistrates in the Latin towns, the reader may consult the works of Marquardt, Mommsen, and others; a compendious account will be found in J. G. Frazer's article 'Prætor' in *Ency. Brit.*(9) 19 655 *f.*

In Acts 16 20 22 25 for *στρατηγοί* (RV 'magistrates') RVmg. has 'Gk. prætors.' The meaning of this note is that *στρατηγοί*, the Greek name for the highest magistrates in a Roman colony, corresponded to the Lat. *prætores*. 'The title prætors was not technically accurate, but was frequently employed as a courtesy title for the supreme magistrates of a Roman colony' (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 218). In Acts 16 19, however, there is already mention of the rulers (*ἄρχοντες*), so that the further mention of the prætors (*στρατηγοί*) is matter for surprise. Meyer-Wendt, *Comm.* 281, explains *ἄρχοντες* as 'the more general,' *στρατηγοί* 'the more specialised' expression. Ramsay admits the difficulty of the text.

'It is hardly possible,' Ramsay says, 'that *v.* 19 *f.* have the final form that the writer would have given them. The expression halts between the Greek form and the Latin, between the ordinary Greek term for the supreme board of magistrates in any city (*ἄρχοντες*), and the popular Latin designation (*στρατηγοί*, *prætores*), as if the author had not quite made up his mind which he should employ. Either of the clauses bracketed[3] is sufficient in itself; and it is hardly possible that a writer, whose expression is so concise, should have intended to leave in his text two clauses which say exactly the same thing' (217 *f.*).

Ramsay's conclusion, with regard to the authorship of the narrative that 'as usual, Luke moves on the plane of educated conversation in such matters, and not on the plane of rigid technical accuracy; he writes as the scene was enacted,' is hardly satisfactory. M. A. C.

PRÆTORIUM (ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΙΟΝ; Syr. transliterates *pr(a)etorium*), meaning originally the tent of the commander of an army (Liv. 3 5), came to be applied to the residence, whether fixed or provisional, of the governor of a province (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4 28), and even to the large country villas of noble Romans (Suet. *Calig.* 37; see Rich, *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiqq.*). In the NT it seems to be used of the royal palaces as being temporary residences of the procurators. Thus in Acts 23 35 *πραιτ. τ.* Ἡρῴδου is taken to mean the palace of Herod in Cæsarea (AV 'Herod's judgment-hall,' RV 'Herod's palace'). According to Meyer, the same is meant by *πραιτώριον* in Phil. 1 13 (AV 'palace'); but Lightfoot has contended strongly for the meaning 'prætorian guards' (see *Philippians*, 97-100). Further, some scholars (Keim) suppose the word to be used in the Gospel narrative of Herod's palace at Jerusalem.

1. Meaning of the term.

[1] E. Klost. *Probl. im Aposteltexte*, 15 *ff.*

[2] *ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπὸ κύριου θεοῦ τεταγμένην* (Pap. Par. bibl. nat. 1275 *ff.*).

[3] They are: [and dragged them into the agora before the magistrates] and [and bringing them to the presence of the prætors].

PRAYER

2. Its occurrence in the gospels. The passages are Mk. 15 16 (EV 'Prætorium') Mt. 27 27 (AV 'the common hall') Jn. 18 28 (AV 'the hall of judgment') 33 (AV 'judgment hall') 19 9 (AV 'judgment hall'). RV has 'palace' everywhere, except Mk. where this rendering is placed in the margin. But even if we could consider the accounts in these passages reliable, the reference might more plausibly be supposed to be to the fortress of Antonia. As is justly pointed out in Meyer-Weiss, *Matth.* 484, Herod's palace would be reserved for his own use. The earliest of these passages (Mk. 15 16), however, is very vague. Jesus is said to have been led away by the soldiers 'within the court, which is the Prætorium' (ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὅ ἐστιν πραιτώριον). Here, as Brandt says, the words 'which is the Prætorium' are a strange addition and do not fit well into the text, whatever interpretation we may give to them. 'They are a gloss occasioned by the text of Matthew' (*Evang. Gesch.* 107). Mt., not understanding the words ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, improves the story by laying the scene at the headquarters of the Roman garrison (Mt. 27 27, παραλαβόντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον συνήγαγον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅλην τὴν σπεῖραν). An editor of Mk. added the gloss after comparing the two accounts.

3. The account in Lk. In Lk. the passage is wanting. But the Third Gospel tells us of a trial before Herod of which no mention is made in the other gospels. Several circumstances in this narrative (the mockery by the soldiers, the gorgeous robe) suggest that it owes its origin to Mk. 15 16 = Mt. 27 27. Lk., we may suppose, had some form of Mk. before him. The words seemed to him to suggest that the scene of the mockery by the soldiers took place in the palace of Herod. He therefore introduces Herod himself into the narrative. That he realised the difficulty of the task is shown by such apologetic touches as 23 6 *f.* 12. In our earliest source, therefore, it seems very doubtful whether we have in the gospels any reference to the prætorium. On the narrative in the Fourth Gospel see PAVEMENT.

Westcott (*St. John*, Introduction, p. xii) seems to see no difficulty in the narratives. On the other hand, Brandt (*Die Evang. Gesch.* 167 *ff.*), O. Holtzmann (*Leben Jesu*, 378 espec. n. 2), and Réville (*Le Quatrième Evangile*, 265) point out divergences and difficulties in the accounts of the trial and death of Jesus as given in the Synoptists and in Jn. which seem to require us to treat this part of the Gospel story with some caution. It should be added that certain features in the narratives were perhaps suggested by the ceremonies connected with the sacrifice of the corn- and wine-god. See Frazer, *GB* (2) (2 171 *ff.*, cp. 3 138 *ff.*), and Grant Allen, *Evol. of the Idea of God* (ch. 14 *ff.*). M. A. C.

PRAYER. 1. The ordinary word for 'to pray,' הִתְפַּלֵּל, *hithpallēl*, which, like the word for 'prayer,' תְּפִלָּה, *tĕphillāh*, occurs in writings of all dates, has a root (פלל, Arab. *phalla*) meaning 'to rend' (see Wellh. *IJG*(3) 102, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*(2), 126).

1. Words. This may possibly throw a light on the original meaning of *tĕphillah* (cp § 5). In illustration, cp Syr. אתכשף, *ethkaššaph*, lit. 'to cut oneself' (WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 321, 337); also התגודד, *hithgōdēd* (see below), 1 K. 18 28 Jer. 41 5, and [so 𝔊] Hos. 7 14 (κατετέμνοντο; 'for corn and wine they cut themselves'). See CUTTINGS (§ 1 *ad fin.*), and compare with what is there said (§ 2) as to the significance of cuttings of the flesh Robertson Smith referred to above. If this is correct, we may contrast *tĕphillah* with the Ass. *ikribu*, 'prayer,' from √*karābu*, 'to show favour,' also 'to do homage,' unless, with some, we suppose an original form *ikribu* from √*ḳarābu*, 'to draw near.' See Muss-Arnolt, *s.v. ikribu*, and cp Franz Del. on Ps. 73 27 *f.*

That 'prayer,' as conceived by the early Israelites, really had a connection with cuttings of the flesh is at once suggested by the later use of טוטפות, '*ṭōṭāphōth*,' for the *tephillin*, or 'phylacteries,' if these prayer-bands are really a substitute for the sacred marks punctured in the flesh of a worshipper in primitive times (see FRONTLETS; CUTTINGS, § 7).

Compare also a striking emendation of Klostermann in 1 K. 17 21. It is usual to render וַיִּתְמֹדֵד (𝔊 ἐνεφύσησε [??], Vg. 'expandit se atque mensus est') in that passage 'stretched himself,' (EV; so Kautzsch, Kittel, etc.), which appears to rest ultimately on a comparison of Ar. *madda*, 'trahendo extendit.' The suggested reading gives this sense, 'And he cut himself for the boy three times, and called on Yahwè, and said,' etc. (נ and מ are frequently confounded.) In the parallel story in 2 K. 4 34 the same word ויתגדד may also be read for the ויגהר (𝔊^L gives both συνέκαμψεν and ιγααδ) of MT; in 1 K. 18 42 ויגהר is more plausible, because of ארצה which follows (but cp § 2). That in the case of Elisha the effectual prayer precedes, whilst in that of Elijah it follows, the physical act, makes no difference: the prayer in either case interprets the ritual cutting. Elsewhere (see PROPHECY, § 6 *f.*) it has been shown that Elijah and Elisha very possibly came from the Negeb, and that the priests of Baal who 'cut themselves' (1 K. 18 28) were probably Jerahmeelites. Elijah may therefore have 'cut himself'; the story of Elijah has older and more recent details. At any rate, the 'cuttings' of the priests of Baal were connected with the prayer, 'O Baal, answer us.'

2. Akin, apparently, to התפלל, *hithpallēl*, in root-meaning is עתר, *'āthar*, Hiph. העתיר; whence *a'tara*, *a'tira*, to sacrifice (see Wellh. *IJG*(3) 103 n.; *Reste*(2) 126, n. 5, and 142, n. 2).

In the Hexateuch only in J (Gen. 25 21, etc.); cp Judg. 13 8. But also in late passages, Job 22 27 33 26. Hence Niph. עתר, to hear prayer, Gen. 25 21 (J), 2 S. 21 14 24 25 Is. 19 22, also in 1 Ch. and Ezra. On עֲתָרַי Zeph. 3 10, EV 'my suppliants,' Vg. 'supplices mei,' but A. B. Davidson (Camb. Bible) 'mine odours (‖ מנחתי),' see *ZATW* 10 203 and *Crit. Bib.* The reading is hardly safe.

3. A different metaphor underlies [פְּנֵי] חִלָּה, *ḥillāh* [*p*e*nē*], 'to mollify, appease' (√חלה, Arab. Aram. 'to be sweet or pleasant'), Ex. 32 11 1 S. 13 12 Mal. 1 9 Ps. 45 13, etc.

4. הִתְחַנֵּן, *hithḥannēn*, to seek or implore favour (√חנן, 'to be inclined towards, to be favourable'), 1 K. 8 33 47 59 Hos. 12 5 Job 8 5; whence תְּחִנָּה, *t*e*ḥinnāh*, Ps. 6 10 55 2 and תַּחֲנוּן, *taḥănūn*, Jer. 3 21 Ps. 86 6, for both EV 'supplication.'

5. פָּגַע, *pāga'*, prop. 'to meet,' 'come upon,' Ruth 1 16 Jer. 7 16 27 18. In Is. 53 12 59 16 Jer. 36 25, EV assigns the sense 'to intercede' to the Hiphil, הפגיע, but this cannot well be sustained; 'to interpose' would be safer.

6. בעא, *bĕ'ā* (Aram.) Dan. 6 14, etc. Cp בעה, 'to seek an oracle,' Is. 21 12† (?).

7. צלא, *ṣĕlā*, prop. 'to bow'; cp. Ass. *sullû*, 'to beseech'; Aram. (in Pael), Dan. 6 11 Ezra 6 10†.

8. שִׂיחָה, *śīḥāh*, Job 15 4 (AVmg. 'speech'; RVmg. 'meditation'); Ps. 119 97 99, 'meditation.' On the former passage, see § 5.

9. לַחַשׁ, *lāḥaš*, AVmg. 'secret speech'; RVmg. 'Heb., whisper' Is. 26 16. But see *SBOT* (Heb.) *ad loc.*, and cp MAGIC.

10. רִנָּה, *rinnāh*, 'a piercing cry,' √רנן, 1 K. 8 28 (R^D), Jer. 14 12, 'when they fast I will not hear their cry,' ‖ תפלה, Jer. 7 16 11 14 Ps. 17 1 61 2. In Hebrew *rinnāh* is used both of shouts of joy and of the cry of suppliants; in Arabic, the root is used mainly of plaintive cries (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 432, n. 2).

11. שִׁוַּע, *šiwwa'*, 'to cry for help,' *e.g.*, Job 30 20 Ps. 28 2 [1]; with noun שַׁוְעָה, *šaw'āh*, Jer. 8 19 Pss. 18 7, etc.

12. זָעַק, *zā'aḳ*, same meaning, *e.g.*, Ps. 22 6 [5].

Besides many other more or less complete synonyms, such as [אלהים, יהוה] דרש, *dāraš* ['*Ĕlōhīm*, *Yahweh*], 'to seek or have recourse to,' *e.g.*, Ps. 34 5 [4], 'I sought (דרשתי) Yahwè, and he answered me.'

13. [אתי, יהוה] בקש, *biḳḳēš* ['*ōthī*, *Yahweh*], 'to seek God,' *e.g.*, Jer. 29 12 13, הִתְפַּלֵּל, *hithpallēl*, and בִּקֵּשׁ, *biḳḳēš*, parallel.

14. קרא, *ḳārā*, 'to call,' *e.g.*, Ps. 4 4 [3] 28 1.

15. שפך נפש, *šāphak nĕpheš*, 1 S. 1 15 Ps. 42 5 [4]; שפך לבב, *šāphak lēbhābh*, Ps. 62 9 [8] Lam. 2 19; and שפך שיח, *šāphak śiaḥ*, Ps. 102 1 (title), 143 3, 'to pour out the soul, the heart, a complaint.'

The commonest Greek word is εὔχομαι, προσεύχομαι, προσευχή. Δέομαι is specially frequent in Lk. and Acts; δέησις is also found there, but is commoner in the epistles. Αἰτέω, 'to ask' (cp Plat. *Euthyph.* 14, εὔχεσθαι [ἐστιν] αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεούς) is also occasionally found, *e.g.*, Mt. 6 8 7 7 11 18 19 Jn. 14 14 16 26 (note distinction from ἐρωτάω), Jas. 1 5 *f.* 1 Jn. 3 22.

Note also ἐντυγχάνω, 'to intercede (for or against any one),' Rom. 8 27 34 11 2 Heb. 7 25; also 'to pray,' Wisd. 16 28; ὑπερεντυγχάνειν, 'to intercede (for),' Rom. 8 26; with noun ἔντευξις, 1 Tim. 2 1 4 5.

Lastly [ἱκετεύω], ἱκετηρία, 'supplication,' 2 Macc. 9 18 Heb. 5 7.

2. Attitudes. No attitude or gesture was prescribed for prayer. The attitudes and gestures adopted were those natural to Orientals (cp the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments). A man might stand or kneel or perhaps sit.

PRAYER

For the first of these attitudes, see 1 S. 1 26 1 K. 8 22 54 2 Ch. 6 13 Dan. 6 10 Mt. 6 5 Mt. 11 25 Lk. 18 11; for the second, 1 K. 8 54 2 Ch. 6 13 Ezra 9 5 Dan. 6 10 [11] Lk. 22 41 Acts 7 60; for the third, 1 Ch. 17 16 (prayerful meditation?).

Whether standing or kneeling, the suppliant either lifted up his hands (Ps. 28 2 134 2 Lam. 2 19 3 41 2 Macc. 3 20), or spread them out (Ex. 9 29 Is. 1 15 1 K. 8 22 2 Ch. 6 12 *f.* Ez. 9 5), originally no doubt towards the altar,[1] but afterwards (1 K. 8 22 54 Lam. 3 41) towards heaven. There were indeed exceptions to this, as when, to express deep contrition, a man smote with his hands on his breast (Lk. 18 13 23 48 where the Curetonian and Lewis-Gibson add in both passages, saying, 'Woe to us, what has befallen us! woe to us for our sins'); or when, for a reason which we cannot easily determine, Elijah is said to have 'bowed himself down (וינהר) to the earth, and put his face between his knees' (1 K. 18 42); or when the whole body was prostrated on the ground (Gen. 24 26 Ex. 34 8 Neh. 8 6 [ויקדו וישתחוו לי׳ אפים ארצה], Judith 9 1). On the so-called *tephillīn* or phylacteries see FRONTLETS.

The exceptional attitude of Elijah in 1 K. 18 42 may perhaps represent the intensity of his feeling; 'he prays with body and soul' is Gunkel's explanation, approved by Kittel. Rosch, however, connects it with some rain-charm, and but for the following word ארצה (*'arṣāh*) we might conjecture that Elijah, like the priests of Baal, performed a ritual cutting. The text may not be quite complete. Delitzsch quotes this passage to illustrate the phrase in Ps. 35 13, 'and my prayer turned back into my bosom'—*i.e.*, as he (with the French translator Perret-Gentil) explains, 'I prayed with my head drooping over my breast.' If this is to be admitted, the canons of exegesis are strangely pliable. But can it be admitted when the whole context of Ps. 35 13 is so strongly corrupt, as the present writer at least hopes to have shown (*Ps.*(2), *ad loc.*)?

3. Times, forms, language.

In early times sacrifice and prayer often went hand in hand;[2] the latter supplied the interpretation of the former (Gen. 12 8 26 25 etc.). Still, prayer was not tied to sacrifice, and in prayer, as well as in sacrifice, the individual had much more freedom than afterwards. It was the need of religious organisation in all departments of life that introduced a change both into public and into private prayer. Three times in the day were specially appointed for prayer,[3] morning, the time of the afternoon sacrifice (about 3 p.m.), and evening.

For the second of these, compare (with Dalman) Dan. 9 21 Ezra 9 5 Judith 9 1 Acts 3 1 10 3 30 (see *PRE*(3) 7 11 and cp DAY, § 2; Schürer, *GJV*(3) 2 293, n. 40; ET ii. 1 290 *f.*, n. 248).

Only once in the Bible are the three times for prayers referred to, viz. in Dan. 6 10 [11], where Daniel is said to have 'kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed (מְצַלֵּא), and given thanks before his God, because he had been wont to do it beforetime.' Some quote also Ps. 55 18 [17]; it is uncertain however (1) whether 'in the evening, in the morning, and at noonday' does not merely mean 'all day long' (so Hupf., Del., Dalman), and (2) whether the text is correct. A similar uncertainty as to the text of Ps. 54 [3] should make us hesitate to quote that passage as referring to the prayers connected with the morning-sacrifice. It may be quite true that, as Wellhausen puts it (*IJG*(3) 102), 'the altar was the wishing-place, and the sacrifice often the introduction to the bringing of some request before the deity,' but it may reasonably be doubted whether in a moment of high excitement a psalmist would have supported a fervent appeal to Yahwè by a reference to his presence (or to the presence of the true Israel) at the morning sacrifice. We can, however, refer to Ps. 141 2 'Let my prayer stand before thee as incense; mine uplifted hands as an evening oblation.'

May we suppose that the custom of saying the first prayer[4]—*i.e.* the benediction יוצר אור, and the Shema (a compound of three sections of the Pentateuch)[5]—at dawn, has any historical relation to the Zoroastrian usage of praying at daybreak, which we may of course assume to be much older than the forms of prayer given in the Khorda Avesta? It is not absolutely necessary to do so. Zealous piety might be supposed to delight in 'preventing' the sun. The author of Wisdom (16 28) clearly thought it a natural duty 'to prevent the sun to give God thanks, and at the dayspring to pray (ἐντυγχάνειν) unto him.' But the contents of the benediction יוצר אור certainly favour the view that it had partly a polemical reference to the fire-worship of Zoroastrianism,[1] and we may perhaps infer from the strange statement in Jos. *BJ* ii. 8 5, '[they offer] to it certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as though making a supplication for its rising' (πατρίους τινὰς εἰς αὐτὸν [sc. τὸν ἥλιον] εὐχάς, ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι) that the Essenes were specially strict in their early prayers, and justified them by the symbolism of the dawn.[2] It is conceivable that some persons may have misunderstood this. 'The biographer of Akbar tells us how his hero "has been called a Zoroastrian, because he recognised in the sun the sign of the presence of the Almighty," and we all know how in Tertullian's time a familiar Christian custom received an equally gross misinterpretation.'[3]

The Mishna (*Yōmā*, 5 1) tells us that eight Benedictions were spoken in the temple on the Day of Atonement in the morning. From the description in *J. Yōm.* 44 *b*, they resembled the last four of the 'Eighteen Benedictions.' This famous liturgical prayer, the composite character of which is well known, together with the Hăbīnēnū and the Ḳaddīsh, are given in a convenient form by Dalman (cp § 6). There were also at an early date special prayers for Sabbaths, new moons, festivals, and half-festivals, and as we learn from *Ber.* 4 4 (*J. Ber.* 8 *a*, 9) shorter formulæ appropriated to journeys.

Words of prayers, however, are not wanting in the OT itself; see, *e.g.*, Dt. 36 5 *ff.* (liturgical), 1 K. 8 23 *ff.* Is. 63 15 *ff.* Ezra 9 6 *ff.* and Dan. 9 4 *ff.* There are also very interesting prayers and aspirations in the Book of Jeremiah (*e.g.*, 11 20 14 7-9 18 19 *ff.* 20 12), though it is possible that, where the prayers are in the name of Israel (*e.g.*, 14 7-9), they may belong not to Jeremiah himself, but to a supplementer (cp JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 18). And there are the prayers of the Psalter, underlying many of which some have ventured to suppose earlier poetic prayers indited in the name of individuals. This theory is perhaps too hazardous to be recommended.[4] The individualistic interpretation, however, naturally arose at a later time, and the Talmud contains many prayers of individual Rabbis.

That Hebrew should be the traditional language of prayer is not surprising. Not only piety, but a regard for the clearness and correctness of religious ideas may have justified the great teachers of the first three centuries of our era in preferring Hebrew prayers. Still, in Alexandria and some of the Hellenised cities of Palestine (*e.g.*, Cæsarea) the prayers of the Jews were offered in Greek. The subject led to keen discussion

1 Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* 2 260 (cp illustration 7, 1 122).
2 See Tiele, *Gifford Lectures*, 2nd ser. lect. 6.
3 See Hamburger, *Real-encycl. des Jud.* 2, 'Morgen-, Mincha-, Abend-gebet.'
4 Cp Grätz, *Gesch.* 2 2, p. 419; Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*(2), 382.
5 Dt. 6 4-9, with 11 13-21, and Nu. 15 37-41.

1 The Zoroastrian precept was, 'Three times a day one must worship, standing opposite the sun' (*Pahlavi Texts*, *SBE*, pt. iii.). The first prayer was to be at daybreak. Cp *Koran*, Sur. 17 80, 'Be thou steadfast in prayer from the declining of the sun until the dusk of the night, and the reading of the dawn; verily the reading of the dawn is ever testified to.' Nowhere in the Koran are the five traditional 'prescribed' (Ar. *farḍ*) times of prayer referred to. In Sur. 11 116 the 'two ends of the day and the (former and latter) parts of the night' are mentioned; in 30 17, morning, noon, and evening.
2 Cp Enoch's early prayer (Eth. Enoch 83 11 84).
3 *OPs.* 448, referring to Malleson, *Akbar*, p. 164; Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* 2 387.
4 See PSALMS, §§ 6 37. Schechter's remark, 'The inconvenient psalms of the later periods were easily neutralised by divesting them of all individualistic tendency,' *i.e.*, by those Christian scholars who had adopted a low theory of the spiritual position of Judaism (*JQR* 8 [1896] 374), can scarcely be meant to apply to all Christian scholars of this country.

in the syncdrium.[1] It may also be noticed that the early Judaism drew no sharp distinction between 'prayers' and 'praises,' and that in Ps. 72 20 (if תפלות is correct) we actually find the 'Davidic' Psalter designated 'the prayers of David the son of Jesse,' praises or thanksgivings and petitions being alike regarded as modes of influencing God—*i.e. tephillōth* (cp וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל, 1 S. 2 1, Jon. 2 2 [1]). Five psalms also are expressly entitled תְּפִלָּה, 'prayer' (17, 18, 90, 102, 142), or six including the Psalm of Habakkuk, and one of these (102) is specially called 'a psalm of the afflicted, when he is overwhelmed, and poureth out his complaint before Yahwè,' presupposing, some think, an individualistic interpretation of the psalms, and the existence of a collection, in which psalms were classified according to their applicability to particular states of mind, and therefore for private use.[2] It is strange but true that certain psalms, like the Vedic and Zoroastrian hymns, came at last to be regarded as charms.

One may admit that an equal value was not supposed to attach to all prayers. In the days preceding the great outpouring of the Spirit it could not well have been otherwise. The prayer of a prophet had a value such as that of no other man could claim.

See 1 K. 18 36 *ff.* 2 K. 19 4 (=Is. 37 4) Am. 7 2 5 Jn. 18 20; also Ex. 8 4 *ff.* (Moses and Aaron), Dt. 9 20 (Moses for Aaron), 1 S. 7 9 (Samuel for the people); cp Jer. 15 1 Ps. 99 6.

Hence the awfulness of the divine prohibition in Jer. 7 16 11 14. James, however, ventures on the statement that 'the supplication of a righteous man availeth much in its working' (*πολὺ ἰσχύει δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη*), and confirms it by a reference to the prophet Elijah (Jas. 5 16 *f.*). Similarly, Judith being a pious woman (*γυνὴ εὐσεβής*) is asked to pray for the people of Bethulia (Judith 8 31).

4. Places. As to the place where prayer might be made, it is evident that in every period (see *e.g.*, Gen. 24 26 [J] Ezra 9 5 *ff.*) wherever a faithful Israelite might be, there he might meet his God in prayer. 'Call upon me in the day of trouble' (Ps. 50 15) certainly did not mean only in temple or synagogue. Favourite places in the later period were the house-top (Judith 8 5 36 9 1 10 2 Acts 10 9; in Judith 8 5, a tent, *i.e.*, perhaps booth, on the roof); the upper chamber (*ὑπερῷον*: Dan. 6 11 [Aram. עִלִּית = Heb. עֲלִיָּה], Tob. 3 17 [cp *v.* 11], cp 2 S. 18 33); the inner chamber (*ταμεῖον*: Mt. 6 7 24 26 Lk. 12 3 24); mountains (1 K. 18 42 Mt. 14 23 Mk. 6 46 Lk. 6 12); the sea-side or the river-side (see below); and, we may presume, gardens or plantations of trees, such as Gethsemane. Naturally, however, sanctuaries were the chief places 'where prayer was wont to be made.' Such a place existed on the Mount of Olives (2 S. 15 32; see DESTRUCTION, MOUNT OF); such a place, too, in early days was the temple at Shiloh (1 S. 1 10-13). In later times great efficacy was attached (see *J. Ber.* 81) to prayer in the synagogues or *proseuchae*, which were sometimes roofed, sometimes roofless, 'like theatres' (Epiphanius), sometimes by the sea, sometimes by the river side.

Cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 23 (decree of the city Halicarnassus), ['as many men and women of the Jews as are willing so to do . . .] may make their proseuchae at the seaside, according to the customs of their forefathers,' *τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι παρὰ τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἦθος*; also the somewhat obscure passage Acts 16 13 (Paul at Philippi), *παρὰ ποταμὸν οὗ ἐνομίζομεν προσευχὴν εἶναι* (א [A] [B] C; RV, 'where we supposed there was a place of prayer'), or *οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι* (EHLP; AV, 'where prayer was wont to be made').[3] See SYNAGOGUE.

[1] Hamburger, *RE*, 2 353.

[2] More probably, however, עָנִי is to be understood collectively, like עָנִי זֶה in Ps. 34 7 and עני ואביון in 37 14 40 18 and similar passages.

[3] Tertullian (*Ad Nationes*, 100 13) speaks of the 'orationes litorales' of the Jews; cp also *De Jejuniis*, 100 16, 'quum omissis templis per omne litus quocunque in aperto aliquando jam precem ad cœlum mittunt.' Cf Wetstein, *Nov. Test.*, note on Acts 16 13.

But above all other places of prayer stood the temple at Jerusalem (Is. 56 7, 'my house is called [=is] a house of prayer'; cp Lk. 18 10 Acts 3 1). Those who could not go to this holy house, could at least stretch forth their hands towards it and towards the holy city (1 K. 8 38 2 Ch. 6 34 Dan. 6 10 [11] Tob. 3 11 1 Esd. 4 58; but Ps. 5 7 [8] 28 1 [2] 134 2[1] have a different meaning); one may compare the *ḳibla* of the Mohammedans. This substitute for bodily presence in the temple was not without importance for the development of a purer religion. It enabled Jews of a more advanced piety to superadd to the conception of a spiritual Israel that of a spiritual temple, and with this was naturally combined the conception, which we find in a group of psalms, of a spiritual sacrifice.[2]

5. Retrospect. Let us now look back, and see the contrast between past and present. If it be true that the word *tĕphillah* originally implied the blood-sheddings by which men thought (by sympathetic magic?) to influence the Deity, it will be readily seen what a prolonged effort was needed to purify and transform the popular conception. It is in a prophecy of Isaiah (Is. 1 15) that we first find a truly moral prayer insisted upon, but the prophet cannot have been the first to draw the all-important distinction between acceptable and unacceptable prayer; Isaiah like all other reformers must have had his predecessors (cp Gen. 24 12 15, but hardly 18 23 *ff.*), who held that magic spells (such as to the last were customary in Babylonia) were inconsistent with the elementary principles of true religion. Frazer has recently told us that 'in so far as religion assumes the world to be directed by conscious agents who may be turned from their purpose by persuasion, it stands in fundamental antagonism to magic as well as to science, both of which take for granted that the course of nature is determined, not by the passions or caprice of personal beings, but by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically.'[3] But the prophetic religion, and its successor, the religion of the best Jews and the best Christians, is fundamentally opposed, equally with that described by Frazer, not indeed to science,[4] but at any rate to all survivals of magic.[5] And this prophetic religion, taught and practised in its purity by Jesus, pervades all the finest of the post-exilic books of the OT. As regards the sacredness of places the writers have not indeed emancipated themselves completely from archaic tradition; but as regards magic spells they have. Hence, whilst even in Zoroastrianism the conception of magic still lowered the character of public prayer,[6] in the best and truest Judaism such a conception is entirely absent.

The Book of Job is perhaps more advanced, religiously, than the Psalter, representing as it does rather a circle (or circles) of thinkers than the society of pious Israelites. One of the interlocutors in this book calls prayer a 'complaint before God'[7] (Job

[1] The worshippers here spoken of were not outside of the temple in its larger sense; they turned, however, towards the היכל in its narrower sense, *i.e.*, the דְּבִיר, which in Ps. 28 2 Driver (*Par. Psalter*) analogically renders 'chancel.'

[2] Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 251.

[3] *Golden Bough*(2), 1 63. By 'religion' Frazer understands 'a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life.'

[4] 'This, surely, is the distinctive feature of Christian prayer—its conformity to the will of God.' G. Matheson, 'The Scientific Basis of Prayer,' *Expos.*, Nov. 1901, pp. 363 *ff.*; cp Herrmann, 'Gebet,' *PRE*(3) 6 391.

[5] On the question whether prayer was originally a magic act, see Tiele, *Gifford Lectures*, 2nd ser. lect. 6.

[6] Cp *OPs* 396 *f.* The Gâthâs, however, which are not to be disparaged because of their awkward phraseology, supply grand examples of free, spiritual, prophetic prayer.

[7] The present text of Job 15 4 is unsatisfactory. Budde (on Job 15 4*b*) renders וְתִגְרַע שִׂיחָה לִפְנֵי־אֵל, 'und zerrest Klagen vor Gottes Antlitz.' But 'draggest complaints' seems a very improbable phrase. Perhaps we should read וְתַפְרִעַ שִׂיחָה, 'and

15 4). According to him, Job, by his Titanic pride, 'abolished religion, and ignored complaint before God.' Could the poet of Job have written as he did in this and other passages, if he believed that the presence of a worshipper in a sanctuary was in any degree necessary for true prayer? The psalmists too, with all their love for the temple, recognise to a considerable extent the needs of Israelites who could not frequent the temple. It might be difficult to classify the psalms from this point of view; but we may assume that a part of them was probably written with a view to the frequenters of the prayer-houses or synagogues (see SYNAGOGUE). The Christian narrator who tells of Paul and Silas 'praying and singing hymns unto God' in the prison (Acts 16 25) acted in the spirit of the psalmists; neither he nor Paul can have been the first to regard the Psalter as the prayer-book and hymn-book of all the scattered members of the church of the true God.[1]

We turn with still greater interest to the subject of prayer in the early Christian literature, which it is now possible to study from a wider point of view, owing partly to the discovery of fresh early Christian texts and partly to the progress of Jewish and Christian study of Jewish documents. It is true, Schechter has recently complained[2] of the languid interest of Christian students in the documents which reveal the inner life of the Jews in and after the time of Jesus; but we must surely allow time for the effects of the special studies of men like G. Dalman to become more visible in Christian exegesis.[3] A comparison of the forms of the older Jewish and the older Christian prayers is not enough; we have to compare also the ideas, and as a preliminary to this we have to study such phrases as the 'hallowing of God's name,' 'the father in heaven,' 'the new world,' from a strictly Jewish point of view. As to Jewish forms, we should give special study to the 'Eighteen Benedictions,[4] (שְׁמֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה), which was the chief liturgical Jewish prayer at the beginning of the second century, and is said (*B. Ber.* 28 *b*) to have been redacted by Shimeon ha-Pakoli (about 110 A.D.). These Benedictions in their two recensions (Babylonian and Egyptian-Palestinian) are given in Dalman's *Worte Jesu* 1 (1898) 299-304. Next to this great composite prayer the student will find, in two recensions, the so-called 'Hăbīnēnu' (='Make us to understand') a summary of the 'Eighteen,' which, according to R. 'Aḳiba and Gamaliel II., was used at an early date instead of the longer prayer. Its short, pregnant sentences remind us of those in the Lord's Prayer. This is followed, in the same work, by the 'Ḳaddīsh'[5] ('holy,' Aram.), beginning יִתְגַּדַּל וְיִתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמֵיהּ רַבָּא, 'Magnified and sanctified be his great name,' which also has a certain analogy to the most venerable Christian prayer.

6. Jewish and early Christian prayers.

That the Lord's Prayer has a close relation to parts of the early Jewish prayers, is undeniable, nor need one be surprised at this. Jesus knew the 'soul' of his people, but others had known it before him, and after his time too the spontaneous expression of Jewish hopes and aspirations would naturally assume a form resembling that of petitions in the Lord's Prayer. This most precious form, however,—the original extent of which is a matter for critical inquiry,—need not be discussed at length here, having been treated fully in a special article (LORD'S PRAYER). Probably the earliest Jewish-Christian prayers, if they had been preserved, would have been even more strikingly Jewish in phraseology than the Lord's Prayer.

Far more important, however, than the tradition that Jesus, like his Forerunner (Lk. 11 1, cp 5 33), gave his disciples a short specimen of a fitting prayer, is the tradition that he himself lived a life of prayer.[1] Prayer to him was not an occasional thing, to be used under the pressure of urgent need, or whenever the religious authorities might decree, but a constant aspiration towards God, which did not, however, exclude the more specialised aspiration expressed in words. There was no magic spell in it, no importunate pressing of limited earthly conceptions of what was right and necessary. There is importunity in the prayers of the psalmists; there is argument; there is persuasion. But these last relics of a provincial conception of God had disappeared from the inner life of Jesus, and therefore also from his prayers. Frazer's description of religion (see § 5) as involving the attempt to turn the director of the world from his (apparent) purpose by persuasion, will not apply to the religion of Jesus, nor can his prayers have been religious in Frazer's sense.

7. Prayer as regarded by Jesus Christ.

It is at first sight opposed to this that in Lk. 11 5-8, 18 1-8 (parables of the importunate friend and the importunate widow), Jesus may seem to recommend importunate prayer, but in the present state of the criticism of the life of Jesus we can only venture to lay stress on those fundamental elements in his inner life about which (not merely on the ground of the constant evangelical tradition, but because of the course of subsequent Christian development) no doubt is possible. Of these fundamental elements only one concerns us here, viz., the belief that God is a loving Father whose one great object in his dealings with men is the production of a perfect human character, and who will one day reward those that earnestly seek for 'righteousness.' It follows from this belief that whilst believing prayer is altogether necessary, because to be without it would prove that men had no real longing for the perfect character, stormy, importunate prayer is a proof of imperfect trust in God. 'Not my will but thine be done,' must have been the constant thought of Jesus; importunity is thereby excluded. We must never forget that, as Schmiedel has pointed out (col. 1885), 'we possess only an excessively meagre *précis* of what Jesus said,' and that we know very little indeed of the real occasion of many of his utterances, even granting the essential accuracy of the reported words. To the imperfect and spiritually uncultured men by whom Jesus was surrounded, it is credible, he may have said many things which for a disciple in some distant degree resembling himself he would have altogether recast. That the exhortation in Lk. 11 9-13 is genuine, can hardly be doubted. But if so, Mt. is surely right (see Mt. 7 7-11) in treating it as an independent passage.[2] E. von der Goltz, in his excellent monograph on early Christian prayer, sees no difficulty in admitting these two disputed parables; but surely it is wiser to admit that they are not strictly consistent with the saying 'Your father knoweth what things ye need, before ye ask him' Mt. 6 8); cp GOSPELS, § 40, col. 1792.

Throughout the Synoptic Gospels it is implied that Jesus was an extraordinarily great teacher. There is therefore nothing uncritical in supposing that he often adapted himself to the comprehension of backward and prejudiced minds, and in attaching a normative character only to his greatest sayings. One of these is certainly Mt. 6 33, 'Seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you,' and it is

ignorest complaint.' Right complaints before God are approved by Eliphaz (Job 5 8); Job, however, according to him, destroys piety and ignores true devotion.

[1] On this point we are in perfect accord with Prof. Schechter.

[2] 'Some Rabbinic Parallels to the New Testament,' *JQR*, April 1900, p. 429.

[3] Perhaps it is not unfair to refer in this connection to Sanday and Headlam on the Epistle to the Romans (International Commentary).

[4] Hamburger, *Real-encycl.* 2 1092-1099.

[5] Hamburger, *Real-encycl.* 2 603-608.

[1] Even in the Fourth Gospel (the Gospel of the Incarnate Logos) the miracles of Jesus are represented as answers to prayer (Jn. 6 11 23 9 31 11 41 *f.*; cp Mk. 6 41 7 34 8 6 *f.* 9 29).

[2] Weizsäcker, *Untersuch. üb. die evang. Geschichte*(1), 158.

reasonable to believe that to his noblest scholars he uttered, not a recommendation of ἀναίδεια or importunity (such as we find in certain psalms), but something like this fine modification of the saying in Mt. 6 33 which we find in Origen, *De Orat.* c. 2 and (the first part at least) in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 24 158,—'seek what is great, and the little things shall be added unto you; and seek what is heavenly, and the earthly things shall be added unto you,' αἰτεῖσθε τὰ μέγαλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται, καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται.[1]

Altogether we may assume that the prayers which, according to Jesus, were most fully justified were those which concerned the work which each of his disciples had to do for God. It is this idea which underlies the saying in Mk. 9 29, that a specially obstinate kind of demons could only be driven out of a sufferer by prayer (to which ℵ^{cb} ACD add 'and fasting' from Mt. 17 21; cp Tob. 12 8, 'prayer is good with fasting'). It was the work of Jesus to bring men into the kingdom of God—*i.e.*, to convince men that God was their rightful king—not by argument, but partly by a self-manifestation which was virtually the revelation of God, partly by the removal of all those hindrances which opposed themselves to the divine rule.[2] Such a self-manifestation and such a removal of hindrances could not be effected without the most intense aspiration (=prayer) on the part of God's agents; on the other hand, such an aspiration (=prayer) could not but succeed. It is true, this saying of Jesus (which, if genuine, must be understood somewhat as it is here explained) was regarded in later ages as 'a receipt for the effectual driving out of demons' (so in Athanasius, *De Virg.* c. 87).[3] But an ascetic fasting and a mechanical use of prayer were far, very far, from the mind of Jesus.

It might seem as if a test of the right kind of prayer were provided by Jesus in Mt. 18 19 *f.*

'If two of you shall agree on earth concerning anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them by my Father who is in heaven; for where two or three are assembled in my name, there am I in the midst of them.'

Really, however, the saying refers to the small beginnings of the Christian brotherhood, or perhaps to the Master's custom of sending out his disciples two and two together, Mk. 6 7 Lk. 10 1. But even so it shows that the assurance of the fulfilment of prayers is given to the disciples as Christ's assistants. The form of the saying, however, can hardly be relied upon; 'on earth' is clearly a later insertion, and the second half of the saying may possibly have been borrowed (see the parallels in Wünsche's *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrash*) from a Jewish source.

The contributions to the fuller conception of Christian prayer in the Johannine and Pauline writings can hardly

8. In Johannine and Pauline writings.

be considered at length without entering unduly into disputed questions of NT criticism. Contributions of the utmost value and interest they certainly are, whatever view we adopt of their historical origin. They enabled non-Jewish disciples to enter into the spirit of Jesus as such persons would otherwise have been unable to do; they present a fusion of Jewish and Hellenic ideas (using the word 'ideas' in no pale, abstract sense) which is something entirely unparalleled in religious thought, and would only have been possible to the writers on the assumption that these ideas must have been actually realised in the historical Jesus. When they speak to us of the importance of the Person of Jesus for true prayer, we hear of something which Jesus himself cannot with any critical precision be shown to have said, and yet which forced itself by an inner

[1] It must be admitted, however, that τὰ ἐπουράνια and τὰ ἐπίγεια reminds us of a saying of the Johannine Jesus (Jn. 3 12).

[2] Cp Herrmann, *Communion with God* (transl. by Stanyon), 77 *ff.*

[3] Referred to by Von der Goltz, *Das Gebet*, etc., p. 65.

necessity on the minds of the writers, as implied in the unique position of Jesus as the saviour of men.

Certainly it requires no critical acumen to see that Jesus was in the habit of requiring faith in his person before he granted the requests of sick persons, and it was a natural inference that faith in the heavenly Christ was equally necessary for disciples. But even that wonderful idealistic biographer whom tradition calls John can scarcely be quoted as favouring direct prayer to Jesus Christ. The originality of Jn. 14 14 is by no means free from doubt, because just before we find the same promise of the fulfilment of the disciples' prayers without the difficult personal pronouns 'me' and 'I.' *V.* 13 runs thus,—'and whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son' (καὶ ὅ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, τοῦτο ποιήσω, ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ). Then, strangely enough, comes a correction or interpretation, —'if ye shall ask me anything in my name, that will I do,' ἐάν τι αἰτήσητέ με ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐγὼ ποιήσω (*v.* 14). We may of course omit the με (with ADGKLM, but against ℵBEHU), but then what is the object of the repetition of the promise? One would rather omit 'in my name' but there is no manuscript authority for this. The awkwardness of 'me in my name' may perhaps be taken as a sign of non-originality. That the Fourth Gospel has passed through several phases, may surely be admitted as probable. It must also be remembered that Jesus himself is said in Jn. 4 23 to have uttered these remarkable words, which accurately represent his teaching in the Synoptic Gospels, 'The hour comes, and now is, when the true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth (reality): for such the Father seeks to worship him.'

Paul, if we may follow the great majority in accepting the Epistles to the Corinthians as his work, gives this expressive description of Christians, 'all that in every place call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. 1 2). Some (*e.g.*, Seeberg and Zahn) see in this a full confession of the deity of Christ, who therefore can be adored even without express reference to the Father. But it is surely more correct to paraphrase ἐπικαλουμένους thus,—'those that call upon Jesus Christ as intrusted for the salvation of men with the powers of the divine sovereignty.' As Von der Goltz rightly states (p. 100), Paul knows nothing of an adoration of Jesus Christ side by side with the adoration of God. What is characteristic of this great Christian teacher is the close relation to the Spirit into which he brings the prayers of Christian believers. The Spirit makes intercession for us (Rom. 8 26); true prayer is prayer in the Spirit (Phil. 1 19). See SPIRIT. It is the chief weapon in the Christian warfare (Eph. 6 18; Pauline?), more especially when it is practised by a whole Christian community.

That in Acts 7 59 after ἐπικαλούμενον we should understand τὸν Κύριον,[1] seems a probable view. But this passage, if it refers to Christ as the object of invocation, stands alone in the NT (Rev. 22 20 is hardly quite parallel), and, according to Harnack (*History of Dogma*, transl. by Buchanan, 1 184), there are but few examples of direct prayers to Jesus belonging to the first century, apart from the prayers in the Act. Joh. of the so-called Leucius. A valuable collection of early Christian prayers will be found in the appendix to Ed. von der Goltz's comprehensive monograph, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (1901). T. K. C.

PRAYER, PLACE OF (ΠΡΟCΕΥΧΗ), Acts 16 13 16 RV. See DISPERSION, § 16 *f.* and SYNAGOGUE.

PREACHING. See SYNAGOGUE.

PRECINCTS. 1. פַּרְוָרִים, *parwārim*, 2 K. 23 11 RV, AV 'suburbs.' See PARBAR, TEMPLE.

2. פַּרְבָּר, *parbār*, 1 Ch. 26 18 RVmg., EV PARBAR (*q.v.*).

PRECIOUS STONES. See STONES, PRECIOUS.

[1] Bentley and Valckenaer even think that these words fell out of the text.

PREPARATION (ἡ παρασκευή), Mt. 27 62 Mk. 15 42 Lk. 23 54 Jn. 19 14 31 42†. See WEEK, § 2; cp further, CHRONOLOGY, § 56.

PRESBYTER. The English word 'priest' is simply a contraction of the Latin *presbyter*. But, as it was commonly used to translate *sacerdos*, which the Western Church freely employed as a title of the Christian ministry, its meaning was extended to include pre-Christian senses of *sacerdos* as well; and thus a word originally signifying 'an elder' came to be used for the ministers of Jewish or heathen cults. In the AV indeed it is confined to these, and the word employed as the equivalent of *presbyter* is 'elder.'

1. Meaning.

The Greek word πρεσβύτερος, like its English equivalent 'elder,' has various shades of meaning, arising from the natural connection between age, honour, and office; and they can be distinguished only by the context in which the word occurs. In the NT the word is used in reference both to the ancient Jewish polity (§ 2) and to the new Christian Church (§§ 3 *ff.*).

2. Among the Jews.

(*a*) The earliest form of the Gospel narrative contains the phrase 'the tradition of the elders' (Mk. 7 3). Here it appears that the elders are the great religious leaders of the past; just as to-day appeal is made to 'the Fathers.' Somewhat similarly, in Heb. 11 2 we are told that 'by faith the elders obtained a good report.'

(*b*) 'Elder' is also perpetually employed in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, in conjunction with the 'scribes,' the 'rulers' and the 'chief priests,' to describe certain officials of the community, who are also spoken of collectively as the 'presbytery' or 'body of elders' (τὸ πρεσβυτέριον).

3. In the Christian church.

(*a*) *In Acts.*—In Acts 11 30 we are suddenly introduced by the historian to 'the elders' of the church in Jerusalem. To them Barnabas and Saul bring the contributions collected in Antioch for the poorer brethren in Judæa. The persecution which the believers at Jerusalem had by this time (about 44 A.D.) begun to suffer at the hands of their countrymen had doubtless tended to emphasise their separate existence as a community; and in a community composed of Jews it would be very natural that the leading members should be spoken of as elders. Shortly after this a question of principle was raised at Antioch in reference to the circumcision of Gentile converts. Its decision was certain to be pregnant with issues for the future of the Christian church. After much discussion it was agreed to refer it to Jerusalem for settlement (Acts 15). [See COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM.] It was to 'the apostles and elders' that the delegates of the church in Antioch were sent; 'the apostles and elders' received them on their arrival; 'the apostles and the elders'—the reiteration cannot be accidental—'came together to see about this matter.' A line of action was agreed upon by 'the apostles and elders with the whole church,' and the letter sent to Antioch began thus: 'The apostles and the elder brethren to the brethren in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia that are of the Gentiles, greeting.' Later this letter is again referred to as 'the decisions of the apostles and elders that were in Jerusalem' (16 4). The expression of the letter itself differs from the phrase of the historian by the addition of a single word—'the elder *brethren*.' It is not as an official class, but as the senior members of the church, that they make their voice heard; beneath the precedence of office lies the natural precedence of age and of priority in discipleship. In fact this expression is the key to much of the difficulty that attaches to the use of the word 'elder' in the early Christian writings; a distinction is not always sharply drawn between what we may call natural and official prestige. The word occurs again on another occasion of importance. Paul arrives in Jerusalem, bearing 'the offering of the Gentiles,'—a large contribution which he has gathered among his Greek churches, and now brings, in some anxiety as to its reception, to the church in Jerusalem. His first act is to visit James. On this occasion, we are told, all the elders came together (Acts 21 18); and it was they who suggested a plan by which Paul's personal loyalty to the Mosaic law might be openly affirmed.

Even if this use of the word 'elders' in Acts,—to denote a class of men holding in the Christian church in Jerusalem a position parallel to that of the elders of the Jewish people—were regarded as the usage of a slightly later period, introduced almost unconsciously by Lk. into his narrative of earlier events; or, again, even if (on another theory) the Lucan authorship were set aside and the date of the book slightly depressed; we should still have very early evidence for the existence and title of a class of elders in Jerusalem; for the writer is notably careful in his use of official designations, and verisimilitude would at least require that he should not introduce an institution to which there was not and had not been any counterpart in the Palestinian churches. It is important to bear this in mind as we pass on to the other allusions to Christian elders in Acts.

On their return to Lystra, Iconium, and the Pisidian Antioch, after their work in Derbe, Paul and Barnabas are said to have appointed elders in each of these churches (14 23). It was in itself wholly natural that the two apostles should establish in those communities, which no doubt embraced a large number, if not a majority, of Jews and proselytes, an institution with which, as the history has related, both of them had together come personally into contact in Jerusalem. Moreover, as they were acting in a sense as the delegates of the church of Antioch, we are justified in assuming, what in itself is highly probable, that the same institution already existed in that church as well. On the journey to Jerusalem which led to his imprisonment we are told that from Miletus Paul sent to Ephesus and summoned 'the elders of the church' (20 17 *ff.*). Here then the same organisation is implied for the Ephesian church. The elders are exhorted 'to take heed to themselves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Spirit has set them as overseers (ἐπισκόπους)': their duty is declared to be 'to feed (ποιμαίνειν, 'to shepherd' or 'rule') the church of God.' Watchfulness is especially urged upon them in view of the certainty that 'wolves,' or false teachers, will presently attack the flock: the apostle's own example will show them how they should labour with their own hands and assist those who need their help. It is noteworthy that Paul is not represented as himself using the word 'elders' in addressing them: nor does the word occur in any sense in the Pauline Epistles, until we come to the Pastoral Epistles.

(*b*) *In Timothy and Titus.*—In 1 Tim. 4 14 'the hands of the presbytery' are said to have been laid on Timothy; thus we seem to have another reference to the elders of Lystra. In 5 1—'rebuke not an elder'—it is probable from the subsequent reference to 'younger men,' 'elder women,' and 'younger women,' that the idea of age is dominant. In *v.* 17 we have an injunction of considerable importance: 'The elders who preside well (οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι) are to be accounted worthy of double honour (διπλῆς τιμῆς), especially those who labour in the word and teaching.' It is not clear whether this 'honour' is in reality an honorarium; nor whether the word 'double' is used in contrast to the provision for 'widows' mentioned just before (cp *v.* 3, χήρας τίμα, κ.τ.λ.), or in comparison with other elders, or somewhat vaguely; nor, again, whether all elders are regarded as 'presiding.' But undoubtedly a distinction is made in favour of such of the elders as exercise the gift of teaching; and it seems on the whole fair to suppose that we have here a class of men whose public services entitle them to public support. In the command which follows—not to entertain hastily a charge against an elder (*v.* 19),—it is probable that the term is used in the same sense as in the previous context.

In the Epistle to Titus we have but one instance of the word, and there it is plainly official: 'that thou shouldest appoint elders in every city, as I commanded thee' (1 5).

(*c*) 1 *Peter.*—In 1 Pet. 5 1-5 we have an example of the recognition of the two elements which co-exist in the term 'elder.' The first words are in themselves

ambiguous: 'The elders among you (or 'the elder among you,' πρεσβυτέρους οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν) I exhort, who am your fellow-elder (ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος).' The reference might be simply to age; or, again, to length of discipleship (cp 'and witness of the sufferings of Christ'). The words of *v.* 5—'Likewise, ye younger, be subject to the elder' (or 'the elders')—seem to point in a like direction. But between *vv.* 1 and 5 comes the solemn charge, 'Feed (ποιμάνατε) the flock of God that is among you,' with a warning against covetousness and despotic rule, and with the promise of a reward from 'the Head Shepherd' (ἀρχιποίμην). It is thus evident that a recognised authority is implied; and when the term 'the younger' is used of those whose duty was to obey, this is because the original significance of the word 'elder' was felt, and because the contrast between rulers and ruled was in the main a contrast between the elder and the younger members of the congregation.

(*d*) *Other Catholic Epistles.*—In the Epistle of James the sick man is bidden to call 'the elders of the church,' that they may pray over him and anoint him for his recovery. Here the institution is clearly attested, and once more for Jewish churches. It is to be observed that here as elsewhere the elders act not individually, but together; the word is never in the NT used in the singular number when any duty pertaining to the office is described.

The second and third Epistles of John are written in the name of 'the elder' (ὁ πρεσβύτερος); but they contain nothing which helps us to fix the precise meaning of the term. Nor is it easy to gain any light from the mention of the twenty-four elders in the visions of the Apocalypse. Apart from these instances the word is not used at all in the Johannine writings.

4. Summing up.

Let us endeavour now to sum up the evidence of the NT as to the meaning and usage of the word 'elder,' as applied to leading men in the Christian church. If we accept the historical character of Acts and regard the letter from the church in Jerusalem as an authentic document, we are able to trace the institution practically from the very beginning. 'The elder brethren,' as they are described in the letter, take rank below the apostles, but above the rest of the church ('the whole multitude,' πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, Acts 15 12). The expression 'the elder brethren,' as contrasted with the more formal term 'the elders' used by the historian in his narrative, in itself supports the genuineness of the document; it could scarcely have originated with the writer of its historical setting, for five times over he reiterates his own phrase in this connection. Either, then, we may suppose that the senders of the letter purposely modify the more official title by which others spoke of them; or we may gather that at that time, while a body of leading persons actually existed as a recognised authority within the Church, they were still thought of as its senior members, rather than as formal officers strictly corresponding to the elders of the Jewish people. In the latter case we still see that it was natural and almost inevitable that the new institution should attach to itself the familiar title, and that 'the elder brethren' should become the Christian 'elders.' Our choice lies, in fact, between a conscious imitation of the old Jewish institution and an unconscious assimilation to it. The institution thus shaped in Jerusalem is seen to reproduce itself in the earliest churches of Paul's foundation. Whatever his practice may have been later, when he was guiding the Greek churches to a complete independence of Judaism, it was likely enough that in this first missionary journey he should fashion the organisation of his earliest converts on the one existing model of which alone we have any information,—that, namely, of the church in Jerusalem.

We have seen that 'the elders of the church' in Ephesus (Acts 20 17) are not so entitled in the address which the historian puts into the mouth of Paul. This is in strict harmony with the apostle's usage in all his epistles, if we except the Pastoral Epistles. That the historian, on the other hand, should speak of them as 'elders' does not necessarily imply more than that their functions were the same as were exercised by those whom he has hitherto described by this title; in other words, that they *were* 'the elders of the church,' even if they were not commonly addressed as such.

As in the case of Acts, so too in that of the Pastoral Epistles, the question of authorship and date does not seriously affect the evidence which they offer us on this subject. They cannot with any reason be placed so late as to disqualify them as witnesses to actual institutions of the close of the Apostolic age. Even a pseudonymous writer must have some regard to verisimilitude, and in laying down practical rules he will offer important testimony to the conditions of his own, if not of an earlier time. In these epistles, then, we see the same class of 'elders' spoken of for Ephesus and Crete; but we seem to see them in a later stage than that which is represented by Paul's charge to the Ephesian elders in Acts. Paul had formerly encouraged the elders to be self-supporting after his own example; he now comes before us as apparently claiming for them public maintenance, especially in the case of those who are devoting their strength to the labours of teaching. That there is no inconsistency in this is plain from his full discussion of the question in relation to his own practice in 1 Cor. 9 3-14. Incidentally we learn that it was natural and not uncommon that the elders should be not only the rulers but also the instructors of their flock; and we can see that the combination of the two functions was certain to increase the influence of the individual who should exercise them both.

5. Other official terms.

With a view to the question of the relation between the term 'elder' (πρεσβύτερος) and the term 'bishop' (ἐπίσκοπος), it is important to notice that those of the Pauline Epistles which do not contain the word 'elder' do nevertheless refer under various appellations to persons holding a prominent position in the communities to which they are written.

Thus the church of the Thessalonians, immediately after its foundation, is exhorted in these terms: 'to know them that labour among you and preside over you (προισταμένους ὑμῶν) in the Lord and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake' (1 Thes. 5 12 *f.*). Some organisation (cp Rom. 12 8, ὁ προιστάμενος ἐν σπουδῇ; 1 Tim. 3 4 *f.* 5 17), whether the title of 'elders' or any other title was connected with it or not, is certainly implied in these words. At the same time, as the second letter still more clearly shows (3 14 *f.*), the community is addressed as a whole, and is held generally responsible for the suppression of disorder among its members. The Corinthian church is likewise called upon as a whole to exercise discipline (cp esp. 1 Cor. 5 3 *ff.*); but at the same time we read of 'governments' (κυβερνήσεις) as 'set in the church' by God (12 28). 'The household of Stephanas,' who were among the earliest converts and had received baptism from Paul himself, clearly held some position of pre-eminence. They had 'devoted themselves to minister to the saints' (εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς): to such as these subjection was to be rendered (16 15 *f.*, cp 1 16). It is noteworthy that in epistles which deal with so many points of practical order we do not find more definite indications of a constituted authority. The lack of such an authority—if we are justified in pressing the argument from silence—may perhaps in part account for the exceptionally disturbed condition of the Corinthian church.

In the Epistle to the Galatians the main trouble is with false teachings; of organisation we hear nothing.

For the restoration of an erring brother Paul appeals to those who have a spiritual gift (ὑμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοί, 6 1; if this

be not rather intended as a designation of the whole body): the taught (ὁ κατηχούμενος) is to make contributions for the support of his teacher (τῷ κατηχοῦντι), 6 6.

In the Colossian church Archippus is to be warned to fulfil some 'ministry' (διακονίαν), which he has 'received in the Lord'; but it is not further defined. For the case of the Philippian church see BISHOP, § 7.

It would appear that in these Pauline churches such organisation as there was held a very subordinate position at this period. The church as a whole in each place had alike full powers and full responsibility for the exercise of its powers. The authority of the founder and the influence of eminent men who laboured in connection with him were the main elements of guidance, and these at present retarded the development of any local form of government which there may have been.

The Epistle to the Hebrews bids the Christians to whom it is addressed 'remember their leaders' (τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν) who have passed away, on the ground that 'they spake to them the word of God' (13 7). They are also charged to obey their present 'leaders,' as those who 'watch for their souls' (13 17). At the close the writer salutes all their 'leaders' (13 24). The word thus used is in the present day a technical term (*hegumenos*) for the head of a Greek monastery, as it was in Egypt in the fourth century; but here it must be regarded as simply a description of the ruling class in the church, and it is noticeable that honour is specially claimed for this class on the ground of the spiritual functions of teaching and 'watching for souls.'

Thus far, then, we have found three terms employed to describe the ruling class in the Christian church—'elders,' 'those who preside,' and 'those who lead.' The first appears to be an official title; the second and third are descriptive of the main function which these rulers perform. There is no ground for supposing that more than one institution is pointed to by these three terms.

The question whether the term 'bishop' (ἐπίσκοπος) describes the same or a different institution has been considered in the article BISHOP. To that article reference must also be made for patristic illustrations, and especially for the use of the word πρεσβύτερος in the Epistle of Clement of Rome.

It only remains to be said that in the second century we find the word πρεσβύτερος used by Papias (Eus. *HE* 3 39) and Irenæus (*e.g.*, iv. 27 1) in speaking of 'disciples of the Lord' or 'disciples of the apostles' from whom certain traditions had been received. This sense reminds us of the first meaning of the word to which we made reference above (§ 2) in speaking of the use of the term among the Jews. J. A. R.

PRESENCE (παρουσία), Mt. 24 3, etc., RV^mg. See ESCHATOLOGY, § 84 *ff.*

PRESENCE BREAD (לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים), Ex. 25 30, etc., RV^mg., EV SHEWBREAD (*q.v.*).

PRESIDENTS (סָרְכִין, *sārĕkīn*), Dan. 6 2-7 [3-8]†.

Most commentators take this Aramaic word to be of Persian origin = *sarak*, 'chief,' from *sār*, 'head.' See Bevan, Marti, Driver. In Tg. it is used for שֹׁטֵר. 𝔊 has τακτικός, Vg. *princeps*.

PRESS. 1. גַּת, *gath*, Is. 3 13. See OIL-PRESS, WINE-PRESS.

2. and 3. יֶקֶב, *yéḳeb*, Is. 16 10, etc., and פּוּרָה, *pūrāh*, Hag. 2 16. See WINE-PRESS, WINE-FAT.

PRIEST, a contracted form of PRESBYTER [*q.v.*], a name of office in the early Christian church. But in the EV the presbyters of the NT are called 'elders,' not 'priests'; the latter name is reserved for ministers of pre-Christian religions, the Sem. כֹּהֲנִים (*Kōhănīm*, sing. *Kōhēn*) and כְּמָרִים (*Kĕmārīm*), or the Gk. ἱερεῖς. The reason of this will appear more clearly in the sequel; it is enough to observe at present that, before our English word was formed, the original idea of a presbyter had been overlaid with others derived from pre-Christian priesthoods. The theologians of the Greek and Latin churches expressly found the conception of a Christian priesthood on the hierarchy of the Jewish temple, while the names by which the sacerdotal character is expressed—ἱερεύς, *sacerdos*—originally designated the ministers of sacred things in Greek and Roman heathenism, and then came to be used as translations into Greek and Latin of the Hebrew *Kōhēn*. *Kōhēn*, ἱερεύς, *sacerdos* are in fact fair translations of one another; they all denote a minister whose stated business was to perform, on behalf of the community, certain public ritual acts, particularly sacrifices, directed godwards. There were such ministers or priests in all the great religions of ancient civilisation, and indeed a priesthood in the sense now defined is generally found, in all parts of the world, among races which have a tribal or national religion of definite character, and not merely an unorganised mass of superstitious ideas, fears, and hopes, issuing in practices of sorcery. The term 'priest' is sometimes taken to include 'sorcerer,' just as religion is often taken to include the belief in mysterious or superhuman powers which can be constrained by spells; but this is an abuse of language. Religion begins when the relation of the divine powers to man is conceived—on the analogy of the relations of formed human society—as having a certain stable personal character on which the worshippers can calculate and act. The gods of the ancient religions might do arbitrary acts; but their conduct towards man was not habitually arbitrary. The actions on the part of individuals or of the state by which their favour was maintained, lost, or regained were matter of tradition. It was the business of the community to see that the right course of action was pursued, and on behalf of the community, with which alone properly speaking the gods had intercourse, the right kind of service was performed either by its natural head or by specially appointed officials. There is the closest connection in early times between state and religion.

1. Meaning of word.

It would be too large a task to attempt a general survey of the priesthoods, royal or other, in antiquity. It may be well, however, to notice one or two points which a comparative study of organised religions reveals to us. Priestly acts—that is, acts done by one and accepted by the gods on behalf of many—are common to all antique religions, and cannot be lacking where the primary subject of religion is not the individual but the natural community. But the origin of a separate priestly class, distinct from the natural heads of the community, cannot be explained by any such broad general principle; in some cases, as in Greece, it is little more than a matter of convenience that part of the religious duties of the state should be confided to special ministers charged with the care of particular temples, while in others the intervention of a special priesthood is indispensable to the validity of every religious act, so that the priest ultimately becomes a mediator and the vehicle of all divine grace.

2. Origin of priesthood in general.

This position, we see, can be reached by various paths; the priest may become indispensable through the growth of ritual observances and precautions too complicated for a layman to master, or he may lay claim to special nearness to the gods on the ground, it may be, of his race, or it may be of habitual practices of purity and asceticism which cannot be combined with the duties of ordinary life, as for example, celibacy was required of priestesses of Vesta at Rome.

The highest developments of priestly influence, however, are hardly separable from something of magical superstition; the *opus operatum* of the priest has the power of a sorcerer's spell. The strength of the priesthood in Chaldea and in Egypt stands plainly in the closest connection with the survival of a magic element in the state religion, and Rome, in like manner, is more priestly than Greece because it is more superstitious. In most cases, however, where an ancient civilisation shows us a strong priestly system we are unable to make out in any detail the steps by which that system was elaborated; the clearest case perhaps is the priest-

hood of the Jews, which is not less interesting from its origin and growth than from the influence exerted by the system long after the priests were dispersed and their sanctuary laid in ruins.

Among the nomadic Semites, to whom the Hebrews belonged before they settled in Canaan, there has never been any developed priesthood. The acts of religion partake of the general simplicity of desert life; apart from the private worship of household gods and the oblations and salutations offered at the graves of departed kinsmen, the ritual observances of the ancient Arabs were visits to the tribal sanctuary to salute the god with a gift of milk, first-fruits, or the like, the sacrifice of firstlings and vows (see NAZIRITE and PASSOVER), and an occasional pilgrimage to discharge a vow at the annual feast and fair of one of the more distant holy places. These acts required no priestly aid; each man slew his own victim and divided the sacrifice in his own circle; the share of the god was the blood which was smeared upon, or poured out beside, a stone (cp Ar. *noṣb*, *ghabghab*) set up as an altar or perhaps as a symbol of the deity (see MASSEBAH). It does not appear that any portion of the sacrifice was burned on the altar, or that any part of the victim was the due of the sanctuary. We find, therefore, no trace of a sacrificial priesthood; but each temple had one or more doorkeepers (*sādin*, *ḥājib*), whose office was usually hereditary in a certain family, and who had the charge of the temple and its treasures. The sacrifices and offerings were acknowledgments of divine bounty and means used to insure its continuance; the Arab was the 'slave' of his god and paid him tribute, as slaves used to do to their masters, or subjects to their lords; and the free Bedouin, trained in the solitude of the desert to habits of absolute self-reliance, knew no master except his god, and acknowledged no other will before which his own should bend.

3. Origin of Semitic priesthood.

Hence the other side of Arab religion was to look for divine direction in every grave or difficult concern of life; what could not be settled in the free council of the tribesmen, or by the unenforced award of an umpire, was referred to the command of the god, and the oracle was the only authority by which dissensions could be healed, lawsuits determined, and judgment authoritatively spoken. The voice of the god might be uttered in omens which the skilled could read, or conveyed in the inspired rhymes of soothsayers; but frequently it was sought in the oracle of the sanctuary, where the sacred lot was administered for a fee by the *sādin*. The sanctuary thus became a seat of judgment, and here, too, compacts were sealed by oaths and sacrificial ceremonies.

These institutions, though known to us only from sources belonging to an age when the old faith was falling to pieces, are certainly very ancient. Their whole stamp is primitive, and they correspond in the closest way with what we know of the earliest religion of the Israelites, the only other Semitic people whose history can be traced back to a time when they had not fully emerged from nomad life. In fact, the fundamental type of the Arabic sanctuary can be traced through all the Semitic lands, and so appears to be older than the Semitic dispersion; even the technical terms are mainly the same, so that we may justly assume that the more developed ritual and priesthoods of the settled Semites sprang from a state of things not very remote from what we find among the heathen Arabs.

Now among the Arabs, as we have seen, ritual service is the affair of the individual, or of a mass of individuals gathered in a great feast, but still doing worship each for himself and his own private circle; the only public aspect of religion is found in connection with divination and the oracle to which the affairs of the community are submitted. In Greece and Rome the public sacrifices were the chief function of religion, and in them the priesthood represented the ancient kings. In the desert there is no king and no sovereignty save that of the divine oracle, and therefore it is from the soothsayers or ministers of the oracle that a public ministry of religion can most naturally spring. With the beginning of a settled state the sanctuaries must rise in importance and all the functions of revelation will gather round them. A sacrificial priesthood will arise as the worship becomes more complex (especially as sacrifice in antiquity is a common preliminary to the consultation of an oracle); but the public ritual will still remain closely associated with oracle or divination, and the priest will still be, above all things, a revealer. That this was what actually happened, may be inferred from the fact that the Canaanite and Phœnician name for a priest (Kōhēn) is identical with the Arabic *Kāhin*, a 'soothsayer.'

Note also the intimate connection in 1 S. 6 2 between the *Kōhănīm* and the *Ḳōsĕmīm* of the Philistines. Soothsaying was no modern importation in Arabia; its characteristic form—a monotonous croon of short rhyming clauses—is the same as was practised by the Hebrew 'wizards who peeped and muttered' in the days of Isaiah (Is. 29 4), and that this form was native in Arabia is clear from its having a technical name (*saj'*), which in Hebrew survives only in derivative words with modified sense.[1]

The Kāhin, therefore, is not a degraded priest but such a soothsayer as is found in most primitive societies, and the Canaanite priests grew out of these early revealers.[2] In point of fact there appears to have been some form of revelation or oracle in every great shrine of Canaan and Syria,[3] and the importance of this element in the cultus may be measured from the fact that at Hierapolis it was the charge of the chief priest, just as in the Levitical legislation.

The use of 'Kāhin' for 'priest' in the Canaanite area points, however, to more than this; it is connected with the orgiastic character of Canaanite religion.

The soothsayer differs from the priest of an oracle by giving his revelation under excitement and often in a frenzy allied to madness. In natural soothsaying this frenzy is the necessary physical accompaniment of an afflatus which, though it seems to a rude people supernatural, is really akin to poetic inspiration. It is soon learned, however, that a similar physical state can be produced artificially, and at the Canaanite sanctuaries this was done on a large scale.

We see from 1 K. 18 2 K. 10 that the great Baal temples had two classes of ministers, kōhănīm and nĕbī'īm, 'priests' and 'prophets,' and as the kōhănīm bear a name which primarily denotes a soothsayer, so the nĕbī'īm are also a kind of priests who do sacrificial service with a wild ritual of their own. How deeply the orgiastic character was stamped on the priesthoods of N. Semitic nature-worship is clear from Greek and Roman accounts, such as that of Apuleius (*Metam.* bk. 8). Sensuality and religious excitement of the wildest kind went hand in hand, and a whole army of degraded ministers of a religion of the passions was gathered round every famous shrine.

The Hebrews, who made the language of Canaan their own, took also the Canaanite name for a priest.

4. Beginnings of the priesthood in Israel.

But the earliest forms of Hebrew priesthood[4] are not Canaanite in character; the priest, as he appears in the older records of the time of the Judges, Eli at Shiloh, Jonathan in the private temple of Micah (see MICAH) and at Dan, is much liker the

[1] *Mĕšuggā'*, 2 K. 9 11 Jer. 29 26 [Hos. 9 7]—a term of contempt applied to prophets (cp PROPHETIC LITERATURE, § 1, 3).

[2] On the relation of the Canaanite (or Hebrew) priest to the Arabian *kāhin*, see, further, Sprenger, *Leben Muhammeds*, 1 255; Stade, *GI* 1 (2) 471; Wellhausen, *Heid.* (2) 131 *ff.* Sprenger and Stade consider the priesthood to have arisen out of the seer's function. According to Wellhausen, on the other hand, the *kāhin*, who from the first had been connected with the sanctuary, with the development of the seer's office gradually took over from the priests the principal and most honourable share of their work, and at the same time their title of honour. Thus the priest at last sank to the grade of a mere door-keeper.

[3] See Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 36, for Hierapolis; Zosimus, 1 58, for Aphaca; Pliny, *HN* 37 58 (compared with Lucian, *ut supra*, and Movers, *Phoenizier*, 1 655), for the temple of Melkart at Tyre; 1 S. 6 2, for Ekron.

[4] The pre-Mosaic priesthood, to the elucidation of which Fr. v. Hummelauer (1899) has devoted a special treatise, can still only be regarded as imaginary.

Arabian *sādin* than the *kāhin*.[1] The whole structure of Hebrew society at the time of the conquest was almost precisely that of a federation of Arab tribes, and the religious ordinances are scarcely distinguishable from those of Arabia, save only that the great deliverance of the Exodus, and the period when Moses, sitting in judgment at the sanctuary of Kadesh, had for a whole generation impressed the sovereignty of Yahwè on all the tribes, had created an idea of unity between the scattered settlements in Canaan such as the Arabs before Mohammed never had. Neither in civil nor in religious life, however, was this ideal unity expressed in fixed institutions. The old individualism of the Semitic nomad held its ground. Thus the firstlings, first-fruits, and vows are still the free gift of the individual which no human authority exacts, and every householder presents and consumes with his circle in a sacrificial feast without priestly aid.

It is thus that Gideon (Judg. 6 17 *ff.*) and Manoah (Judg. 13 19) offer sacrifice, with the express approval of Yahwè, or rather of his *Mal'āk*. As in Arabia, the ordinary sanctuary is still a sacred stone (מַצֵּבָה = *noṣb*) set up under the open heaven, and here the blood of the victim is poured out as an offering to God (see MASSEBAH and cp 1 S. 14 34 2 S. 23 16 *f.*).

The priest has no place in this ritual; he is not the minister of an altar,[2] but the guardian of a temple, such as was already found here and there in the land for the custody of sacred images and palladia or other consecrated things (the ark at Shiloh, 1 S. 3 3; images in Micah's temple, Judg. 17 5; Goliath's sword lying behind the 'ephod' or plated image at Nob [see NOB], 1 S. 21 10; no doubt also money, as in the Canaanite temple at Shechem, Judg. 9 4). Such treasures required a guardian; that they were occasionally liable to be stolen is shown by the story, just referred to, of the images in Micah's temple.

Above all, wherever there was a temple there was an oracle, a kind of sacred lot, just as in Arabia (1 S. 14 41 𝕲), which could only be drawn where there was an 'ephod' and a priest (1 S. 14 18, 𝕲; 23 6 *ff.* 30 7). The Hebrews had already possessed a tent-temple and oracle of this kind in the wilderness (Ex. 33 7 *ff.*), of which Moses was the priest and Joshua the æedituus, and ever since that time the judgment of God through the priest at the sanctuary had a greater weight than the word of a seer, and was the ultimate solution of every controversy and claim (1 S. 2 25 Ex. 22 7 *f.*, where for AV's 'judge,' 'judges,' read 'God'[3]). The temple at SHILOH, where the ark was preserved, was the lineal descendant of the Mosaic sanctuary—for it was not the place but the palladium and its oracle that were the essential thing—and its priests claimed kin with Moses himself. In the divided state of the nation, indeed, this sanctuary was hardly visited from beyond Mount Ephraim; and every man (or tribe) that cared to provide the necessary apparatus (ephod, teraphim, etc.) and hire a priest might have a temple and oracle of his own at which to consult Yahwè (Judg. 17 *f.*); but there was hardly another sanctuary of equal dignity.

The priest of Shiloh is a much greater person than Micah's priest Jonathan; at the great feasts he sits enthroned by the doorway, preserving decorum among the worshippers; he has certain legal dues, and if he is disposed to exact more no one ventures to resist (1 S. 2 12 *ff.*; see *SBOT* [Heb.]). The priestly position of the family survived the fall of Shiloh and the captivity of the ark, and it was members of this house who consulted Yahwè for the early kings until Solomon deposed Abiathar.

Indeed, though priesthood was not yet tied to one family, so that Micah's son, or Eleazar of Kirjath-jearim (1 S. 7 1), or Samuel, and perhaps by preference firstborn sons in general[1] (cp also Ex. 24 5), could all be priests, a Levite—that is, a man of Moses' tribe—was already preferred for the office elsewhere than at Shiloh (Judg. 17 13, see MICAH i., 2), and such a priest naturally handed down his place to his posterity (Judg. 18 30).

Ultimately, indeed, as sanctuaries were multiplied, and the priests all over the land came to form one well-marked class, 'Levite' and legitimate priest became equivalent expressions (see LEVITES). But between the priesthood of Eli at Shiloh, or Jonathan at Dan, and the priesthood of the Levites as described in Dt. 33 8 *ff.*, there lies a period of the inner history of which we know almost nothing.

5. Development of Israelitic priesthood under the monarchy.

It appears that the various priestly colleges regarded themselves as one order, that they had common traditions of law and ritual which were traced back to Moses, and common interests which had not been vindicated without a struggle (Dt. 33 11). The kingship had not deprived them of their functions as fountains of divine judgment. On the contrary, the decisions of the sanctuary had grown up into a body of sacred law, which the priests administered according to a traditional precedent; and when in consequence of the Deuteronomic legislation all sanctuaries except that of Jerusalem were suppressed, the more important judicial cases at least came up for decision before the priesthood of Jerusalem (Dt. 17 8 *f.*). According to Semitic ideas the declaration of law is quite a distinct function from the enforcing of it, and the royal executive came into no collision with the purely declaratory functions of the priests. Priestly functions, on the contrary, must have grown in importance with the unification and progress of the nation, and in all probability the consolidation of the priesthood into one class went hand in hand with a consolidation of legal tradition. Moreover, this work must have been well done, for, though the general corruption of society at the beginning of the Assyrian period was nowhere more conspicuous than at the sanctuaries and among the priesthood (cp, *e.g.*, Micah 3 11), the invective of Hos. 4 equally with the eulogium of Dt. 33 (the author of which was, we may safely conjecture, himself a priest) proves that the position which the later priests abused had been won by ancestors who earned the respect of the nation as worthy representatives of a divine Torah.

The ritual functions of the priesthood still appear in Dt. 33 as secondary to that of declaring the sentence of God; but they were no longer insignificant. With the prosperity of the nation, and especially through the absorption of the Canaanites and of their holy places, ritual had become much more elaborate, and in royal sanctuaries at least there were regular public offerings maintained by the king and presented by the priests (cp 2 K. 16 15). Private sacrifices, too, could hardly be offered without some priestly aid now that ritual was more complex; at the same time we find Elijah sacrificing with his own hand (1 K. 18 33), as also does Elisha

[1] This appears even in the words used as synonyms for 'priest,' שֹׁמֵר הַסַּף, מְשָׁרֵת, which exactly correspond to the Ar. *sādin* and *ḥājib*. That the name of כֹּהֵן was borrowed from the Canaanites appears certain, for out of the multiplicity of words for soothsayers and the like common to Hebrew and Arabic (either formed from a common root or expressing exactly the same idea: יִדְּעֹנִי, *'arrāf*; חֹבֵר, *ḥabir*; חֹזֶה, רֹאֶה, *ḥāzi*; קֹסֵם, cp *istiḳsām*) the Hebrews and the Canaanites have chosen the same one to mean a priest. That they did so independently is, in view of the great difference in character between old Hebrew and Canaanite priesthoods, inconceivable. Besides כֹּהֵן Hebrew has the word כֹּמֶר (pl. כְּמָרִים), which, however, is hardly applied to priests of the national religion (see CHEMARIM).

[2] For the opposite view cannot be urged the etymology of the word Kōhēn as if, possibly derived from כּוּן, it meant from the first 'one who served God at the altar' (Baudissin, 269) or even 'one who sets in order (הֵכִין) the offering (so, for example, Ewald). It is not clear from 1 S. 2 15 whether even at Shiloh the priest had anything to do with sacrifice, whether those who burned the fat were the worshippers themselves or some subordinate ministers of the temple.

[3] [Ex. 21 6 to which WRS also refers perhaps does not belong to this connection; for אֱלֹהִים there possibly denotes the ancestral image; see Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, 38 *f.*; and cp further, Smend, *Rel.-gesch.*(2) 77, n. 3.]

[1] So Baudissin, 267; on the other side, on the alleged priesthood of David's sons (2 S. 8 18), see also Cheyne, in *Expos.*, 1899, pp. 453-457, also MINISTER [CHIEF].

(1 K. 19 21). The provision of Dt. 18 as to the priestly dues is certainly ancient, and shows that besides the tribute of firstfruits and the like the priests had a fee in kind for each sacrifice, as we find to have been the case among the Phœnicians, according to the sacrificial tariff of Marseilles. Their judicial functions also brought profit to the priests, fines being exacted for certain offences and paid to them (2 K. 12 17 Hos. 4 8 Am. 2 8); they also, as we learn from Micah's reproach (3 11), exacted payment for imparting the Torah. The greater priestly offices were therefore in every respect very important places, and the priests of the royal sanctuaries were among the grandees of the realm. As such they were on the other hand largely dependent on the kings (cp 1 S. 2 35 Am. 7 13 2 K. 12 5 *ff.* 16 11 *ff.*), and this close dependence on the monarchy was actually the cause of different development in the cases of the Israelitic and Judaic priesthood. Whilst in the northern kingdom the priesthood became involved in the fall of a dynasty (2 K. 10 11), in Judah it gradually rose with the stability of the royal house to an ever-increasing stability of its own (see specially the story of Jehoiada in 2 K. 11 4 *ff.*). The great priests seem to have had the patronage of the minor sacred offices, which were often miserable enough,[1] the petty priest depending largely on what 'customers' he could find (2 K. 12 7 [8] Dt. 18 8). That at least the greater offices were hereditary was almost a matter of course as society was then constituted. This is already seen in the case of the family of Eli, which, to judge by the name of his son Phinehas (1 S. 4 19), probably traced its descent to Phinehas b. Eleazar (Josh. 22 13 *ff.* 24 33), as also in the case of the sons of Zadok, who succeeded to the royal priesthood in Jerusalem after the fall of Abiathar. There is not the slightest trace, however, of an hereditary hierarchy officiating by divine right, such as there was after the exile. The sons of Zadok, the priests of the royal chapel, were the king's servants as absolutely as any other great officers of the state; they owed their place to the fiat of king Solomon, and the royal will was supreme in all matters of cultus; indeed the monarchs of Judah, like those of Israel (1 K. 12 33) and of other nations, did sacrifice in person when they chose down to the time of the captivity (1 K. 9 25 2 K. 16 12 *f.*; cp 2 Ch. 26 16 *ff.* Jer. 30 21). And as the sons of Zadok had no divine right as against the kings, so too they had no claim to be more legitimate than the priests of the local sanctuaries, who also were reckoned to the tribe which, in the seventh century B.C., was recognised as having been divinely set apart as Yahwè's ministers in the days of Moses (Dt. 10 8 18 1 *f.*).

That at the same time there must have been certain gradations of rank among the sons of Zadok even in the pre-exilic period, at least during the later monarchy, is self-evident. *One* priest stands at their head (*Kōhēn hā-rōsh*,[2] 2 K. 25 18, or simply 'the' *Kōhēn*, 2 K. 12 8 10; the name 'high priest,' however, occurs first, it would seem, in Haggai). Next to him the *Kōhēn mishneh* (2 K. 25 18)[3] holds the second place. The existence of definite special offices is indicated by such designations as those of a *pāḳīd nāgīd* or chief overseer in the temple (Jer. 20 1) or of the 'keepers of the threshold' (2 K. 23 4). On the other hand, the expression *ziḳnē hak-kōhănīm*, 'the elders of the priests' (2 K. 19 2 Jer. 19 1), points to a gradation of the Zadokites according to their several families.[4]

6. Steps towards the post-exilic hierarchy.

The steps which prepared the way for the post-exilic hierarchy, the destruction of the northern sanctuaries and priesthoods by the Assyrians, the polemic of the spiritual prophets against the corruptions of popular worship, which issued in the reformation of Josiah, the suppression of the provincial shrines of Judah, and the transference of their ministers to Jerusalem, the successful resistance of the sons of Zadok to the proposal to share the sanctuary on equal terms with these newcomers, and the theoretical justification of the degradation of the provincials to the position of mere servants in the temple supplied by Ezekiel soon after the captivity, are explained elsewhere (see LEVITES), and only one or two points call for additional remark here.

It is instructive to observe how differently the prophets of the eighth century speak of the judicial or 'teaching' functions of the priests and of the ritual of the great sanctuaries. For the ritual they have nothing but condemnation; but the 'teaching' they acknowledge as part of the divine order of the state, while they complain that the priests have prostituted their office for lucre. In point of fact, the one rested on old Hebrew tradition, the other had taken shape mainly under Canaanite influence, and in most of its features was little more than the crassest nature-worship. In this respect there was no distinction between the temple of Zion and other shrines, or rather it was just in the greatest sanctuary with the most stately ritual that foreign influences had most play, as we see alike in the original institutions of Solomon and in the innovations of Ahaz (2 K. 16 10 *ff.* 23 11 *ff.*).

The Canaanite influence on the later organisation of the temple is clearly seen in the association of temple prophets with the temple priests under the control of the chief priest, which is often referred to by Jeremiah; even the viler ministers of sensual worship, the male and female prostitutes of the Phœnician temples, had found a place on Mt. Zion, and were only removed by Josiah's reformation.[1] So too, the more complex sacrificial ritual which was now in force is manifestly not independent of the Phœnician ritual as we know it from the Marseilles tablet. All this necessarily tended to make the ritual ministry of the priests more important than it had been in old times; but it was in the dark days of Assyrian tyranny, in the reign of Manasseh, when the sense of divine wrath lay heavy on the people, when the old ways of seeking Yahwè's favour had failed and new and more powerful means of atonement were eagerly sought for (Micah 6 6 *f.* 2 K. 21; and cp MOLECH), that sacrificial functions reached their full importance.

In the time of Josiah altar service and not the function of 'teaching' had become the essential thing in priesthood (Dt. 10 8 18 7); the 'teaching,' indeed, is not forgotten (Jer. 2 8 18 18 Ezek. 7 26), but by the time of Ezekiel it also has mainly to do with ritual, with the distinction between holy and profane, clean and unclean, with the statutory observances at festivals and the like (Ezek. 44 23 *f.*). What the priestly Torah was in the exilic period can be seen from the collection of laws in Lev. 17-26 (LEVITICUS, §§ 13-23), which includes many moral precepts, but regards them, equally with ritual precepts, from the point of view of the maintenance of national holiness. The sacrificial ritual of the Priestly Code (see SACRIFICE) is governed by the same principle. The holiness of Israel centres in the sanctuary, and round the sanctuary stand the priests, who alone can approach the most holy things without profanation, and who are the guardians of Israel's sanctity, partly by protecting the one meeting-place of God and man from profane contact, and partly as the mediators of the continual atoning rites by which breaches of holiness are expiated. In P it is the sons of Aaron alone who bear the priestly office. How these stand related to the sons of Zadok mentioned above is an excessively puzzling question to which a conclusive answer is, in the silence of the sources, perhaps impossible. It is probable, however, that the two expressions are not merely different designations for the same class of persons; the new name seems rather to denote a more comprehensive category, so that Aaron includes Zadok.[2]

We know as a fact that Ezra's band included not only priests of the sons of Eleazar (to whom the Zadokites traced their descent, 1 Ch. 6 38) but also sons of Ithamar (Ezra 8 2 *f.*), not to mention that Chronicles at a later date assigns eight out of the

[1] See 1 S. 2 36, a passage written after the hereditary dignity of the sons of Zadok at Jerusalem was well established. See ELI.

[2] [Or hak-kōhēn ha-rōsh? (cp 2 Ch. 31 10). The preceding word ends in ה.]

[3] So read also in 2 K. 23 4 [or in each case *k. ham-mishneh*?]

[4] Cp v. Hoonacker, 215.

[1] 2 K. 23 7; cp Dt. 23 18, where 'dogs' = the later Galli. See DOG, § 3; IDOLATRY, § 6; and cp Driver, *ad loc.*

[2] Cp Kuenen, *Ges. Abh.* 488, where, influenced by the further investigations of Oort and Vogelstein, he modifies his previously published view.

twenty-four orders of priests to the sons of Ithamar (1 Ch. 24 4). But whom we are to understand by the sons of Ithamar—whether they are the priests of Anathoth, the descendants of the deposed Abiathar (1 K. 2 26 *f.*), as Vogelstein (pp. 8-12) supposes, or whether others also are to be reckoned along with these (Kuenen, 490 *f.*)—must be left undecided. We must content ourselves with saying—and the evidence warrants at least so much as this—that apparently, as against the attitude of exclusiveness shown by Ezekiel towards all non-Zadokites, the pressure of circumstances during the exile and perhaps also the prospect of a restoration led to a compromise which conceded to some, though not to all priestly families attached to sanctuaries outside of Jerusalem, the rights assigned to them in D (Kuenen, 489). That over and above this the Zadokites subsequently sought to secure certain special privileges for themselves may perhaps be gathered from such an interpolation as that in Nu. 25 10-13, and the equation Zadokites = Sadducees would seem definitely to prove it.

Still more difficult is the question how, in such a compromise, Aaron came to have the role of common ancestor when previously it had been only, or at least chiefly, the priests of the northern kingdom who had regarded him as their genealogical head (cp on the other hand Ex. 32, a passage of Judaic origin). A noteworthy attempt at a solution of this problem is offered in Oort's treatise *De Aaronieden*, where he goes back to the immigration of this class of priests of Northern Israel who had betaken themselves after Josiah's reformation to Jerusalem, and here after some friction had gradually amalgamated with the sons of Zadok.[1]

The bases of priestly power under this system are the unity of the altar, its inaccessibility to laymen and to the inferior ministers of the sanctuary, and the specific atoning function of the blood of priestly sacrifices.

7. Importance of the post-exilic priesthood.

All these things were unknown in old Israel; the altars were many, they were open to laymen, and the atoning function of the priest was judicial, not sacrificial. So fundamental a change as lies between Hosea and the Priestly Code was possible only in the general dissolution of the old life of Israel produced by the Assyrians and by the prophets; and indeed, the new order did not take shape as a system till the exile had made a *tabula rasa* of all old institutions; but it was undoubtedly the legitimate and consistent outcome of the latest development of the temple worship at Jerusalem before the exile. It was meant also to give expression to the demands of the prophets for spiritual service and national holiness; but this it did not accomplish so successfully; the ideas of the prophets could not be realised under any ritual system, but only in a new dispensation (Jer. 31 31 *ff.*), when priestly Torah and priestly atonement should be no longer required. Nevertheless, the concentration of all ritual at a single point, and the practical exclusion of laymen from active participation in it—for the old sacrificial feast had now shrunk into entire insignificance in comparison with the stated priestly holocausts and atoning rites[2]—lent powerful assistance to the growth of a new and higher type of personal religion, the religion which found its social expression not in material acts of oblation but in the language of the psalms. In the best times of the old kingdom the priests had shared the place of the prophets as the religious leaders of the nation; under the second temple they represented the unprogressive traditional side of religion, and the leaders of thought were the psalmists and the scribes, who spoke much more directly to the piety of the nation.

On the other hand, the material influence of the priests was greater than it had ever been before; the temple was the only visible centre of national life in the ages of servitude to foreign power, and the priests were the only great national functionaries, who drew to themselves all the sacred dues as a matter of right and even appropriated the tithes paid of old to the king.

[1] See Kuenen's criticism on this and cp AARON.

[2] Compare the impression which the ritual produced on the Greeks (see Bernays, *Theophrastus*, 85, 111 *f.*)

The great priests had always belonged to the ruling class; but the Zadokites were now the only hereditary aristocracy, and the high priest, who now stands forth above his brethren with a prominence unknown to the times of the first temple, is the one legitimate head of the theocratic state, as well as its sole representative in the highest acts of religion.

When the high priest stood at the altar in all his princely state, when he poured out the libation amidst the blare of trumpets, and the singers lifted up their voice and all the people fell prostrate in prayer till he descended and raised his hands in blessing, the slaves of the Greek or the Persian forgot for a moment their bondage and knew that the day of their redemption was near (Ecclus. 50). The high priest at such a moment seemed to embody all the glory of the nation, as the kings had done of old, and when the time came to strike a successful blow for freedom it was a priestly house that led the nation to the victory which united in one person the functions of high priest and prince. From the foundation of the Hasmonean state to the time of Herod the history of the high-priesthood merges in the political history of the nation; from Herod onward the priestly aristocracy of the Sadducees lost its chief hold over the nation and expired in vain controversy with the Pharisees. (See ISRAEL, § 83.)

The influence of the Hebrew priesthood on the thought and organisation of Christendom was the influence not of a living institution, for it hardly began till after the fall of the temple, but of the theory embodied in the later parts of the Pentateuch. Two points in this theory were laid hold of—the doctrine of priestly mediation and the system of priestly hierarchy.

8. Influence of the Hebrew priesthood upon Christian thought.

The first forms the text of the principal argument in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the author easily demonstrates the inadequacy of the mediation and atoning rites of the OT, and builds upon this demonstration the doctrine of the effectual high-priesthood of Christ, who, in his sacrifice of himself, truly 'led his people to God,' not leaving them outside as he entered the heavenly sanctuary, but taking them with him into spiritual nearness to the throne of grace. This argument leaves no room for a special priesthood in the Christian church; even in the writings of Cyprian, it is not the notion of priestly mediation but that of priestly power that is insisted on. Church office is a copy of the old hierarchy. Now among the Jews, as we have seen, the hierarchy proper has for its necessary condition the destruction of the state and the bondage of Israel to a foreign prince, so that spiritual power is the only basis left for a national aristocracy. The same conditions have produced similar spiritual aristocracies again and again in the East, in more modern times, and even in antiquity more than one Oriental priesthood took a line of development similar to that which we have traced in Judæa.

Thus the hereditary priests of Ḳozaḥ (Κοζέ) were the chief dignitaries in Idumæa at the time of the Jewish conquest of the country (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7 9), and the high priest of Hierapolis wore the princely purple and crown like the high priest of the Jews (*De Dea Syria*, 42). The kingly insignia of the high priest of the sun at Emesa are described by Herodian (v. 3 3), in connection with the history of Elagabalus, whose elevation to the Roman purple was mainly due to the extraordinary local influence of his sacerdotal place. Other examples of priestly princes are given by Strabo in speaking of Pessinus (567) and Olbe (672).[1]

As there was no such hierarchy in the West, it is plain that, if the idea of Christian priesthood was influenced by living institutions as well as by the OT, that influence must be sought in the East (cp Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 261). The further development of the notion of Christian priesthood lies beyond the scope of the present article. Cp MINISTRY.

9. Literature.

Wellhausen, *Prol.*(2-4) (1883, 1886, 1895; in *Gesch. Isr.*(1) [1878], Chap. IV.: 'Die Priester und Leviten'; the *Archæologies* of Nowack (1894) and of Benzinger (1894). Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des Alttestamentlichen Priestertumes* (1889) contains a very comprehensive collection of facts, but is weak in its method. Along with Oort's 'de Aaronieden' (*Th. T* 18 [1884] 289-335) and H. Vogelstein's *Der Kampf zwischen Priestern und*

[1] See also Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, ET 4 150.

Leviten seit den Tagen Ezechiels (1889) it is reviewed by Kuenen in his keen critical essay on the history of the priests of Yahwè and the age of priestly law, *Th. T* 24 (1890) 1-42, translated into German in Budde's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur bibl. Wissenschaft von A. Kuenen* (1894), 465-500. Cp also references to priests in *OTJC* (index, *s.v.*).

The critical view of which the foregoing article is an exposition has recently been met with an uncompromising opposition by van Hoonacker in *Le Sacerdoce Lévitique dans la loi et dans l'histoire des Hébreux* (1899), a work which shows great thoroughness of treatment and mastery of its subject, and bears ample witness to the author's acuteness and power of combination as well as to his confidence in the thesis he has taken up, but at the same time displays radical defects of method. Cp Baudissin's review in *TLZ*, 1899, 359-363. Van Hoonacker has two premises which are fundamental and render it impossible for those who do not share them to accompany the author in his arguments or adopt his conclusions; the one is that there was but one sanctuary from the first, the other that Chronicles describes pre-exilic conditions, not those of the time of its composition. On the history of the priesthood in the later period see especially Schürer, *GVI*(2) 1 24, (3) 2 224-305.

W. R. S.-A. B.

PRINCE. 1. נָגִיד, *nāgīd* (ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟϹ): root meaning, to be high, conspicuous (cp נֶגֶד, in front). *Nāgīd* is used of the 'governor' of the palace (Azrikam), 2 Ch. 28 7 (ἡγούμενος τοῦ οἴκου: οἰκονόμος would have been better; cp 1 K. 4 6 16 9; on the position of this officer see Is. 22 21 *f.*); of the chief of the temple (1 Ch. 9 11 2 Ch. 31 13); of PASHHUR (פָּקִיד נָגִיד, Jer. 20 1); of the 'leader of the Aaronites' (1 Ch. 12 27; Jehoiada); of the keeper of the sacred treasury (1 Ch. 26 24; Shebuel); of the chief of a tribe (2 Ch. 19 11; Zebadiah); of the 'captains' of the army (1 Ch. 13 1 2 Ch. 32 21); of the eldest son of the king (2 Ch. 11 22, ‖ ראֹשׁ; Abijah, son of Rehoboam); of the king himself, *e.g.*, Saul (AV 'captain,' 1 S. 9 16, etc.); of the high priest, משיח נגיד, 'the (an?) anointed, the (a?) prince' (Dan. 9 25; see RV), נגיד ברית, unless Ptolemy Philometor is meant (Dan. 11 22); see MESSIAH. In Ps. 76 13, the plur. נגידים, EV 'princes' ‖ מלכי ארץ, 'kings of the earth.'

2. נָשִׂיא, *nāśī'*; lit. one lifted up (ἡγούμενος, ἀφηγούμενος, ἄρχων). Used of a Canaanitish prince, Gen. 34 2 (ἄρχων); of princes of Ishmael (Gen. 17 20 [P]); of Abraham (Gen. 23 6 [P]); vaguely, of a secular authority (Ex. 22 28 [27], RV 'a ruler'); of the king (1 K. 11 34); of Zerubbabel (Ezra 1 8).

A favourite word with Ezekiel (*e.g.*, 7 27 12 10 12 21 12 [17], 30 13 34 24 45 7 *ff.* 46 2 *ff.*), who has no place in his picture of Israel for a king, but only for a prince with very limited functions (see EZEKIEL ii., § 23), and with P, especially of the tribal princes (Nu. 7 11 *ff.* 34 18 *ff.*, more fully נְשִׂיאֵי הָעֵדָה, 'princes of the assembly' [see ASSEMBLY], Ex. 17 22 Nu. 4 34). P also uses it of the heads of families (Nu. 3 24 30 35), and of the highest tribal prince of the Levites (*v.* 32; cp 1 Ch. 7 40). *Nāśī'* was also the official title of the president of the Sanhedrin. See GOVERNMENT, § 31; ISRAEL, § 81; SYNEDRIUM.

3. שַׂר, *śar*, corresponding to Ass. *šarru*, 'king' (see KING), a word used of nearly all degrees of chiefdom or wardenship. It is applied to the chief baker of the Pharaoh (Gen. 40 16), to the chief butler (40 2), to the 'ruler over the cattle' (47 6), to the keeper of the prison (39 21), to the taskmaster of the Israelites (Ex. 1 11), to the 'prince of the eunuchs' (Dan. 1 7).

Further, to prefects, civil or military, of very limited or very extensive authority; Zebul, the 'ruler of Shechem' (Judg. 10 30); 'Amon, the governor of the city' (1 K. 22 26); ש׳ המדינות, 'prefects of the provinces (1 K. 20 15); ש׳ עשרת, 'Decurion' (Ex. 18 21); ש׳ חמשים, 'a captain of fifty,' πεντηκόνταρχος (2 K. 1 19); ש׳ מאות, captains (judges) over hundreds (Dt. 1 15); over a thousand (1 S. 18 3), over many thousands (1 Ch. 15 25); ש׳ מחצית הרכב, 'captain over half of the chariots of war' (1 K. 16 9); ש׳ החיל, 'captain of the host' (2 S. 24 2); general-in-chief, ש׳ הצבא (ἀρχιστράτηγος, Gen. 21 22 1 S. 12 9); hence used—after אלהי צבאות, God of hosts—of God himself (Dan. 8 11). It occurs by itself in the stat. absol. as a parallel to 'judge'; 'who has made thee a prince [שר] and a judge over us?' (Ex. 2 14), to 'elder' (Ezra 10 8), to 'counsellor' (Ezra 8 25), to 'king' (Hos. 3 4).

The same term is applied to courtiers and high officers—*e.g.*, those of Egypt (Gen. 12 15 Is. 19 11 13), and of Persia (Esth. 1 3 2 18 6 9 [where 𝔊 gives the technical term φίλοι, see FRIEND]), also to the merchant-princes of Tyre (Is. 23 9). The priests are called ש׳ קדש, chiefs, or princes, of the sanctuary (1 Ch. 25 5, but not Is. 43 28; see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*), and the chief priests again are called ש׳ הכהנים (2 Ch. 36 14). The word came to be used also of guardian-angels of nations—*e.g.*, of Persia (Dan. 10 13 20), of Greece (Dan. 10 20), of Israel (10 21), Michael 'the great prince' (12 1), the chief princes (10 13), שר השרים, 'the Prince of Princes'; God (8 25; cp 𝔊 in Dt. 32 8). The use of שר as guardian-angel (Esau, etc.) is retained in the Midrash; but the word is also applied in the Talmud to 'a hero at the table, a mighty drinker' (*Nidd.* 16, etc.). The fem. שָׂרָה, *śārāh*, **Princess**, occurs (1) of Solomon's wives, 1 K. 11 3, (2) of ladies of the court, Esth. 1 18 RV (AV 'ladies'), (3) as a general term of dignity, Lam. 1 1 (שָׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינוֹת ‖ רַבָּתִי בַגּוֹיִם); cp the proper name SARAH.

4. נָדִיב, *nādīb* (from נָדַב, which in Hithp. signifies 'to volunteer, to offer spontaneously'), generous, noble-minded, noble by birth (1 S. 2 8 Ps. 47 10 107 40 113 8 118 9 Prov. 25 7, etc.). This word is the converse of the preceding; *nāgīd* means primarily a chief, and derivatively what is morally noble, excellent (Prov. 8 6); *nādīb* means primarily what is morally noble, and derivatively one who is noble by birth or position.

5. אחשדרפן, *'aḥašdarpan*, RV 'satrap.' See PERSIA, SATRAP.
6. סגן, *sāgān*, see DEPUTY, 1.
7. נסיך, *nāsīk*, see DUKE, 2.
8. פרתמים, *partĕmīm*, see NOBLES.
9. קצין, *ḳāṣīn*, see CAPTAIN, 6.
10, 11. רברבן רבים, *rabrĕbān*, *rabbīm*, see RAB.
12. שליש, *šālīš*, see CAPTAIN, 9; ARMY; LORD, 6.
13, 14. רֹזֵן, *rōzēn* (Judg. 5 3 Is. 40 23, etc.); also רָזוֹן, *rāzōn* (Prov. 14 28 †), root meaning, gravity; cp Ass. *ruzzunu* [Prince, *JBL* 16 175 *f.*]. See REZON.
15. חשמנים, *ḥašmannīm*, Ps. 68 31 [32]. For crit. emend. see Duhm and Che. *ad loc.*
16. ἄρχων. Cp RULER.
17. ἀρχηγός (ἀ. τῆς ζωῆς, EV 'prince of life,' RVmg. 'author,' Acts 3 15; cp ἀρχηγὸς καὶ σωτήρ, Acts 5 31; ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας, Heb. 2 10; τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγόν, Heb. 12 2). See CAPTAIN, 15.
18. ἡγεμών (Mt. 2 6 ‖ Mic. 5 1 [2], MT בְּאַלְפֵי יהודה; 𝔊 ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰουδα [BAQ], but Mt. ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰουδα, *i.e.*, בְּאַלֻּפֵי). See DUKE, 1.

PRINCIPALITIES (ΑΡΧΑΙ), Rom. 8 38 Eph. 3 10 6 12 Col. 1 16 2 10 15; cp 1 Cor. 15 24 Eph. 1 21, where 'all rule,' retained in RV, should certainly be 'every principality.' See ANGEL, § 1.

PRISCA (ΠΡΙϹΚΑ; so Ti. WH in Rom. 16 3 1 Cor. 16 19 2 Tim. 4 19), or, in the diminutive, **Priscilla**[1] (ΠΡΙϹΚΙΛΛΑ; Acts 18 2 18 26 Ti. WH), the wife of AQUILA [*q.v.*]. In Acts 18 18 26 Rom. 16 3, Priscilla is mentioned before Aquila. Her importance is well pointed out by Harnack in his ingenious essay on authorship, etc., of Hebrews (see HEBREWS [EPISTLE], *ad fin.*); cp also id. *Ueb. d. beiden Recensionen d. Gesch. d. Prisca u. d. Aquila in Act. Ap.* 18 1-17 (1899).

PRISON. The references in the OT are too meagre to enable us to give any satisfactory account of early Jewish methods of restraint. As among the Greeks, imprisonment was seldom employed as a legal punishment, and it is not until the post-exilic age that it enters into the judicial system (Ez. 7 26, Bibl.-Aram.); see LAW, § 12. On the treatment of captives, see WAR.

1. References.

Shimei, if not confined within four walls, was practically a prisoner within the bounds of Jerusalem (1 K. 2 36 *f.*); but this kind of treatment may have been rare. Solomon's policy in 1 K. 2 is represented as being exceptionally generous by the narrator. A confinement of a more or less close nature is expressed by the term *mišmār* (see below, § 2 [11]), which, in the case of David's concubines (בֵּית מִשְׁמֶרֶת, 2 S. 20 3 EV 'ward'), and Simeon (Gen. 42 19 EV 'prison,' cp 42 24 33) was hardly severe: 'sur-

[1] A parallel case is that of Livia (Tac. *Ann.* 2 44), the youngest child of Germanicus and Agrippina, who in Suetonius (*Claud.* 1) is called Livilla.

veillance' or 'safeguard' (similar to the treatment of a hostage) may be the best rendering. On the other hand, a confinement of a more rigorous nature would be exercised in the case of the man who broke the sabbath (Nu. 15 34), and the blaspheming Danite (Lev. 24 12), both of whom are placed 'in ward' (EV, בְּמִשְׁמָר), pending Yahwè's decision. Similarly the officers of Pharaoh who have fallen under his displeasure are put 'in ward' as a temporary measure; the sequel is familiar (Gen. 40 E).

In the time of the monarchy a place for the safe-keeping of undesirable persons might often be required. Of such a kind was the Philistine 'house of the captives' at Gaza (Judg. 16 21). As an ordinary precaution Jeremiah was confined in the 'court of the guard' in the king's house,[1] where, however, he was free to conduct his business (Jer. 32). Probably this court was under the control of a military official, and was set apart for the highest class of offenders, or members of the royal household, just as in Gen. 40 3 *f.* the Pharaoh's officers are under the care of the 'captain of the guard' (שַׂר־הַטַּבָּחִים).[2] On the other hand the בֵּית סֹהַר (Gen. 39 21 *ff.* J, see § 2 [9]) was apparently the common prison, the keeper of which is called שַׂר בֵּית הַסֹּהַר. Far more rigorous was the treatment of Jeremiah when confined in the house of Jonathan the scribe (Jer. 37 15, cp *v.* 20*b*), which had been converted into a prison-house (בֵּית־כֶּלֶא, § 2 [8]). Whether the miry pit into which he was cast (Jer. 38 6) was really in the 'court of the guard' may be questioned.[3] The 'pit' (cp § 2 [6]) was the place for the meanest of prisoners (Ex. 12 29, cp Gen. 40 15*b* 41 14), but at the same time the readiest means of imprisonment (cp Gen. 37 24). For appliances for further restricting personal freedom see CHAINS, COLLAR, STOCKS, and § 2 (7) below.

The references to prisons in the NT need little explanation. The probability is that the prisons were constructed on the Greek and Roman plan (cp Smith, Rich, *Dict. Class. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Carcer'). The 'public ward' of Acts 5 18 (RV) would then answer to the *custodia communis* of the Roman prison, whilst the 'inner prison' (*ib.* 16 23), like the *carcer interior* or *robur*, would (as the context actually shows) be for the worst cases, and was possibly a cell underneath the *custodia communis* (cp illustr. in Rich, *s.v.*).

For the allusion in Acts 12 6*b* cp Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6 7 [Agrippa], also Acts 28 16 (?), and see CHAINS, 2 (end).

There are fifteen distinct Hebrew and Greek terms to be noticed:—

2. Terms.

1. מַטָּרָה, *maṭṭārāh* (lit. 'place of guarding'), in Jer. 32 2 8 12 Neh. 3 25, etc., 'court of the prison' (RV 'guard'), apparently the same as the שַׁעַר מ׳ Neh. 12 39, 'prison-gate' (RV 'gate of the guard'). The cognate Aram. מטרתא is used in Tg., Gen. 40 3 4 42 19 for מִשְׁמָר.

2. מַסְגֵּר, *masgēr* (√close, shut up), used generally in Is. 24 22 (with סֻגַּר), and figuratively in Ps. 142 7 [8], and Is. 42 7 (‖ בית כלא, cp 8 below). Cp הסגיר of the compulsory seclusion of the leper (Lev. 13 5), סוּגַר, 'cage' (see LION, § 5 end), and מסגרת 'prisons' (?) in the Panammu inscr. of Zenjirli (*ll.* 4, 8).

3. עֹצֶר, *'ōṣer* (√restrain, *e.g.*, with force 2 K. 17 4 Jer. 33 1 etc.), Is. 53 8, AV 'prison,' RV preferably 'oppression.'

4. פְּקַח־קוֹחַ, *pĕkaḥ-kōăḥ*, Is. 61 1 AV 'opening of the prison,' RV preferably supplies the last three words in italics; but the literal meaning of פ׳ requires עִוְרִים rather than אסורים (‖ שבוים) which, in turn, suggests the emendation פתחות (loosing); cp Che. *Is.*(5) (Che. *SBOT* reads ולעורים פקח).

[1] But the '*gate* of the guard' (Neh. 12 39) seems to have been near the temple. Here, too, were the stocks (?) mentioned in Jer. 20 2 (see § 2 [7]).

[2] Cp § 2 (9) below. We may perhaps compare the private prison (*ergastulum*) on the Roman farms.

[3] It is obscurely described as the 'pit of Melchijah' (*v.* 6); in *v.* 11 it is apparently under the treasury (האוצר, which 𝔊BNAQ [not Qmg.] om., is perhaps for החצר). The text is probably corrupt; cp 38 1 (Pashhur b. Malchijah) 7*b* (gate of Benjamin) with the names in 20 1 *f.*

5. בֵּית־הָאֵסוּר, lit. 'house of bondage,' Jer. 37 15, cp בּ הָ[א]סוּרִים Judg. 16 21 25 (Ḳrê), Eccl. 4 14, lit. 'house of the bound [ones]'; cp אֱסוּרִין, 'imprisonment' (Aram. Ezra 7 26) and אָסִיר, *āsīr*, 'prisoner' or 'captive,' Ps. 79 11 102 20 [21]; the verb אָסַר like δεῖν does not *necessarily* imply the use of chains or fetters.

6. בֵּית־הַבּוֹר, *bēth hab-bōr*, lit. 'place of the pit' (see CONDUIT, § 1 (1), col. 881), EV 'dungeon,' in Ex. 12 29 and in an obscure and probably corrupt passage, Jer. 37 16 (החניות [a gloss?], see CELLS). Observe that in *v.* 15 *f.* there are four distinct terms for 'prison.'

7. בֵּית הַמַּהְפֶּכֶת, *bēth ham-mahpĕketh*, 2 Ch. 16 10 'prison-house,' but in accordance with the EV rendering of Jer. 20 2 *f.*, 29 26 'house of the stocks'[1] (so RVmg.). The meaning of the root suggests a punishment compelling a *crooked* or distorted posture (BDB), and כיפתא of the Tg. is, according to the Gĕmārā on *Sanh.* 81*b*, a cramped vault not high enough for the criminal to stand in freely. See STOCKS. It is perhaps not too bold, on the strength of Tg. כ׳ (properly a prison, cp Bibl. Aram. כפת, 'be bound,' Dan. 3 20 *ff.*, apparently also an Ass. word, see Ges. *Lex.*(13)), to read ב׳ המכפתה, 'house of binding' = prison.

8. בֵּית כֶּלֶא, *bēth kéle'*, lit. 'house of restraint' (√כלא, 'restrain,' cp Jer. 32 2, and Ass. *bīt ki*-[or *kil*-]*li*), 1 K. 22 27 (= 2 Ch. 18 26), 2 K. 17 4, etc., pl. Is. 42 22, twice כלוא (Kr. ב׳ כליא) Jer. 37 4 52 31; cp בגדי כ׳, 'prison-garb,' 2 K. 25 29 = Jer. 52 33.

9. בֵּית הַסֹּהַר, *bēth has-sōhar* (ס׳ roundness? as though 'round tower,' cp Ass. *sīru* 'enclosure,' *saaru* 'ring'; Sam. has סחר, with which cp Ass. *siḥirtu* 'enclosure,' Syr. *sāḥarta* 'citadel, palace'), the 'prison' (EV) into which Joseph was cast upon a false charge (J, Gen. 39 20-23, RJE 40 3 5). According to E, on the other hand, Joseph was no prisoner, but the head-servant of the captain of the guard (Gen. 37 36 40), with whom offending officials in Pharaoh's court were placed 'in ward' (40 4 41 10). It is not likely that the servant of a private Egyptian (Joseph's position in 39 J) would be set with the Pharaoh's officers, and the words in 39 20 identifying the בית הסהר with the place where the king's servants were bound may, therefore, be redactional. A servant accused of the crime alleged in J's narrative would certainly have been put to death. J's story is quite out of place, and evidently secondary compared with E's sober narrative. The passages in 40 15*b* 41 14 (RJE), which refer back to J's narrative, and are admittedly redactional, use the word *bōr* (cp no. 6 above), in which case the dungeon (*bōr*) was a particular cell in the בית הסהר; cp Jer. 38 6 (§ 1 above).

10. בֵּית־הַפְּקֻדֹּת, *bēth-hap-pĕḳūdōth* (lit. place of over-seeing), Jer. 52 11, cp use of verb in Jer. 37 21, and perhaps בעל פְּקִדֻת Jer. 37 13 (EV 'captain of the ward,' = captain of the prison?), and שער המפקד Neh. 3 31 (prison gate?).

11. בֵּית מִשְׁמָר *bēth mišmār*, EV 'prison house,' Gen. 42 19, etc., see above (§ 1).

The NT terms are:

12. δεσμωτήριον, Mt. 11 2 (of Machærus), Acts 5 21 23 16 26; cp δεσμοφύλαξ, 'jailer,' Acts 16 23 27 36.

13. οἴκημα, a euphemistic term, Acts 12 7 (RV 'cell'), but in *v.* 4 no. 15 is used.

14. τήρησις, Acts 4 3 'in hold,' but RV 'ward,' ἐν τηρ. δημοσίᾳ 5 18 'in the common prison,' RV 'public ward,' but in *vv.* 19 22 no. 15 is used and in *vv.* 21 23 no. 12.

15. φυλακή, a very common term answering to the Heb. *mišmār*, of a prison, Mt. 14 10 Lk. 3 20 (Machærus) Acts 16 23 *ff.* (but in *v.* 26 no. 12), in Rev. 18 2 twice (AV 'hold,' 'cage,' RV 'hold,' and mg. 'prison') in RV, 1 Macc. 9 53, and EV *ib.* 13 12 14 3 'ward.'

S. A. C.

PROCHORUS (προχορος, Ti. WH]), one of the seven 'deacons' (Acts 6 5)†.

He is mentioned in the lists of the 'Seventy' given by the Pseudo-Dorotheus, and according to Pseudo-Hippolytus was Bishop of Nicomedia. For an account of the *Acts of Prochorus*, which have a wide currency in the Greek church, see Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* 1 355-408. According to this apocryphal and very late source, Prochorus was a companion and helper of the apostle John for many years through a great variety of wanderings and adventures, and ultimately suffered martyrdom at Jerusalem. Pseudo-Hippolytus speaks of him as 'the first that departed.'

PROCONSUL, the official designation of the governor of a senatorial province under the Empire. The word is literally rendered in Greek by ἀνθύπατος, for which AV gives 'deputy,' but RV 'proconsul.' On the reference in Acts 13 7 *f.* (Sergius Paulus) see CYPRUS, § 4; on that in Acts 18 12 (Gallio) see ACHAIA and GALLIO; on that in Acts 19 38 see EPHESUS, col. 1303, n. 1.

[1] According to Jos. Ḳimḥi, however, not for the feet, but for the neck or head. The Pesh. חררתא in Jer. 20 2 *f.* may here mean an outhouse (but see Payne Smith, *Thes.* col. 1205).

PROCURATOR (ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟC in Jos. *Ant.* xx. 6 2 [§ 132] etc.) was the specific title of the Roman governor of Judæa, who is called in the NT by the more general title ΗΓΕΜΩΝ (see GOVERNOR, 15). The title procurator was employed under the early empire to denote various officials, or rather officials of various degrees of power, for all were alike in respect of the fact that primarily the word connoted a collector or controller of revenue, public or private; in time the procurator's competence extended to other departments of administration.

1. Application of title.

The title has three main applications. (1) The *procurator fisci*, an officer in Cæsarian provinces analogous to the *quæstor* of senatorial provinces, though he is found in these latter also (Tac. *Ann.* 4 15), his functions gradually encroaching upon those of both the quæstor and the governor (*proconsul*); even in the Cæsarian provinces the *procurator* acquired practical independence of the *legatus proprætore* governing the province, and in any case acted as an effective check upon him (cp Tac. *Ann.* 12 60 14 32). (2) Certain of the minor or specially circumstanced Cæsarian provinces were administered wholly by procurators—*e.g.* Rhætia, Vindelicia, Noricum, and Judæa, as also Cappadocia from the time of Tiberius to that of Vespasian. In course of time these were brought under the general imperial system. Under Claudius the powers of the procurators were largely increased, and even if it is not quite true that Judæa was the only province (save Egypt, whose case was peculiar) thus organised under Augustus (cp Hirschfeld, *Unters.* 288), the great provinces of Thrace and the two Maretaniæ were placed by Claudius under the rule of procurators. The procurators of the two classes above described were drawn as a rule from the equestrian order (cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 8 1; Strabo, 840), but some even of the procuratorial governors were, under Claudius, freedmen—*e.g.*, Felix, procurator of Judæa (Suet. *Claud.* 28)—and this was in general the case with (3) that large class of imperial procurators supervising the private estates of the emperor in Italy or the provinces, or charged with various administrative departments in Italy (*e.g.*, *procurator aquarum*, *procurator ad ripas*, *Tiberis*, and many others).

The procurator of the highest class, governing a province, possessed as a matter of course the civil and criminal jurisdiction belonging to any provincial governor, but he appears to have been partly responsible to the nearest *legatus* (governor of a Cæsarian province).[1] The exact limits of this responsibility and subordination cannot be drawn, and perhaps were actually left purposely vague; the deposition of Pilate by Vitellius (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4 2; Tac. *Ann.* 6 32) and of Cumanus by Ummidius Quadratus (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 6 3; Tac. *Ann.* 12 54) was by virtue of special commission entrusted to the superior governor, and can hardly stand good as a measure of his supervising authority.

2. NT references.

It is certain that the procurator of Judæa had troops (auxiliary, not legionary) under his orders (Mk. 15 16), their quarters being within the *prætorium* or old palace of Herod, which was also the residence of the procurator when he visited Jerusalem as a precautionary measure during the national festivals (cp Mt. 27 27 Mk. 15 16 Jn. 18 28 33 19 9 Acts 21 31 *f.*). The ordinary headquarters of both the governor and the forces was at Cæsarea on the coast, where also the Herodian palace was the procurator's residence (Acts 23 35, *ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ τοῦ Ἡρώδου*).

The extent of the procurator's judicial authority is indicated clearly in the NT. Over provincials it was absolute—*i.e.*, without right of appeal—as is seen in the case of Jesus (Jos. *BJ* ii. 8 1, *μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν ἐξουσίαν*. Cp *Id. Ant.* xx. 1 1 5 2 *BJ* ii. 13 2). The release of a prisoner at the Feast of the Passover (Mt. 27 15 Mk. 15 6 Jn. 18 39) must have been authorised, and in fact enjoined (cp Lk. 23 17, 'For of necessity he must release') by special edict of the emperor; but the NT is the only evidence for the custom in Judæa. The case of Paul shows that the procurator's power of life and death extended even to Roman citizens in his province (subject to the right of the accused to demand that the case should be referred to the emperor [Acts 25 11] and the right to appeal to the same authority against a capital sentence of the procurator). In Judæa even under the direct rule of the Romans, the Sanhedrin still enjoyed to a large extent the right of legislating and of administering the law. And although the right of the imperial authorities to interfere in these matters was never formally surrendered (as it was in the case of the so-called 'free cities'), the peculiar difficulties of government in Palestine made the practical effect of that right of little moment. Even Roman citizens were in some respects admittedly within the requirements of Jewish law—*e.g.*, citizenship could not save from execution the Gentile found trespassing upon the inner court of the Temple (Jos. *BJ* vi. 2 4; cp Acts 21 28 24 6). It still remained, however, an essential requirement that a death sentence of the Sanhedrin must be confirmed by the procurator, a requirement which practically guaranteed a right of appeal from the national council to the emperor's vicegerent (cp Acts 25 10 'I stand at Cæsar's judgment seat'). The case of Jesus is a striking example of this principle (Jn. 18 31). It is of course obvious that the limits of Roman toleration in Judæa as elsewhere would vary with the personal character of the governor.

W. J. W.

[1] See Tac. *Ann.* 12 54, and cp the expression of Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 13 5 [§ 355] (*τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προσνεμηθείσης τῇ Σύρων*) with *BJ* ii. 8 1 [§ 117] (*εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης*), in both the reference being to Judæa (cp *Ant.* xix. 9 2 xx. 1 1).

PROFANE. Four words are rendered 'profane' in AV or RV.

1. חֹל, *ḥōl*, Ezek. 22 26, etc.; see COMMON.

2. חָלָל, *ḥālāl*, Lev. 21 7 14, fem. (EV), Ezek. 21 30 [25] 34 [39]. 'Profaned' is better. A woman who has lost her honour, and a prince deprived of the insignia of his rank, can be so designated. AV in Ezek. follows 𝔊 (*βέβηλε*); but Cornill rightly adopts the sense established for חלל in Lev. 21 7 14: 'Disgraced through wickedness,' however, is a forced expression; 'dishonoured prince' is a probable emendation.[1] RV 'deadly wounded wicked one, prince of Israel.' So Ezek. 28 16 (EV); the king of Tyre 'cast as profane [deprived of his sacred character] out of the mountain of God' (cp CHERUB, § 2; PARADISE, § 3). חִלֵּל, *ḥillēl*, 'to profane,' occurs often.

3. חָנֵף, *ḥānēph*, Is. 9 16 [17] 10 6 RV; חֹנֶף, *ḥōneph*, 'profaneness,' Is. 32 16 RV. See HYPOCRITE.

4. *βέβηλος*, 1 Tim. 1 9 Heb. 12 16. 'The word describes a character which recognises nothing as higher than earth, for whom there is nothing sacred' (Westcott). Cp ESAU. It is also used of the tasteless (Gnostic?) oriental religious stories current in the post-Pauline age (1 Tim. 4 7; cp 6 20 2 Tim. 2 16). The verb *βεβηλόω* in Mt. 12 5 Acts 24 6.

PROFESSION (ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ), 1 Tim. 6 12. See CONFESSION, § 4.

PROGNOSTICATORS, MONTHLY (מוֹדִיעִם לֶחֳדָשִׁים), Is. 47 13. See STARS, § 5.

PROPERTY. For laws relating to property see LAW AND JUSTICE, §§ 15 *ff.*

PROPHET, FALSE. See PROPHETIC LIT., § 22 *ff.*, and for 'the false prophet,' Rev. 16 13 19 20 20 10. (ΨΕΥΔΟΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC), cp ANTICHRIST, § 4, col. 180.

[1] שַׂר חָלָל (Che.) instead of חָלָל רָשָׁע (Cornill): רשע and שׂר are sometimes confounded.

PROPHETIC LITERATURE

PROPHET, AND PROPHECY

CONTENTS

1. Hebrew and Greek terms.

The Hebrew terms with an account of which we must begin are five:—

1. נָבִיא, *nābī'*, 'prophet,' נְבִיאָה, *nĕbī'āh*, 'prophetess,' are connected by most with a root meaning in Arabic (cp *nab'at*^{un}) a rustling sound, and in Assyrian (*nabû*) 'to call or name' (hence Nebo is sometimes called the 'prophet' among the gods). If this is correct a prophet is primarily either a giver of oracles, or (so, *e.g.*, König, *Offenbarungsbegriff*, 1 73 *ff.*) a speaker or spokesman. G. Hoffmann (*ZATW* 3 88 *ff.*), however, explains *nābī'* as meaning 'one who utters his words in a loud, violent manner with deep inhalations.' The meaning of 'speaker' at any rate is not in accordance with the earliest accounts that we have of the *nĕbī'īm* (1 S. 10 5; cp 18 10, and the term *mĕšuggā'*, מְשֻׁגָּע, 2 K. 9 11, cp MADNESS). But √נבא may be another form of √נבע, 'to effervesce, to gush,' even if we do not follow Ges. in attributing to √נבא the sense 'to gush out with words.' An analogous term for prophesying would then be הִטִּיף, 'to drip,' Am. 7 16 Mic. 2 6 11 Ezek. 21 2 7 (G. Hoffmann, *ZATW* 3 119, would connect the primary meaning with the drivel symptomatic of an epileptic fit).

The verbal forms נִבָּא, הִתְנַבֵּא are denominative (from נביא). In 2 Ch. 9 29 15 8 Neh. 6 12, *nĕbū'āh*, נְבוּאָה, 'prophecy.' See further Barth, *NB*, § 125 *e*, *Etym. Stud.* 16; BDB and Ges.-Bu. *s.vv.* נבא, נביא.

2. מַטִּיף, *maṭṭīph*, Mic. 2 11. See above.

3. מְשֻׁגָּע, *mĕšuggā'*, EV 'mad fellow,' 2 K. 9 11; cp Hos. 9 7 Jer. 29 26. מְשֻׁגָּע might refer to the rhythmic style of the prophets (cp Ar. *saja'a*, which, though properly used of a sound like the cooing of the dove, is technically employed of the peculiar rhythmic utterances of the Arabian prophets; cp the style of the Koran).

4. חֹזֶה, *ḥōzeh*, EV 'prophet' in Is. 30 10 (οἱ τὰ ὁράματα ὁρῶντες); elsewhere 'seer,' *e.g.* 2 S. 24 11 Am. 7 12 (ὁ ὁρῶν) 2 Ch. 19 2 29 30 35 15 (προφήτης). In Is. 30 10 חָזָה = 'to prophesy.' In Mic. 3 7 חֹזִים, 'seers' is ‖ to קֹסְמִים, 'diviners,' but in Am. 7 12 חֹזֶה, 'seer,' is apparently a synonym of נָבִיא, 'prophet.'

5. רֹאֶה, *rō'eh*, EV 'seer,' 1 S. 9 9; 1 Ch. 9 22 29 29 (ὁ βλέπων), Is. 30 10 1 Ch. 26 28 and 2 Ch. 16 7 10 (προφήτης).

6. προφήτης, -ῆτις are the equivalents of נביא, נביאה in 𝔊, and so προφητεύω = נִבָּא, while μάντις = קֹסֵם, 'diviner' and μαντεύομαι = קָסַם (see col. 1119). In class. Gk. μάντις is the ecstatic announcer of oracles (cp Æsch. *Ag.* 1099), and προφήτης their sober-minded interpreter, who makes the dreams, visions, or enigmatic utterances of the frenzied μάντις intelligible. See the explanation in Plato, *Timæus*, 71 *f.* Oehler therefore assumes that the primary meaning of προφήτης, according to 𝔊 was, not a predicter, but one who speaks forth that which he has received from the divine spirit; cp Ex. 7 1, where even in the Hebrew text Aaron seems to be called a *nābī* (προφήτης) because he is the 'mouth' or spokesman of Moses (Ex. 4 16, cp Jer. 15 19). It is true, however, (1) that προφήτης can have the sense of 'predicter,' and (2) that Philo (2 321 *f.* 343; cp 1 510 *f.*) describes the mental state of the prophet in terms reminding one of what Plato says of the 'enthusiasm' of the μάντις (cp *Phædrus*, 226 5; *Ion*, 534), but also connecting itself with the prevalent notion of the later Jews, in so far as Philo makes the function of the prophet that of purely mechanical reproduction. W. R. Smith compares Jn. 11 51, and the whole view of revelation presupposed in the Apocalyptic literature.

A. THE PROPHETS AND THE PROPHETIC GIFT.

2. Problems of prophecy.

For the student of religion the phenomena of the higher type of prophecy—such prophecy as we find at any rate in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.—possess a singular fascination. We dare not say that there is absolutely nothing to compare with them in the history of other religions, or, to use religious language, that God left himself without witness save in Israel, for there are the records of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) in the Gathas to confute us (see ZOROASTRIANISM). But this at least we may say without fear of contradiction—that a *succession* [1] of men so absorbed in 'the living God,' and at the same time so intensely practical in their aims—*i.e.*, so earnestly bent on promoting the highest national interests—cannot be found in antiquity elsewhere than in Israel.

The problems connected with the prophets, however, —problems partly of a historical, partly of a psychological character—advance but slowly towards a complete solution. When, for instance, did the higher prophecy begin? In Dt. 18 15 we read, 'Yahwè thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, *like me*'; and in Dt. 34 10, 'There arose not a prophet since in Israel *like Moses*, whom

[1] Not, it is true, a continuous succession.

Yahwè knew face to face.' Was Moses really a prophet? Indeed, can Moses be more than the impersonation of a clan? If so, what is the truth which underlies (or may underlie) the statement that he was a prophet? (See MOSES.) There is also the difficult problem as to the relation of the prophetic gift to the physical state of the prophet. Would it be correct to say that the essence of prophecy (in the highest of its forms) consists in a passive, ecstatic state? This is, of course, not a mere philological question. Whatever the original signification of *nābī* may be, and whether it is an active or a participial form, must we not, in the words of W. R. Smith, 'seek the true mark of the prophet in something higher than passive ecstasy—in the personal sympathy between himself and Yahwè, by virtue of which the God-sent thought approves itself to him inwardly, and not by external authority'? Critical exegesis certainly favours this view. It presents the higher Israelitish prophet to us 'as a man whose life and thoughts are determined by personal fellowship with Yahwè and by intelligent insight into his purpose. No doubt what is personal always rests on a background of the non-personal—a background of merely physical elements which are initially passive under the creative hand of God; but to deal with these elements is not the function of historical inquiry.'[1] One of the chief problems before the student who seeks to go behind the statements of the prophets is, rightly to estimate the relation between the physical and the non-physical elements in the higher prophecy. Nor is this all, so various are the kinds of problems which meet us. We have also to consider the question how the phenomenon of *written* prophecy is to be accounted for. Budde, for instance, agreeing in this with Kuenen and most scholars, writes thus:[2]—

It must have been their very ill-success, the unbelief of the people, that above all else compelled them to resort to the pen. The great mass of the prophets had no such need, for their words were turned at once to deeds as men obeyed them. But the true prophets, who had no successes in the present to record, transmitted their oracles to posterity that there at least they might awaken a response, or at any rate receive the acknowledgment that their contents were true' [cp Is. 30 8].

But is this a complete explanation? And turning to the earliest of the literary prophets known to us we may ask, How came the 'shepherd of Tekoa'[3] to be such a skilled and almost artistic writer? Who transmitted to Amos the literary tradition on which his own work appears to be based? Then, beyond this, lies the greater question (cp MOSES, § 1), how did Amos reach such a lofty idea of God? To quote from Budde again,—

'Surprising in the highest degree, yes, overwhelming is the grandeur of the idea of God which meets us in Amos. It is not [indeed] monotheism, not the belief in one God excluding the existence of all others, but a belief in the unqualified superiority of Yahwè so absolute as to be practically a belief in his omnipotence.'[4]

Lastly, there is the problem of the so-called 'false prophets.' Are there two different views of them in the prophetic narratives and discourses? Or is one of the views merely a development of the other? These are all questions of more or less complexity, and some of them would not receive precisely the same answer from thorough and consistent critical scholars to-day that they received twenty years ago. If we can succeed in placing some of them in a clearer light, and exhibit some neglected data, our first though not our only object will have been attained.

Our course in this article will be as follows:—

A. There is a point in the history of prophecy at which this great religious phenomenon rises—apparently, but surely not really—on a sudden to a higher level. It is necessary to investigate the traditions which relate to the previous period, in order to comprehend and appreciate better the great superiority of the 'higher prophets' of the eighth century. At two important crises—the so-called Philistine and Aramæan wars—prophets play a specially noticeable part; the traditions respecting this have to be examined (§§ 4, 6 *f.*). Where was the chief centre of prophecy? was there a succession, and were there societies, of prophets (§ 8)? and who were the 'seers'—how are they related to the prophets (§ 5)? The results of this first part of the inquiry are not without far-reaching significance, and need careful study. They are connected with textual criticism, which has too often been narrow and mechanical. But the fact that large bodies of men move slowly requires us to warn the student that here as elsewhere the average opinion of Hebrew scholars is not that which receives here the chief prominence. We then proceed (§ 10) to study the origin and historical position of Amos and his great successors. Their pessimistic preaching and its unpopularity are considered and their attitude is explained (§§ 11 *ff.*). We are now in a position to form a sound view of the phenomena of the consciousness of the higher prophets, whose statements we assume (the right critical course, surely) to be veracious. We can examine what they say or suggest of their power of vision, of the process of revelation, and of its outward forms (§§ 14-20). Their qualifications also can now be studied, and the so-called 'false prophets' can be compared and contrasted with them (§§ 22-24); a new point of view is also opened for the Messianic idea. The great question of the fulfilment of prophetic vaticinations has next to be considered (§ 25), and so quite naturally we are led to resume (§§ 26-28) our historical survey to the end of the period of public prophetic activity.

3. Line of inquiry.

B. At the end of A (§ 29) we have glanced at John the Baptist; we now pass on to the phenomena of Christian prophetism (§§ 29-33), especially as illustrated by the *Didachè* (§ 30) and the *Shepherd* (§ 31); historical conclusions are drawn (§ 32 *f.*).

C. We then take a survey of the prophetic literature (first that which we can refer to its authors (§§ 35-42), and next the anonymous, §§ 43-45; cp 28). Our object here is still rather to supplement what has been said already, in accordance with the most recent work, than to cover the whole ground, and with some hints on the mode of detecting the work (so considerable in amount) of the supplementers of the old prophetic records (§ 46), and references to modern helps (§ 47), the article is brought to a close.

Students who bring a single-minded earnestness to this great inquiry, will not complain of a certain amount of originality in the present article. Where young men are easily contented with inherited solutions of problems, older scholars who have had time to work through the same material again and again, are naturally more exacting, and cannot hesitate to apply new methods in addition to those older ones which we owe to our great predecessors. The textual criticism of the prophetic writings, as well as of many parts of the narrative books on which we have to build in this article does not meet our present requirements, and a mere register of prevalent critical views on the history of prophecy based on a largely traditional criticism of the text would be in the highest degree unsatisfactory. The newer critical methods cannot always lead to perfectly certain conclusions; but the results are often in a high degree probable, and possibly better worthy of acceptance (as being more manifestly in the direction of the truth) than those which they aim to supersede, and the way in which the manifold decisions hang together is no slight confirmation of their general accuracy.

4. Prophets in Saul's time.

In an early Samuel-narrative we have an important description of the religious practices of ancient Israelitish *nebī'īm*. The 'seer' Samuel tells Saul that on his homeward journey he will meet a company of *nebī'īm* 'coming down from the *bāmāh* (= sanctuary; see HIGH PLACE) with a lyre, tambourine, flute, and harp before them, while they prophesy' (1 S. 10 5). The forecast is fulfilled; Saul meets the *nebī'īm*; the spirit of God seizes him and he prophesies. Here the prophesying is a form of religious frenzy, for 'the spirit of God' in this context means a fanatical impulse to do honour to

1 *Brit. Quart. Rev.*, April 1870, p. 330.
2 *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, 131.
3 We reserve the question as to the true origin of the prophet Amos (see § 35).
4 *Ibid.* 123; cp AMOS, § 19.

Yahwè by putting aside all the restraints of civil life and social custom, and acting like a madman till physical exhaustion brings the fit of frenzy to an end. A variant of the same tradition (1 S. 19 24) represents Saul in his ecstatic state as stripping off his clothes and lying naked all that day and all that night.[1]

There is no tradition attributing such dervish-like experiences either to Moses or (apart from the late passage, 1 S. 19 20) to Samuel; and some scholars hold[2] that 'prophesying' was unknown to the Israelites till close upon the period when Saul aroused the warlike energies of his people against the 'Philistines,' that it made its way among the Israelites from the Canaanites, and that it was purified in its new home from its wildest extravagances at a later day. Against this view it is urged that the passage which is quoted in support of it (1 K. 18 26-29) refers apparently to prophets of the Tyrian—not the Canaanitish—Baal.[3] The present writer is unable to use this argument, for a reason which will appear later (§ 7). Instead of it he would urge that the two external signs of Israelite prophets, at any rate in the time of Ahab, were the hairy mantle (1 K. 19 13 2 K. 1 8, cp Zech. 13 4) and sacred marks in the forehead (1 K. 20 41). Both these signs point to a N. Arabian origin for the *nebī'īm*. The large mantle (*'abā'*), now commonly worn by the Bedouins, is almost invariably of goats'-hair, whilst the sacred mark on the *nābī'* is most probably a survival of the tribal mark which placed the Kenites under the protection of their tribal god Yahwè.[4] To this it may be added that Elijah, who is evidently brought before us as a typical *nābī'* of the older period, most probably came from a N. Arabian city in Israelitish occupation—Zarephath (see § 6)—and that probably he was accustomed to seek divine oracles outside of Palestine, at Horeb (cp MOSES, § 19).

It was certainly an error (cp SAMUEL ii., § 5) to represent Samuel as a director of the exercises of the dervish prophets (1 S. 19 20).[5] This is susceptible of direct proof. For in the early narrative of Saul's meeting with Samuel (1 S. 9-10) the latter is called not *nābī'* 'prophet,' but *rō'eh* 'seer'; and in 10 5 he clearly distinguishes himself from the *nebī'īm* whom Saul is to meet. It further appears from the narrative (10 11) that the wild behaviour of the prophets was not to every one's taste. For when Saul's old acquaintances saw him yield to the prophetic impulse, they said one to another, 'What has happened to the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the *nebī'īm?*' and two or three times[6] we find the 'prophet' (נָבִיא) called contemptuously a 'madman' (מְשֻׁגָּע). Even if the ecstatic phenomena of prophetism were not always as pronounced as in the case of Saul, the 'hand of Yahwè' certainly did not 'come upon' a prophet (cp 2 K. 3 15) without very striking effects. Scoffers may very naturally have referred to this, especially as the upper class as a rule was by no means responsive to genuine Israelitish religious feeling. No scoffs, however, could prevent the prophets from becoming a recognised sacred element in society, the tendency

[1] The scene of the two narratives is really the same. 'Gibeath-elohim' (1 S. 10 5) and 'Naioth (?) bārāmāh' (1 S. 19 19 *ff.*) have both, we believe, arisen from corruptions of 'Gibeath-Jerahmeel.' 'Ramah,' too, where it occurs separately, comes from 'Jerahmeel.' It is altogether an improbable hypothesis that 'Naioth' means a 'cœnobium' or cloister. See NAIOTH.

[2] So, *e.g.*, Kraetzschmar, *Prophet und Seher*, 9 *f.*

[3] See AHAB, § 3; BAAL, § 5. That the Baal is Tyrian is the ordinary view, from which, however, Kraetzschmar (*op. cit.* 14) dissents. Cp Budde, *Religion of Israel*, etc., 97, n. 1.

[4] See CAIN, § 5, and cp Stade, *ZATW* 14 314 *f.*

[5] For נִצָּב 'standing,' which is tautological, we should perhaps read מְנַצֵּחַ 'directing' (Klo., Bu.), in spite of the lateness of מנצח in usage. להקת, a ἅπ. λεγ. which EV renders 'company,' and G. Hoffm. and W. R. Smith 'fervour' (see *ZATW* 3 89), is really a dittogram of לקחת, and should be omitted. See Ges.-Bu., *s.v.* We do not compare 1 S. 3 20, because *nābī'* is there used in the sense of 'giver of oracles.'

[6] 2 K. 9 11 Jer. 29 26 Hos. 9 7 (?).

of which was to bind classes together by a regard for the highest moral and religious traditions. We cannot indeed prove that there was a succession of prophets from the time of Saul onwards. After the rising against the 'Philistines,' prophetism, so far as we can judge from the narratives, became a less conspicuous phenomenon. It is true, GAD [*q.v.* ii.] is called a *nābī'* in 1 S. 22 5 2 S. 24 11, and NATHAN [*q.v.*] in 2 S. 7 2 1 K. 1 8; and a prophetic discourse is ascribed to Nathan in 2 S. 7 5-16. But Gad's second title—that of 'seer'—is historically much more likely to be correct, whilst the figure of Nathan has too perilous a resemblance to Elijah to be accepted with much confidence; his name (see below, § 6) may indeed be historical, and also his adhesion to the party of Solomon, but beyond this we can hardly venture to go. The name of Ahijah 'the Shilonite' (1 K. 11 29 14 2 18), who supported the pretensions of Jeroboam b. Nebat, may also be historical; the particularity of the description of Ahijah is in favour of this view. See § 6.

5. Seers, prophets, and priests.

At this point, it is best to refer back to that early narrative of Samuel in which (1 S. 9 11 18 *f.*) he is so emphatically represented as a *rō'eh* or 'seer.' The word *rō'eh*, as here applied, is so rare (three of the passages [see § 1]—1 Ch. 9 22 26 28 29 29—are dependent on the narrative before us) that a scribe inserted *v.* 9 as an explanation. This passage runs, 'Formerly in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, he said, "Come, let us go to the seer"; for he that is now called a prophet (*nābī*) was formerly called a seer (*rō'eh*).' Samuel was probably a priest,[1] and certainly a member of the class of seers (also called *ḥōzīm*, and, as in 1 S. 9 6 *ff.* Samuel himself is titled, 'men of God')—*i.e.*, he was one of those persons who, by an exceptional gift, could disclose to individuals at their request secrets of the present and the immediate future—such secrets as those which are mentioned in 1 S. 9 6 10 2-6. Like diviners, they received fees; Saul's servant suggests giving a quarter of a shekel to the seer of the unnamed city,[2] whose words, as he assures Saul, invariably come to pass (9 6). There is nothing specially Yahwistic about these clairvoyants; there were similar persons among the heathen Arabs, and at the present day there are sheikhs in Palestine who can be induced to perform such a service as was to have been asked of Samuel.[3] It was natural that 'seers' should also often be 'diviners.' In Mic. 3 7 'seers' (*ḥōzīm*) and diviners' (*ḳōsĕmīm*) are parallel, and in Nu. 24 Balaam of 'Pethor' (*i.e.*, REHOBOTH; see PETHOR) appears as a transformed and glorified 'seer' of the future, though his reputed calling was that of a diviner (Nu. 22 7 18).

May we venture to add that the old 'seers' were absorbed into the class of prophets? We find two 'seers' (or perhaps rather—see below, § 6—a 'seer') prominently mentioned again in the story of David (Gad, 1 S. 22 5 2 S. 24 11 *ff.*; Nathan, 2 S. 7 2 *ff.* 12 1 *ff.* 1 K. 1 8 *ff.*) as giving David divine oracles. Afterwards *nebī'īm* seem to take their place (cp the use of *nābī'* in 1 S. 9 9 28 6). It is conceivable that under David and Solomon more settled conditions favoured a gradual change both in the 'seers' and in the prophets. The story of Samuel in 1 S. 9 *f.* might be taken as symbolising the widening of the interests of the class of seers, and the story of Ahijah in 1 K. 11 29-31 (see Kittel) as indicating a parallel development of the prophets. Perhaps, however, it is safest not to generalise, at any rate from the story in 1 S. 9 *f.* There would of course always be 'seers,' just as there would always be diviners; indeed, the seers and diviners would

[1] See 1 S. 1-3, and cp Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*(2) 92 *f.*

[2] 'Cp the Arabic *ḥolwānu-'l-kāhin* (see Bokhārī, 4 219). Similar presents were brought to the older prophets (1 K. 14 3), and first-fruits were sometimes paid to a man of God; but the successors of Amos share his contempt for those who traded on their oracles (Mic. 3 5).' W. R. S.

[3] Wellh. *Heid.*(2) 135 *f.*; *ZDPV*, 1889, p. 202 *f.*

naturally outlive the prophets. So much at least is certain, that we cannot understand the consciousness of the later prophets without assuming that they had a natural gift akin to that of the 'seer' or clairvoyant (cp § 17). The prophet was, in fact, in some sense a 'seer' (Is. 30 10)—*i.e.*, he was a foreseer of the future of Israel as determined by God's everlasting laws, both as regards its general character, and sometimes (here a natural gift comes in) as to points of detail. But the prophet differed from the older 'seers' in that all his vision had a direct ethico-religious and national scope, whereas the 'seer's' vision had as a rule a purely secular and personal reference.

According to Robertson Smith,[1] the widening of the functions of the prophet is 'plainly parallel with the change which occurred under the kings in the position of the priestly oracle; the Torah of the priests now dealt rather with permanent sacred ordinances than with the giving of new divine counsel for special occasions. Yahwè's ever-present kingship in Israel, which was the chief religious idea brought into prominence by the national revival, demanded a more continuous manifestation of his revealing spirit than was given either by the priestly lot or by the rise of occasional seers; and where could this be sought except among the prophets? It does not of course follow that every one who had shared in the divine afflatus of prophetic enthusiasm gave forth oracles; but the prophets as a class stood nearer than other men to the mysterious workings of Yahwè, and it was in their circle that revelation seemed to have its natural home. A most instructive passage in this respect is 1 K. 22, where we find some four hundred prophets gathered together round the king, and where it is clear that Jehoshaphat was equally convinced, on the one hand that the word of Yahwè could be found among the prophets, and on the other that it was very probable that some, or even the mass, of them might be no better than liars. And here it is to be observed that Micaiah, who proved the true prophet, does not accuse the others of conscious imposture; he admits that they speak under the influence of a spirit proceeding from Yahwè, but it is a lying spirit sent to deceive' (cp § 23).

The typical 'seer' in the old narratives is Samuel; the typical prophet is Elijah.

6. Elijah—how far historical; his origin.

Unfortunately it is doubtful how far the striking scenes from the biography of Elijah in 1 K. 17-2 K. 2 can be regarded as historical. The subjective character of the narratives, as they now stand, is evident. We need not indeed take exception, on principle, to the wonders which so plentifully besprinkle them. That the prophets represented by Elijah healed the sick is altogether to be expected, nor need we limit them to such wonders, at least if Isaiah, in reliance on his God, really gave king Ahaz freedom to choose any sign that he pleased (Is. 7 11).[2] But the hand of an idealising narrator is plainly to be seen, not only in this or that detail, but also in the whole colouring of the stories. The sublime figure of Elijah, who has some affinity to Moses, has, according to critics, in some respects poetical rather than historical truth.

When, however, Kittel (*Kön.* in *HK*, 138, 174) is half disposed[3] to allow a sceptic to question the historical character of Elijah and Micaiah altogether on account of the singular appropriateness of their names ('Yahwè is my God,' 'Who is like Yahwè?') to their prophetic work, he is needlessly generous. Eliyyāhū and Michāyehū are surely nothing more than popular corruptions of 'Jerahmeel,' and symbolise the fact that the *nebī'īm*, like the *leviyyim*, were ultimately to a large extent of Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian origin (see MICAH, 1). Another corruption of the same name (Jerahmeel) is probably the name Ahijah, borne by the *nābī'* who encouraged the first Jeroboam, and his residence was very possibly not at the northern Shiloh but at Ḥalūṣah, a place in the Negeb consecrated by religious tradition, and mentioned, under strange disguises, not unfrequently in the narrative books (see SHILOH, ii.). Very possibly, too, גָּד הַנָּבִיא (*gād hannābī'*) and נָתָן הַנָּבִיא (*nāthān hannābī'*) —*i.e.*, 'Gad the prophet,' and 'Nathan the prophet'—are really corruptions of גָּד הַנְּדָבִי (*gād hannĕdābi*) and נָתָן הַנְּדָבִי (*nāthān hannĕdābi*)—*i.e.*, 'Gad the Nadabite' and 'Nathan the Nadabite.' Or still more probably, 'Gad' may be really a slightly miswritten fragment of *nĕdābi'*—*i.e.*, Nadabite—so that in 2 S. 24 11, where the text now gives גָּד הַנָּבִיא חֹזֵה דָוִד, 'Gad the prophet, David's seer,' we should rather read הַנְּדָבִי ח׳ ד׳ 'the Nadabite, David's seer,' and the real name of the 'seer' spoken of was Nathan, who as a rule is called הנביא—*i.e.*, הַנְּדָבִי.[1] The Nadabites were a N. Arabian clan.[2]

There is therefore no extravagance in the view, recommended both by textual conjecture and by historical considerations, that Elijah—and not only he but also Elisha (§ 7)—was a native of Zarephath (see TISHBITE), which appears to have been then the extreme S. limit of the Israelitish dominion. From Zarephath-jerahmeel (miswritten תשבי גלעד, 1 K. 17 1) and Rehoboth (miswritten כרית, *ib.* 3 5) he is said to have gone to the land of N. Israel to initiate a religious revolution. In this connection we may fitly quote a much-misunderstood passage of Amos (8 14), which should be emended thus,—'Those who swear by the guilt of Shimron (cp § 35), and that say, As thy God, O Dan, lives, and, As thy genius, O Beer-sheba, lives.'[3]

Whether the prophets represented by Elijah held the same religious position relatively to images of Yahwè as Amos, may be strongly doubted. We quote Am. 8 14 here, not at all to illustrate Elijah's views on images, but to show that the N. Israelites were in the habit of resorting to sanctuaries in the Negeb with which the legendary history of their race was probably connected (cp MOSES, § 17).

The Negeb, in which Horeb or Sinai itself (see SINAI) must have been situated, was the Holy Land of the Israelites; and it is conceivable that prophets of Zarephath, who had been filled with the spirit of Yahwè in the haunts of Moses, and especially at the most sacred of all mountain-shrines, may have wandered to the centre of N. Israelitish national life, and preached anew the austere doctrine of Moses,—viz., that Yahwè, Israel's God, was a jealous God, who could not tolerate a rival divinity, and that injustice and the shedding of innocent blood were contrary to his fundamental laws. Unfortunately, fresh problems have lately arisen, which forbid us to speak of these missionary journeyings as assured facts. We shall return to this subject later (§ 8 *ff.*).

We have spoken of 'the prophets represented by Elijah,' for we can no more believe that Elijah was the

7. Elijah and Elisha; the Aramæans.

only great prophet of Yahwè in the time of Ahab than we can credit the solitariness of the seer Samuel in the time of Saul. Indeed, not only does the independent narrative in 1 K. 22 tell us of Micaiah b. Imlah (and of four hundred[4] [?] more courtly and complaisant prophets of Yahwè who prophesied before Ahab), but the legend of Elijah itself refers to prophets of Yahwè (or Jerahmeel?[5]) whom Ahab's house-steward Obadiah ('Arābī?) hid from the rage of Jezebel in Mearah.[6]

1 Art. 'Prophecy,' *EB*(9).

2 The meaning of the above is that Isaiah would not have ventured on this bold offer if experience had not assured him that he could perform wonderful deeds. The probability must, however, be admitted that an early disciple of Isaiah glorified his master by exaggerating Isaiah's extraordinary power.

3 Only, it should be observed, as an extreme concession.

1 We are thus enabled to meet H. P. Smith's sceptical remark on the statement in 1 S. 22 5, that Gad 'belongs in the later history but not here.' The name Gad is due to misunderstanding, whilst the true name, Nathan, comes from Ethan, a N. Arabian clan-name which goes well with Nadabite (cp NETHANEEL). A N. Arabian seer is obviously quite at home in the early history of David.

2 Cp Nadab the Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch. 2 28; *Jonadab* the Rechabite.

3 See SHIMRON. Another evidence of the predilection of the N. Israelites for N. Arabian sanctuaries is to be found in Am. 5 25 (see SALMA), where the Israelites are distinctly charged with offering sacrifices and offerings to Yahwè 'in the wilderness of the Arabians.' Both Dan and Bethel were in fact most probably in N. Arabia; it was at Dan, or rather at the neighbouring Bethel, that the 'golden calf' was placed. See SHECHEM; also *Crit. Bib.*

4 On the 'four hundred' of 1 K. 22 6 18 19 22, see § 24.

5 In 1 K. 18 4 יהוה and מאה together may possibly represent ירחמאל.

6 In 1 K. 18 4 13, MT, a strange story is told of Obadiah's hiding a hundred prophets 'by fifty in the cave,' and 'feeding them with bread and water.' But ה[א]כלכלם and לחם ומים are surely both corruptions of ירחמאלים; so also perhaps is מאה (=חמא), whilst מערה is presumably a place-name—the Mearah (Zarephath?) of Josh. 13 4, for though, as the text now stands,

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Did these prophets, according to an early tradition, come from the Negeb, which then belonged to N. Israel? The probability can hardly be denied; in other words, the Negeb was probably a nursery of prophets as well as of Levites. It is at any rate probable that Elijah and his successor Elisha both came from this great home of early Yahwism; and the view which makes the Negeb a prophetic centre will be strongly confirmed if we accept the theory that the Aramæans with whom the kings of Israel contended were not only (or even chiefly) the Syrians but also the Jerahmeelites (sometimes called אֲרַמִּים Arammim). Again and again disputed cities (the 'cities of the Jerahmeelites,' 1 S. 30 29) were captured by the Israelites,[1] and those Israelites who, like Elijah and Elisha, dwelt there were naturally eager for a divine judgment on their implacably hostile kinsfolk. When Elijah had made his complaint to Yahwè at Horeb, what was the divine response? 'Go, return on thy way to the wilderness of Cusham,[2] and when thou comest, anoint Hazael[3] to be king over Aram (Jerahmeel), and Jehu, b. Nimshi (?), to be king over Israel' (1 K. 19 15 *f.*). It is a necessary accompaniment of this view that Jehu, the furious driver, the remorseless shedder of blood,[4] was, like Jeroboam (see JEROBOAM, NADAB), and perhaps Joab (see ZERUIAH), partly of N. Arabian descent (see NIMSHI), and that when he was authorised by a prophet (of his own native town Zephath or Zarephath ?) to seize the crown of Israel, he was engaged in a war with the Arammites—*i.e.*, the anti-Israelitish section of the Jerahmeelites. This improves the historical plausibility of the narrative in 1 K. 19. That an Israelitish prophet should have disposed of the crown of Aram-Damascus is no doubt the reverse of probable. But an Israelitish prophet of Zarephath might conceivably have been mixed up with the political affairs of N. Arabia, like Jonah according to the legend (§ 44), and Jeremiah according to his late biographer (§ 40). The confusion between the two Arams, the two Hazaels, the two Jezreels, and perhaps the two Carmels, may have arisen comparatively early, so that the date of the narratives in 2 K. 9 and 10 in their present form need not be thrown into the post-exilic period.

It was, according to most scholars, the addiction of Ahab to the Tyrian Baal-worship that made Elijah (and the prophets whom he influenced ?) Ahab's open enemy. In reality, however, we believe, it can be proved (though the proof is doubtless complicated) that the form of religion which Ahab adopted and Elijah opposed was of N. Arabian origin.

From the N. Arabian border probably came the original *nebi'im*, and from the very centre of the neighbouring N. Arabian kingdom probably came Ahab's wife Jezebel.[1] The king's choice of a wife was no doubt dictated by political considerations (it has a parallel in the similar conduct of Solomon); but we must not ascribe the predilection of the Israelites for N. Arabian Baal-worship exclusively to Jezebel. The prophets, as we shall see, are continually rebuking the N. Arabian religious tendencies of their people after the time of Ahab, and these tendencies were so natural that we need not suppose them to have arisen in consequence of Ahab's Miṣrite alliance.

How far Jezebel is responsible for Ahab's despotic methods (cp 1 K. 21 7 *ff.*) is also doubtful. At any rate, the court encouraged a form of religion and a method of government which Elijah (and his followers ?) could not sanction. Society appeared to him (or, them ?) to be rotten to the core; only 7000 (a round number) would escape the sword of divine judgment, and become the kernel of a regenerate people (1 K. 19 18). Elijah himself (outdoing the *nebi'im* of the time of Saul, who apparently did not actually resort to violence) is said to have slain the 450 prophets of Baal who 'ate at Jezebel's table,' with his own hands (1 K. 18 40), and to have pointed to Elisha as the supplementer of the destroying operations of Jehu (1 K. 19 17).

We shall return to the narratives of Micaiah and Elijah in connection with the subject of 'false prophets' (§ 24). We now proceed to the somewhat difficult story in 2 K. 1, relative to Ahaziah's embassy to the sanctuary of Baal-zebub (?), and the stern conduct of Elijah towards the 'captains.' The story belongs to the life of Elijah, but was very possibly edited later. Knowing what we do of Elijah's origin, we can in some important respects correct the traditional acceptation of the narrative. The scene of the original tale must have been the Jerahmeelite highlands. BAAL-ZEBUB (or perhaps rather Baal-zebul) was probably the Baal, not of Ekron (עקרון, partly corrupted, partly altered from ירחמאל, as, *e.g.*, in 1 S. 5 10), but of Jerahmeel, and the 'mountain' on which Elijah was sitting was Mt. Jerahmeel (in 1 K. 18 19 42 called 'Carmel'). The Jerahmeelite sanctuaries were favourite places of resort for the Israelites, and Elijah himself haunted the bleak summits in the neighbourhood. It is the biography of Elisha that tells (2 K. 2) how, 'when Yahwè would take up Elijah into heaven,' the prophet was dwelling, together with Elisha, at *haggilgal* (EV Gilgal), whence the two 'went down' to settlements of *bnē hannebī'īm* (*i.e.*, members of a prophetic society) at Beth-el[2] and Jericho. Nowhere else does the tradition bring Elijah into contact with other prophets, except indeed when he meets with the man who is to be appointed[3] prophet in his room. The localities mentioned are probably not those which were named in the original story. Elisha, like Elijah, is a prophet of the Negeb; the present text calls him 'son of Shaphat' (1 K. 19 19), but 'Shaphat,' as usual, is a corruption of 'Zephath'—*i.e.*, Zarephath (see SHAPHAT); and Abel-meholah is a distortion of Abel-jerahmeel, which is equivalent to Abel-mizrim, the name of a place on the border of the N. Arabian Muṣri, where, according to the most probable reading of Gen. 50 11, Joseph made a second mourning for his father. 'Abel-mizrim' is further defined in that passage as being 'in Arab-jerahmeel.'[4] We now see where the Gilgal of 2 K. 2 1 must have been situated. It must have been in the Negeb of Jerahmeel (see,

Mearah was a Zidonian city, it has been shown (see MEARAH) that the original text must have spoken, not of the Zidonians (צירנים), but of the Misrites (מצרים), and further that 'Mearah' (מערה) is probably a corruption of צרפת (Zarephath). We now understand why Obadiah (?) assumes that Elijah knew of his good deed; Elijah was himself a native of Zarephath (see TISHBITE). We can also detect the true name of Ahab's house-steward; 'Obadiah' is probably a later writer's transformation of 'Arābī 'Arabian' (cp § 28), and we can hardly help admitting that the 'Carmel'—*i.e.*, 'Jerahmeel'—of the original tradition was not the famous headland of that name but some part of the Jerahmeelite highlands. It will be noticed that 'fifty' (חמשים) in 1 K. 18 4 13 remains unaccounted for. It is probably a corruption of an ethnic name such as Miṣrim. The prophets were hidden from the fury of Jezebel the daughter of Miṣrim.

[1] 2 K. 14 28 (a desperate passage according to some!), which should probably run, 'how he recovered Cūshām (or less probably, Kidshām) and Maacath-jerahmeel for Israel.' See *Crit. Bib.*

[2] דמשק has, we believe, not unfrequently supplanted the original reading כּוּשָׁם Cusham (=Cush), or perhaps sometimes קִדְשָׁם Kidsham (=Kadesh).

[3] See Schr. *KAT*(2), 207. Possibly there is a confusion between 'Hazael' and Zuḥal ('brilliant'=Saturn), which would be a very suitable N. Arabian name.

[4] There is reason to suspect that the massacre described in 2 K. 10 really occurred at the southern Jezreel (cp col. 3890, n. 1), Jehu having been engaged in a war with the southern Arammites or Aramæans (as maintained above). This only adds one more to the already long list of narratives which have been altered by changes in the geographical setting.

[1] Jezebel (? Baalizebel) is called the daughter of Ethbaal (? Tobiel), king of the Zidonians. But צירנים is one of the possible corruptions of מִצְרִים (Miṣrim), and Elijah's sphere of activity was in the N. Arabian border-land.

[2] Cp 1 K. 13 11, where we read of an 'old prophet' who dwelt at Bethel (a southern Bethel ?). He is certainly not the only one in the place.

[3] In 1 K. 19 16 (end) read, not תמשח, but תָּשִׂים, 'thou shalt appoint.' A metaphorical use of the term 'anoint' is not natural. (See ANOINTING, § 3 *b*.)

[4] For בעבר הירדן we should undoubtedly read בערב ירחמאל.

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however, GILGAL, § 4); 'Gilgal,' or 'Haggilgal,' is one of the common popular corruptions of Jerahmeel (see SAUL, § 6). 'Bethel,' too, is not the famous Bethel on the central Palestinian mountain range, but a sanctuary in the Negeb, not improbably the sanctuary of Dan, where the golden calf was (cp PENUEL), while 'Jericho' (יריחו) is a corruption of 'Jerahmeel' (ירחמאל), which is probably an abbreviation of Kadesh-jerahmeel. (We may venture in passing to suppose that in the original tradition Elijah, like his great prototype Moses, disappeared from human sight on a sacred mountain-top; in fact, Horeb was probably very near Kadesh.[1]) We thus obtain a confirmation of the theory that the N. Arabian border-land was the true nursery of the *nebī'īm*.

Elijah and Elisha[2] were both men of practical aims; but Elisha saw something which, according to the extant reports, escaped the attention of Elijah—viz., that an extensive, as well as intensive, influence on the affairs of Israel could be exerted only by well-organised societies of prophets under one head. Where did these societies reside? To answer this we must refer to the passages in which the phrase *bnē hannebī'īm* occurs. These are 1 K. 20 35 2 K. 2 3 5 7 15 4 1 38 5 22 6 1 9 1. The first passage relates to a period within the lifetime of Elijah, but has the appearance of being a late insertion (see Kittel); the name of the place from which the prophet came is not mentioned. The passages in 2 K. 2 have been dealt with already (§ 7). In 2 K. 4 1 no place is named, but either Gilgal (cp *v.* 38) or Mt. Carmel (cp *v.* 25) would seem to be intended; in *v.* 38 Gilgal (*haggilgal*) is expressly mentioned. In 5 22 Mt. Ephraim is referred to as the place from which the young prophets have come. In 6 1 and 9 1 one or another of the principal settlements of the prophetic societies must be meant; in the former case, the settlement was within easy reach of the Jordan; in the other, of Ramoth-gilead.

8. Societies of prophets.

In all these passages or their contexts, however, except the first, corruption of the text may be suspected. In 1 K. 4 25 and 38, 'Gilgal' and 'Carmel' are both corruptions of 'Jerahmeel'; some place in the mountain-region of the Jerahmeelite Negeb[3] is evidently meant. The 'Mt. Ephraim' of 5 22 is surely a corruption of 'Mt. Jerahmeel'[4] (as in Judg. 17 1 1 S. 1 1). In 6 1 *ff.* הירדן ('the Jordan'), where the prophets cut down timber, and where the iron was made to swim, is surely an error for ירחמאל, 'Jerahmeel' (as in 1 K. 17 5); some place where there was a well-known piece of water must be meant—perhaps Kadesh-jerahmeel. Lastly, 'Ramoth-gilead,' where Jehu and his brother-officers were (9 1 *ff.*), is very possibly an error for 'Jerahmeel,' or for some compound place-name into which 'Jerahmeel' entered.

We cannot therefore be certain that there were any settlements of prophets in N. Israel. It is possible that when the prophets had any mission to discharge in N. Israel, they only remained there as long as was necessary for their work, and that when this had been done they returned to their southern homes. If it was really at the northern Bethel that Amos prophesied against the house of Jeroboam, we might quote this as a parallel, for Amos was probably (§ 35) a native, not of Tekoa, but of Kadesh-jerahmeel. Elisha himself is said to have resided specially at Gilgal (2 K. 2 1 4 38) and Samaria (2 K. 5 3 6 32 'in his house'). It is remarkable, however, that nothing is said of his having with him any *bnē hannebī'īm*, and that to all appearance he goes to 'Damascus' alone. It may, of course, be said that Elisha (who receives first-fruits [2 K. 4 42] as if a consecrated person) was fenced in by supernatural powers. Still, it is not likely that the original tradition represented either Elijah or Elisha as making such distant journeys alone, for we must take leave to build upon the hypothetical result which we have already reached—that both these great prophets arose on the N. Arabian border—in the so-called Negeb. We have, then, to consider whether 'Damascus' and 'Samaria' may not be due to a misunderstanding. That דמשק (Damascus) in 2 K. 8 7 is miswritten for כּוּשָׁם (Cusham) follows from the right emendation of 1 K. 19 15 (see above, § 7); and when we have realised the existence of a place in the Negeb called שִׁמְרוֹן (see SHIMRON), and the frequency with which the geography of the original traditions has been transformed by editors, we cannot help seeing that Shimron is a much more natural place for a prophet of the Negeb to visit than Shōmĕrōn (Samaria).[1] Shimron is, in fact, most probably referred to again and again in the Book of Amos.

[1] Cp NEBO, MOUNT.

[2] The birth-names of these prophets appear to have been unknown. 'Elijah' as we have seen, comes from Jerahmeeli; 'Elisha' is also, no doubt, a corruption of an ethnic name, very possibly of Išmā'ēlī (Ishmaelite).

[3] It should be added that Shunem in *v.* 8 as in 1 S. 28 4 (see SAUL, § 6) has probably come from ESHEAN [*q.v.*]—*i.e.*, Beer-sheba—and that Baal-shalisha (*v.* 42) in the original story was a place in the Negeb (cp Gen. 46 10, SHAUL).

[4] Cp MICAH, 1; RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.

Before summing up our results, we would remind the reader that the only way to solve the most difficult problems of the OT is to keep before us the different possibilities until by a gradual clearing-up of our mental atmosphere one of the possibilities becomes a very strong probability. We have done all that we could to put the facts in a clear light, so that one of two possibilities may be recognised as being in the highest degree probable. The Jerahmeelite Negeb, according to our theory, belonged at this time to the N. Israelites, who made constant pilgrimages to the venerable sanctuaries of this region. It was in the Jerahmeelite mountain-country ('Carmel') that Elijah and the prophets of Baal had their contest. Ahab came thither from the Jezreel in the hill-country of Judah, where he had been residing. After the contest both Ahab and Elijah went to Jezreel. Then Elijah went to Beer-sheba, and from Beer-sheba to Horeb. Possibly it was from Horeb that the original story made the second Moses go up into heaven. Elisha, too, intervened in public affairs as a prophet of the Negeb. It was a N. Arabian and a half-Jerahmeelite whom he singled out (as Samuel singled out Saul, and Ahijah chose Jeroboam) to be kings of Aram (Jerahmeel) and Israel respectively; and his traditional haunts (with the exception of Dothan, 2 K. 6 13) can all, by emendation of the text or otherwise, be identified with places in the Negeb. There is no reason to deny that the story of Elijah and Elisha in this revised form has some basis of fact, though it is possible that, even in what we suppose to have been the original form of the narratives, the interests of the prophetic order led to some unhistoric fictions and exaggerations.

9. Summary of results.

Two of the most interesting passages for the comprehension of prophecy as it really was in the ninth century are 2 K. 3 15 and 4 23. The former passage runs, 'And now bring me a minstrel. In fact, so it was, that as often as a minstrel played, the hand of Yahwè came upon him.' We see from this that a prophet like Elisha still needed artificial stimulants to bring about the psychic condition necessary for the prophetic impulse. The latter passage runs, 'And he said, Why dost thou go to him today? It is neither new moon nor sabbath.' It was usual then to select a specially sacred day for a visit to a prophet, who was presumably to be met with at or near some sanctuary. (See NEW MOON, § 1.)

It is natural to turn now to the singular narrative in the Book of Amos (7 10-17). The passage has been treated already (AMOS, § 1, col. 147); but it is necessary to return to it in this connection. Plain misunderstandings have led to corruptions of the text in other parts of the book, and it is likely that this has been the case also here. That Amaziah the priest of Bethel was the antagonist of Amos, is indeed a fact beyond dispute. A misunderstanding there has certainly been, but it has not affected the reading of the text. The error has lain in supposing that the Bethel to the N. of Jerusalem on the road to Shechem is meant; in reality, we believe, it was the southern Bethel, which probably contained the sanctuary of the 'golden calf,' and was close to Dan (= Ḥaluṣah?). Here a prophet would meet not only with the Israelites of the Negeb but also with representatives of N. Israel, such as those whom he addresses with keenest irony in 4 4 *f.*[2] We have, in fact, no sure evidence that Amos ever left the Negeb.

10. Amos and Hosea; historical position.

[1] Cp 2 K. 2 23 25, from which it appears that the places called in our text Jericho, Bethel, Mt. Carmel, and Samaria were within an easy distance of each other. The names should probably be Rehoboth, Bethel (=Dan), Mt. Jerahmeel, and Shimron, all places in the Negeb.

[2] 'Come to Bethel and transgress; to Haggilgal (Jerahmeel), and transgress abundantly . . . for these practices ye love, O sons of Israel.'

PROPHETIC LITERATURE

Amos himself was 'of Cusham-jerahmeel,' according to a very probable correction of obscure and doubtful words in 7 14 *f.* We shall have to return to this subject in treating of the growth of prophetic literature (§ 35). Suffice it to add here that this result (see § 36, for a similar result as to Hosea) increases our suspicion that, according to the original tradition, Elijah, or the prophets whom Elijah's grandly poetic figure represents, never really left the Negeb. If so, we may justly ask, Was not the want of high-minded prophets living and working in N. Israel one of the chief causes of the moral decadence of the people?

Amos and Hosea mark a turning-point in the history of prophecy. 'Till Amos, prophecy was optimist—even Elijah, if he denounced the destruction of a dynasty and the annihilation of all who had bowed the knee to Baal, never doubted of the future of the nation when only the faithful remained; but the new prophecy is pessimist—it knows that Israel is rotten to the core, and that the whole fabric of society must be dissolved before reconstruction is possible. And this it knows, not by a mere ethical judgment on the visible state of society, but because it has read Yahwè's secret written in the signs of the time and knows that he has condemned his people. To the mass these signs are unintelligible, because they deem it impossible that Yahwè should utterly cast off his chosen nation; but to those who know his absolute righteousness, and confront it with the people's sin, the impending approach of the Assyrian can have only one meaning and can point to only one issue, viz., the total ruin of the nation which has denied its divine head. It is sometimes proposed to view the canonical prophets as simple preachers of righteousness; their predictions of woe, we are told, are conditional, and tell what Israel must suffer if it does not repent. But this is an incomplete view; the peculiarity of their position is that they know that Israel as it exists is beyond repentance.'[1]

11. Pessimism of 8th cent. prophets.

It would be delightful to be able to add that, even when they feared the worst, Amos and Hosea still preserved an earnest faith in the future of their people. Consistent criticism, however, does not permit us to hold this to have been the case (see AMOS, § 17, HOSEA, § 8); and even if we are startled at the result, we cannot deny the grandeur of the men who could live noble lives supported solely by the thought of the unique reality of God. Their inspiring thought seems to have been this.—Let even Israel disappear, so long as Yahwè's righteousness is proved.

Nor can it by any means be regarded as certain that Isaiah modified the stern message of his predecessors so far as to allow room for the salvation of a remnant. He does indeed once appear to entertain the possibility of a national regeneration after the impure elements in the body politic have been removed; but it seems a hopeless task to recover any of the utterances of the prophet on which the present text of 1 2-26 is based,[2] and we cannot feel perfectly sure that 1 25 *f.* expresses his real anticipation at any time. At any rate, in the oracle grafted upon his inaugural vision (6 9-13) Isaiah holds out no prospect for the people but destruction,[3] and his final prophecy closes with the words, 'This iniquity will not be expiated for you till ye die' (22 14; see *Intr. Is.*).

The traditional name of his son 'Shear-jashub' has indeed been thought to be a proof of an at least temporary belief in a 'remnant'; but it is not at all certain that this reading of the name is correct; it neither fits in well with the context, nor suits the analogy of the equally traditional name in Is. 8 3.

Nor is Isaiah's younger contemporary Micah any more cheering in his description of the future. The closing utterance of his genuine prophecy (1-3) announces the desolation of Jerusalem (including the temple) as the centre of all the corruption which spread through the people of Judah (see MICAH [BOOK]). We may admit that a ray of hope may now and then have visited even these notable pessimists; but Giesebrecht (*Berufsbegabung*, 82 *ff.*) makes too much of this possibility through his excessive confidence in the strict authenticity of passages like Am. 5 4 6 14 *f.* 24 Hos. 2 7 16. It is probable that even the first editors of the early prophetic writings (disciples of the prophets?) sought to blunt the edge of too keen denunciations, and certain that exilic and post-exilic editors went to great lengths in neutralising the vehemence of such denunciations by inserting very positive assurances of happiness to a regenerate people of Israel (cp ISAIAH i., § 2).

T. K. C. (§§ 1-11).

12. Prophetic teaching; its reception.

The frank utterance of their convictions by the prophets caused great excitement, and their relations with the mass of the people became very strained (Am. 7 10 *ff.*). For in prophets and people two conflicting conceptions of God were at work. In the popular opinion Yahwè was the national God whose honour was inseparably bound up with the continued existence of Israel; the prophets on the other hand ranked the ethical and the spiritual elements in the idea of God above all besides, so that in their view Yahwè's connection with the nation of Israel was only one out of the many means by which he could carry out his wise purposes.

It would be incorrect, however, to suppose that Amos and Hosea, as the earliest of these prophets, were the originators of the spiritual conception of God in Israel. They themselves declare that the God who sends them has long been known to Israel (Am. 2 9 *f.* 3 1 Hos. 11 1). It is, according to them, not Yahwè but Israel that has changed; it is Israel therefore who must return. They charge the people in the first instance, not with the worship of foreign deities, but with neglect of the law and order that have been established in the name and under the protection of Yahwè, and with observing the still surviving heathenish worship and superstitions of Canaan. They count it a sin that Israel values a heathenish civilisation more than the true knowledge of Yahwè and obedience to his will. Accordingly, they undertake to recall the people to the duty which it long ago assumed, and they point out the choice which lies before it: heathen life and, with it, ruin, or cleaving to Yahwè and consequent national stability.

It cannot indeed be denied that the prophets put Israel's duty on a higher plane than it had hitherto occupied, and to many of their contemporaries the whole region of thought in which Amos and Hosea moved may well have seemed new and strange. The real novelty, however, consisted, not in any hitherto unheard-of doctrine as to the being or will of Yahwè, but in their uniform adoption of the spiritual conception of God as their standard in estimating the attitude of the people towards Yahwè. Before them no one had thought of applying this standard with the same rigour and breadth; and the more they themselves applied it, the more powerfully did the true Israelite conception of God shine out, purified in their own inner being.

Is there any evidence for a similar effulgence of the noble metal from amidst the dross of popular belief in the older period? There is not; but we must unfortunately confess that we have no such means of reproducing the individual Israelite's inner world during that period as we possess in the case of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries whose writings are still extant. This, however, at any rate we do know—that from the earlier age the great conception of the peerlessness of Yahwè among the gods had come down to the prophets, so that it was now possible to conceive of Yahwè as the mighty ruler of the world and the controller of its destinies.

The recognition of Yahwè's importance was promoted

[1] WRS 'Prophecy,' *Ency. Brit.*(9).

[2] *SBOT* 'Isa.' (Heb.), p. 110, l. 16. The view that ch. 1 came from Isaiah's pen in something like its present form seems untenable. See *Intr. Is.* on ch. 1.

[3] See col. 2181, n. 1. Even without a complete textual criticism of the whole passage, the improbability of the closing words in MT (see RV's rendering, which, however, wrongly inserts 'so,' as if a part of the text) is very manifest (see Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia*, 72, n. 2).

by the fact that from about 1000 to about 750 B.C. united Israel was the strongest people in Syria, that even Egypt was unable to break its power; and equally propitious was the violent reaction called forth in the eighth century within Israel itself by the conduct of kings like Ahab. That conduct had no doubt its political grounds. Ahab's object was to develop relations of friendship between Israel and the neighbouring heathen nations. Elijah, Elisha, and the guilds of prophets under their influence were opposed to this policy. They had points of contact with the Nazirites and Rechabites, and a similar affinity may be traced between these champions of the original Israelite type of piety and the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries.[1] It is true, the prophets did not share the repugnance of the ascetics to accepting the good things of civilisation; but they were quite as much bent on extirpating the heathenish element from Israelitish life. Elijah's zeal for Yahwè, which Jehu turned to account in drastic style for the establishment of his own dynasty (2 K. $10_{1\text{-}28}$), revived, but in another form. To banish the Tyrian Baal[2] from the territory of Israel was no longer needed; it was now much more important to combat the dangerous opinion that Yahwè himself was only to be worshipped like one of the Ĕlōhīm. Is Yahwè to be thought of in the heathen or in the Hebrew manner? That was the point on which the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries wished to instruct their contemporaries. The old antitheses remained; but they had become subtler and were more profoundly apprehended.

13. Attitude of prophets.

From the dogmatic point of view one might feel surprise that men like Amos did not begin with the sentence, 'There is no God but Yahwè.' These prophets, however, clearly did not regard it as their vocation to give instruction in doctrines. Thoroughly penetrated with a sense of the unique greatness and power of Yahwè, they exhorted the people to fear Yahwè, to follow his precepts, and to put their trust in him. It was precisely in this that they maintained continuity with the exponents of the religion of Israel in preceding centuries, who also never doubted Yahwè's sovereign power, as not only Elijah and Elisha, but also the narratives of the Yahwist and still more of the Elohist, abundantly show. The question whether besides Yahwè there are or are not other gods, did not come to the front. What the prophets contended for primarily was the holy law and the morality in which from ancient times the will of Yahwè, Israel's God, had been distinctly made known (Am. 5_{15} $_{24}$ Hos. 8_{11} *f.* Is. $1_{10\text{-}17}$ Mic. 66-8). Elijah himself had already recognised this as the task assigned to him (1 K. 21).

The prophets now referred to were not politicians in any strict sense of the word. We know of no instance in which, like Ahijah (in the case of Jeroboam I.) or Elisha (in the case of Jehu), they brought about a change of dynasty in Yahwè's name. They expressed their mind, from the religious point of view, as to what had happened or was about to happen, and also (*e.g.* Isaiah) claimed to be consulted in political affairs. What they professed to do here, however, was not to give political counsel, but to exhort, to predict; and their predictions and exhortations were of no service to politicians, presupposing as they did the conviction that God alone is to be recognised as the maker of history. For the kings of Israel and the politicians in general (to whom they were mostly opposed) the prophets were very embarrassing persons. By the prophetic utterances adverse to the policy of the rulers they inevitably weakened the popular confidence in the government. The position was complicated by the fact that there were prophets equally claiming to speak for Yahwè, who said the contrary of what was said by those whom we generally call the higher prophets, but who called themselves the true prophets of Yahwè (see § 14). H. G. (§ 12 *f.*)

[1] Cp Budde, 'Das nomadische Ideal im AT' in *Preuss. Jahrbb.*, Bd. 85 (1896), Hft. 1 57 *ff.*, and in *New World*, Dec. 1895.

[2] [According to the ordinary view. But cp § 7.]

[We cannot rightly estimate the lower prophecy, until we have more systematically studied the phenomena of the higher. We therefore proceed to take a survey of the phenomena of the prophetic consciousness, not losing ourselves in a superabundant mass of details, but selecting such as throw most light on the difficult subject before us.]

14. Prophetic consciousness.

What is it, then, that the persons whom their contemporaries, and doubtless for the most part themselves (see Hos. 9 8 [?], Is. 8 3, but cp Am. 7 14), called *nĕbī'īm*, have to tell us respecting their inner experience?

First of all, they declare that their office was not of their own choosing; it was Yahwè who 'took' them (Am. 7 14 *f.*). In more than one case they describe the precise moment at which they first became aware of their prophetic vocation; it was a moment at which, as they express it, they saw God and received their commission from his own mouth (Is. 6 Jer. 1 Ezek. 2; cp Paul in Gal. 1). This final vision is of course but the latest phase in a long process. What the soul of the prophet in the first instance begins to experience is God's drawing it towards himself; emotion is powerfully quickened thereby, and in the vision that ensues it becomes objectively clear and certain to the prophet that the drawing and the emotion of which he was conscious are from Yahwè, and their meaning is made plain. The attitude of the prophet towards this call varies in each case according to individual idiosyncrasy. A straightforward, direct, and simple nature like that of Amos feels himself taken from following the flock[1] (Am. 7 15), quickly rises up and sets forth to carry out Yahwè's command. In Isaiah's case a voluntary and free human resolution goes along with the divine calling; Jeremiah is overmastered only by force (1 6; cp the reluctance of Moses in Ex. 4 10 *ff.*), and subsequently we find him complaining bitterly of the vocation that has been thrust upon him and wishing to withdraw from it (9 1 11 10 20 7 *ff.*); he curses his day (20 14 *ff.*), reproaches Yahwè with having beguiled him and with continually renewing the slavery from which he cannot get free (20 7 *ff.*). Ezekiel after his call feels as if he had been smitten to the ground by a mighty blow, and in the agitation of his spirit he sits silent and astonied for seven days (3 14 *ff.*). It is precisely in the compulsory character of the prophetic vocation that we are to seek the proof of its divine origin. The prophets' assurance of their divine mission is shown in their fidelity to it, even to death and martyrdom, if need be, and in the sharp distinction which they draw between themselves and the so-called 'false' prophets.

15. Prophet's God speaks through him.

In the next place, the prophet gives forth only that which Yahwè has spoken to him. He utters nothing of his own motion, but feels himself to be wholly the instrument of God (Jer. 1 7 cp Ex. 4 15 *f.* with 7 1). Yahwè speaks with the prophet; the prophet stands in the council of God and hears his word (Jer. 23 18 Ezek. 3 4); Yahwè tells him or shows him his purpose beforehand (Am. 3 7 7 1 Is. 18 4); he touches his mouth and put his words into it (Jer. 1 9 Dt. 18 18); the prophet eats them (Jer. 15 16 Ezek. 2 8 *ff.*). Yahwè opens the prophet's mouth (Ezek. 3 27), answers his questions (Hab. 2 1 *ff.*), fills him with the fury and indignation of Yahwè (Jer. 6 11 15 17). The prophet for his part faithfully speaks all the words that Yahwè commands, keeping back nothing (Jer. 26 2). So completely does the prophet refer his utterances to Yahwè as their only source, that he frequently represents Yahwè as being himself the speaker.

[1] [It is only the proximity of a passage which is clearly corrupt (Am. 7 14) that may perhaps make the text of Am. 7 15 appear uncertain. See § 35.]

Let us note the consequence of this. The truth of the words of the prophet is to him absolutely certain because they are the words of Yahwè (Am. 4 2 Hos. 5 9 Is. 17 24 *ff.* Jer. 1 11 *f.* Ezek. 12 28); even when there is delay he doubts not (Hab. 2 3). It is not the fulfilment that first gives the prophet faith in his message; the message carries its certainty in itself.[1] Nay, more; the prophetic word has an inherent energy; it works like a curse or a blessing, which, according to ancient ideas, had the power of bringing divine forces into operation (cp BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS). Thus, the woe which the prophet pronounces in the name of Yahwè works the woe of Israel (Zech. 1 6). Hence, if the text is right, Hosea (6 5) says that Yahwè 'hews' or 'slays' by the prophets; they are, so to speak, like implements in Yahwè's hand; kingdoms are pulled down and set up by their means (Jer. 1 10). The word of Yahwè does not return to him void (Is. 55 11); his word is as fire and as a hammer (Jer. 23 29 5 14).

16. Prophet's task.

The equipment for the prophetic vocation corresponds to the task involved in it. The task is at once general and special.

(1) The prophets are in the first place in a general sense, like other personalities, organs of revelation, or rather of education, whose function it is partly to awaken in other men the power of discerning God, partly to give an example in themselves of fellowship with God. For this vocation God trains his prophet by intimate communion with himself—for example, by constant warnings keeping him close beside him (Is. 8 11 *f.*).

(2) On special occasions the organs of revelation have a special task. The task of the prophet is to declare the divine purpose to the people beforehand. And if we would know more particularly what the prophet's distinctive mission is, we must give close attention to the classical formula for the prophetic utterances. This formula did not run, 'If you do this or that, then this or that will come upon you'; it is, 'Woe unto you who have done thus and thus' (Jer. 5 8 *ff.*), or 'Hear this word, ye that have done thus and thus; verily the judgment of Yahwè shall come upon you' (Am. 4 1 *ff.*). The prophetic utterance is thus, at least in the classical period, apodictical not hypothetical; a feature which we find again in the formula of the preaching of Jesus (Mt. 4 17). True, Yahwè can at any time withdraw the judgment he has decreed, and his threatenings are sometimes uttered for the purpose of bringing about the repentance of the people, and thereby also an alteration in his plan (*e.g.*, Jer. 18 7 *ff.*); but the prophets are not primarily preachers of repentance, as is seen clearly enough in their predictions respecting foreign nations; rather they are announcers of the advent of Yahwè,—it may be for wrath, or it may be for salvation. The prophet may best be compared to a watchman who from his high tower (cp Hab. 2 1) sees the approaching storm and calls out, 'Alas, it comes,' so that any who will may seek shelter while yet there is time.

If now this is the task of the prophet—to declare beforehand the purpose of God—his gift must be that of foreseeing the future. The prophets are seers on a grand scale. They do not utter merely general predictions; they also give particular details (the instruments of the judgment and the manner of it, time and place of punishment, name of the liberator, etc.), and prophecies concerning individuals. As if by a sudden inspiration, they are able to declare to individual men their fate (Am. 7 16 *f.*).[2]

How are we to regard the peculiar power of vision possessed by the prophets? It is not entirely to be explained from their religious and moral discernment—that is put out of the question by the manifold details of the prophecies; neither yet is it to be wholly attributed to 'divine inspiration'—that is excluded by the vacillations and illusions of the prophets.

17. Prophet's power of vision.

The truth is, that the human and the divine lie close together. In many cases, doubtless, a prophet possessed a natural faculty of presentiment or semi-conscious discernment (*Ahnung*), which became intensified both by intercourse with the supersensuous world and by constant occupation with the affairs and occurrences of the time. Thus the familiar converse which Yahwè vouchsafed to the prophet enabled him to form a correct judgment as to the character of the people (Ezek. 2 3 *ff.*) and its public institutions, gave him clearness of vision for the history of the past (Jer. 3 6 *ff.* Ezek. 16), a sound understanding for the signs of the times and for the purposes of the divine governor of the world. The ideal experienced by himself, in advance of his time, in his intimate fellowship with Yahwè, he anticipated for the whole community in the future, and thus made it the subject of prophetic promise (cp Jer. 31 31 *ff.*). By this, however, we are still far from having explained all general and special predictions. Can they be explained without passing out of the region of philosophical theory? Without denying the existence of a background of physical elements, may we not believe that God really made confidential disclosures to the prophets concerning the future?

Let us endeavour to throw light on the matter by going as far back as we can in the historical process of revelation in the OT documents. In Exodus Yahwè made known his jealous exclusion of rival divinities through Moses: 'thou shalt have no other gods before (or, beside) me.' This was the first stage; the religion of Yahwè is already exclusive, but is not as yet ethical. It was through the prophets in the centuries immediately before the exile that the God of Israel revealed his ethical character, and the unchanging character of his historical manifestation. The first, his ethical character, he made known by the prophetic announcement of *judgment;* for in this threatening the demand for higher principles than those current among the people of Israel was unmistakably expressed. The second, his oneness in history, he showed by announcing the judgment *beforehand;* for when the prophecy found its fulfilment, it was a proof that it had been so ordered by God, and that the God of the present was identical with the God of the past. This then is the reason why we assume that God disclosed future events to the prophets —viz., that he thus made himself universally known as the maker of history. The justice of this observation is shown by Is. 40 *ff.*; for the Second Isaiah, the great teacher of monotheism, finds one of his proofs for the uniqueness of Yahwè in this—that he has declared the things that are to come, which was beyond the range of the pretended gods (41 26 43 9 *f.* 44 7 *f.* 45 21, etc.). In this sense the prophets themselves are 'signs and portents in Israel' (Is. 8 18; cp Ezek. 24 24-27.)

The process of revelation itself is obscure.

18. Process of revelation.

1. The prophet himself is helpless. He cannot constrain the revelation to come by means of ecstasy or the like; it comes upon him as a demonic power (Am. 3 8);[1] the hand of Yahwè overpowers him when Yahwè speaks with him (Is. 8 11 Ezek. 1 3). The prophet 'is like a

[1] Jer. 28 9 (cp Dt. 18 21 *f.*) is a later correction of the earlier theory. Cp § 25.

[2] [Perhaps this passage should be taken in connection with Am. 5 27 (see SALMA); Amaziah is a representative of his people.]

[1] [The 'demonic power' of revelation is strikingly shown in the story of Balaam, who is at once a 'seer' of Yahwè and a prophet (MOSES, § 17). 'Rise up, go with them; but yet the word that I shall say to thee, that shalt thou do' (Nu. 22 20). Am. 3 8 may also be quoted, but does the traditional reading, מִי לֹא יִנָּבֵא (EV 'who can but prophesy?'), suit the context? The blowing of the trumpets, the roaring of the lion, the speaking of the Lord Yahwè—all mean the same thing—viz., the utterance of a prophetic oracle, the consequence of which must be general alarm. For יִנָּבֵא Wellh. would read יֶחֱרַד, 'tremble.' It is easier to read יִכְאַב, 'feel pain' (see AMOS § 19, end).]

drunken man, and like one whom wine has overcome, because of Yahwè, and because of his holy words' (Jer. 23 9). He must speak, even when he will not and what he will not; Yahwè is even said to 'deceive' him into speaking (Ezek. 14 9). Vainly does he struggle to 'hold in the fury of Yahwè' (Jer. 6 11); when he would fain be silent, the word burns within him until he speaks (Jer. 20 9); with floods of tears he grieves over the judgment which he is impelled to announce (9 1 [8 23]). On the other hand, he cannot always speak. There come for the prophet times of silence (Ezek. 3 24 *ff.* 24 *ff.*) when he may not answer the questions of the people (Ezek. 14 1 *ff.*). When Yahwè does not will it, there can be no revelation (Am. 8 11 *f.* Lam. 2 9 Ezek. 14 3 20 3); the prophet must take his stand upon his watch-tower until Yahwè makes answer (Hab. 2 1 Jer. 42 4 7).

2. Nevertheless, the special revelations must not be regarded apart from the permanent mysterious relation in which the prophet stands with Yahwè. The prophet not only has the consciousness that Yahwè speaks with him in order to give him ever new communications and commands; he knows also that Yahwè has ever been drawing him—it may be even from childhood—into increasingly intimate communion with himself (Jer. 23 18). The prophet is a 'homo religiosus' in an eminent degree; in its more solemn moments his life reaches far into the supersensuous world whose shapes he sees, whose tones he hears. He belongs to God (Jer. 15 16) and God belongs to him in a peculiar manner. Yahwè is his protector (Jer. 20 11, etc.), his friend (Is. 5 1 7 13), who allows himself to be influenced by the prophet (Am. 7 2 *ff.*); and the prophet for his part lives upon the word of Yahwè (Jer. 15 16), and embraces him, as it were, with his prayer (Jer. 17 14 *ff.*). What he does, he does at Yahwè's command (marriage, Hos. 1 2 *f.*; naming of children, Is. 8 3; symbolical acts); so far as the people resist him, this has been of Yahwè's ordering (Is. 6 9 *f.* Jer. 7 27 Ezek. 33 30 *ff.*). In this close intercourse between the prophet and Yahwè, the initiative and predominant part belongs to Yahwè. There is something exhausting in it for the prophet; Yahwè's is the stronger hand (Is. 8 11), and his dealings with the prophet isolate him from the world and from society (Jer. 1 18 15 17). Thus the prophet produces on his contemporaries the impression that he is mad (Hos. 9 7 Jer. 23 9 29 26 *f.*). More and more, as this intercourse proceeds, the soul of the prophet merges itself in God; he attains moments of exaltation in which God comes specially near to him, and the divine will becomes specially clear.

The outward forms in which revelation comes are two: vision and word.

19a. Its outward forms: vision.

1. The vision is akin to the parable, and appears as a lesson in the art of realising a divine revelation objectively. We are guided to a better comprehension of it by Jer. 18, where God directs the prophet to watch a potter at his work, and thus to interpret to himself God's mode of dealing with men. Either a given visual object gives rise to the corresponding idea, or the idea after much pondering comes at last to receive its plastic representation. (In this connection note the archaic term *ḥăzōn* for 'revelation,' even for 'revelation' by words: Is. 1 1, etc.; cp Jer. 14 14.) Allied to the vision are the symbolical experience (cp Hos. 1 Jer. 32 6 *ff.*) and the symbolical action: the experience to the former kind of vision, the action to the latter. Prophetic vision is not a mere literary form or imaginative creation, but a real occurrence; we have no reason to doubt that the prophets actually had visions. The visions do not by any means always presuppose ecstasy. On the contrary, they can be seen and experienced by the prophet in full consciousness; indeed, in the classical period of prophecy ecstasy is very seldom so much as mentioned, and the abnormal physical conditions referred to in Ezekiel are by no means characteristic of the prophetic nature. The visions should, doubtless, receive a purely psychological explanation; for though the divine disclosures were made to the prophets through visions, these were still only the human form of the divine communication. The so-called 'false' prophets also had their visions. P. V. (§§ 14-19*a*).

19b. Ecstasies.

[The relation of 'ecstasies' to visions needs some further consideration. It was characteristic of heathen μαντεία that it was associated with a state of suspended consciousness—in a word, with ecstasy. As we have already seen, critical exegesis does not favour the view that the higher prophets considered such states the necessary guarantee of a divine revelation. Still, these prophets certainly had them. Jeremiah (15 17) uses the same expression[1] as Isaiah (Is. 8 11) for 'the force with which the divinely produced ecstasy seizes the human medium of the divine word.' In the third of the oracles of Balaam, too, an unknown writer of a prophetic school makes the transformed soothsayer use this language (Num. 24 3*b*)—

> The oracle of Balaam the son of Beor,
> The oracle of the man whose eye is closed.[2]

The eye of a man in an ecstasy is, of course, 'closed' to the outer world. The following lines give the other side of the picture (*v.* 4; cp *v.* 16):—

> The oracle of him who bears divine words,
> [And knows the knowledge of the Most High,]
> Who sees the vision of Shaddai (?),
> Falling down, and having his eyes open.

The 'eyes' here are those of the inner man; 'falling down' describes the effect of the divine impulse (Is. 8 11); 𝔊, paraphrasing, substitutes 'in sleep' (ἐν ὕπνῳ). Another instructive passage is Nu. 12 6 [J]—

'If there is a prophet among you,[3] I make myself known to him in a vision, I speak with him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so; he is faithful in all my house: with him do I speak mouth to mouth, manifestly,[4] and not in riddles, and the form of Yahwè does he behold.'

Here visions and dreams (cp DIVINATION, § 2, vi.) are regarded as the ordinary forms of prophetic revelation; disparagement of dreams as a vehicle of divine communications, such as arose in consequence of the abuse of them by the lower or 'false' prophets, had not yet begun. In contrast with the ordinary prophets, Moses enjoys the specific dignity of holding immediate intercourse with God. This is important as showing the aspirations of the best men; a higher ideal of prophecy corresponded to the loftier conception of God which was emerging in their consciousness. The frenzied dervish-prophets of Saul's time could not satisfy an age of higher religious culture. The prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries speak but little of their ecstasies and visions, with the single exception of Amos, who stands nearer than the others to the time of the ecstatic *nebī'īm*. It is also worth noticing that formulæ implying that the prophet has heard Yahwè speaking to him or, as Tholuck expresses it, has had phonetic oracles (נְאֻם and 'כֹּה אָמַר י), are comparatively rare in the older prophets, whereas from Jeremiah's time onwards they become extremely frequent. This frequency may perhaps be accounted for by the necessity of opposing the 'false prophets,' but no such explanation can be given of the strange frequency of ecstasies in the life of the last of the great prophets—Ezekiel. Three times he tells us that he saw with the inner eye the glory of Yahwè (1 1 *ff.* 3 22 *ff.* 40 1 *ff.*); five times besides he refers to ecstasies

[1] 'I sat alone because of ***thy hand***, for thou hadst filled me with indignation.' On the passage referred to, see Duhm's note.

[2] שְׁתֻם הָעָיִן, a phrase of doubtful meaning; Dillm. virtually reads שְׁתָם. 𝔊, however, renders ὁ ἀληθινῶς ὁρῶν, and Onk. דשפיר חזי, deriving שתם from שׁ (=אשר) and תָּם; so, also, strangely, We. *CH*(2) 112.

[3] Read אִם נָבִיא בָכֶם (Di., etc.).

[4] Read במראה (Sam., 𝔊, Pesh., Onk.; Di., and others).

(8 1 *ff.* 11 1 *ff.* 24 1 *f.* 33 22 37 1 *ff.*), and on some of these occasions (8 16 11 13 24 1) it is apparently implied that Ezekiel saw what took place at a distance.[1] It is not for this, however, that this prophet deserves to be remembered, but for his high moral character. Later writers may have vied with him in ecstasies and visions; but none of them was his match as a preacher of righteousness. One of them, according to some recent critics,[2] has given us (see Is. 21 1-10) a faithful description of the process by which, in the ecstatic state, a revelation came into existence within the seer (not, strictly speaking, the prophet). This, however, is too adventurous; in few passages of the Book of Isaiah is the text more open to suspicion than in this (see *Crit. Bib.*). To theorise on an unrevised text of Is. 21 1-10 is to make bricks without straw.

On ecstasies see, further, Tholuck, *Die Propheten*, 49-74; Giesebrecht, *Berufsbegabung*, 38-72. On the trances and visions of Hindu devotees see *New World*, 9 464, where the effect of mental suggestion in determining the form of visions is pointed out.]

T. K. C. (§ 19*b*).

Revelation by word is not verbal inspiration; it is dependent on the human (religious, ethical, æsthetical) individuality of the prophet. Each prophet took up that which Yahwè said to him ('thus saith Yahwè'; 'oracle [*nĕ'ūm*] of Yahwè'), and gave it shape and utterance according to his own individuality. Whatever knowledge forces itself upon the prophet he traces back to Yahwè; its compelling force makes him believe that it is Yahwè who suggests the words. Sometimes, indeed, he requires a later confirmation, in order that he may be assured of the divine origin of what he has received; cp Jer. 32 6 *ff.* The emphatic clearness with which these intuitive pieces of knowledge emerge in the prophet's consciousness absolutely separates them from the category of dreams and hallucinations (Jer. 23 28); for the prophet, however, the first proof of the divineness of his utterances lies not in the form in which they have been revealed, but in their substance (Jer. 23 29 Mic. 3 8). The prophets believe themselves to be inspired men of God, not because they see divine visions and hear divine words; it is in the fact that they cannot do otherwise than reprove that they perceive their unlikeness to their people and their affinity to Yahwè. It is in fact a feature common to them all that, supported by the prophetic consciousness, they dare—witness Nathan, Elijah, John the Baptist—to bring home their sins to the very highest in the land.

20*a*. Word.

In the classical period we find hardly any mention at all of the *rūăḥ* (רוּחַ) or 'spirit' of Yahwè (Is. 30 1[3] Mic. 3 8 [?]); contrast the phenomena of Ezekiel, who belongs to the period of the decline of prophecy.[4] The prophet is, indeed, אִישׁ הָרוּחַ—'a man who has the spirit' (Hos. 9 7); but this possession shows itself not in momentary excitement, but, like the Pauline *πνεῦμα*, as a habitual supersensuous power. Signs and wonders fitted to gain credence for the word are presumably at the prophet's disposal (Is. 7 11 Jer. 44 29 *f.*); but they are of subordinate importance, and are seldom alluded to.

20*b*. 'Spirit.'

The prophet who is to be deemed worthy of so high a calling must, it is evident, have certain qualifications in addition to a certain natural predisposition to discern hidden things.

21. Qualifications of prophet.

(1) Since it is to be his task to reflect Yahwè himself, to do battle against sin in Yahwè's name, and to promote the cause of righteousness, the prophet must himself, before all else, possess moral elevation of character (cp Mic. 3 8: 'I am full of righteousness [מִשְׁפָּט]').

(2) This however, is not enough; Yahwè lays claim to possession of the entire prophet. The peculiar relation of the prophet to Yahwè is one of unconditional obedience (Ezek. 2 8); it consists in complete self-surrender to God. There is nothing that the prophet has not to forego: social pleasures (Jer. 15 17) and the family life (Jer. 16 2) are not for him; he may not mourn the death of his wife if Yahwè forbids (Ezek. 24 15 *ff.*), must marry a harlot if Yahwè so wills (Hos. 1 2), must not be afraid of the hostile judgments or acts of his contemporaries (Jer. 1 8 17 Ezek. 2 6). Putting off all that cannot be consecrated to Yahwè, the prophet must surrender his personality to Yahwè that he may fill it afresh (Jer. 15 16 6 11), and must turn his purged ear to his God to hear his plans and purposes. This self-surrender may sometimes cost a struggle. Thus, Jeremiah groans under the contumely which he suffers because of Yahwè (20 8); fear induces him to say the thing that is not (38 27), on which account Yahwè rejects him for a while, and has to admonish him to renewed fidelity (15 19).

(3) Moreover, the prophet has to be constantly and eagerly watching the changeful history of his people, and the play of the forces by which the present and the future are being shaped, so that his eye may be trained to discern the divine method of education, and that he himself may become fully qualified as a public counsellor and reprover.

(4) The moral qualification is partly the presupposition of the divine call, partly its necessary result. It is in this above all that the human independence of the prophet manifests itself; this too is the guarantee of the genuineness of his inspiration alike for the prophet himself (Mic. 3 8) and for us in forming a judgment upon him.

The certainty of their divine commission which gave life and soul to the prophets had to assert itself in presence of another phenomenon closely akin to it in form—that of the so-called 'false' prophets.

22. 'False' prophets.

(1) Side by side with the greater prophets there was a class of prophets of inferior rank to which both men and women of Israel belonged (Ezek. 13 17 *ff.*). In the prophetic literature they are not refused the title of prophets. They distinctly claim to have the word of Yahwè (Jer. 5 13, etc., Ezek. 13 6 22 28), they prophesy in the name of Yahwè[1] (Jer. 14 14, etc.), they introduce Yahwè as speaking by them (Jer. 14 13 28 2 11), they have visions (Jer. 14 14 23 16 Ezek. 13 6) and dreams (Jer. 23 25 *ff.*); and they 'hope for the confirmation of their word' (Ezek. 13 6). Whilst the greater prophets stand alone, each for himself, these group themselves into larger companies; they come before us as a leading class, often mentioned in conjunction with the elders and priests. A typical example of the class is Hananiah whom we meet with in Jer. 28 (see § 24).

(2) In the older and more popular conception (1 K. 22) no sharp distinction is as yet made between the oracles of 'false' prophets and those of a prophecy which is truly divine in its origin; they are represented as made use of by Yahwè, but it is not denied that he sometimes leads them into falsehood (*ib.* 22 *f.*). Amos, however, repudiates all connection with these prophets of the masses (Am. 7 14), Micah charges them with flagrant abuse of their gifts (Mic. 3 11), Jeremiah and Ezekiel declare that Yahwè disowns all such prophets; they have no message from him (Jer. 14 14), but steal words

[1] So Kraetzschmar (but cp Giesebrecht, *Berufsbegabung*, 174 *ff.*). The experience described in Ezek. 8 1 may remind us of what Elisha says in 2 K. 5 26 (see 𝔊), 'Went not my heart with thee when a man turned to meet thee,' etc.

[2] See Duhm and Marti on the passage. Similarly Giesebrecht (*op. cit.* 56).

[3] Giesebrecht, *Die Berufsbegabung der Alttest. Propheten*, 137 *f.*

[4] *Ibid.* 123.

[1] [Possibly the wounds 'between the hands' referred to by the 'false prophet' who is introduced in Zech. 13 5 are like those of the *nebî'îm* of Baal in 1 K. 18 28 *f.*, which were designed to renew the bond of union with the deity (cp CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 1, PRAYER). So Duhm.]

of Yahwè from others[1] (Jer. 23 30), or prophesy things of their own devising, mere vanity and lies (Jer. 5 31, etc., Ezek. 13 22 28, cp Is. 9 15 [14] 29 10[2] Zeph. 3 4).

The prophet detects spurious prophets by two criteria: the contents of their message, and their own moral character.

23. Criteria of such.

(*a*) The word of Yahwè must of necessity be a word of woe to a sinful people. These prophets, however, proclaim salvation, they deceive the people as to their true position (Mic. 2 11) and rock it in a false security (Jer. 6 14 8 11, etc.); thus, instead of warning it (Is. 56 10), they confirm it in its sin (Jer. 23 17), and hinder its conversion (Jer. 23 22 Ezek. 13 22); thus they are of no profit to the people (Jer. 23 32 Ezek. 13 5), but rather its bane (Ezek. 13 4), leading it astray (Mic. 3 5 Jer. 23 16 32 28 15 29 31 Ezek. 13 10), 'causing it to forget Yahwè's name' (Jer. 23 27), and preaching what is essentially nothing else than rebellion against Yahwè (Jer. 23 16 29 31; cp Dt. 13 6).

(*b*) The 'false' prophets preach in this tone not from conviction but because they thus gain popularity and thereby prosperity. Thus a prophet of a higher type can also discern their spuriousness by their low moral tone. They prophesy for gain (Mic. 3 11 Ezek. 13 19 21), and so profane Yahwè (Ezek. 13 19), and exploit the people (Ezek. 13 21). They speak as pleasers of men (Mic. 3 5 Ezek. 13 18 *f.*), and espouse the cause of the wicked as against the righteous (Ezek. 13 19); their personal character too is defective (Zeph. 3 4 Is. 28 7); they are even guilty of gross sins (Jer. 23 14 29 23). Hence judgment is to come upon them (Hos. 4 5)—in particular, the withdrawal of the prophetic gift (Mic. 3 6) and public exposure (Jer. 5 13). P. V. §§ 20-23.

In what light are we to regard these prophets? We are in the habit of calling them 'false'; but we should rather, with Volz, regard them as 'prophets of a narrow range of vision.'

24a. Really false? Case of Hananiah.

It is true, the more favourable epithet implies that the colouring of the description of these prophets given in the canonical prophetic books is in some respects too deep.[3] No one, however, who remembers how prone the prophetic writers are to take the darkest possible view of their contemporaries will object to this assumption. We are all glad to admire and reverence Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and others like them, who have no self-regarding thoughts, and are utterly absorbed in the great reality of Yahwè, Israel's righteous God. Still we must not allow ourselves to be unjust to lesser men who, after all, had a necessary function to discharge in the body politic (cp Is. 3 1 *f.*), and who are under the great disadvantage that there is no account of them and of their relation to their prophetic rivals from a friendly hand.

The most important narratives are (*a*) 1 K. 22 1-28, and (*b*) Jer. 28.

(*a*) 1 K. 22 1-28 has been referred to already (§§ 5, 23).

It only remains to be noticed that there is probably a connection between 1 K. 22 1-28 and the story (which in its present form appears to be later) in 1 K. 18. The four hundred prophets of Yahwè mentioned in 1 K. 22 6 *ff.* seem parallel to the four hundred [and fifty] prophets of Baal (see § 7) in 1 K. 18 19 22. In both passages 'four hundred' (ארבע מאות) seems to the present writer to be a corruption and distortion of 'Arab-jerahmeel' (ערב ירחמאל). The redactor of 1 K. 18 gives to the antithesis between prophets of Elijah's or Micaiah's type and the court prophets, who made no distinction between Yahwè and the N. Arabian Baal, a sharpness that was unknown in the age of Ahab.

(*b*) Even the narrative in 1 K. 22, however, cannot safely be regarded as historical in the same sense as a striking passage in the biography of Jeremiah which contains an account of a 'false prophet' (𝔊 Jer. 28 1,

[1] An obscure statement (see Giesebr. and Duhm *ad loc.*).

[2] Both 9 15 [14] as a whole, and words in 29 10, are admitted to be glosses.

[3] Cp Matthes, *De Pseudoprophetismo Hebræorum*; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, vol. ii.: and the histories of OT religion.

ψευδοπροφήτης) contemporary with that prophet. Hananiah, b. Azzur, 'the prophet, who was of Gibeon,' takes up his station in the temple (cp 26 2 29 26), and prophesies the return of Jehoiachin and the exiles, with the sacred vessels, within two years. In an ecstasy (we may suppose) he breaks the wooden yoke which Jeremiah (27 2) has on his neck, and declares that so Yahwè will break the yoke of Nebuchadrezzar on the neck of all nations. Jeremiah meets his opponent with a calm appeal to facts; former prophets have had a message of woe; let the event decide whether Hananiah's message of peace is genuine. He also predicts the death of Hananiah within the year (see JEREMIAH, § 2). Clearly this story has upon the whole an historical appearance, and we may justly infer from it that prophets like Hananiah were more nearly related than Jeremiah to the patriotic *nebi'im* who co-operated with Saul in the liberation of Israel.[1] Hananiah doubtless had that predisposition to ecstasies and visions which was apparently one condition of prophecy, and his only or chief fault was that he had not that sobriety of judgment which no *nābī'* of the old school could have had, and consequently confirmed the people in their futile expectation of success for the anti-Chaldæan coalition which was (perhaps) at that time being planned (27 3).[2] Certainly he was under an illusion; but so too was Habakkuk, whose prophecy (Hab. 1 *f.*) 'expected from the Chaldæans freedom and prosperity for Judah' (HABAKKUK, § 6), and so too, according to most critics, was Nahum (cp § 39). Nor does Hananiah show any trace of that vindictiveness which we find in Nahum and Zephaniah (cp § 39 *f.*) and in other parts of the prophetic canon, notably in the prophecies against the nations ascribed to Jeremiah (Jer. 46-51).[3]

In fact Hananiah and the other prophets of his type were, as Robertson Smith puts it, 'the accredited exponents of the common orthodoxy of their day:—and even of a somewhat progressive orthodoxy, for the prophets who opposed Jeremiah took their stand on the ground of Josiah's reformation. . . No doubt there were many conscious hypocrites and impostors among the professional prophets, as there always will be among the professional representatives of a religious standpoint which is intrinsically untenable, and yet has on its side the prestige of tradition and popular acceptance. But on the whole the false prophets deserve that name, not for their conscious impostures, but because they were content to handle religious formulas which they had learned by rote as if they were intuitive principles, the fruit of direct spiritual experience, to enforce a conventional morality, shutting their eyes to glaring national sins, after the manner of professional orthodoxy, and in brief to treat the religious *status quo* as if it could be accepted without question as fully embodying the unchanging principles of all religion. The popular faith was full of heathenish superstition strangely blended with the higher ideas which were the inheritance left to Israel by men like Moses and Elijah; but the common prophets accepted all alike, and combined heathen arts of divination and practices of mere physical enthusiasm with a not altogether insincere pretension that through their professional oracles the ideal was being maintained of a continuous divine guidance of the people of Yahwè.'

One debt to the 'narrow prophets,' not only the

[1] Note that in Jer. 29 26, Shemaiah assumes the probability that the prophet will act like a madman (מתנבא ‖ משגע).

[2] This is the generally accepted view, but is nevertheless open to doubt. From 2 K. 24 2 it would seem that the Edomites (Arammites ?) and the other nations were by no means friendly to Judah, and the passage probably means that they ravaged Judah with the encouragement of Nebuchadrezzar. In Jer. 27 3 'Edom' and 'Ammon' both probably represent 'Aram' or 'Jerahmeel,' and 'Moab,' 'Tyre,' and 'Zidon' represent (in the consonantal text) Miṣṣur—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Muṣri. The only power on which Judah can be shown to have relied was Egypt (under Hophra).

[3] See JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 12 (Schwally's criticism).

later prophecy, but also the Christian church itself has incurred. According to Volz, it was in the circles of the lower prophets that the idea and the hope known to us as the Messianic took its rise. The characteristic of such prophets was their fanatical patriotism; the Messiah, who is predominantly a political figure, belongs to the same circle of ideas as the 'Day of Yahwè' which the prophets took up from the people, giving it a new significance. The 'Day of Yahwè' and the Messiah are both, if this view is correct, derived from the prophets who had the ear and expressed the hopes of the people. This view is quite independent of the theory (in itself extremely probable) that the Messianic expectation was not taken up by the prophets till after the time of Ezekiel (see § 43). Even if the higher Messianic idea goes back to Isaiah, it forms no part of the genuine prophetic conceptions, and is, strictly, inconsistent with the sole sovereignty of Yahwè.[1] On the Messianic idea in the later writers, see further § 43, and cp MESSIAH.

24*b*. Messianic idea.

Jeremiah, according to his biographer, expresses a pious wish that Hananiah's roseate prophecy might be fulfilled, but declines to recognise him as a true prophet till his oracle of peace shall have been verified by the event (Jer. 28 6 9). The narrative can hardly be accurate in this point, for the context states that Jeremiah was confident that Yahwè's real purpose was very different from what Hananiah supposed. It was, however, no doubt a current axiom that 'when a prophet speaks in the name of Yahwè, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which Yahwè has not spoken: the prophet has spoken it presumptuously' (Dt. 18 22). On the other hand, it was also said by accredited teachers that even if a prophet or a dreamer should arise, and appoint a sign or wonder, and the sign or wonder should come to pass, Israel was not to be led away to worship other gods, for, though Yahwè had caused the sign or wonder to come to pass, he did it to see whether Israel's heart was firmly fixed on its God (Dt. 13 1-3 [2-4]). Certainly it is evident that the prophets of the seventh century did not attach great importance to the exact fulfilment of their predictions; otherwise they or their disciples would not have perpetuated these predictions by committing them to writing. Kuenen[2] has written an elaborate monograph dealing, among other points, with the fulfilment of OT predictions. The work, however, needs to be done over again from the point of view of a more mature textual criticism and exegesis. Meanwhile we may content ourselves with the general opinion thus expressed by Rudolf Smend (*A T Rel.-gesch.*[(2)] 188):—

25. Non-fulfilment of prophecies.

'When we inquire about the fulfilment of their vision of the future, we must of course leave the details of prophecy entirely out of account. The prophets describe the future with abundance of colour and imagery; but they lay stress only on the main points. Much in the description belongs to the rhetorical form, which may vary, not only with different prophets, but even with the same prophet. Nor is this all. Many prophecies have remained unfulfilled, even as regards their contents. Certainly their illuminated sight discerned the situation, not only of Israel and Judah, but also of Egypt and other peoples in relation to Assyria and Babylon. But most of the prophecies on foreign nations were fulfilled, and this is true in still larger measure of the Messianic prophecies.'

In connection with this subject, however, one or two remarks must still be made. There are some passages in the OT in which the non-fulfilment of predictions is accounted for by a change in the relation of man to God. It was thought that by repentance the threatened judgment could be averted, and that by disobedience the promised blessing could be missed (cp Jer. 18 7-10 Jon. 3 4 Joel 2 12 *f.*). Once, too, when Jeremiah was in peril of capital punishment for having predicted the destruction of Jerusalem, 'certain of the elders of the land' appealed to the case of Micah, who had given the same prediction, which, however, was not fulfilled, owing to Hezekiah's repentance (Jer. 26 17-19). It would, however, be hasty to follow conservative critics in the exegetical inference that the threatenings and promises of the prophets are to be understood as conditional. There is no evidence, unless it be in critically doubtful passages, that any of the great prophets of the eighth century understood their threatenings to be conditional, and it is better to hold (1) that all predictions whether of good or of evil were categorically meant, and (2) that passages like Jer. 18 7-10 represent the reflexions of a later age, not the belief of a great prophet like Jeremiah, who certainly felt only too acutely that the threatened destruction of Jerusalem would certainly come to pass. In fact, the only parts of Jeremiah which can be confidently set down to that prophet are metrical in structure, and 18 7-10 is not metrical. That in 18 3 5 we seem to find Jeremiah speaking in the first person, is no adequate proof that the passage is really autobiographical.

[1] Cp Kraetzschmar's review of Volz's 'Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie,' *TLZ* 22 (1897) col. 676 *ff.*
[2] *De profeten*, etc. (1875); also in an English version.

The illusion under which the prophets, and not only the prophets but apparently also Jesus himself, constantly were, relative to the nearness of the period of 'the end' has been sometimes explained[1] by the so-called 'perspective' character of prophecy.

In a note on Mt. 24 29 in his *Gnomon*, J. A. Bengel thus illustrates the theory:—'Prophetia est ut pictura regionis cujuspiam, quæ in proximo tecta et calles et pontes notat distincte, procul valles et montes latissime patentes in augustum cogit.'

This assimilation of physical and spiritual vision, however, is not only arbitrary; it is unnecessary. When the Second Isaiah predicted the deliverance of the Jews from exile as simultaneous with the opening of the Messianic period, the psychological cause is obvious; it was the impatient longing of a much-tried soul to see his people placed beyond the reach of change and chance—an impatience which could only have been corrected by a clear intuition of the truth of historical development which is one of the more recent acquisitions of the human mind. Why should we look further for an explanation? Besides, the theory of 'perspective' is inconsistent with the important fact that events which might conceivably happen in the time of the prophet are usually represented as the cause of the great events which are eschatologically to follow.

See Elmslie, 'The perspective in prophecy,' *British and Foreign Evan. Review*, April 1872, pp. 326-347; Giesebrecht, *Berufsbegabung*, 27 *f.*; Schwartzkopff, *Die prophet. Offenbarung*, 155-158; and cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 84, i.; B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, 2 307.

It was a tragic fate that Jeremiah, the gentlest and most retiring of men, should have had to repeat the old prophetic sentence upon the guilty city Jerusalem. It was needful, however; for certain sides of the teaching of Deuteronomy had so beguiled even the best of the citizens that they for the most part firmly believed in the safety of Jerusalem, partly on the ground that they had upon the whole (though the early zeal for the law had abated) obeyed the Deuteronomic prescriptions, and partly because the escape of Jerusalem in the time of Sennacherib seemed to show that temple and city possessed an inviolable sanctity. There was one person, however, who in all probability questioned the authority of Deuteronomy, and that was Jeremiah. That he did so from the first we cannot venture positively to assert, though it is certainly striking that, when the messengers of Josiah, seek a prophetic counsel with regard to 'this book that is found,' they apply, not to Jeremiah, but to a popular prophetess[2] named HULDAH. The whole tone of Jeremiah's utterances is adverse to the formal religion of Deuteronomy, and in 8 8 he even accuses the 'scribes'

26. Jeremiah.

[1] For example, by Hengstenberg and Oehler. Tholuck's theory (*Die Propheten*, 61 *ff.*) is more subtle, but only slightly less objectionable than the 'perspective' theory.
[2] That she was a favourite of the people appears from 2 K. 22 14 (see HULDAH).

or 'book-men' of making divine law (*tōrāh*) into a lie.[1] Elsewhere too (7 21-26) he represents Yahwè as giving license to the people to eat not only the *zĕbāḥīm* (EV sacrifices) but even the *'ōlōth* (EV burnt-offerings) at their sacrificial feasts (see SACRIFICE), which is interpreted[2] as implying that Yahwè at the Exodus had given no commandment at all relative to sacrifices. This attitude of Jeremiah, though suggested by that of his predecessors Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, was of decisive importance for the future religion of Israel. Jeremiah was the last great prophet of the pre-exilic period, and his emphatic assent to the declarations of the older prophets seemed to the nobler minds of later generations like the final verdict of Israel's God. They sought indeed to supplement and qualify his statements; but they did not attempt to alter the traditional words of his fragmentary prophecies. Accordingly, mere ritualism had no standing-ground in the later Jewish religion.[3]

In spite of presentiments of a dark future for Israel, Jeremiah appears at first to have had some hopes, and to have striven to persuade his people to repent (see 2 1-4 4 apart from later insertions). As time went on, however, presentiments gave place to a settled sad conviction that all was lost, and that nothing remained but to complain to his God of Israel's impenitence; and to assert over and over again to his people the imminence of judgment. Not even a minority could be excepted from the general condemnation of the sinful people;[4] not a single truth-loving man could be found in the whole of Jerusalem (5 1, cp 8 6 10 13; also 6 27-30 9 2*b* [1*b*]). From this painful, Cassandra-like rôle, Jeremiah never withdrew. It would no doubt have been worthy of this noble prophet (a true patriot, in spite of Renan's adverse opinion) to have advised Jehoiachin's companions to make themselves at home in the land of exile, and to cleave to Yahwè by prayer; but the central statement of chap. 29 that the Babylonian oppression shall last only for a time (seventy years) is certainly unauthentic, and it is not much more probable that the ill-written narrative in chap. 24, in which restoration is promised to the fellow-exiles of Jehoiachin contains a kernel of tradition. Shall we say that Jeremiah's eyes were too much dimmed by tears to look into the distant future? It would be a worthier supposition that, having broken with the idea of sacred localities, he bade the Jewish exiles—as many of them as were capable of repentance under the stern discipline of exile—live the lives which befitted worshippers of Yahwè on a foreign soil. At the same time, since this is not suggested in any of the undoubted writings of Jeremiah (which are all poetic in form), we cannot regard it as more than a pleasing conjecture.

The so-called 'Scythian prophecies' in chaps. 4-6 8 10 12 refer most probably, not to the Scythians (an opinion which has almost become traditional among commentators), but to the N. Arabians, who had already made repeated incursions into Judah, and, from Jehoiakim's time, became foes not less dreaded than the Babylonians, under whose sanction indeed they appear to have conducted their operations. This has an important bearing on the strange prophecy against Gog(?) in Ezek. 38-39 (see below, § 27).

Jeremiah is a much more attractive personality than Ezekiel. Nothing in the whole range of prophecy is more fascinating than his transparently veracious references to his intercourse with his God (cp NAME, § 4); the record of his agonising mental experiences makes us all the more admire him for his ultimate self-subordination to the will of Yahwè, and his unhesitating acceptance of a perilous responsibility.

27. Ezekiel.

Ezekiel, however, is in some respects more interesting to the historian, because endowed with more originality, not indeed as a prophet, but as a thinker. Little did Jeremiah know what a gifted man there was in a priestly family at Jerusalem. It is true, Ezekiel had been deeply impressed by Deuteronomy, with which (in its original form, which no effort of criticism can exactly reproduce) Jeremiah did not sympathise, and in order to understand Ezekiel, we must place ourselves at the Deuteronomic point of view. His conception of religion as a church-system,[1] and of piety as consisting in the fulfilment of certain precepts and ordinances, is largely influenced by the new Covenant Book. Little need be said here of the first part of Ezekiel's ministry. As he was an exile, it was only to a portion of the nation that he could address himself, for he belonged to the first captivity—that of Jehoiachin. But he certainly considered this fragment of Israel to be representative of the whole people, and himself to be Israel's prophet. For six years and a half he proclaimed the imminence of the ruin of Judah, as the consequence of the incorrigible wickedness of the people. Then (587-586) came the fatal blow—expected by none but himself. This not only raised Ezekiel as a prophet in the estimation of his fellow-exiles, who now became eager for the word of Yahwè (33 30), but also changed Ezekiel himself from a 'censor' (3 26, אִישׁ מוֹכִיחַ, EV a reprover) into a 'watchman' (33 7[2]), or, as we should say, a pastor, devoting himself to the task of preparing suitable individuals to become partakers of the great future which he confidently predicted for Yahwè's true people. It was for them that he used his abundant knowledge of ritual and of sacred architecture; for them (not for all who heard him, 33 30-33) that he uttered predictions of judgment on the foes of Israel; for them (but not only for them) that he delivered wonderful discourses on that fundamental principle of individual responsibility which constitutes one of his chief claims to the possession of originality (18 33 1-29). Eschatology, too, became prominent in his thoughts—naturally enough, for the waiting-time was to be so short, that the 'last things' became to him virtually the things of to-morrow; forty years, no more, was to be the duration of the exile (4 6); when these were over, woe to the wicked, both in Israel and among the 'nations,' and joy for the righteous! Though much of Ezekiel's later activity does not concern our present subject (see LAW LITERATURE, §§ 14, 23 *f.*), it is right to allude to it even here because it suggests how continuous the religious progress of Israel was, in that the same man was at once the last of the prophets, the first of the great theological thinkers, and at any rate the most influential of the later students of law and ritual.

It is commonly taken for granted that Ezekiel, together with Jehoiachin and his other fellow-exiles, resided in Babylonia. This, however, is by no means certain. We have seen elsewhere (see OBADIAH [BOOK], § 7) that N. Arabian peoples probably joined the Babylonians in the invasion of Judah and the overthrow of Jerusalem, and that Jewish captives were carried into N. Arabia. Some of the phenomena which are most favourable to this view are to be found in Ezekiel, which, like other prophetic writings, has been much edited, and

1 See JEREMIAH, § 4. Jer. 11 1-14 has led many (*e.g.*, Dahler and, formerly, the present writer) to suppose that for a time Jeremiah was a preacher of obedience to the Deuteronomic law. The phraseology is certainly not characteristic of Jeremiah, and it is only a natural caution, which, after recent criticism of Isaiah, no longer appears justifiable, that has hindered critics from recognising the hand of a post-exilic supplementer. Note how badly the material of 2 28 (certainly Jeremiah's work) is utilised in 11 12 *f.* The credit of the rectification belongs to Duhm.

2 Whether by Jeremiah or by a supplementer, is uncertain (see Duhm).

3 Next to Pss. 40 6 [7], and 50 14 *f.* 23, 51 16 *f.* [17 *f.*] we may refer to Mic. 6 6-8, a passage which excited the ungrudging admiration of Huxley (*Essays*). Note, however, the doubtfulness of the closing words (MICAH [BOOK], § 4).

4 Jer. 5 26 which contains the strange statement, 'For among my people are found wicked men,' belongs to a passage (5 18-31) which, as Duhm (completing the observations of Stade and others) has seen, belongs to a late insertion. The writer is less pessimistic than Jeremiah, and divides the people into a good and a bad half.

1 See Bertholet, *Die Verfassungsentwurf des Hesekiel* (1896).

2 3 16-21, in which the same term occurs, is evidently a later insertion.

in its present form, seems often to misrepresent the meaning of the prophet: 'The river Chebar' should probably be 'the river of Jerahmeel,' and 'TEL-ABIB' [*q.v.*] 'Tel-arab' (mound of Arabia) or, as the Hebrew text underlying 𝔊 may have said, Tel-Jerahmeel (mound of J.).

Some passages in the book are transformed, not without gain to the sense, by similar emendations, notably chap. 28, which has been wrongly supposed to have been directly influenced by a Babylonian myth; for this indeed, if Ezekiel had really resided in Babylonia, there would have been ample opportunity (see PARADISE), but that is just the point which is in dispute. The description of the cherubs in Ezek. 1 has also been supposed to show the direct influence of Babylonia. It is plain, however, that the influence of Babylonia on the Judah of the later regal period was strong enough to have produced the imaginative description in Ezek. 1, even if the writer had never left Jerusalem, and the whirlwind which brought the cloud-enfolded chariot of Yahwè came (according to an extremely probable view) from Zaphon—*i.e.*, the district in the Negeb which contained 'Horeb, the mount of God.' In another vision (17 4) we hear of a great eagle which came to Lebanon and 'cropped off the topmost of the young twigs' of the cedar, and 'carried it into the land of Kenaz (קְנָז, as often, for כְּנַעַן), and set it in the city of Jerahmeel (ירחמאל, as elsewhere, for רכלים).' The strongest evidence, however, in favour of a Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian background is in chaps. 38 *f.*, where 'Gog' and 'Magog' should everywhere be 'Jerahmeel.' The N. Arabian foe became the symbol of the last and most terrible enemy of Israel whom Yahwè would destroy.[1] Ezekiel even gives us the means of proving the correctness of our view by referring (38 17 39 8) to older prophecies of this last hostile irruption; he means, no doubt, Zeph. 1 14 *ff.* Jer. 4-6 8 10 12 (parts), which are often supposed to refer (apart from later modifications) to an apprehended irruption of the SCYTHIANS [*q.v.*], but which may be referred with more probability to the dangerous N. Arabian neighbours of Judah.

With a N. Arabian background, many parts of Ezekiel assume a different aspect.[2] It is no easy task, however, to undo the skilful work of the ancient editor who produced the present text, and who succeeded, not indeed in infusing a large Babylonian element, but at least in well disguising the many striking references to Miṣṣur, Jerahmeel, Geshur, and Ṣaphon.

Another exilic writing, which in a secondary sense may be called prophetic—viz., Is. 40-55, also (according to the present writer's latest criticism) has a N. Arabian background. Its author being unknown, however, we must reserve what we have to say concerning it for a later section (§ 43).

The consciousness of the decline of prophetic inspiration is equally manifest in Haggai and Zechariah (1-8).

28. Last named prophets. Hence probably their repeated assurances that their word is the word of Yahwè. Zechariah's respectful references to the 'former prophets' (1 4 *ff.* 7 7 12), and his mention of an angelic interpreter of his visions (cp Ezek. 40 3) point in the same direction—*i.e.*, they show that the successors of the old prophets are rarely remembered by name because they have no public sphere of activity, in other words are not, strictly speaking, prophets at all; in fact, they pass into the number of literary persons, whose work was always either anonymous or pseudonymous. It is true that in the memoir of Nehemiah (6 10-14) we meet with prophets exercising public functions, of whom two are mentioned by name, one a man (Shemaiah), the other a woman (Noadiah). These prophets, however, were morally unworthy of this venerable official title, and seem to have been akin to the 'false' prophets and prophetesses described by

[1] See GOG, n. 4, col. 1747 *f.*, where for מגדון (Migdon) read ירחמאל (Jerahmeel). The correction was impossible till the key to a large section of the historic and prophetic literature had been found. The enigmatical ראש (38 2) should be אַשּׁוּר (Asshur—*i.e.*, Geshur), משך should be כּוּשָׁם (Cusham); and תבל is probably not an insertion from Gen. 10 2 (MT), but a N. Arabian ethnic (cp Bethul?). On the mysterious הַצְּפוֹנִי in Joel 2 20 (a synonym for 'Gog') see § 44.

[2] This chiefly refers to chapters in which names of countries or peoples occur. But it is probable that fuller knowledge would reveal other passages affected by the N. Arabian place of exile. Soothsaying (as the story of Balaam and the true text of Is. 26 [see *Crit. Bib.*] show) was specially cultivated in N. Arabia, and sacrifices of children were very possibly still practised there, as in the time represented by the story of the attempted sacrifice of Isaac (see MORIAH, and cp MOSES, § 8). This may throw fresh light on the denunciation of diviners in chap. 13, and on the references to the sacrifices of children among Ezekiel's fellow-exiles in 20 31.

PROPHETIC LITERATURE

Ezekiel (chap. 13 22 28). We even find, in a part of the late appendix to Zechariah (13 2-6), the anticipation of the extinction of prophecy, on the ground of its connection with the spirit of uncleanness—*i.e.*, of heathenism. It seems, therefore, that the unknown writer did not regard his own and similar writings as 'prophetic.' We may also refer to Ps. 74 9, 'there is no more any prophet' (in spite of the fact that the words are probably a gloss on the doubtful word יודע, 'one that knows'), for it suggests the belief of the scribes that in great crises, when prophetic counsel might have been looked for, no one with prophetic gifts came forward in public (see col. 2207). It was a very poor substitute for these gifts that some persons (*e.g.*, John Hyrcanus[1]) were believed to be in communication with the heavenly world by means of suddenly heard oracular voices called *Bath-ḳōl* ('daughter'—*i.e.*, echo, 'of the Voice'), a parallel to which in Arabian superstition has been pointed out by Wellhausen.[2]

The exceptions to the rule that the post-exilic prophets are unnamed are Malachi, Joel, and Obadiah. It is doubtful, however, whether we can trust the tradition.

(*a*) As to the name (or title) מלאכי, 'Malachi,' it was probably taken from Mal. 3 1 by the redactor of the Twelve Prophets, who is also apparently the author of the superscriptions in Zech. 9 1 12 1. If so, מלאכי in the heading (Mal. 1 1) should not be reproduced as 'Malachi,' but rendered 'my messenger.'[3] Even if (as the present writer has suggested) מלאכי, both in Mal. 3 1 and in the heading, should be corrected into מִיכָאֵל (Michael) this would not involve the assumption that the name of the prophetic writer was Michael, for 'Michael' in 3 1 would plainly refer to the angelic patron of the people of Israel (Dan. 10 13 21 12 1).

(*b*) As to 'Joel the son of Pethuel,' the probability is that the name was prefixed by the redactor out of his own head. It is likely enough that in some late historical midrash mention was made of a prophet bearing this name.

'Son of Bethuel' (so we should probably read with 𝔊) may very well mean 'inhabitant of (the southern) Bethel,' which we conjecture to have been a place and district in the Negeb, famous in the history of religion (cp Tubal in Ezek. 38 2; see col. 3881, n.). The Negeb in the regal period was, according to our theory, the nursery of prophets of Yahwè; in the (pre-Maccabæan) post-exilic period, however, no Judahite prophetic writer would have been called 'son of Bethuel,' because the Negeb was at that time occupied by the Edomites.

(*c*) As to 'Obadiah' (עבדיה), which is most probably a post-exilic modification of some ethnic, perhaps 'Arābī (עַרְבִי, Arabian), this name, too, is most probably fictitious; 2 Ch. 17 7 shows that it would naturally suggest itself as a companion to Joel (= Jerahmeel?[4]), Jonah (= Jehonathan?[5]), and Micah (= Michaiah).

Most probably, therefore, Zechariah may be regarded as the last prophet of the school of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, and though he is but a poor specimen of that great school, and hardly enables us to divine what a wonderful elevation or transformation of nature could result from the prophetic call, we look upon him with reverence as the latest representative of the 'goodly company.' Henceforth it was upon the enemies of Yahwè's people that judgment was to be denounced; for Israel itself the gentle comforter, the earnest exhorter, the wise teacher, the unveiler of times and seasons, not the lion-like announcer of Israel's certain destruction, was the minister of God whom the com-

[1] See *OPs.* p. 39, note kk.

[2] This may be thought to illustrate Mt. 3 17 Jn. 12 28 *f.*; if so, it is the highest glorification of folk-lore. The passage from Jn. may be quoted. 'Then came there a voice from heaven. . . . The people therefore that stood by and heard it, said that it thundered: others said, An angel spake to him.'

[3] Clem. Alex. mentions 'Malachi' as ὁ ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα ἄγγελος (ed. Dindorf, 2 99 22 102 24 105 2 110 15).

[4] 'Ben-hail' in 2 Ch. 17 7 no doubt comes from 'Ben jerahmeel.'

[5] Jehonathan is probably a modification of Nethaniah, which like NETHANEEL (*q.v.*) ultimately comes from the ethnic Ethani (pointing to the Negeb). Cp § 4.

munity required. And so, when for a little while, just before the appearance of Jesus, JOHN THE BAPTIST [*q.v.*] preached in the wilderness of Judæa, he combined with his threatening comfort. The old prophetic writings had before his time been supplemented, and the supplementers had introduced into them bright pictures of the Messianic king. But whereas the supplementers were writers merely, John was a forceful personality of the type of Elijah. To many of his contemporaries, therefore, he appeared like one of the old prophets come back; and to us, at any rate, it is an interesting coincidence[1] that, according to one form of the Gospel tradition, the father of John was 'a certain priest named Zacharias' (Lk. 1 5). It is plain, however, that the message of the Baptist was deeply modified by the parallel announcement of the advent of the Messiah. In fact, between the prophet Zechariah, and John the son of Zacharias, comes the development of apocalyptic, a specimen of which has even been tacked on to the Book of Zechariah (see ESCHATOLOGY, § 46). It is a truly wonderful development, with a style, principles, and method which are all its own, and which have been dealt with elsewhere (see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE).

29. John the Baptist.

That John the Baptist or any contemporary enthusiast founded a school of prophets, cannot be shown. It is, therefore, all the more surprising, as long as we regard all the sayings in the Sermon on the Mount as authentic words of Jesus, that he should have warned his hearers against 'false prophets,' and announced their miserable fate (Mt. 7 15 19, cp 24 11). If, however, we admit that the discourses ascribed to the great teacher were adapted (as the early Hebrew prophecies were adapted) to a later age by the insertion of sayings not really uttered by the principal speaker, we shall see that later Christian circumstances both may and must be referred to. That there were 'prophets' in the early Christian communities is, indeed, a well-known fact (see, *e.g.*, Acts 13 1 Rom. 12 6 1 Cor 12 28 14 1 *ff.* Eph. 2 20 3 5 4 11 Rev. 18 20 24). It remains to illustrate and explain this phenomenon from the now famous though but recently recovered treatise called the *Didachè*, or 'Teaching of the Apostles.' T. K. C. (§§ 24-29).

B. CHRISTIAN PROPHETS.

The ultimate triumph in the primitive church of the ministry of office, over what we may call the ministry of enthusiasm, has made it difficult for us to realise that there ever was a time when bishops, presbyters, and deacons were not the prominent figures of the ecclesiastical community. It has been the recovery of the *Didachè*, or 'Teaching of the Apostles,' which has been mainly instrumental in opening our eyes to a different state of things; and a large part of the value of this book has lain for us in the fact that it has enabled us to recognise in other early Christian documents parallels, more or less close, to those very features which at first sight strike us as most strange in the Christian society which it describes. Accordingly, we shall bring together some of the later notices of the prophetic office, before considering the references which are made to it in the NT.

30. Prophets in the Didachè.

The chief figures in the church in the locality pictured for us in the *Didachè* are not bishops and deacons, who are only mentioned towards the end of the book, but apostles and prophets. The apostles are missionaries, who travel continually, and do not settle down in any Christian community; their gift is for the world outside. The gift of the prophets, however, is for the church itself, and they may travel or settle, as they choose (chap. 13). Their function is that of speaking 'in the Spirit'—*i.e.*, under the influence of an immediate inspiration, declaring the will of God in the Christian assembly. Especially at the Eucharist the prophet's gift comes into play: he is free from restriction to the otherwise prescribed formulæ, and may 'give thanks as he chooses' (chap. 10). This seems to imply that if a prophet were present he would supersede all others in the celebration of the Eucharist.

The regard in which prophets are to be held demands, first, that their utterances and actions, however strange, are to be above criticism—to oppose them is the sin against the Holy Ghost (chap. 11). Secondly, that they are to be well provided for, and to receive first-fruits of every kind; 'for they are your high priests' (chap. 13). It is clear from this that the prophet has no superior in the community in which he resides.

Here, then, we see the Prophetic Order at its greatest height; but it is to be noted that we already have indications of the dangers which beset it as an institution.

(*a*) There are counterfeit prophets, who must be guarded against. Certain simple rules for discrimination are laid down.

(*b*) There are prophets, apparently genuine, whose actions challenge the gravest suspicion; but they may not be judged by men; they are to be left to the divine judgment. In this, reference is probably made to immoral acts defended as typical of the union between Christ and his church, and further justified as parallel to certain symbolic acts of the OT prophets.

(*c*) Prophecy has been already abused by the covetousness of prophets, who have demanded food or money when speaking under the prophetic influence.

(*d*) Yet more important is it to observe the struggle which is beginning between prophecy, as an institution, and the local administrative order. 'Appoint for yourselves,' we read, 'bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord' (chap. 15). These are 'not to be despised,' as probably they often were by those who esteemed the prophetic enthusiasm as the supreme authority. Prophets are clearly not numerous; a local church may be without any prophet at all. The advent of a prophet to such a church would throw the local ministry at once into the shade. Yet, after all, those functions of the prophet which were essential to the welfare of the church could be sufficiently discharged by the local officers, the bishops and deacons: 'for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers.' Here we see the elements of a rivalry, insignificant at first, but destined to overthrow the prophetic institution. Time was too strong for the extemporaneous and enthusiastic, and was all on the side of the regular and permanent authority. The bishops and deacons, still waiting in the background, plainly have the future before them.

Besides these dangers to which prophecy as an institution was exposed, there was another and a very different one, of which we find indications in the 'Shepherd of Hermas.' In turning from the *Didachè* to the *Shepherd* we pass from E. to W. We are no longer among a scattered population, with its churches here and there, visited by eminent strangers with prophetic gifts. We are in the great city of Rome, where the conditions of life are wholly different. We are, moreover, amid heathen surroundings, at a time when the little of earnest religion that survives gathers round magicians and diviners. Here prophecy has other perils.

31. In 'Shepherd of Hermas.'

The date of the Shepherd is much disputed. The book is permeated with the language of 'The Two Ways,' if not of the entire *Didachè*. If it is to be placed so late as the middle of the second century, it must be purposely archaic in form, and intended to be regarded as an earlier production. In this case the picture of the true and the false prophet may be in part a fancy portraiture; we have little or nothing besides to make us suppose that there ever was an order of prophets in the Roman church.

Hermas is shown a vision of the false prophet

[1] To make the coincidence complete, John's father should have belonged to the 'course' of Iddo (cp Neh. 12 4 16) not of Abijah.

(*Mand.* 11). His powers are not unreal, but diabolic; his practices are those of heathen mantic prophecy. He gives answers privately to those who consult him; he is dumb in the assembly of believers. The true prophet speaks only in the Christian congregation; the false prophet prophesies in a corner for reward.

No doubt there was something of this mantic prophecy within the Christian church. Simon Magus, and the legends that cluster round his name, are a proof of it. Moreover the accusation of magic, so often brought against the Christians, was perhaps not always unfounded. The very name of 'prophet' must in any case have suggested it to the heathen mind.

This mantic prophecy was of course wholly different from Christian prophecy. But the confusion was inevitable; and the writer of the Shepherd is at pains to emphasise the true distinction.

Two character sketches of the satirist Lucian throw a lurid light on this possible abuse of the prophetic position. One is entitled 'Alexander, or the false diviner'; it shows us the practice of sooth-saying and oracle-mongering as it flourished in the Greek and Roman world of the second century. The other, 'The death of Peregrinus,' is more directly important for the illustration of our subject. We see here the kind of impostor who then travelled and traded on the religious sentiment. Among other transformations Peregrinus adopts the *rôle* of Christian prophet. He is spoken of as interpreting the sacred books of the Christians, and as writing fresh ones for them. He even goes to prison as a confessor, and is well looked after there by the widows and other members of the church. Presently he is detected and disgraced, and he ends as a Cynic philosopher, burning himself at the Olympic festival in order to gratify the passion of his life, the desire for notoriety. It is to be noted that Peregrinus is distinctly spoken of as a 'prophet,' and that, although previously unknown, he rises at once to a position of pre-eminence in the Christian community.

Thus far, then, we have seen the Order of Christian Prophets, as it is depicted for us in the *Didachè*, a document which, however, it must not be forgotten, represents an imperfect type of Christian society, confined perhaps within a narrow local range. We have seen, too, the perils of various kinds to which that order was by its very nature exposed; and we have seen side by side with it the administrative order, sometimes temporarily overshadowed by it, but destined to abide as the permanent ministry of the church when prophecy as an institution had passed away.

Let us now look back to the NT, and ask what is the position of the Christian prophet there. The conception of a prophet, as it had gradually been worked out in the history of Israel, was that of a man who speaks from God, to warn, to console, sometimes to foretell. Such voices of God had long been silent when John the Baptist recalled the figure of the prophet Elijah. Once more men listened to the divine voice speaking through a man's lips. 'A prophet, and more than a prophet' (Lk. 7 26) had appeared. The work of Jesus himself is several times described as prophetic, and his hearers spoke of him as 'a great prophet' (Lk. 7 16).

32a. In NT.

The new Israel of God could not be thought of as less fully equipped for its divine mission than the old Israel had been. On the day of Pentecost the words of Joel were remembered: 'I will pour out of my Spirit . . . and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy' (Joel 3 1 [2 28]). Agabus, Judas, Silas, the four daughters of Philip, are specially named as prophets and prophetesses (Acts 11 28 21 10 15 32 21 9). Agabus foretold events; but as a rule the function of the prophets was to declare the divine will, as at Antioch, when Barnabas and Saul were sent on their first mission (Acts 13 1 *f.*), or again, when prophecy pointed out Timothy to be the ordained companion of Paul (1 Tim. 1 18 4 14). Besides this it was their part to make exhortation and to give thanks in the Christian assembly (1 Cor. 14 4 *ff.*).

In Paul's earliest letter to a Greek church he has to defend the position of prophecy: 'Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophesyings' (1 Thess. 5 20).[1] In Corinth he has to check the extravagance of some who exercised the gift in a tumultuous manner, and he lays down as a guiding principle, that 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' (1 Cor. 14 32). See SPIRITUAL GIFTS. In the Epistle to the Ephesians we read that the church is 'built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets' (2 20); that to 'his holy apostles and prophets' the mystery of Christ is revealed (3 5); and that among the gifts of the ascended Lord to his church, 'some' are 'apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers' (4 11)—words which recall an earlier passage, 1 Cor. 12 28: 'God appointed in the church first apostles, secondly prophets.'

The Apocalypse, in its first and last chapters, is distinctly described as a 'prophecy' (1 3 22 7 *ff.*), and the seer in one passage is linked with 'his brethren the prophets' (22 9). 'The saints and apostles and prophets' are called upon to rejoice over the fall of Babylon, which has shed 'the blood of prophets and saints' (18 20 24). In the letter to Thyatira (2 20) 'Jezebel which calleth herself a prophetess,' if not an individual woman claiming inspiration, at any rate represents an abuse of the gift of prophecy for immoral purposes.

It seems probable that there is some connection which has not yet been worked out between the *Didachè* and Second Peter. That epistle gains a new significance when we read it in the light of what we now know of Christian prophecy and the perils which beset it. After a mention of 'the prophetic word, to which ye do well in taking heed' (2 Pet. 1 19), follows a terrific denunciation of the 'false teachers' who are said to correspond to the false prophets of the ancient Israel (2 1 *ff.*) Their immorality and their opposition to constituted authority is emphasised both here and in the parallel section of Jude. They are compared to Balaam who prophesied for hire, and to Korah who resisted Moses and Aaron. The prophecy of Enoch is quoted against them (Jude 14). They are denounced as a disgrace to the Christian love-feasts (2 Pet. 2 13 Jude 12). It may be that the title of prophet is purposely avoided in speaking of them. They have their visions and dreams; but they are 'sensual (psychic), not having the Spirit' (Jude 19). In contrast with such, true prophecy is again mentioned, and the faithful are charged to remember earlier utterances of 'the holy prophets' (2 Pet. 3 2). That in some of these passages we cannot sharply distinguish between OT and NT prophecy is perhaps due to an intentional vagueness on the part of the writer.

The NT, then, leaves us no room to doubt that in the primitive church next in importance to the apostles stood the Christian prophets. Prophecy, like other *charismata*, was an endowment of the church as a whole. This is clear from the scene at Pentecost (for we cannot entirely sever prophecy from the gift of tongues), and also from another significant occasion when prophecy followed the laying on of apostolic hands. But, like other *charismata*, it manifested itself especially in certain individuals. No human choice, however, determined their selection; and this in itself differentiated them from the administrative officers of the church. The prophetic gift was immediately recognised wherever it appeared, and its possession raised the humblest to a position of eminence.

Besides the biblical names which we have mentioned, we hear of Ammia of Philadelphia and Quadratus of Athens as exercising the prophetic gift (Eus. *HE* 5 17), and other prophets and prophetesses appear among

1 [That Paul himself had 'visions and revelations of the Lord' appears from 2 Cor. 12 1 *ff.*; cp Acts 13 9 27 10.]

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the early sects. The strangely interesting revivalistic movement called the Phrygian heresy, and commonly known as Montanism, was a vast effort to resuscitate prophecy, and to magnify the enthusiastic authority against the administrative.

32b. Other prophets; Montanism.

Montanus and his two prophetesses, Prisca and Maximilla, based their extravagant claims on the great chapters of the Fourth Gospel in which the Holy Spirit is promised as the Paraclete who shall guide the church into all the truth. They claimed that in their persons this promise was at last fulfilled, and that they were new incarnations of the deity, with authority to supersede the teachings of the apostles, and even to say more than had been said by Jesus himself. The spirit of this movement rapidly spread westward. Rome, Carthage, and Gaul were all stirred by it. It was a moment when the church was harassed by persecution, and men's minds were excited and thrown somewhat off their balance. The martyrs of Lyons and the martyrs of Africa alike show sympathy with the movement, though in a tempered form. It seemed to a great spirit like Tertullian's that the church's love had been growing cold, and that it needed some startling revival such as Montanism promised to inaugurate.

It is not clear how far this 'new prophecy,' as it was called, stood in a direct line of succession to the primitive Christian prophets. Those who sought to harmonise it with the Catholic church certainly quoted the earlier prophets in its justification. The movement failed, less perhaps from its early extravagances than from the inherent weakness of prophecy as a system.

It has had several parallels in later history, such as the Anabaptists of the Reformation period, and yet more notably the Irvingites of a recent generation; we might perhaps add to the list the self-denying but extravagant zeal of the Salvation Army. Every such endeavour has witnessed to a truth—a truth which the church in its ordered sobriety is perpetually in danger of dropping out of sight; but it has isolated that truth from other complementary truths; it has divorced enthusiasm from order, and erected it into a supreme authority. Again and again organisation has been too strong for it, and prophecy as an institution has proved to be incapable of permanent resuscitation.

In its most spiritual element the gift of prophecy may be said never to have become extinct in the Christian church. Age after age has seen the rise of great teachers, alike within and without the ranks of the regular ministry: men who were dominated by a sense of immediate mission from God, and filled with a conviction which imparted itself by contagion to their hearers. But prophecy as an institution is what we have been considering, and as such it was destined to pass away, leaving those of its functions which were vital to the church's well-being to be discharged as a rule by the settled ministry, which rose to its full height only on its rival's fall.

33. Conclusion.

In reviewing the causes of the disappearance of the prophetic order, we may give the first place to this necessary rivalry with the administrative authority. To the prophets themselves no administrative functions are ever assigned. This very exemption led to a contrast and ultimately to a conflict between them and the regular church officers. It became intolerable, as time went on, that the ordinary officers should be liable to contradiction and opposition from irresponsible enthusiasts coming and going as they chose. So long as administration was quite subordinate, and the prophets were true expounders of a divine message, all would go well; but the expansion and general settlement of the church gave a growing importance to the official class, and a dual control was inconsistent with the church's unity. Moreover, as we have seen, the institution of prophecy contained the elements of its own dissolution. Even to the genuine prophet the fulfilment of his function brought serious peril. The loss of self-control involved in the ecstatic condition—and ecstasy was a common, though not universal, accompaniment of prophecy—has often been observed to have a weakening effect on morals. Already in the NT we have found indications that immorality was sheltering itself under a prophetic guise. Again, the prestige and emoluments attaching to the prophetic gift made it worth while for unworthy persons to simulate the possession of it. Nor was it easy to discriminate between the true inspiration and the sensual excitement which strove to counterfeit it. Once more, in the Greek and Roman world magic and mantic prophecy was everywhere in full play; and it was inevitable that Christian prophecy should come to be confused with practices which had this at least in common with it, that they claimed to be direct communications with the invisible world.

We need not seek further for the causes of its decay. It had served its turn in the first enthusiastic stage of the Christian church. As the church grew larger and stronger, stress was of necessity laid upon the permanent organisation on which its corporate unity depended. Irregularity was destined to give way to regularity, and the ministry of enthusiasm yielded to the ministry of office. J. A. R. (§§ 30-33).

C. Survey of the Prophetic Literature.

We now proceed to take a survey of the prophetic literature in the narrower sense of the word. We shall treat first of documents whose authors' names are known (§§ 35-42), then of the anonymous writings (§§ 43-45), and we shall pass over narratives other than those imbedded in collections of written prophecies. It is true, by taking this course we shall give the reader no idea of the large influence of prophecy on historical literature and on the religious poetry of the community. This omission (enforced upon us by the limits of our work) is, however, to some extent repaired by anticipation in the article Historical Literature, §§ 3-8, 10; see also Hymns, § 2, and any good commentary on the Psalms. On Christian prophetic literature it is unnecessary to speak here at length. The Apocalypse of John is called a 'prophecy' (Rev. 1 3 22 7 *ff.*), because it declares 'things which must shortly come to pass' (Rev. 1 1), though it was not on this account that it was admitted into the Canon. Prophecy, indeed, had come more and more to be regarded as having to do with eschatology (cp Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*(2) 342), and since the 'last things' were thought to be close at hand, the definition of the contents of the Johannine Apocalypse may be applied to apocalyptic writings in general. A recently expressed view[1] that the synoptic Gospels come to us through the (Christian) prophets is not likely to meet with acceptance. See, further, Old-Christian Literature, and on Christian prophets, cp above, §§ 30 *ff.*

34. Introduction.

Our starting-point, therefore, will be taken, not at the so-called oracles of Balaam [*q.v.*], but at the short but important book of Amos, which suggests so many hard problems—textual, exegetical, and historical (see Amos, Book of); we shall assume the results of critical analysis. Most readers, perhaps, have no doubt that the author of the book (see 7 14 *f.*, and cp 1 1) was a herdman of Tekoa, and also a cultivator of sycomore figs. It is not clear, however, how a Tekoite herdman can have interested himself so much in the northern kingdom. 'It required no small courage for a Judæan to enter Israelite territory for the express purpose of interfering in the religious and social life of the nation, denouncing everything as corrupt, threatening swift and utter ruin.'[2] Moreover, how does Amos come to have two occupations, which

35. Amos.

[1] E. C. Selwyn, *The Christian Prophets* (1901).
[2] Dr. J. Taylor, in Hastings' *DB* 1 87*b*.

appear to require two different residences (AMOS, § 2)? Is this at all likely? and if it is a fact, why does Amos take the trouble to communicate it to Amaziah? These difficulties may predispose us to adopt the results of the present writer's most recent textual criticism of the prophecies of Amos, which are connected with the theory that they are in every sense a S. Palestinian work, being specially concerned with the NEGEB [*q.v.*], and that this region in the time of Amos belonged to N. Israel.

For the latter point, see 2 K. 14 25 28 (emended text), 'and they shall oppress you from the region about Maacath to the wady of Arabia.' Cp, however, col. 2406, notes 5 and 6, which are based on the traditional view that the great enemies of Israel before the Assyrians were the Aramæans of Damascus.

According to the theory in question, for example, among the places and regions mentioned in chaps. 1 3-3 3 we find Cūshām (less probably Kidshām), Jerahmeel, Miṣṣūr (see MIZRAIM), Amalek, Rehōbōth, which, in the emended text, take the place of Damascus, Gilead, Moab, Ammon, Rabbah respectively. It is also at a southern Bethel that Amos encounters the hostility of the priest Amaziah (7 10), and among the chief offences of the Israelites it is mentioned that they resort to the southern sanctuaries—'Bethel,' Jerahmeel (= Dan?), 'Dan' (see LUZ, 2), Shimron, and Beer-sheba (4 4 5 5 8 14), which are also not improbably referred to as 'the high places (bamoth) of Isaac' (7 9), ISAAC [*q.v.*] being popularly regarded as the patron of the Negeb. Lastly, the region to which the Israelites are to be carried captive is described as being beyond Cusham (5 27, see SALMA). It now becomes clear where the prophet's native place must have been. תקוע (Tekoa), like יקתאל (see JOKTHEEL), is a perfectly natural corruption of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel), and בנקדים in 1 1 probably comes from בֶּן־חָרִים or בֶּן רֶקֶם, 'a native of Ḥarim,' or 'of Rekem.'[1] The same origin should most probably be assigned to בוקר in 7 14, while בולס in the same passage is not less clearly a fresh corruption of ירחמאל. In 7 15, too, מאחרי צאן ('from behind the flock') is probably a distortion of מכושן ירחמאל, 'from Cushan-Jerahmeel.'

We have called Amos a prophet, and one of the 'higher prophets' he certainly was. Even after removing the various post-exilic insertions, however, there is much in the book that we can with difficulty suppose to have been uttered in public. Was this really the work of Amos? or may we suppose a school of early prophetic writers to have worked up fragmentary notes of the prophecies of Amos, and given them a striking literary form? As a scholar who does not question the traditional view has remarked, 'it might be difficult to trace any connection between the orderliness that Amos displays in his book and his vocation, unless, indeed, we are bold enough to account for it by the leisure enjoyed by the Oriental shepherd.'[2] Another scholar, who is equally faithful to tradition, has endeavoured to prove the existence of the strophic form in the writings ascribed to this prophet.[3] Certainly the prophecies in 1 3-2 16 and 4 6-11 are highly artistic in structure. But is it not the easiest solution of an undeniable difficulty that Amos, whom we can scarcely suppose to have turned his mind to the elegances of the poet's art, gave way to the solicitations of disciples, and permitted them to edit his prophecies for a public which only the disciples ventured to imagine as probable? If this conjecture be accepted, all the more interest attaches to the prophetic visions in chaps. 7-9, because these visions are here described in the autobiographic style.

Biographical too is the opening of the next great literary monument of prophecy (Hos. 1 2-6 8 *f.*). It

36. Hosea. does not indeed tell us who Hosea was; but if we may adopt an explanation of 'Gomer, bath Diblaim' (1 3), based upon textual conjecture, it does mention that Hosea's wife was a Jerahmeelite,[4] and this strongly favours the hypothesis that

[1] חרים (Harim) and רקם (Rekem) are both to be explained as corruptions of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel). For HARIM (Ezra 2 32) cp Ezra 2 31, where 'the other Elam' should be 'Jerahmeel.' For Rekem, cp REKEM, SELA, and altogether see *Crit. Bib.*

[2] Mitchell, *Amos*(2) [1900], 9.

[3] Löhr, *Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos* (1901).

[4] Both גמר and דבלים (1 3) are probably corruptions of ירחמאל. The extraordinary words in 3 2*b* we take to be corruptions of the name of Hosea's wife. This is confirmed by 𝔊's νεβελ οἴνου = נבליין = דבלים = ירחמאל. See *Crit. Bib.*

Hosea, like Amos (probably), was an Israelite dwelling in the Jerahmeelite Negeb.

We can easily understand that either from his own travels or from the statements of the many Israelites who flocked to the southern sanctuaries, such a person would be well acquainted with the moral and political circumstances of northern Israel. At the same time, he would have a not less keen interest in the Negeb. Some place-names in the MT of Hosea which have been thought to refer to N. Israel, in the true text most probably refer to the Negeb,[1] and the 'Asshur' and 'Mizraim' (read rather 'Mizrim') of which he speaks refer to regions to the S. of Palestine. As in the prophecies of Amos, one of the chief offences of the N. Israelites is their resorting to the sanctuaries of (according to the hypothesis) the Negeb. This must be the reason why, according to Hosea's biography, the prophet married a Jerahmeelite wife. The relapse of Israel into a lower form of religion was symbolised by his union with a 'daughter of Jerahmeel,' because Baal-worship, or calf-worship (Hosea identifies 'Baal' with the 'calf'), was practised at the Jerahmeelite sanctuaries. 'Lo-ruhamah' and 'Lo-ammi,' the names of Hosea's children, are no doubt suggested by the name 'Jerahmeel.'[2]

The second chapter (after the later insertions have been removed) is almost a commentary on the biographical fragment; Israel's Baal-worship is its adultery, the punishment of which is desolation of the land. Generally, however, Hosea delights in short abrupt sentences (hence the epithet applied to his style by Jerome: *commaticus*). As the late A. B. Davidson[3] well says, 'he little addresses the people; rather, turning his face away from them, he speaks of them to himself in shuddering, disjointed monologue.' His literary originality is perhaps shown by the fact that there are no important phraseological points of contact between him and Amos.

The burden of Hosea's warnings to northern Israel and the Negeb, however, is surely not uninfluenced by that of the warnings of his older contemporary to the same regions. 'I will cause you to go into captivity beyond Cusham,' says Amos (5 27); they will not return to Yahwè, says Hosea, then they shall return to Miṣrim, to Geshur (Hos. 11 5; 9 3), to Jerahmeel (7 16).[4] EV, it is true, once introduces the Egyptian 'Memphis' into Hosea's threatenings (9 6); but the Hebrew is מֹף, which occurs nowhere else and is doubtless corrupt (see MEMPHIS, NOPH).

Isaiah is a true successor of Amos and Hosea; he combines the ethical severity so transcendently manifest

37. Isaiah. in the former with the emotional warmth of the latter. He is not indeed a N. Israelite; Judah and Jerusalem are the main objects of his prophetic threatenings. But he is well aware of the material strength of the N. Arabian peoples and of the pernicious religious influence which proceeds from 'Jerahmeel.'[5] The primary object of the Jerahmeelites outside of the Israelitish Negeb was to regain the cities which had formerly been in their occupation. But their ambition was not limited to this. They made incursions both into Israel and into Judah, and in Isaiah's time under 'Rezin king of Aram (Jerahmeel)' they even threatened Jerusalem[6] (2 K. 16 5 Is. 7 1). Jerahmeel, however, has ceased to be the instrument of Yahwè's vengeance; it is, according to the present theory of a number of misunderstood passages, one of the four peoples of which Isaiah is commissioned to predict the punishment, the others being Israel, Judah, and Assyria.

Isaiah's poetic capacity is clear from the very earliest of his works (2 5-21). It is plausible to suppose that he had not yet come forward as a prophet when he

[1] Partly by corruption, partly by editorial manipulation, the names have often been miswritten. 'Mizpah' and 'Tabor' (5 1) should probably be 'Zarephath' and 'Rehoboth.' 'Gilgal' (4 15 9 15 12 12 [11]) and 'Gilead' (6 8 12 12 [11]) should be 'Jerahmeel'; 'Shechem' (6 9) should be 'Cūshām.' 'Jezreel' (1 4 *f.*, 11 (2 2)) is no doubt right; but it is probably the southern Jezreel that is meant (see § 7).

[2] Cp Is. 29 1 *f.* (read ירחמאל and לא ירחמאל). לא עמי in עמי very probably (like עמיאל) comes from ירחמאל.

[3] Hastings' *DB*, 2 425 *a*.

[4] The only considerable emendation here is ירחמאל for לא על in 7 16; Pasek warns us to examine the text. See *Crit. Bib.*

[5] In 2 6 מלאו מקדם should certainly be מלאו קסמי ירחמאל, 'they are full of diviners of Jerahmeel,' and in 2 20 the idols which the Israelites cast away are described in the true text as having been made by the Jerahmeelites (see MOLE).

[6] See *Crit. Bib.*; REZIN. A similar case is recorded in 2 K. 12 17. Though this is not yet in the commentaries, the Hazael who 'set his face to go up to Jerusalem' was no doubt a N. Arabian king. Cp also 2 Ch. 14 9 (see ZERAH).

produced this splendid poetic description of the day of Yahwè. At present it stands as the introduction to some prophetic passages such as Isaiah might really have uttered.[1] This position, however, is presumably due to the editor who is responsible for the fitting together of the fragments of prophecy which follow. There is, however, another prophetic poem, the strophic structure of which can be more distinctly made out. In an article on 'prophetic *literature*' it may be permissible to devote a few lines to so remarkable a production.

It would seem at first sight as if the strophic divisions were (*a*) 9 8 [7]-12 [11]; (*b*) 9 13 [12]-17 [16]; (*c*) 9 18 [17]-21 [20]; (*d*) 10 1-4. In the third strophe, however, the two halves do not cohere well. It is probable that only the first half is correct, and that the third couplet of the strophe (9 19 [18] *a*, *b*) should run—

By the wrath of Yahwè the land is overthrown,
And the people become as food for Shĕōl.

The three following couplets (one of which, 'Manasseh, Ephraim,' etc., is probably a gloss) seem to have come from some other context containing a description of anarchy and oppression. How the third strophe closed, we do not know. The fourth stanza can scarcely have been 10 1-4, which belongs probably (without the refrain, *v.* 4*b*) to the grand succession of 'woes' on the sinners of Judah in 5 8-24. Possibly it has taken the place of 5 26-29, which describes the approach of the enemy who is to 'overthrow' the land, and make the people 'as food for Shĕōl.' That the last strophe has no refrain, is quite natural. Very possibly indeed the preceding strophe had none. For after the enemy (Assyria?) had come from afar, and carried the people into exile (figuratively described in *v.* 19 *b*), what room was there for any further blow? Very grand is the refrain ('For all this,' etc.), and surely not less impressive than a thunder-peal; but the poet refused to carry it on when the sense forbade.

The first strophe speaks of the inroads of Rezin and the N. Arabians; the second of a great slaughter (in battle? or in a usurper's insurrection?); the third and the fourth of the ruin brought by an Assyrian invasion. In *v.* 10 [11], צרי, as Lagarde saw, is a miswritten רצין, and (as even this able critic did not see) איביו (as אֹיֵב often in the Pss.) is an error for עַרְבִים 'Arabians.'

Apparently this fine though fragmentary poem refers, not at all to Judah, but to the northern kingdom. This has been doubted, but the unemended text gives no continuous sense, and the result of the emendations is confirmed by the explanation given of 'the people, all of it' in Is. 9 9 [8]—viz., 'Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria.' As time went on, we may suppose the poetic impulse declined and the prophetic greatly increased. The ruin of N. Israel is predicted, most think, in 8 4 and in 28 1-6,[2] and inclusively at least in 6 9-13 and 17 1-11.

The last of these deserves special notice because of the combination of Aram or Damascus with Ephraim (N. Israel). It is most usual to date this prophecy before the 'Syro-Ephraimitish war,' chiefly because no reference is made to the joint attack of Syria and Israel on Judah. The general chronological view of the prophecy may perhaps be correct, but at any rate (as recent criticism suggests) 'Ephraim' in *v.* 3 is a corruption of 'Jerahmeel,' and 'Aram' in the same verse means the same N. Arabian people, while 'Dammesek' (Damascus) is miswritten for Kidsām or perhaps rather 'Cūshām,' and 'Aroer' (*v.* 2) for 'Arab' or 'Arbim.' It is judgment upon the ancient foe of Israel that Isaiah here prophesies, but also upon Israel itself, which (if we may infer anything from the combination of *vv.* 1-3 with *vv.* 4-11) has found it necessary or expedient to enter into an alliance with 'Jerahmeel.' Judah, too, in spite of the Jerahmeelite invasion (chap. 7),[3] probably found reason to seek a Miṣrite (Jerahmeelite) alliance at a later day (see col. 2201, n. 1).

It is very possible that notes of Isaiah's discourses were partly worked up by the disciples of whom he speaks in 8 16. For 1 2-26 this view seems to suggest the only adequate explanation of the phenomena; but we cannot venture with any dogmatic positiveness to limit its application to this passage. Nevertheless,

[1] 3 1-15, and 16-24, omitting certain later insertions (see *SBOT*).
[2] See, however, below, on Micah (§ 38).
[3] See REZIN, and *Crit. Bib.*

there appears to be no rashness in adopting the general verdict of critics that Isaiah, take him all in all, is the greatest of the older prophets whose discourses have been committed to writing, though the unique versatility ascribed to him by Ewald may be incapable of strictly critical proof.[1]

Micah, being a younger contemporary of Isaiah, may naturally be expected to show traces of his influence.

38. Micah. So much at least appears to be certain—that both prophets announce the ruin of Judah and Jerusalem (Is. 22 1-14; Mic. 3 12). It is also generally held that both predict the fall of Samaria (Is. 28 1-4 Mic. 1 2-7), though the predictions were written down only after Samaria's fall had occurred.[2] It is very possible, however, that the prevalent opinion is mistaken.

Amos and Hosea, rightly read, both point, we believe, to the southern sanctuaries as the cause of sin to the northern kingdom, and Isaiah (26 20, see above § 37) speaks of 'Jerahmeel' as exercising a baleful influence on Judah. This seems to show what Micah means (1 5) by 'the transgression of Jacob'—namely, שמרון—and the 'sin of the house of Judah'—namely, ירושלם. The former name should in fact probably be read שִׁמְרוֹן SHIMRON [*q.v.*], and the latter ירחמאל Jerahmeel. And in Is. 28 1 3 שכרי אפרים is not improbably a corruption of כֻּשָׁם ירחמאל 'Cusham-jerahmeel'; the reference will in this case be to some important Jerahmeelite city (cp SHECHEM, 2), probably the same as that called 'Shimron' by Micah. Both prophets anticipate the devastation of the Negeb, its cities and its sanctuaries,[3] by the Assyrians.

The historical value of Micah is therefore greater than his religious originality, unless indeed we take in portions of the book which criticism tends more and more to disallow (see MICAH [BOOK]). From a literary as well as a religious point of view, this country prophet contrasts unfavourably with the great city prophet Isaiah. There is, however, in 2 4 (if Stade and Nowack may be followed) a little *ḳīnāh* or dirge which deserves attention as an illustration of Budde's ḳīnāh-metre (see LAMENTATION, § 2).

The next prophet in chronological order, according to most, is Nahum, of whom Driver[4] remarks that 'of all

39. Nahum and Habakkuk. the prophets he is the one who in dignity and force approaches most nearly to Isaiah.' There is, however, much to be done before we can say that we thoroughly understand him (see NAHUM); underneath our present text it is possible to trace a prophecy which related, not to Nineveh, but to the Jerahmeelite capital. The key to the prophecy is in 1 15 [2 1], which, though it forms part of a late alphabetic poem, may nevertheless be used as a commentary on the prophecy. The passage runs (we omit a few words), 'O Judah, keep thy festivals, perform thy vows, for no more shall בליעל pass through thee; he is consumed, cut off.' בליעל is almost certainly miswritten for ירחמאל.[5] The prophet himself describes the city to which he refers as 'city of the Arammites'[6] (Jerahmeelites), and its king as 'king of Assur,' *i.e.*, the southern Geshur (2 1 3 18); in 2 8 3 7 its name is given as נינוה, which is probably miswritten for ירחמאל. The city whose fate is likened to that of נינוה is called (3 8) in MT נא אָמוֹן (RV, No-amon). It may have been Janoah, a city in N. Israel depopulated by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 15 29)—*i.e.*, Yenu'am? (see JANOAH). If so, Nah. 2 *f.* was written after 734 B.C.; the prophet himself was perhaps a native of the Negeb; 'Elkoshite' may come from 'Eshcolite.'[7] Very possibly we may venture on a

[1] This seems to the present writer certain. See, however, Driver's *Introd.* (ch. 3).
[2] Cp Smend, *A T Rel.-gesch.*(2) 237, n. 2.
[3] Note the reference to the idols (symbols of Yahwè?) in Mic. 1 7.
[4] *Introd.*, 315.
[5] This is one of a group of passages (Is. 35 8 52 1 Joel 3 [4] 17) in which the names of the N. Arabian oppressors of the Jews are cleverly obscured. See *Crit. Bib.*
[6] Reading, in 3 1, אֲרַמִּים for MT's דָּמִים (cp רמים for אֲרַמִּים Ps. 51 16).
[7] Peiser's explanation (see ELKOSHITE) is no doubt attractive; but the evidence pointing towards a southern origin for 'Kish (to which name Peiser refers as a parallel) is strong. נחום

still more definite statement. Relying on requisite emendations of passages in Is. 7 and 8, we may lay it down as in a very high degree probable that the N. Arabians invaded Judah, and that as a punishment Isaiah expected the N. Arabian border of Palestine to be devastated by the Assyrians. It is reasonable to assume that Nah. 2 *f.* was written in the course of this Assyrian invasion, after certain N. Israelitish districts (including the city of Janoah) had been taken, but before Cush or Jerahmeel had felt the heavy hand of the conqueror. That its prediction really was fulfilled we may probably infer from Tiglath-pileser's own mention of a campaign against N. Arabia and Gaza, and from the double notice in 2 K. 15 29 (from the document which Kittel calls K) and 16 9 (from Kittel's A).[1] It was reserved for a post-exilic writer, whose work, however, has been edited in such a way as to destroy the true geographical reference, to produce an edifying story describing how, after an initial act of disobedience, a prophet of Israel, at the divine command, warned the capital of the Jerahmeelites of its danger, not without happy results (see § 44).

This result places Nah. 2 *f.* (in its original form) about a century earlier than the date assigned to it by the new critical tradition. No critic, however, will deny that there are difficulties in the ordinary view (see NAHUM [BOOK]). One of these demands special notice here. If Nahum's oracle really refers to Nineveh, it follows that either Isaiah or Nahum was under a serious illusion; for Isaiah distinctly calls Assyria the 'rod of Yahwè's wrath' (Is. 10 5), whereas Nahum describes the oppression of 'Nineveh' as wicked injustice.[2] It was, however, quite in accordance with the prophetic tradition (see Am. 1 3-5) to accuse Cusham (or Jerahmeel) of transgressions so great that they deserved the severest punishment.

The denunciations of the troublesome Jerahmeelite neighbours still continue; the captivity spoken of in 2 K. 16 9 (?) was therefore only partial. Habakkuk is the true successor of Nahum. For it is plain that the wicked who seeks to annihilate one who is more righteous than he (Hab. 1 13) is the same oppressor whom Nahum (3 19) has already accused of far-reaching wickedness. This oppressor is soon to be put down, and to suffer the fate which he has destined for Judah, at the hand of the Chaldæans. Critics have generally thought of the Assyrians; but the Assyrian suzerainty could hardly have awakened the indignation so energetically and poetically expressed by Habakkuk.[3] We may probably venture, with Driver, to place the prophecy in the reign of Jehoiakim.[4]

Zephaniah is a follower of Isaiah, but lacks that prophet's classic moderation (Zeph. 1 3); nor does he

40. Zephaniah and Jeremiah; Scythians or N. Arabians.

connect the announcement of the 'day of Yahwè' with any high moral purpose, 2 11 and 3 8-10 being, as Smend points out, not part of the original Book of Zephaniah. We must not, however, contrast Zephaniah with Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, on the ground that he 'threatens all nations from Ethiopia to Assyria,'[5] for 'Assur,' as so often, is substituted for 'Geshur,' 'Nineveh' is misread for 'Jerahmeel,' and 'Cush' is the well-authenticated Cush of N. Arabia. Who is the intended instrument of Yahwè's vengeance, is not stated. If, however, the destroyers 'from the north' in Jer. 4 6*b* 6 1*b* are the Scythians, we can hardly suppose that the same destroyers are meant in Zephaniah, for the prophet says (2 13) that Yahwè 'will stretch out his hand *against* the N.' See ZEPHANIAH [BOOK].

In reality, Zeph. 2 13 and Jer. 4 6*b* 6 1*b* represent changes in the prophetic attitude towards the people or peoples referred to. 'The North' in these and in the similar related passages should probably be 'Zaphon.' This is a name connected with the N. Arabian border of Palestine (see PARADISE, § 4), and probably equivalent to Miṣrim (see MIZRAIM, § 2*b*). It appears that not only Jeremiah's late biographer,[1] but even the supplementers of his fragmentary work (see § 45), regarded him as a prophet of N. Arabia as well as of Judah; and in the contexts of Jer. 4 6*b* 6 1*b* occur names which point, in the former case with probability, in the latter with certainty, to an invasion from the S. This view is confirmed by a group of other passages in the little poems ascribed with most confidence to Jeremiah himself.

(*a*) Jer. 4 15 *f.* 'For hark! one declares from Dan, and makes known calamity from Mount Jerahmeel. Miṣrites come from the land of Jerahmeel, and utter their voice (battle-cry) against the cities of Judah.' This presupposes textual corrections. Duhm's defence of the traditional text is a plain makeshift,—'It seems that the remnant of N. Israel at the foot of Antilibanus and on the Ephraimite mountains were still in touch with Judah and Benjamin (cp 41 5 *ff.*).' But the Dan intended must be a southern Dan (= Ḥaluṣah), and 'Ephraim,' as often, is miswritten for 'Jerahmeel'; 41 5 is corrupt.

(*b*) 8 16, 'The snorting of his horses is heard from Dan.' A place situated at the extreme northern limit is not appropriate. (*c*) 6 1, 'Blow the trumpet in Tekoa, raise up a signal at Beth-jerahmeel.' Duhm remarks that, Tekoa and presumably Beth-haccerem (?) being places in the S., the reference to them must be an interpolation. This suits the Scythian theory, no doubt, but is the resource of despair. (*d*) 2 16, 'Also the sons of the impious (read חֲנֵפִים) will break thee to pieces, the sons of Jerahmeel'—*i.e.*, a desolating Jerahmeelite invasion will be Judah's punishment for copying the religion of Geshur (MT 'Shihor' and 'Aššur') and Miṣrim (MT Miṣraim); see *v.* 18. Cp NOPH, TAHPANHES. (*e*) and (*f*) 5 15 *f.* and 22 20 may also probably be added (see *Crit. Bib.*). The former passage is specially important because גוי איתן הוא מעולם הוא seems to be an early explanatory gloss='that is, the Ethanite nation; that is, the Jerahmeelite nation.'

This result is important, not only as confirming our conviction of the perennial influence of N. Arabia on the political and religious history of Judah, but also as supplying fresh material for an opinion on the chronology of Jeremiah's works.[2] In their present form, this prophet's genuine works are certainly monuments of the later period of his ministry.

Tradition connects Jeremiah with a scribe named Baruch. It is probable that, like the pre-exilic prophets

41. Jeremiah continued.

in general, he was too much absorbed in intercourse with his God to think much of the means of perpetuating his revelations. At the same time we can quite well imagine him dictating his prophecies—which are often rather poetic elegies than discourses—to a faithful scribe. Clearly this involves no disparagement to Jeremiah's poetic talent; Baruch, if he was really the author of the biographic sections, or of part of them,[3] was too prosaic a person to have meddled with the structure of his master's poems. It is noteworthy that one of the biographic sections contains a little poem (see LAMENTATION, § 2), consisting of two pentameters, which is ascribed to Jeremiah. In Duhm's opinion it is an elegy on the fate of the people of Judah; but the prophet's biographer had access to more poems of Jeremiah than we now possess.

According to the late A. B. Davidson,[4] the literary remains of Jeremiah are formally less perfect than those of Isaiah; 'the poetical rhythm is not so regular, losing

(Nahum), too, may reasonably be connected with ethnics like NAHAM, NAHAMANI, etc.

[1] גלעד וגליל (Gilead and Galilee) in the former very possibly comes from ירחמאל (Jerahmeel); and דמשק in the latter from קדשם (Kidsām = Kadesh) or rather כּוּשָׁם (Cūshām = Cush, in N. Arabia).

[2] See Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*(2), 240 *f.*

[3] That the Jerahmeelites are referred to is also suggested by Hab. 3 7 ('the tents of CUSHAN'). The poem in Hab. 3 must be later than Habakkuk; but the editor who inserted it may have been partly influenced by this reference to the N. Arabian Cush. A certain geographical consistency need not be denied.

[4] On the composition of the book see NAHUM (BOOK OF).

[5] Smend, *op. cit.* 243.

[1] See Jer. 27 3, where צר and צידון are, as in Joel 3 [4] 4, corruptions of מְצוּר Miṣṣur.

[2] The descriptions of the Jerahmeelite invasion, even if only anticipative, can hardly have been written long before the fourth year of Jehoiakim (2 K. 24 2).

[3] Duhm accepts this view. N. Schmidt, however, denies that any part of our present Book of Jeremiah can be ascribed to Baruch. He also rejects the narrative in chap. 36 altogether (see JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 9, 17), whilst Duhm (288) regards this as an 'important narrative on Jeremiah's activity as a writer.'

[4] Hastings' *DB* 2 576 *a*.

PROPHETIC LITERATURE

itself often in elevated prose.' This shows us some of the points to which future study must be directed. We must determine more exactly the extent of the literary remains of these prophets, and in correcting the faults of the traditional text must pay more regard to metre. Criticism has till lately somewhat neglected Jeremiah. Duhm and Cornill, however, have opened up new paths, and a stricter textual criticism may assist us in determining between them where they differ. Comparing their results, we find those of Cornill the less startling. According to him, it would be an error to try to bring the (genuine) poetical passages of Jeremiah into correct strophic pentameters ('Ḳinâh-strophes') or trimeters. Apart from a few lyrical *intermezzi* in strophes of pentameters, Jeremiah does not advance beyond irregular verses ('Knittelversen'); and but for the strophic structure of his poems, we might describe his style as rhythmic prose. Duhm, however, says, 'Most of the poems are very short (on the average containing less than five Massoretic verses); the metre is everywhere the same, quatrains with alternately three and two beats.' He adds that the poetical diction is correspondingly simple and natural, popular in the best sense, and on this account touching and even overpowering, and that in its abundance of striking and original images it reveals a born poet. This characterisation is based on the short poems, about sixty in number, which Duhm assigns to this prophet.

42. Ezekiel to Zechariah. If Jeremiah is distinguished as a poet by his naturalness, Ezekiel is no less conspicuous for his excessive artificiality. His book indeed is much more a work of literature than of prophecy, in the true and original sense of the word 'prophecy' (see EZEKIEL [BOOK], § 2). He himself tells us of a time when from physical incapacity he had to suspend his utterance of the message of woe to his people (3 26); and though we cannot doubt that he addressed assemblies of the exiles—commonly in similitudes (מְשָׁלִים; see PROVERB) of one kind or another (20 49 [21 5])—it is plain that he gave a more elaborate form to these addresses with a view to their publication. He excels in *ḳīnōth* or dirges (for references see LAMENTATION, § 2); but partly from textual corruption, partly from the extensive modifications introduced by an editor, who confounded מָצֻּר (Miṣṣur = the N. Arabian Muṣri) with צֹר (Ṣōr = Tyre) and מִצְרִים (Miṣrim, also = Muṣri) with מִצְרַיִם, it is difficult to reconstruct their original form.[1] According to Kraetzschmar, the book is full of doublets and parallel texts (see especially 1 1-3 13 *f.* 3 4-9 4 9-17; 6 1 *ff.* 7 1-9 8 7 *f.* 9 5-7 10 1 8 *ff.* 12 21-27 17 8-10 16-20 18 21-29 23 40-44 24 22-24 25 3-7 26 2-14 19-21 30 22-26 35 3-15*a* 38 39 43 18-27 45 21 *ff.*). If this critic is right, we may even speak of two recensions of the text, one of which is shorter and speaks of Ezekiel in the third person (see Kraetzschmar on 1 2 *f.* 24 24), and is probably based on an excerpt from the longer one, in which Ezekiel himself is the speaker. The combination of these recensions is obviously the work of a redactor. Since the text of 𝔊 presents the same phenomena as MT, the redaction must have taken place before that version was made.

It has been asserted that the prophets use visions 'as a vehicle in which they bring home to man's highest faculties the providential mysteries with which they feel themselves inspired.' This is at any rate not wholly untrue of Ezekiel and (especially) Zechariah, whose visions seem to be to a great extent artificial and literary. Such visions indeed are distinctively characteristic of the later period of prophetic and semi-prophetic literature. Haggai may have none, and 'Malachi' may have none; but they cannot in this respect be regarded as typical specimens of their age, and Zechariah gives us no less than eight visions (1 7-6 8), of the artificiality of which there can hardly be a doubt (see ZECHARIAH [BOOK]). Certainly, as Moulton says,[1] no other prophecy equals Zechariah's sevenfold (eightfold) vision in the demand it makes on the imaginative powers. From a literary point of view, however, must we not add that it contrasts disadvantageously with the simple, natural, and truly poetic visions of Is. 40-48?

[1] Kraetzschmar has bestowed much pains both on the correction of the text (after able predecessors, especially Cornill) and on the metrical arrangement of Ezekiel's poems. He overlooks, however, the worst corruptions—those of names of countries.

D. JERAHMEELITE THEORY.

43. Semi-prophetic writers: Is. 40-66. The writers called 'prophetic' who chronologically precede Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah are fully prophetic, but only half literary; the nameless writers who follow these transitional personages are in the full sense literary, but at most only half prophetic. That they would have assumed the title of prophets may confidently be denied, and yet the existence of a secondary prophetic element in them is too plain to require proof. Even 'Malachi,' who is on the whole (see MALACHI, § 7) dry and prosaic in style, in 3 1-5 catches something of the old prophetic enthusiasm, whilst the succession of writers of whom we have to speak next really succeed in assimilating much of that which is best in the old prophets, of course apart from their unique authoritativeness. From a literary point of view, we may, if we like, criticise them; but at any rate they care much about style and imagery, and have produced a new style of literature. For us perhaps the most interesting feature of their work is the elaboration of the Messianic idea. We find it first (so at least a strict criticism suggests) in Ezekiel (34 23 *f.* 37 24 *f.*; cp the gloss in Hos. 3 5); the Second Isaiah, however, apparently dispenses with it;[2] Zechariah too, in the original text of Zech. 6 12 *f.*, must have referred, not to a future Messiah, but to ZERUBBABEL[3] [*q.v.*]. When, however, the hopes attached to this prince were disappointed, devout and patriotic men of the semi-prophetic school looked into the future, and found there a son of David, marked out by God as, under him, the king of Israel, the perfect king—the Messiah (Is. 9 6 [5]):

> 'And the angel of Yahwè calls his name,
> Protector of Israel, Prince of prosperity.'[4]

With regard to Is. 40-66, it is important to mention that though the results attained (see ISAIAH [BOOK]) without the help of the new Jerahmeelite theory are to a great extent sound, a number of critical details require re-examination.

For instance, in the light of this theory it becomes at once highly probable that the composition of chaps. 40-55 should be placed in N. Arabia. That this book (as we may fairly call it) has been much edited, is certain, and no one can be surprised that sometimes (though not so often as in Ezekiel) there are traces of an earlier and very different text underlying the present one (see *Crit. Bib.*). Four passages at any rate may be referred to. (*a*) 41 1-4, where the Jerahmeelites and Edomites seem to be called upon to listen to the prophetic writer's argument. This consists of a highly coloured description of the victorious march of Cyrus, which has Jerahmeel—the land where the writer and his fellows are pining in exile—for its goal. (*b*) The second is 42 22, where the Jews are spoken of as despoiled in Edom and plundered among the Jerahmeelites. (*c*) Next comes 43 14, where Yahwè says that he has sent to Jerahmeel, and will lay the Jerahmeelites low; and (*d*) 52 4 *f.*, where it is affirmed that Yahwè's people went down to Misrim to sojourn, but were oppressed by the Geshurites without cause (cp Lam. 5 6, and LAMENTATIONS, § 7), and that the Ishmaelites and Jerahmeelites act madly, and blaspheme the name of Yahwè (cp Ps. 74 10 18, and PSALMS, § 28, v.). It may be added that in at least one important passage of the third part of Isaiah (56-66) there seems to be a reference to Jerahmeelite oppressors (63 19, for מעולם read ירחמאלים[5]), though we are far from asserting that 63 7-64 12 [11] is of the same date as 40-55.

[1] *A Short Introd. to the Literature of the Bible*, 260 (1901).

[2] Sellin (*Studien*, 1 [1901]), however, interprets the 'Servant of Yahwè' in the Second Isaiah as a poetic description of Jehoiachin. See SERVANT OF THE LORD.

[3] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, 181 *f.*

[4] For the emendation of the text here assumed, see *Crit. Bib.*; cp also Lagarde, *Semitica* (*ad loc.*).

[5] The preceding word should possibly be ארנינו ('our lords are Jerahmeelites'); cp 26 13.

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The work of the Second Isaiah (which can hardly have come down to us in its integrity) is clearly enough only semi-prophetic. The writer is a thinker, a rhetorician, and a poet; possibly he has also been a pastor; but the element of strictly prophetic revelation is secondary, a circumstance with which the anonymity of the work is closely connected. In truth, a prophet was not needed at this period of Israel's history. The discipline of exile and the self-denying labours of Jeremiah, the Deuteronomist, and Ezekiel had produced their due effect on a noble minority of exiles. The truth of the unique greatness of Yahwè, the creator of the world and the maker of history, had been burnt into their inmost being, and to this truth corresponded the sister-truth of Yahwè's election and appropriation of the prophet-people Israel. It was needful, no doubt, to be able to declare in the name of Yahwè that Israel would be 'justified' in the eyes of the world, and would be restored to its own land, there to serve its God, and to give an example of a righteous people. The chief thing, however, was to complete the education of the exiled people, and to quicken the zeal of less advanced individuals, by presenting a many-sided picture of the nature of God. The most distinctly predictive passages are 42 9 43 3 14 19 *f.* 44 26-28 45 1-3 14. Upon the whole, however, the writer regards himself as merely one who has seen or divined beforehand the fulfilment of that series of prophecies which is, to him, among the most decisive proofs of the unique divinity of Yahwè.

44. Other writings affected by this theory: *e.g.*, Joel and Jonah.

The Jerahmeelite theory has also a special bearing on Is. 24-27, on the additions to the Book of Micah, on Joel, on 'Obadiah,'[1] and on both parts of the composite Book of Zechariah; also on the story of Jonah, and on the Book of Jeremiah.

Two of these have been considered in the light of that theory already (see MICAH [BOOK], OBADIAH [BOOK]). As to Is. 24-27 we can here only point out that, on grounds of analogy, אשור and מצרים must be Geshur and Miṣrim. As to Joel, it can hardly be rash to say that chap. 3 [4] is closely akin to the latter part of the Book of Obadiah, referring as it does to the valley of Zephath or Zarephath ('Jehoshaphat,' *v.* 12, is certainly wrong[2]), and to Miṣṣur or Miṣrim[3] and Edom (*vv.* 4 19) as the cruel enemies of Judah who shall receive fitting retribution. It now appears possible definitely to solve the problem of צפוני (2 20); evidently this word should be a N. Arabian ethnic—viz., Sephonite (see § 41). The reference is to the Jerahmeelites, whom Ezekiel has already indicated ('Gog-Magog'; see § 27) as the eschatological foe of Yahwè's people. We now see how necessary it is to view the locusts in Joel 1 2, not as mere locusts, but as harbingers of the Day of Yahwè.[4] Indeed, the presence of the ethnic 'Sephonite' in 2 20 (pointing forward to chap. 3 [4]) is already presumptive evidence against a dual origin of the book. The reconsideration of the problems of both parts of Zechariah must be reserved (see ZECHARIAH [BOOK]).

A still more interesting specimen of editorial manipulation is furnished by the Book of Jonah (author unknown).

Great light has been thrown by a succession of critics on the story in its present form; but criticism cannot stop short here. We have seen (§ 7) that the territory recovered by Jeroboam II. for Israel was really the Negeb, and that the foes from whom it was taken were the Jerahmeelites (אֲרָמִים); also that the prophet Jonah is described, according to an extremely probable emendation of 2 K. 14 25, as a Maacathite[5] (see MAACAH). We have also seen (§ 39) that 'Nineveh' (נינוה) in Nah. 2 8 3 7 has been partly corrupted, partly altered, from 'Jerahmeel' (ירחמאל), and that 'the great city' ([ה]עיר [ה]גדלה) in Gen. 10 12 has sprung out of the same place-name; 'god' (אלהים) and 'king' (מלך) are also familiar distortions of 'Jerahmeel' (ירחמאל). It now becomes highly probable that the mission of Jonah was, not to Nineveh, but to the capital of the Jerahmeelites, and that the story about the 'great city,' the 'city great unto Elohim, a journey . . .,' has developed out of the simple phrase 'the city of Jerahmeel.' The journey of the prophet was therefore not more difficult than that of Elijah or Elisha (both men of the Negeb) to Cusham (1 K. 19 15 2 K. 8 7); and the king of Jerahmeel (not of Nineveh—an unparalleled expression) might not unnaturally listen to his preaching, as Hazael, Elisha's nominee for the crown of Aram or Jerahmeel, listened to Elisha (2 K. 8 8-13, see § 7). The story of Jonah in its original form may, therefore, most naturally be viewed as a Midrash on 2 K. 14 25. Jonah prophesied to Jehoahaz (?) the future reconquest of the Negeb (so 2 K. states); but he also, at the bidding of a merciful God, warned Jerahmeel of its danger, so that by a timely repentance the capital of Jerahmeel escaped destruction. In both its forms the story is presumably post-exilic.

The same editorial tendency to alter the geographical setting meets us over and over again in the prophetic writings; Habakkuk, Haggai, and Malachi are the only ones which seem to have escaped its operation. Of the results in some of these books we have spoken already; and though vastly more remains to be said, all that we can do here is to throw some fresh light on parts of Jeremiah, the extremely interesting phenomena of which book are just now attracting special attention. The parts referred to are the work of post-exilic writers, mostly supplementers.

45. Supplementary parts of Jeremiah.

It has puzzled critics to account for the fact that the place of Jer. 46-51 (the prophecies against foreign nations) in 𝔊 is between 25 13 and 25 15; we should have expected these chapters to have followed, not preceded, the list of nations in *vv.* 15-26. Many other small and great problems have also taxed their ingenuity, among which it is enough to mention the historical difficulty of the unconfirmed reference (cp JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 14) to a battle between Nebuchadrezzar and Pharaoh-necoh at Carchemish (46 2), and the difficulty of finding a historical background for the oracle (so strangely placed in a collection of prophecies ascribed to Jeremiah) against Elam (49 34-39). We are well within the mark, however, in saying that there have been corruption and editorial modification on a large scale, both in the list of nations in 25 15-26 and in chaps. 46-51. As to the list, it is enough to refer to SHESHACH, and to point out that the peoples which are to drink the wine-cup of judgment are, besides Judah, the various N. Arabian populations. The manipulation needed was but slight, and we can with ease, after omitting dittographed names, restore the original form of the passage[1] (cp also 27 3 28 14, and see *Crit. Bib.*). We now see to what extent Jeremiah was, according to Jer. 1 10, 'set over the nations.' With regard to 46-51, some details are given under MIGDOL, NO-AMON, NOPH, TAHPANHES, LEB-KAMAI, MERATHAIM, PEKOD, SHESHACH. It must suffice here to add that דמשק (Damascus!) in 49 23 is necessarily a corruption of קדשם (Kidshām), or כושם (Cūshām), חמת (Hamath!) of Maacath, and ארפד, probably (cp REPHIDIM) of Jerahmeel; and that עילם (Elam!) in 49 34 *ff.*—a late addition, it would seem—is, doubtless, a corruption of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel[2]). How far insertions were made by the later editor to convert the original prophecies on Miṣrim and Jerahmeel into prophecies on Miṣraim and Babel (Babylon) cannot here be discussed. Several of the headings, at any rate (46 2 47 1 49 34), have received additions suggested by the editor's faulty view of the historical reference of the prophecies.[3] The final redaction of Jeremiah

[1] Probably an editor's transformation of Arābī, 'Arabian.'

[2] Till the right key had been applied, it was natural to emend יהושפט into משפט (JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF). See, however, SHAPHAT.

[3] For צר וצירון read מצור, and for פלשת read צָרְפַת.

[4] See Wellhausen and Nowack on the passage; and cp JOEL [BOOK], §§ 5, 7.

[5] By 'Gath-hepher' is probably meant some southern locality. 'Hepher' appears to have been a southern clan-name (see ELIPHELET, 2).

[1] This restoration (see SHESHACH), together with the fact that there seems to be a tendency (cp MOSES, § 7) to convert *Yeraḥme'ēlīm* into *'ărēlīm* ('uncircumcised'), enables us to restore the original text of Jer. 9 25 *f.*, which is simply an announcement of the judgment impending over the N. Arabian peoples, but was placed where it now stands, *after* the text had become corrupted, as an edifying admonition to the Jews not to rely on their circumcision. Cp, however, JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 16.

[2] So also, most probably, in Is. 11 11 (see PATHROS, SHINAR).

[3] The heading in 46 2 must originally have been simply עַל־חֵיל מֶלֶךְ לְמִצְרִים 'concerning Misrim.' To this was added מִצְרִים אֲשֶׁר הָיָה עַל־נְהַר אֶפְרָת בְּיְרַחְמְאֵל 'concerning the army of the king of Misrim, which was by the river Ephrath in Jerahmeel' (cp *v.* 6, where צָפוֹנָה means 'towards Zaphon').

must therefore have been late, for in the original form of the prophecies in question it was held that Jeremiah (like Nahum, Ezekiel, and the Jonah of the story) was a prophet for N. Arabia. The idea of ascribing this group of prophecies on N. Arabia to Jeremiah was probably suggested by the tradition that he accompanied a band of Jews which sought refuge (?) in Miṣrim—*i.e.*, in N. Arabia.[1]

At this point it is necessary to refer to what is stated elsewhere (ISAIAH [BOOK], § 3 *f.*) relative to the present position of the study of Isaiah, which may without alteration be extended to the case of Jeremiah. Jeremiah, not less than Isaiah, in its present form is a post-exilic work, and we can hardly expect to find that the whole of a long passage is rightly ascribed to Jeremiah. The insertions (we must not say, interpolations) both in Isaiah and in Jeremiah are of great interest for the study of Jewish religion. They range from very small additions, which may have seemed necessary to round off sections or paragraphs, to long compositions with a definite theological purpose. We confine ourselves here to the inserted passages in Jeremiah, which, according to Duhm, have a twofold origin, about 220 Massoretic verses belonging to the biography of Jeremiah by Baruch,[2] and about 850 verses to the writers who supplemented the works of Jeremiah and his disciple. The general object of these supplementers (and the same remark may be made of those who supplemented the first half of our Isaiah) was to produce an instructive and edifying book for popular use, not less comprehensive in range than authoritative in tone, and the supplementary portions were, for the period when they arose, the most important, because they suggested the interpretations and qualifications which the recognised religious leaders imposed on the fragmentary prophecies that formed the kernel of the book. The work in its present form is, therefore, on a much lower level than the Fourth Gospel, because the object of the supplementers is not so much to present Jeremiah's personality in an idealised form adapted to a later age, as to invest their own ideas of Israel's past, present, and future with the authority of the last of the great pre-exilic prophets. From a literary point of view, the merits of this group of writers are not great. Ezekiel is the model for the denunciations, the Second Isaiah for the consolations; Deuteronomic turns of expression are also not unfrequent. Assimilation and reproduction are, in fact, the notes of the prophetic or quasi-prophetic literature of the post-exilic period, which makes it often rather difficult to determine the date of its monuments.

How the work of the original prophet (say, Isaiah or Jeremiah) is to be separated from that of supplementers, it is not so easy to explain briefly to those who have not followed the processes of recent criticism. Nor shall we here attempt this task, which belongs rather to those most useful writers who are now in course of revolutionising our text-books of theological literature. It may be remarked, however, that it is not wise to depend too much on the argument from the use of particular words or phrases, partly because a thorough textual criticism often throws much doubt on the traditional text, and partly because later writers, having before them the object of supplementing the elder prophets, often avoid, so far as they can, words or forms which would be distinct indications of a late age, or even try to reproduce the phraseological colouring of their models. The argument from ideas and social background, and especially, when we can be quite sure of the text, historical allusions, are of much more value. To these we shall soon be able to add the argument from metre (cp POETICAL LITERATURE, § 8). Both Isaiah and Jeremiah have certain predilections as regards metre which ought to assist us greatly in determining the extent of their literary records. It would be premature, however, to attempt as yet a summary of results on this head. For this as well as for other departments of prophetic study, it is urgently necessary that textual criticism should be practised on a larger scale, and to some extent by means of other methods than heretofore. Much that has been done will doubtless remain, and old methods will not be discarded; but virtually new methods will have to be applied on the basis of a large acquaintance with the phenomena of the MT and 𝔊, if progress is to be made in the knowledge of the prophetic writings.

46. How to detect the work of supplementers.

Here, therefore, the present sketch of the prophets, prophecy, and prophetic literature must be brought to a close. There are many points on which much greater fulness would have been easy, if we could only have assumed the correctness of the traditional text, or if we could have devoted space to the text-critical basis requisite for a fuller treatment of the points referred to. We have been obliged to select such points as appeared of most importance, in view of what has been said elsewhere on subjects connected with prophecy; and these we have endeavoured to treat in the only way which seems, in the present position of our study, to be altogether justifiable, namely, in the light of the most thorough textual criticism accessible to us. But we are far from undervaluing the able work done by other methods, without which the more complete view of prophetic problems at which, with mingled hopes and fears, we are aiming would be impossible. For writers of all schools, for Delitzsch and König, not less than for Ewald, Wellhausen, and Duhm, every student of prophecy has the warmest regard; and what English-speaking or English-reading scholar will hesitate to join to these the name of the much-lamented A. B. Davidson?

47. Literature.

In the ancient and mediæval church and in the dogmatic period of Protestantism, there was little or no attempt at historical study of prophecy, and the prophetical books were found instructive only through the application of allegorical or typical exegesis. For details the reader may refer to Diestel, *Gesch. d. AT* (Jena, 1869), and, for the final form of orthodox Protestant views, to Witsius, *De Prophetis et Prophetia*. The growing sense of the insufficiency of this treatment towards the close of the period of dogmatism showed itself in various ways. On the one hand we have the revival of apocalyptic exegesis (by Cocceius and his school), which has continued to influence certain circles down to the present day, and has led to the most varied attempts to find in prophecy a history, written before the event, of all the chief vicissitudes of the Christian church down to the end of the world. On the other hand, Lowth's *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*, and the same author's *Comm. on Isaiah* (1778), show the beginnings of a tendency to look mainly at the æsthetic aspects of the prophetical books, and to view the prophets as enlightened religious poets. This tendency culminates in Eichhorn, *Die Heb. Propheten* (1816). Neither of these methods could do much for the historical understanding of the phenomena of prophecy as a whole, and the more liberal students of the OT were long blinded by the moralising unhistorical rationalism which succeeded the old orthodoxy. The first requisite of real progress, after dogmatic prejudices had been broken through, was to get a living conception of the history in which the prophets moved; and this again called for a revision of all traditional notions as to the age of the various parts of Hebrew literature—criticism of the sources of the history, among which the prophetical books themselves take the first place. In recent times, therefore, advance in the understanding of the prophets has moved on *pari passu* with the higher criticism, especially the criticism of the Pentateuch, and with the general study of Hebrew history; and most works on the subject prior to Ewald must be regarded as quite antiquated except for the light they cast on detailed points of exegesis. On the prophets and their works in general [stimulus at any rate may even now be got from] Ewald's *Propheten des Alten Bundes* (1840-41,(2) 1867-68, ET 1876-77). The subject is treated in all works on OT introduction (among which Kuenen's *Onderzoek*, vol. ii., claims the first place), and on OT theology (see especially Vatke, *Rel. des AT* 1835). On the theology of the prophets there is a separate work by Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 1875 [see also Duhm, *Das Geheimniss in der Religion*, 1896, and his works on Isaiah and Jeremiah]. Kuenen's *De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israel*, 2 vols., 1875 (ET, 1877 *Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*), is in form mainly a criticism of the traditional view of prophecy, and should therefore be compared with his *Onderzoek* and *Godsdienst van Israel*. A sketch of Hebrew prophecy in connection with the history down to the close of the eighth century is given by W. R. Smith, *The*

[1] Probably a trace of the tradition of a Jerahmeelite captivity. Cp MIGDOL.

[2] See, however, JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 9.

Prophets of Israel, 1882(2), 1895; the special literature is referred to in the articles on the several prophets. [See also Edersheim, *Proph. and Hist. in relation to the Messiah*, 1885; Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, 1892; C. G. Montefiore, *Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (Hibbert Lect.), 1893; G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols., 1896, 1898; F. H. Woods, *The Hope of Israel: a Review of the Argument from Prophecy*, 1896 (critical and conciliatory).] W. R. S.

Articles by Oehler and Von Orelli in *PRE*, 1st and 2nd editions respectively. John Smith [the 'Cambridge Platonist'], *Select Discourses*, 1660 (Discourse vi., 'Of Prophesie'); Köhler, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer u. die Mantik der Griechen in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältniss* (1861). Tholuck, *Die Propheten und die Weissagung*(2) (1861). W. R. Smith, 'Prophecy in the Schools of the Continent,' *Brit. and For. Rev.* 1870 (see § 2); Elmslie, 'On Prophetic Perspective,' *ibid.* 1872 (see § 25, end); Schwartzkopff, *Die Prophetische Offenbarung* (1896), and Giesebrecht, *Die Berufsbegabung der ATlichen Propheten*, 1897 (both works criticise positions of other scholars; Giesebrecht's criticism of Kuenen is specially vigorous, but he is himself open to criticism); König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des AT*, 2 vols., 1882 (see Giesebrecht, 21-35; König is, in fact, somewhat exuberant in his supernaturalism); Lotz, *Gesch. u. Offenbarung im AT*, 1891 (see Kautzsch's review, *Th. St. u. Kr.* 1891, pp. 589-597). G. B. Gray, 'Growth of the Prophetic Literature,' *New World*, March 1899, pp. 124-143; S. Michelet [of Christiania], *Israels Propheten als Träger der Offenbarung*, 1898; Kittel, *Prophetie u. Weissagung*, 1899; König, *Das Berufsbewusstsein der ATlichen Propheten*, 1900; Kraetzschmar, *Prophet und Seher in alten Israel* (1901).

On Christian prophecy, see Buckmann, 'Ueber die Wunderkräfte bei den ersten Christen und ihr Erlöschen,' in the *Ztschr. f. d. ges. luther. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1878, pp. 216-255 (learned but utterly uncritical); Bonwetsch, 'Die Prophetie in apostol. und nachapostol. Zeitalter,' in the *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wissensch. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1884, pt. 8, p. 408 *f.*, pt. 9, p. 460 *f.*; Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, 1884, p. 93-137; E. C. Selwyn, *The Christian Prophets*, 1901 (too ingenious).

T. K. C.[1] (§§ 1-11, 19 [part], 24-29, 34-47); H. G. (§ 12 *f.*); P. V. (§§ 14-18, 19 [part], 20-23); J. A. R. (§§ 30-33).

PROPITIATION (ιλαcμοc, 1 Jn. 2 2 4 10; ιλαcτηριον, Rom. 3 25). See SACRIFICE, RIGHTEOUSNESS, § 11, also MERCY SEAT, § 6 *ff.*

PROSELYTE. It has appeared elsewhere (see STRANGER AND SOJOURNER, where the various Hebrew and Greek terms will be found) that *gēr* in the Priestly code approximates to its Judaistic use as proselyte (cp also 2 Ch. 30 25). Indeed the *yir'ē yahwè* (יִרְאֵי יהוה, 𝔊 οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον), who appear in Ps. 115 9-11 118 2-4 135 19 *f.* as a third class of worshippers of Yahwè, distinct from the house of Israel and the house of Aaron, are probably proselytes—in Acts 13 16, 'men of Israel, and ye that fear God' (Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλεῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν); the latter class are clearly such, and so also the 'fearers' [of the Lord] (σεβόμενοι [τὸν κύριον]) in the Song of the Three Holy Children, Dan. 3 33 90. With the exception, however, of these late, casual, and vague references, proselytes, in the full religious sense of NT times, do not appear in the OT, and the EV of the OT is entirely justified in always abstaining from the use of 'proselyte' as a translation for *gēr*. The way in which the ancient Israelite *gērīm* and the OT teaching concerning them developed in the direction of the Jewish proselytes and Judaistic ideas about them, may be summarised as follows:—

1. Non-Israelite worshippers of Yahwè in the OT.

Proselyte (προσήλυτος) is the term most frequently adopted by the Septuagint, especially in legal passages, to represent the Hebrew *gēr*. The *gēr*, or more fully *gēr wᵉtōšāb*, is not any 'stranger, but a stranger dwelling in a Hebrew community and enjoying a certain measure of protection. In old time at least the position of such a stranger was no doubt very insecure, for he had no strong kinsmen to take his part, and so, like the widow and the orphan, with whom many passages of the OT associate him, he was liable to oppression. In the law as well as by the prophets he is commended to the humane regard of his neighbours; but it would have been quite foreign to antique ideas to grant him equal rights (see Lev. 25 45 Deut. 23 20). Like the Arabic *jār*, therefore (whose name is at bottom the same), he must have generally sought to attach himself as a client to some individual or community able to protect him, and so we must understand the metaphor in passages like Ps. 15 1 39 12.

[1] Quotations from Prof. W. R. Smith's article 'Prophecy' in *EB*(9), vol. 18, are expressly given as such.

In the old Hebrew kingdom the word *gēr* had a civil not a religious significance, and it would almost seem that a poor Israelite without inheritance might sink to the position of *gēr*, which indeed is scarcely distinguishable from that of the Levite in Judg. 17 8, who went forth to sojourn (*gūr*) where he might find a place. The 'exile' and the 'restoration' made a change in this as in all other aspects of Hebrew society. On the one hand Ezek. 47 22 and Is. 14 1 contemplate that the restored nation shall be recruited by strangers who are received on equal terms; but, since the Jews returned not as an independent nation but as a distinct religious community, this implies especially that the sons of the stranger, by joining Israel, observing the Sabbath, and holding fast to Yahwè's covenant, may gain admission to all the privileges of the temple and its worship. So it is put in Is. 56 6 *f.*, in marked contrast to the restrictions laid down in Deut. 23 3 7 *f.* That the views of the prophets had practical issue cannot be doubted; even the foreign[1] NĔTHĪNĪM (*q.v.*) in the second temple were rapidly transformed not merely into good Israelites but into Levites. The condition of admission to the full privileges of an Israelite, in particular to the passover, is, according to the Priestly Code (Ex. 12 48 Nu. 9 14), circumcision.

The free admission of foreigners to the Jewish church is a mark of the universalistic tendency which, in spite of all the narrownesses of Judaism under the law, accompanied the break-up of the old national system. On the other hand, it presents a different line of transition from the purely civil to the religious meaning of *gēr*. It demands that certain rules shall be enforced not only on Israelites proper but also on strangers sojourning in their land. They are not to eat blood (17 10), commit incest (18 26), sacrifice to Moloch (20 2), or blaspheme Yahwè (24 16); and for murder and other crimes they are to be answerable to the Hebrew authorities according to Hebrew law (24 22).

2. Terms in NT, etc.

The term προσήλυτοι, so frequent in 𝔊 in the sense already explained, occurs only four times in the NT. Proselytes are present at Pentecost (Acts 2 10); one of the 'deacons' was a proselyte (6 5); Mt. 23 15 refers to the zeal of the Pharisees in making them; and in Acts 13 43 (Antioch) we have τῶν σεβομένων προσηλύτων—perhaps a conflate reading But the repeatedly recurring φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν (Acts 10, Cornelius; 13 16 26, speech at Antioch in Pisidia) and σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν (13 50, women at Antioch; 16 14, Lydia; 17 4, Thessalonica; 17 17, Athens; 18 7, Justus) are probably synonymous with προσήλυτοι (see below, § 5), as are ἔπηλυς, *de Execr.* § 6, etc., and ἐπηλύτης, *de Monarch.* § 7, etc., with Philo.

3. Methods and causes of proselytising.

Conversions to Judaism were not always spontaneous and disinterested. The Talmud speaks of 'lion' (cp 2 K. 17 25) and 'Esther' (cp Esth. 8 17) proselytes, who became such through fear or for the sake of profit, and of other classes of interested converts (*Hull.* 3*b*, *Yeb.* 24*b* ap. Jastrow). In Alexandria, for instance, the Jews were included among the privileged classes, and men would be attracted to Judaism by the prospect of an advantageous political status. Moreover, the propaganda of the Maccabæan princes was somewhat Mohammedan in its character. The zeal of Simon for the law (1 Macc. 13 48 14 14 35) must have induced many Gentiles to profess Judaism. John Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 1) compelled the Idumæans, Aristobulus (xiii. 11 3) the Ituræans, and Alexander Jannæus (xiii. 15 4) many cities, etc., especially in Eastern Palestine, to accept Judaism. The inhabitants of Pella refused, and their city was destroyed. When kings like Izates (*Ant.* 20 2) and great nobles became proselytes, many of their subjects and dependents would naturally follow suit.

Many political and social circumstances aided prosely-

[1] [The theory of the foreign origin of the Nethinim, however, may be called in question. In PSALMS (BOOK), § 27, it is maintained that 'Nethinim' is a distortion of Ethanim—*i.e.*, the b'ne Ethan, or Ethanites, corresponding to the bn'e Asaph or Asaphites.]

tising, just as, later, they promoted the spread of Christianity. The Jews were dispersed throughout all the Mediterranean lands, and involved in many commercial dealings with Gentile neighbours. Thus there were countless opportunities for the missionary spirit referred to in Mt. 23 15, and, on the other hand, the Gentile inquirer could always learn what Judaism had to teach him. The Septuagint was an instrument of the enthusiasm of the one, and an answer to the questions of the other. The alliances and wars of the Maccabees and the Herods with Gentile states provided occasions of proselytising. The Hellenising and Romanising proclivities of the Jewish parties and schools represented by the Herods, Philo, and Josephus, rendered them anxious to set Judaism before their foreign patrons in the most favourable light.

Moreover, the prevalent scepticism as to the ancient national religions left a void which many were anxious to fill by faith in some new religion, and Judaism met this craving. Doubtless some conversions were the result of superstition—we read of proselytes converted by the advice of a dreamer or interpreter of dreams,—but others were due to the response of a religious nature to religious teaching. Probably, to some extent the work of Paul and other apostles illustrates the Jewish method of proselytising. Gentiles, too, might often attend a synagogue from curiosity, or as inquirers, and thus become converted. Perhaps, however, the propaganda was mainly due to teaching addressed to families or individuals, as when the Jewish merchant Ananias converted the mother of Izates. Proselytes would naturally attempt to convert their relations and friends.

The treatment of the subject in the Priestly Code is academical, and is rather concerned with the purity of the land and the temple, than with the conversion of Gentiles to Judaism. The other post-exilic literature, within and without the canon, is almost entirely silent about proselytes. This fact, coupled with the condition of the Jews as a subject community, suggests that proselytes were comparatively rare during the Persian period. The world-wide dispersion of the Jews during the Greek period was evidently followed by much proselytising, and we know that Jewish practices were very widely imitated. Josephus (*c. Ap.* 2 39) tells us, 'There is not a single town, Greek, Barbarian, or any other, nor a single nation, to which the observance of the Sabbath as it is found among ourselves has not penetrated; whilst fasting and the burning of lights and many of our laws as to meats are also observed.' This statement is substantially confirmed by many other references to Judaising practices. Such statements do not imply that those who imitated Jewish habits became proselytes; but, doubtless, partial imitation was often a stepping-stone to formal conversion.

4. Numbers of proselytes.

The proselytising zeal of the Jews is spoken of in Mt. 23 15, and by many Greek and Latin writers. Up to the time of Hadrian it was facilitated by the favour generally extended to the Jews by the Roman emperors; and not only on Semitic soil, as at Damascus, where, Josephus (*BJ* ii. 20 2) tells us, most of the women were proselytes, but also throughout the Roman world, many converts were made, especially among women. The most noted conversion was that of the royal house of Adiabene (Jos. *Ant.* 20 2), of which the splendid tomb of Queen Helena, a little way outside of Jerusalem, still remains a monument.

The preponderance of women was due to the deterring effect upon men of the necessity of being circumcised.

The first large bodies of proselytes of whom we read are the forced converts of the Maccabæan princes. Then the clause 'Jews and proselytes' in Acts 2 10 seems to apply to the whole of *v.* 9 *f.*, and to imply that proselytes would usually be found where there was a Jewish community. In NT proselytes are referred to at Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Antioch in Syria, Antioch in Pisidia, Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth (see § 2). Josephus (*Ap.* 2 10) tells us: 'Many Greeks have been converted to our laws; and some have remained true; but there are some who have fallen away from want of steadfastness.'

The proselytes must everywhere, as at Corinth (Acts 18 7), have facilitated the access of Christian missionaries to the Gentiles. Christianity had nearly all the attractions which Judaism possessed, and added others of its own. Moreover, the Hellenising and other liberal sections of the Jewish communities seem to have been for the most part absorbed in the Christian Church, leaving the remnant narrower and more exclusive than it was before. Hence the zeal for proselytising declined, and proselytes were a less important feature of later Judaism.

5. Classes, obligations, and status of proselytes.

Till recently, it was usually said that there were two classes of proselytes: (*a*) (גֵּרֵי הַצֶּדֶק) *gērē haṣ-ṣédeḳ*, proselytes of righteousness, who were circumcised, and observed the law generally; and (*b*) (גֵּרֵי הַשַּׁעַר) *gērē haš-šá'ar*, proselytes of the gate, who became worshippers of the one God, and observed the seven so-called Noachic precepts, against idolatry, profanity, incest, murder, dishonesty, eating blood or things strangled, and allowing a murderer to live. The reality of this classification, however, was challenged and disproved in the eighteenth century—*e.g.*, by Lardner (see 'Proselytes' in Kitto, *DB*). Schürer (*GJV*(2) 2 568 n., (3) 3 127 n., ET ii. 2 317) says: 'Throughout the whole of the literature with which I am acquainted I have not been able to discover more than one solitary instance of it [*i.e.*, the expression גר שער], namely R. Bechai (belonging to the thirteenth century) in his *Kad ha-Ḳemach* as quoted in Buxtorf's *Lex.* col. 410.' Proselytes of the gate may therefore be dismissed from the biblical aspect of the subject.

The Mishna distinguishes between *gēr* (Gĕmārā גֵּר צֶדֶק), a proselyte, and *gēr tōšāb*, a resident alien, the OT *gēr*. The σεβόμενοι of the NT have been identified not only with the mythical proselytes of the gate, but also with the *gēr tōšāb*. But this latter identification is unhesitatingly rejected by Schürer and also by Bertholet, who (334) quotes from Maimonides a statement that no *gēr tōšāb* was received into Israel after the captivity of the Eastern tribes.

Schürer, however (*ut sup.*, ET, 311 *ff.*), distinguishes two classes of proselytes: (*a*) φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν or σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν, 'God-fearing Gentiles who adopted the Jewish (*i.e.*, the monotheistic and imageless) mode of worship, and attended the Jewish synagogues, but, in the observance of the ceremonial law, restricted themselves to certain leading points, and so were regarded as outside the fellowship of the Jewish communities'; and (*b*) προσήλυτοι, 'who, through circumcision and the observance of the law, became completely incorporated with the Jewish people.' Schürer cites the case of Izates of Adiabene.[1] A Jew named Ananias represented to him that he could worship God without being circumcised; but another Jew named Eleazar, who claimed to be specially orthodox (πάνυ περὶ τὰ πάτρια δοκῶν ἀκριβὴς εἶναι), insisted on Izates being circumcised, and the king obeyed him (Jos. *Ant.* 20 2). History, of course, shows that there were not only two, but many grades of sympathy with, imitation of, and conversion to Judaism; but Schürer's only example suggests that orthodox Jews only recognised one class of real proselytes, and that προσήλυτοι, φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, and σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν are synonymous. Bertholet (328 *ff.*) comes to this conclusion, mainly on the ground that Philo and Josephus only recognise a single class of proselytes, that in Acts neither προσήλυτοι and φοβούμενοι nor προσήλυτοι and σεβόμενοι occur together to denote separate classes; and Paul, in his polemic against the Judaisers, always takes it for granted that circumcision is indispensable to converts to Judaism.

[1] On the story of Cornelius, 'one that feared God,' and yet was regarded as unclean by Jewish Christians, see CORNELIUS.

One condition, therefore, of becoming a proselyte, was that required by the Priestly Code, circumcision—to which the later Jewish usage adds lustration by immersion in water (*tĕbīlāh*, baptism) and the presentation of a sacrifice (*ḳorbān*).[1] The immersion, about which there has been a good deal of controversy, some maintaining that it came into use later than Christian baptism, was really a necessary act for one who had been previously unclean, and may be held to be involved in the general Pentateuchal law of ceremonial washings. The later technical name for a heathen who thus joined the theocracy was גר הצדק, 'proselyte of righteousness' (*Sanh.* 96*b*).

The duties and religious privileges of a proselyte were substantially the same as those of a Jew (Gal. 5 3; Schürer, 326, Bertholet, 335). As regards civil rights, proselytes in Gentile states, and even in the Roman province of Judæa, were not at the mercy of Jewish authorities. In this and in other respects the elaborate discussions of the Talmud are academical discussions of an obsolete jurisprudence, and have little connection with the actual status of proselytes in NT times. *Obiter dicta* which discriminate unfavourably between the Jew and the proselyte chiefly serve to illustrate the strong animus which a large section of post-Christian Jews displayed against proselytising and proselytes.

6. Literature. Schürer, *Jewish People*, ii. 2 291-327; Stapfer, *Palestine in the time of Christ*, ET, 130-132; Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, 179-349; articles on גּוּר and גֵּר in Jastrow, *Dict. of Targ.* etc., and Levy, *NHWB.* W. R. S.—W. H. B.

PROVERB. The words so rendered in EV are:

1. מָשָׁל, *māšāl.* The root-meaning of משל is simple—to be like, to compare[2]—but it bears a number of derived senses the exact relation of which to the root-meaning and to one another is more difficult to determine.

A. As a general term משל denotes (*a*) a proverb or popular saying—without definite literary form, and with no pretension to be philosophical, but a pithy characterisation of an event or summing-up of a natural law—*e.g.*, 1 S. 10 12 Ezek. 18 2; cp 1 S. 24 14 [13] Ezek. 12 22 (EV 'proverb,' 𝔊 παραβολή).

(*β*) That against which such a saying is directed—tropically, a proverb, by-word.

E.g., Dt. 28 37 1 K. 9 7 2 Ch. 7 20 Jer. 24 9 (in each case ‖ שנינה, 'by-word'), Ps. 44 15 [14] (‖ מנוד ראש, 'a shaking of the head'), 69 13 [12] Ezek. 14 8 (‖ אות, 'sign')—EV 'proverb,' 𝔊 παραβολή, but 1 K. 9 7 Ezek. 14 8 ἀφανισμός.

B. As a technical term in literature משל denotes; (*α*) A sententious maxim, the unit in the aggregation of which the not very philosophical, always empirical, Hebrew philosophy chiefly consisted. Strictly speaking, משל has reference to the form in which such a sentence was expressed, that of a distich *a b*—the juxtaposition of *a* and *b* conveying by comparison or contrast the moral lesson required.

Thus the 376 couplets in Pr. 10 1-22 16 are called (10 1) משלי שלמה (EV 'proverbs,' 𝔊 om.); cp 1 1 (EV 'proverbs,' 𝔊 παροιμίαι), 1 6 (EV 'proverb,' 𝔊 παραβολή, parallels being מליצה, 'figure,' 'enigma'? cp Ecclus. 47 17 and Hab. 2 6 דברי חכמים, 'words of the wise,' cp Pr. 22 17 and חידות, 'dark sayings') 25 1 (EV 'proverbs,' 𝔊 αἱ παιδεῖαι [A^{ℵc.a.} παροιμίαι] αἱ ἀδιάκριτοι) 26 7-9 (EV 'parable') Job 13 12 (‖ זִכְּרוֹן, 'memorable saying') Eccles. 12 9 (EV 'proverbs,' 𝔊 παραβολαί, parallels דברי אמת, כתוב ישר, דברי חפץ, דברי אמת).

(*β*) The distich overflowing into a tristich, Prov. 27 10 28 10, a tetrastich, 26 18 *f.*, even a decastich, 27 23-27—משל acquires the sense of a sententious or didactic poem.

Such as we have, *e.g.*, in Prov. 31 10-31—see Job 27 1 29 1 (EV 'parable,' 𝔊 προοίμιον), Ps. 49 5 (‖ חידה), 78 2 (EV 'parable,' 𝔊 παραβολή). Ps. 78 is, it is true, a historical poem; but it is history with a purpose.

The משלים of 1 K. 5 12 [4 32] (‖ שירות, 'songs') may go under either (*α*) or (*β*).

(*γ*) משל denotes finally any poetical composition.

(*a*) A prophecy, as in Nu. 23 7 18 24 3 15 20 21 23 (all of Balaam), and Is. 14 4, cp Mic. 2 4 (‖ נהי; see LAMENTATION, § 1), Hab. 2 6 (‖ מליצה חידות, see above, B*α*), EV 'parable,' 𝔊 παραβολή, but Is. 14 4 θρῆνος.

(*b*) A parable, Ezek. 17 2 (‖ חידה), 21 5 [20 49] 24 3, EV 'parable,' 𝔊 παραβολή.

(*c*) A historical lay. The *mōšlīm*[1] of Nu. 21 27 recall the Homeric rhapsodists, though they seem to have recited satirical songs on living persons as well, cp A (*β*) and see POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4 (3).

2. חִידָה, *ḥīdāh* (Ar. *ḥāda* to decline, cp מליצה from Ar. *lāṣa*).

In Hab. 2 6 EV renders מליצה חידות (𝔊 πρόβλημα εἰς διήγησιν) a taunting proverb; but the asyndeton in the Hebrew, if not without parallels, is awkward. חידות may be dispensed with as a gloss on the rarer word מליצה. See RIDDLE.

3. παροιμία. In classical Greek παροιμία means 'proverb,' 'by-word': so Æsch. *Ag.* 264; Ar. *Thesm.* 528; κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, 'as the saying goes,' Plat. *Symp.* 222 B.

In NT Greek it means (1) a proverb, 2 Pet. 2 22; (2) a figurative discourse, Jn. 16 25 29; (3) a parable, Jn. 10 6. Jn. never uses the word παραβολή, and it might have been better had RV in Jn. 10 6 taken the marginal rendering 'proverb' into the text, just as *vice versa* in Lk. 4 23 RV has 'parable' for AV 'proverb' παραβολή. παροιμία is occasionally used by 𝔊 to translate מָשָׁל, Pr. 1 1 25 1 (A^{ℵc.a.}) (by Sym., Ps. 78 2 Pr. 25 1 Ezek. 12 22, Aq. Eccles. 12 9 Ezek. 18 2), found also Ecclus. 6 35 8 8 18 29 39 3 47 17.

4. παραβολή. 'Proverb' is the AV rendering of παραβολή Lk. 4 23; but RV renders 'parable.' In classical Gk. παραβολή denotes (1) a laying alongside (as of ships in a naval battle), Polyb. 15 2 13, Diod. 14 60; (2) juxtaposition, comparison, *Phileb.* 33 B, Polyb. i. 2 2; (3) illustration, analogy, Isoc. 230 A, Arist. *Pol.* 2 5 24, ἐκ τῶν θηρίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν π. 'to take our illustration from the animal world.'

In NT Greek it means (1) a figure, illustration—Mk. 4 30 ἐν τίνι αὐτὴν παραβολῇ θῶμεν, perhaps also Heb. 11 19 (but see comm. *ad loc.*); (2) figure, image, type, ἥτις παραβολὴ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα, Heb. 9 9; (3) parable, Mt. 13 24 31 37, etc.; Lk. 14 7-11 12-14, are scarcely parables in the strict sense of the word. παραβολή is by far the commonest rendering of משל in 𝔊 (*e.g.*, Ps. 78 2, quoted Mt. 13 35). Found also Job 3 4 Wisd. 5 3, and in Ecclus. twelve times. A. C. P.

PROVERBS (BOOK).

1. Title. The Massoretic title is 'Proverbs of Solomon' (משלי שלמה, *Mišlē Šĕlōmōh*), in the Talmud and later Jewish works usually abridged to *Mišlē*. In the Talmud the book is also cited simply by the name of Solomon (*Dérek Éreṣ*, ch. 6), or as one of the Writings or Hagiographa (*Ab. Nathan*, ch. 2), and often without name.

𝔊 has a longer form: *Proverbs* (παροιμίαι) *of Solomon son of David who reigned in Israel*, and with this agree Syr. and Vg., except that they read *king of Israel*. The superscription in our Gk. MSS is simply παροιμίαι (apparently = Rabbinical *Mišlē*); the subscription is π. [B], π. Σαλ. [ℵ], π. Σολ. [A], π. Σολ. παρὰ ἑβδομήκοντα [C]. In the Vg. title the book is called *Parabolæ Solomonis*, in the superscription *Liber Proverbiorum quem Heb. misle vocant*, in the subscription *Liber Proverbiorum.*

These readings show that in the fourth century of our era the common designation of the book was *Proverbs*, and the title in the Heb. text *Proverbs of Solomon;*

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1 Mishna, *Pĕsāch.* 8 8, *Kĕrīthōth* 2 1.

2 Attempts (see Ges. *Thes.*, *s.v.*; Fleischer in Del. *Pr.* 43 *f.*: Halévy, *Revue des Études Juives*, 1885, p. 302) to derive the two notions of comparing and ruling from a single root are futile—as witness their very variety. We must assume two distinct roots (1) 'to be like,' Heb. מָשָׁל, Ass. *mašalu*, Syr. *mᵉtal*, Ar. *mathala*, and (2) 'to bear rule,' connected possibly with Ass. *mašâlu*, 'to shine' (see Del. *Heb. Lang.* 55).

1 *Mōšlīm* might almost be rendered 'bards'; the *mōšēl* may be the poet, the 'Dichter,' the setter in order of words or ideas, perhaps he who places side by side the two halves of his verse, cp Germ. 'dichten,' A.S. 'dihtan,' to arrange, set in order. Old English verse has the same well-defined break in the middle of the line that we find in Hebrew. And משל in Nu. 23 7 may mean simply 'poem'—'he uttered his poem,' a stereotyped phrase introducing a fresh rhapsody, like the τὸν δ'ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, etc., of Homer. The author of Job 29 borrowed it (29 1), and the redactor borrowed it from him (27 1); see Budde, *ad loc.*

the expression in the Vss., 'son of David, king of Israel,' may be a scribal insertion (perhaps suggested by the MT title of *Kōhéleth*). It is probable, though not certain, that the ascription to Solomon belonged to the original title (cp the titles of *Kōhéleth* and *Wisd. Sol.*): it may have been given to the earliest collection, 10 1-22 16, and then have been retained when additions were made, or the earliest title may have been 'Proverbs,' and the reference to Solomon (based on 1 K. 5 12 [4 32]) may have been added by Jewish editors; in the discussions of the book at the Synod of Jamnia the name of Solomon does not occur, but the authorship may have been taken for granted.

In early Christian writings Prov. is frequently cited with the formula: 'Solomon says.' In a number of cases also it is designated by the term 'wisdom' (σοφία) or by some expression in which the word 'wisdom' occurs; but it is doubtful whether such appellations are titles proper or merely descriptive phrases. It appears to be called simply *Sophia* by Melito (in Eus. *HE* iv. 26 13 *ff.*) and in *Const. Ap.* 1 10; but, even if these readings are genuine, they hardly prove a general Christian usage. The expression ἡ πανάρετος σοφία (Clem. Rom. *Cor.* 1 57, Eus. *HE* 4 22, etc.), which is used also of Ecclus. and Wisd. Sol., appears to refer not to Proverbs as a book, but to Wisdom as the 'all-virtuous' speaker and teacher.[1] If we may credit Hegesippus, indeed (in Eus. *HE* 4 22), the designation 'Wisdom' is of Jewish origin (from unwritten tradition); but of this there is no proof—the expression 'books of wisdom' which is used in a Rabbinical treatise (*Tōsephōth Bābā Bathrā*, 14 *b*) of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes appears merely to characterise these books by the nature of their material. In any case the infrequency of the appellation makes it probable that it is a description, not a title proper. The prominence of the idea of wisdom in Proverbs accounts naturally for such a designation of the book.[2]

2. Canonicity. At the Synod of Jamnia (about 100 A.D.; see CANON, § 55) the recognition of the book as one of the Kĕtūbīm (Hagiographa) was opposed on the grounds that it contained contradictions (26 4 *f.*) and that some of its descriptions were indecent (7 7-20). The first objection was set aside (*Shab.* 30 *b*) by referring 26 4 ('answer not a fool according to his folly') to worldly things, and 26 5 ('answer a fool, etc.') to things religious; this exegesis is incorrect, but the explanation was accepted. The apparently unseemly passages were interpreted allegorically; see *Ābōth Nāthān*, ch. 1 (in the common recension), and cp ch. 2 of the same work in which amorous descriptions in Canticles are explained as references to Israel. After the discussions at Jamnia the canonical character of the book was not questioned by the Jews, and it has not since been called in question. It is quoted often in NT and Talmud, and by Christian and Jewish writers generally. The citations in NT are almost all of them after the Gk. version, and are usually free; the book was evidently much read, and no attempt was made by NT writers to give its precise words.[3] As to its position, the better attested MT arrangement places it next after Pss. and Job.

So in *Bab. Bath.* 14 *b*, Tg., a number of Spanish Hebrew MSS and in Baer-Delitzsch; but in some Hebrew MSS (mostly German) it stands next to Psalms (so in Hahn); the MT order was probably determined by the length of the books. The MSS of 𝔊 early adopted an arrangement according to contents, putting the poetical books next to the historical (abandoning the division into the three canons), and Proverbs next after Psalms (Melito, in Eus. *HE*, 4 26; 𝔊B, etc.),[4] and this order is followed in Pesh. Syr.; Jerome's order is Job, Psalms, Proverbs. Among succeeding writers there is considerable diversity; modern versions adopt the arrangement of Jerome. See CANON.

3. Heb. text. In respect of accuracy the Massoretic text of *Proverbs* occupies a midway position among the OT books. It has not been subjected to the sweeping revision which we find in certain of the

[1] Cp Frankenberg, *Die Sprüche, Einl.*, § 1.

[2] For a late occurrence of the name ספר החכמה (in a synagogal prayer of the 12th cent.) see H. Deutsch, *Die Sprüche Sal. nach d. Auffassung im Talm. u. Midr.*

[3] For details see works on biblical quotations. The bibliography up to 1884 is given in Toy, *Quotations*; since then have appeared Johnson, *Quotations*, 1896; Dittmar, *VT in Novo*, 1899; Huhn, *ATliche Citate*, 1900. On quotations from 𝔊 in NT and in early Christian writings see Swete, *Introd. to the OT in Greek*, and the bibliography there given.

[4] In 𝔊A the order is: Psalms, Job, Proverbs; see Swete *Introd.*

PROVERBS (BOOK)

prophetical writings, and, among the wisdom books, in *Kōhéleth*; but it abounds in minor inaccuracies. Many of its particular words have been deformed; lines of couplets have been misplaced; not a few passages defy translation or emendation; and some paragraphs (*e.g.*, four short sections in chap. 6) now stand out of their proper connection. On the other hand, there are few insertions or modifications in the interests of theological ideas. The most important instance of such editorial revision is found in the paragraph 3 5-10, which is a theological parallel to the ethical paragraph 3 1-4; and 11 7 and 14 32 are perhaps other instances.[1] The character of the thought seems to have protected the book from violent alterations. Dealing almost exclusively with ethical facts and principles, it rarely comes into conflict with later thought.

In the passage in chap. 7, which called forth discussion at Jamnia, there has been no attempt at alteration. It is doubtful whether we can recognise any deliberate attempt to introduce into the book a doctrine of ethical immortality (as, for example, in 11 7 14 32[2]). The position of Proverbs in the less sacred group of *Kĕthūbīm* appears to have worked in two ways: it relieved the book from theological revision, but gave occasion to many verbal errors from carelessness of scribes.

4. Ancient versions. The following Ancient Versions of Proverbs have come down to us: Greek (Sept., fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and of several anonymous translations); Old Latin (fragments), and Jerome; Aramaic (Peshiṭta, Hexaplar Syr., Targum); Coptic; to which may be added: Ethiopic and Arabic.[3]

The Septuagint, the most ancient, interesting, and valuable of the versions of Proverbs, is given in the principal uncials (BℵAV, and fragments in C) and in a number of cursives (collated by Holmes and Parsons). Its text, however, is not in good condition; notwithstanding the work so far done on it, a critical edition (a necessary preliminary to its best use for the re-establishment of the Heb. text) is still lacking. Many of its readings are corrupt, it has many passages not found in the Heb., and its arrangement of the divisions of the book is peculiar. It is doubtless a purely Jewish production; there is no clear trace of Christian revision.[4] The manner of its origination may be suggested by the example of the younger Jesus, the translator of Ben-Sira. He rendered his grandfather's work into Greek, in response, he believed, to a popular demand in Alexandria; and so the Jews of the city doubtless desired to have Proverbs in Gk. form. Of the further history of the version we know little or nothing. It is doubtful whether there was one translator or many; there are, however, no such differences in style and accuracy in the different parts as clearly to suggest the presence of more than one hand. In general it appears to represent fairly a Hebrew text—presumably an Egyptian text of about 100 B.C. In certain cases this text differed from that on which our Massoretic text is based. Of the Greek additions the most seem to be translations from Hebrew; but some appear to have been composed originally in Greek.

The natural inference is that there was in circulation a considerable mass of aphoristic material, out of which our book of Proverbs (whether Heb. or Gk.) gives selections. This does not necessarily imply that there were different recensions of the Heb. book in Palestine or in Egypt (though this is possible, and even probable); but it helps to explain the difference in material between the Gk. and the Hebrew. It is also possible that the Greek translators or later Greek scribes simply inserted in the book new material.

It is not likely that Proverbs and Ben-Sira were the only parœmiac productions of the time; in these books, indeed, there are intimations of the existence of other works of the kind (Pr. 24 23 Ecclus. 39 1-11), and in the

[1] Cp Kautzsch, 'Proverbs,' in *SBOT*.

[2] In both of these passages the Hebrew text is uncertain; 𝔊's reading is probably to be adopted in the second, but not in the first.

[3] For details of editions of Versions see art. 'Bibelübersetzungen' in *PRE*(3).

[4] The patristic writers interpret it in a Christian sense, but do not change the text.

schools aphoristic sayings were doubtless cited and commented on. In this way there probably arose a tradition of parœmiac interpretation, which would be of various types, reflecting the various directions of Alexandrian Jewish thought. In the Gk. Proverbs we find allegorising interpretations (as in 2 16) but no definite evidence of rigorous legalism.[1] No doubt the hermeneutical tradition was less well established in the renderings of the Wisdom-books than in those of the Torah and the Prophets, and this fact may account in part for some of the incorrect translations in 𝔊's version of Proverbs;[2] but unsatisfactory renderings occur throughout 𝔊, and must be referred in part to other causes, such as defective Heb. MSS, ignorance of Heb., and corruption of the Gk. text.

It is evident, however, that there was great freedom in the treatment of the Heb. text by translators, and it is to such freedom or caprice that some critics refer 𝔊's arrangement of sub-sections in Pr. 22-31, which is as follows: 22 17-24 22 30 1-14 24 23-34 30 15-33 31 1-9 25-29 31 10-31. In this arrangement an order, not wholly unnatural, is observable: first come strophic passages, ascribed presumably to the 'sages,' then 'miscellaneous instructions [or, proverbs] of Solomon,' finally the description of the ideal housewife. The order may be due to the Gk. editor, or, as the subsections probably circulated in separate form and may have been arranged variously by Heb. scribes, he may have found it in a Heb. MS.[3]

For the criticism of the Gk. text we have the Coptic and Hexaplar Syriac versions, to which may be added the fragments of the Old Latin, the Ethiopic and Arabic translations, and a few verses (9 1-11) of a Christian Aramaic translation (in Land, *Anecdot. Syr.* 4).

The Sahidic Coptic MS ed. by Ciasca contains about half of Proverbs. It follows the Gk. closely, giving the passages which 𝔊 has in addition to our Heb. (and also some which are in neither Gk. nor Heb.). So far it has not been identified with any recension of 𝔊 (the Hesychian naturally suggests itself), nor shown to follow any particular MS; and the same remark appears to hold of the Bohairic material hitherto published.[4] The Hexaplar Syriac (ed. Ceriani) preserves (how precisely it is hardly possible to say) Origen's diacritical marks, and in the margin cites passages from other Gk. translations; it thus in many cases enables us to distinguish additions to 𝔊's text. As to the Ethiopic version, it is a question how far it is based on the septuagint; its age is still undetermined, and it has as yet contributed nothing to the identification of an Egyptian recension of the Greek version. The Arabic rendering of 𝔊 (in Walton's *Polygl.*, and ed. Lagarde) is not without value. The Old Latin fragments are too few to be of great service.[5]

The fragments of other Gk. verss. based on the Heb. (given in Field, *Hex.*) represent our MT, and rarely furnish critical aid, though they are sometimes lexicographically useful. Nearly the same thing is true of the Latin Vulgate; but in its case the question of text is more complicated; it represents in general our MT, but with occasional variations which suggest a different form from ours, and here and there it shows dependence on the Septuagint (reproducing, probably, the Old-Latin). Its interpretations are of interest as giving in part the Jewish tradition of the time; but it cannot be rated high as an aid in the exposition of Proverbs. The history of the Peshitta Syr. text is still more difficult; whilst based on MT, it has been considerably affected by 𝔊, and the details of its revision are obscure.

The Targum, in its present form, generally follows the Pesh. Syriac, yet sometimes gives MT against Syr.; apparently it has been revised after the Heb., though it is possible that it renders a Syr. text different from that which we have, and that it may be used for criticism of the Peshiṭta. Saadia (ed. Derenbourg) gives the Jewish interpretation of the tenth century; he is of little or no use for the text, but abounds in lexicographical and exegetical suggestions.[6]

(*a*) *Divisions.*—The main divisions of the Book, indicated in MT (and also in 𝔊), are as follows:—i. (chaps. 1-9). A series of discourses, descriptions of the nature and function of wisdom and warnings against robbery and unchastity (3 27-35 6 1-19 and 9 7-12 are misplaced; the two first belong in iii. or iv., the last belongs in ii.). ii. (10 1-22 16). A book of aphoristic couplets on the conduct of life. iii. (22 17-24 22 and 24 23-34). Two collections of quatrains, in which there is a wider range of subjects than in the preceding division. iv. (25-29). A collection of couplets. v. (30 *f.*). A miscellaneous collection, having the appearance of an appendix: chap. 30 contains a dictum on the limitations of human knowledge, one on the certainty of God's word, a prayer for preservation from the extremes of poverty and riches, and a group of tetrads consisting of observations on nature and life (*v.* 32 *f.* stand by themselves); chap. 31 consists of two longer passages, one a code of conduct for kings, the other a description of a model housewife.[1]

5. Form.

(*b*) *Rhythm.*—The material of Proverbs, as far as regards its contents, though not poetical, is gnomic, and its literary form is that which appears to have been common in both poetical and proverbial utterances among the Hebrews from an early time. The norm is a couplet, with parallelism of lines; quatrains are common, and there are, less commonly, longer strophes; triplets are rare. The line in Proverbs has usually three beats (a form which may be called ternary), sometimes two (binary), sometimes four (quaternary). The determination of the number of beats is matter of pronunciation and therefore to some extent arbitrary; but it may be said with probability that binary and quaternary lines are to be regarded with suspicion. In a few cases it is difficult to detect rhythm at all; but in such cases there is ground for supposing the trouble to be in the text.[2]

The rhythmical characteristics of the different parts of the book are as follows:—i. consists mostly of quatrains, with synonymous parallelism (3 27-35 9 8 are misplaced); in ii. (couplets) the form is antithetic in 10-15, comparison (with some antitheses) in 16 1-22 16; iii. (quatrains), except 24 16, is synonymous; in iv. (couplets) the form is comparison (or a single sentence) in 25-27, whilst the second half (28 29) is nearly equally divided between antithesis and comparison (or single sentence); v. (quatrains and longer strophes) is synonymous.

It appears that the distichal aphorisms are mostly antithetic, but are sometimes comparisons or single sentences, and that the longer discourses and the quatrains prefer the synonymous form. The rhythmical form is definite and, in general, well maintained, and may be appealed to for criticism of the text.

(*c*) *Composite Character.*—From the divisions indicated in the text and from the variations in the rhythmical form it may probably be inferred that the book is composite in origin.

(*d*) *The Māšāl.*—Proverbial sayings, brief formulations of experience and observation, appear to have been current among the Israelites, as they are among all other peoples. The examples in OT are few but sufficient to show the usage; see 1 S. 10 12 (=19 24), and apparently 2 S. 5 8 20 18 24 14 [13]; an allied form is the riddle (Judg. 14 14), and cp Lk. 4 23 Jn. 4 37 2 Pet. 2 22.[3] These simple sayings were sometimes in ordinary prose form, sometimes in the form of couplets, one line in some way parallel to the other. In the latter case the general name for them is *māšāl*, a term which is employed in OT to designate a great variety of

[1] Heidenheim (in his *Vierteljahrschrift*, 1865, 1866) is disposed to see many signs of the influence of Pharisaic ideas; but the evidence he adduces is not convincing.

[2] So Frankenberg, *Die Sprüche, Einl.*

[3] For a fragment containing Pr. 23 21-24 35 see *The Academy*, Oct. 1892, and Klostermann, *Analecta*.

[4] Cp H. Hyvernat, in *Rev. Bibl.* for 1896.

[5] See Kennedy, Art. 'Lat. Verss., The Old,' in Hastings, *BD* 3; he mentions Pr. 2 1-4 23 15 9-26 16 29-17 12 19 7-27 and some others.

[6] On the versions, see also TEXT AND VERSIONS.

[1] Chajes, in his *Proverbia-Studien*, maintains the view that the central part of the book (10 1-22 16) consists of scattered couplets which at one time (though not originally) were arranged, like Ps. 119, according to the letters of the alphabet, and he tries to restore this arrangement. In this attempt he is not successful (his scheme is highly improbable); but he suggests some good emendations. See also his note in *JQR*, July, 1900.

[2] Valuable remarks on metrical forms in Proverbs are to be found in Ed. Sievers' treatise on 'Hebräische Metrik' in *Abhandlungen der Königl. Säch. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1901.

[3] The story in Nu. 21 22-35 may be based on an old fable or beast-story; cp Jud. 9 8-15 and 2 K. 14 9.

PROVERBS (BOOK)

compositions of distichal form, and in fact seems to signify a 'distichal composition';[1] for the various applications of the term see Ezek. 18 2 21 5 [20 49], 17 2 Dt. 28 37 Hab. 2 6 Mic. 2 4 Nu. 23 7 Ps. 78 2 Job 29 1. Though Proverbs now contains gnomic discourses, the title *mišlē* seems to have referred originally to a collection of aphorisms (10 1-22 16).

The etymology of *māšāl* is doubtful; but the probability seems to be that it signifies 'juxtaposition' or 'similarity,' with reference to the things or ideas with which it is concerned.[2] As synonyms of *māšāl* in Pr. 1 6 we have *ḥidāh* (חִידָה) and *mĕlîṣāh* (מְלִיצָה), terms which appear to signify originally 'deflected discourse,' that is, discourse in which there is allusion to something else than that which the words directly express (as, for example, in a riddle, Judg. 14 12 1 K. 10 1); later both terms were used generally for allegorical, visional, derisive, or didactic utterances (Ezek. 17 2 Nu. 12 8 Hab. 2 6 Ps. 49 5 [4] 78 2).

(*a*) Until recent times the greater part of the book (chaps. 1-29) has commonly been ascribed to Solomon.

6. Authorship. Such may be the meaning of the general title or superscription in 1 1, though this may refer to chaps. 1-9 only, especially as Solomon is named as author in the superscriptions in 10 1 (in MT, but not in 𝔊) and 25 1. It is quite possible that he may have composed or collected proverbs of some sort, as is stated in 1 K. 5 12 *f.* [4 32 *f.*]; but the indications in the Book of Proverbs itself (see below, § 7) make it impossible to suppose that he is its author. The tradition of authorship, embodied in the OT titles and in the Talmud, cannot be relied on. It has been conclusively proved that in the Prophets and the Psalms the titles are not authoritative in themselves, and that the lists of authors given in the Talmud rest on no good historical or critical foundation. The titles in Proverbs cannot be supposed to form an exception to the general rule. Some critics, however, while admitting the general doubtfulness of OT titles, make an exception in favour of Pr. 25 1: 'these also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, transcribed.' Whence, they ask, this particularity of statement, if it does not rest on good tradition? And it is added that Hezekiah's reign was a favourable time for such literary work. Granted that such work is conceivable for that time, we have only a possibility. There is no hint of it in the historical and prophetical books, and there is much against it. Not only was the period in question one of war and unrest, but it is highly probable, if not certain, that the task of collecting and editing writings did not begin till much later (not before the exile). As to the particularity of the title in 25 1, it is quite in the manner of the Jewish editors—witness the titles of many psalms: to be precise and full was a natural tendency, and the scribes had no historical science to guide them. In this case Hezekiah may have been selected because of his alleged prominence as a reformer (so Is. 38 ascribes a poem to him, and 2 Ch. 19 credits Jehoshaphat with the creation of a sacerdotal judiciary). We cannot, then, base the question of authorship of Proverbs on the titles in the book. As to the ascription of Proverbs and other writings to Solomon, this also was perfectly natural when his reputation for wisdom had once been established.[3] And, as it is now almost universally held

[1] It thus stands in contrast with *šīr*, which seems to designate poetry as something 'sung'; but cp Ass. *šira*, 'oracle' (perh. from √ = 'see').

[2] In the vol. on Proverbs (Heb. text) in *SBOT* (on Pr. 1 6) P. Haupt expresses the opinion that *māšāl* means originally 'equality or equal parts and halves (Ass. *mišlani*)' and then 'simply a line of poetry or verse, each stich consisting of two hemistichs,' that is, the reference is to the linear form and not to the form of expression. Not to speak of the difficulty of giving the meaning 'halves' to the sing. *māšāl*, it is to be observed that we do not find elsewhere, in Semitic, Gk., and Latin, a reference to linear form in terms for 'proverb': cp חִידָה, מְלִיצָה, *παροιμία*, *παραβολή*, *proverbium*, *adagium*; cp also שִׁיר and Ar. *ši'r*, which refer to expression and thought. Further, the sense 'stich' seems to presuppose writing; but the term mašal probably originated before the literary use of writing began.

[3] It need not be doubted that there was some ground for this reputation; but exactly what it was we do not know.

that he did not write Eccles. and Cant., it must be admitted, in spite of the tradition, that it is possible he did not write Proverbs.

(*b*) In 30 1 31 1 two other names of authors are given, Agur ben-Yakeh (Jakeh) and Lemuel (or Lemuel's mother). Cp ITHIEL, LEMUEL. Agur (if the word is a proper name) must be supposed to be an otherwise unknown sage, possibly Jewish, possibly non-Jewish.

By a change of text he may be understood to be called a 'Maššaite,' an inhabitant of the region Mašša, of which nothing is known (Gen. 25 14), or, a 'gnomic writer' (*mōšēl*). Nor is it clear how much of chap. 30 it is intended to ascribe to him; probably his dictum is given in *vv.* 2-4, which are an expression of philosophic (but not irreverent) agnosticism. Lemuel, in like manner, may be 'king of Mašša' (the rendering of RV is impossible), or, by change of text, 'the Maššaite.'

In MT the counsel to kings is ascribed to Lemuel's mother; but this may be due to textual corruption—the words may well have been spoken by a sage. In the present condition of the text we can say of these passages no more than that they belong to the general late material of philosophic and gnomic wisdom (see AGUR, LEMUEL, MASSA). The 'sages' are cited in 24 23 and (in MT) in 22 17, and are mentioned in 1 6 etc.; substantially the whole of chaps. 1-9 is referred to them. They represent the body of philosophical ethical thought of the later time; they are the teachers in the academies and the gnomic writers.

It seems clear that the historical statements of origin, in the book and elsewhere, are not conclusive, and that,

7. Date. for the determination of the date, we must look to the customs and ideas indicated in the book. The data may be arranged as follows: (*a*) the conception of life; (*b*) the social conditions; (*c*) the ethical ideas; (*d*) the religious ideas; (*e*) the relation of Proverbs to other books; (*f*) the linguistic characteristics.

(*a*) *Conception of life.*—When we compare Proverbs with other OT books, especially with the prophetical writings, we are struck by the differences between them in the way in which life, as a whole, is contemplated (see WISDOM LITERATURE). It is not merely that the point of view of other books is national, that of Proverbs individual—they differ also as to what constitutes the basis of good living. For the prophets it is loyalty to the service of Yahwè, God of Israel (conceived of as including obedience to his moral law), in distinction from other deities; for the sages it is loyalty to the universal human conscience,[1] and this loyalty is held to be conditioned on knowledge; throughout the book it is knowledge or wisdom that makes the difference between the good man and the bad—the terms 'fool' and 'wicked' are synonymous (see FOOL). Now, we find also in a few prophetical passages insistence on the necessity of knowledge; but in these passages the import of the term is markedly different from the conception in Proverbs.

Hosea (Hos. 4 6) exclaims that the people are destroyed for lack of knowledge; but it is because they are misled by the priests: 'because thou [O priest] rejectest knowledge, I reject thee from being priest'; the fault lies in the priests' ignorance or disregard of the law of Yahwè. In Jer. 5 4 *f.* 8 8 *f.* 9 22 *f.*, the charge of immorality is made against all classes of the people: they do not know (that is, obey) Yahwè's law, and it is even said that they falsify it. The wisdom of the prince of Is. 11 2 is that of a righteous theocratic judge. Ps. 119 is a glorification of knowledge; but it is knowledge of the words of Yahwè.

In distinction from these prophetical passages, Proverbs makes the instructed conscience the guide of life. The divine control of all things is recognised, and the kernel of wisdom is said to be the fear of the Lord; but this means an attitude of the soul, and not dependence on an external code. It is assumed that he who knows will do right—the ultimate basis of life is a wise perception of the constitution of things. This point of view occurs elsewhere in OT only in Job and Ḳōhéleth. It is a distinct rejection of the prophetical and legal

[1] Cheyne (*Job and Sol.* 119) appositely calls the sages the 'humanists.'

conception, and belongs to a reflective stage that we can seek only in the period when the Jews were scattered throughout the Persian and Greek empires. In Jer. 'wise men' are enemies of truth[1]—in Proverbs they are the sole depositaries of truth. This latter view is specifically Greek, and, without denying that some of the material of Proverbs may be earlier, we may probably refer the present form of the book to the Greek period. This date seems to be demanded also by the personification of wisdom in chap. 8 and the rôle assigned her as the controller of earthly affairs and the companion and friend of God at the creation of the world.[2] Such a personification is foreign to the legal and prophetical writings; in the former there is no such representation, and in the latter it is the 'word' of Yahwè (his revelation or command) on which stress is laid (Jer. 23 29 Is. 55 11, cp Ps. 33 6). On the other hand, the personification of wisdom in Wisd. 7 is manifestly Greek.

(*b*) *Social conditions.*—In the picture of social conditions in Prov. there is much that might belong to any period from David onwards: general goodness and badness, honesty and dishonesty, truth and falsehood, industry and sloth, agriculture, business life, courts of law and kings. There is also much, however, that is out of accord with the pre-exilic time. Monogamy is taken for granted, whereas polygamy is assumed in Dt. 21 15 (7th cent.) and Lev. 18 18 (6th cent.). In the older law (Lev. 20 10) adultery was punishable with death; Prov. 6 32-35 treats it merely as a crime against the man's well-being. The elaborate descriptions of harlots' wiles and denunciations of conjugal infidelity (especially in chaps. 1-9) agree better with a monogamous city-life; in a polygamous community this vice is relatively infrequent—in many cases the harlots of pre-exilic prophecy are temple-prostitutes. Organised robbery, as in 1 10-19, belongs more naturally to later city-life, whether the passage in question refer to literal robbery, or, as some hold, to extortion and oppression under legal forms. The practice of hoarding corn (11 26) probably belongs to the later commercial life. The little treatise on the care of flocks (27 23-27) is hardly an early production; literary treatment of such subjects is elsewhere late (Aristotle, Vergil).

The same thing is true of the manuals of conduct for kings (16 10-15 25 2-5 31 2-9), which relate to royal rulers as a class, without distinction of peoples, and lay the emphasis on the broad administrative virtues, the details being wholly different from those of Dt. 17 14-20, but nearly identical with those of the post-exilic Is. 11 1-5. The instructions (23 1 *f.* 25 6 *f.*) how to conduct one's self at the table of a king are noteworthy; they reflect a time when such social intercourse was not uncommon (else they would not have found a place in Proverbs), certainly not the pre-exilic royal period, but rather the period of the Grecian (and possibly the Maccabæan) princes, when it might happen to any respectable man to find himself at the king's table (see, *e.g.*, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 3 9).

Finally, there are, in parts of Prov. (1-9 22 21 24 23), suggestions of an organisation of learning which better suits the late reflective period: the sages are an influential body, and appear to have pupils—so we may infer from the address 'my son,' and from 22 21—that is, academies were in existence. The dictum of Agur implies a habit of discussing theological questions. The quotations in 30 5 *f.* (from Dt. 4 2 Ps. 18 30 [31] and perhaps Job 13 4 10) point to a late time, for Ps. 18 must be regarded as post-exilic.

(*c*) *Ethics.*—In certain points the ethical system of Proverbs agrees with that of the pre-exilic and exilic books on both the positive and the negative sides. The codes given in Ex. 20-23 Dt. Lev. and the prophets include most of the duties of a man to his fellow-citizens. They have nothing to say of courage, fortitude, moderation, self-sacrifice, intellectual truthfulness, love of beauty, international obligations; but this defect, however it may be explained, is not supplied by later books. The motive for right-doing, 'that it may be well with thee,' is the same throughout OT, and the avoidance of speculative inquiry concerning the nature of conscience and the ultimate basis of moral rules is common to all Semitic antiquity. On the other hand, there are injunctions and points of view in Proverbs which appear to indicate an ethical advance over the exilic and pre-exilic books.

Such are the frequent praise of industry (6 6-11 12 24), the scorn of gluttony (23 20), and the homely warning against too much frequenting of others' houses (25 17); the formulation (*passim*) of the character of the scoffer (a conception peculiar to Proverbs), and the special attention paid to fools, kings, and children, classes not considered, from the educational point of view, in other books (Dt. 6 7 Ex. 12 26 *f.*, are not exceptions); the deeper conceptions of responsibility for one's words (10 11 12 18 13 3), of the wisdom of heeding reproof (12 1 17 10), and of the correspondence between deeds and requital (24 12, an advance in universality on Ezek. 18); the reference to the uncertainty of the future (27 1), a sort of reflection of which we find no trace in Law or prophets; the injunction of kindness toward enemies (24 17 *f.* 25 21 *f.*), which goes beyond the rule of Lev. 19 18 (this latter has in mind only fellow-countrymen).

It must be said, moreover, that, though there is in Prov. no recognition of a law of international ethics, there is also no trace of that bitterness toward foreign nations which disfigures the prophetical and the historical books, parts of the Law, and some of the Psalms; the tone of the book is that of men who have been trained by experience to the recognition of a universal humanity. The guide of conduct is the sage—the appeal is to every man's reason and conscience.

Such is the general attitude. Yet the book has also its bitterness and implacableness. It adopts toward the wicked in general the attitude of Yahwè toward the wicked in Israel (Am. 4 Hos. 6 4-6 9 7); they are warned, and exhorted to repent, but, if they do not change, they must die (Prov. 1 20-33). There is not even a trace of the softness which is visible in Ezek. 18 32 Hos. 14 4, or of the recognition of human weakness which is expressed in Ps. 103 14.[1] This difference is doubtless due in great part to the impersonal character of the moral ideal and judge in Proverbs; Yahwè may pity, but Wisdom must be unrelenting. The sages, in fact, set forth a natural law in the moral world, which is no more capable of pity than physical law; the rule is: be wise or perish—it is the rule of the ethical philosopher, not of the patriot or the preacher. In this respect, as in others, we are struck by the modernness of Proverbs: prophets and historians often seem remote from us, and sometimes even the psalms; but Proverbs might almost have been written yesterday.

(*d*) *Religious Attitude.*—Of all the biblical books, if we omit such works as Nahum, Obadiah, and parts of Kōhéleth, there is none with so simple and colourless a theistic creed as Proverbs. It is distinctly and absolutely monotheistic; unlike most of the prophetical writings and some of the psalms it ignores polytheism or the recognition of other gods than Yahwè—for it that question is finally settled; even of angels and demons it makes no mention, though these must have formed part of the general Jewish belief whether before or after the exile—but Proverbs recognises no supernatural element in life but the spirit of God manifesting itself in the thought of man, and omits intermediate agencies as unnecessary. Its theistic faith is firm, calm, and unquestioning. It is enough that God is the creator and ruler of the world. His ethical attributes are taken for granted: there is no discussion of his justice as in Job, no doubt of the moral significance of the world as

[1] There is no sign, however, in the prophetical writings of a class of philosophically sceptical sages; the 'wise men' depended on political shrewdness rather than on the word of Yahwè, and advocated expediency rather than prophetic piety.

[2] In Prov. 8 30 the term אמן is by some taken as meaning 'artist,' 'architect,' in which case it is better pointed אַמָּן; it should rather be written אָמֻן, 'nursling' 'ward'; wisdom is the creation or child of God (*vv.* 22-25) and his companion in his creative work.

[1] See, however, what is said below (under *d*) of God's educative providence. In 26 1 3-12 intellectual folly is treated of humourously or sarcastically.

in Ḳōhéleth.[1] In accordance with this point of view the emotional element in religion is ignored: we find no expression of love to God, of sense of sin and repentance, of joy in the service of God—only the conviction that wisdom's ways are ways of peace and pleasantness. On the other hand, we have (3 11 12) the fine conception of God as training his servants by suffering; here alone in Proverbs is the word 'love' used of God (it is used of wisdom in 8 17). In striking contrast with all other OT books except Ḳōhéleth the main features of the distinctively national Jewish religious faith are passed over in almost complete silence.

There is no mention of prophets[2] or priests or temple; sacrifice is twice alluded to as a popular custom connected with feasting (7 14 17 1), twice (15 8 21 27) sacrifice without righteousness is denounced as abhorrent to God, and once (21 3) it is said that integrity is more acceptable to God than sacrifice—this last declaration is quite in the spirit of the prophets of the period of undeveloped ritual (Am. 5 21-23 Hos. 6 6 Is. 1 11-17 Jer. 7 3-7 22 *f.*), only, perhaps, with a more marked tone of indifference.

In contrast, however, with prophets and psalmists, the devotional element in religion (prayer, praise) is lacking. While there is no reference to a collection of sacred scriptures (such as occurs in the prologue to the Greek translation of Ben-Sira, 132 B.C.), there are two definite quotations (30 5 *f.*); the closest parallel to such employment of earlier writings is the reference to Jeremiah in Dan. 9 2 (165 B.C.), and the suggestion is that Prov. 30 belongs to a late post-exilic period.

In another point the silence of Proverbs is noteworthy. Before the exile the prophets predicted simply the restoration of the nation, but, after the fall of Jerusalem, the figure of the national king was introduced into the picture by prophets and psalmists as the natural political head, leading the nation in a career of conquest (Jer. 33 15 *f.*, Is. 11 1-9, etc.); he was for a long time a part of the national hope. In Proverbs, however, he does not appear: what the book says of kings (14 35 16 10-15 20 26 28 24 21 *f.* 25 2-7) seems to regard them merely as a universal element of society, to be feared and obeyed; when they are spoken of as absolutely just (16 10 20 28), this is a natural idealisation of the office;[3] their utterances are said to be as just as an oracular decision, and wickedness is declared (16 12) to be abhorrent to them. This is the tone of a man who regards society as organised on a moral basis, and feels no interest in an independent Jewish government.[4] Nor do the writers of Proverbs express any interest in the newer eschatological ideas.

The sphere of human activity, the place of struggle and happiness or unhappiness, is the present life on earth; Shĕōl, as in the older literature, has no moral discriminations and no rewards and punishments (the same view is found in Ecclus. and Kōhéleth).

Certain passages in the book are regarded, by some critics, as giving evidence of a belief in ethical immortality, but this interpretation is improbable: 2 19 5 5 refer to physical death (premature death, as in 10 27, being the final penalty of sin); in 10 7 28 11 7 the reference is to the present life;[5] 14 32 may be understood to refer either to the future or to the present; but the text is probably in disorder. Inasmuch as the general position of Proverbs is perfectly clear on this point, a single couplet affirming immortality may naturally be regarded with suspicion. On the other hand, if the book be held to recognise the doctrine, its date must be

1 Agur (Prov. 30 2-4) merely affirms man's incapacity to comprehend God; cp Cheyne, *Jew. Rel. Life*, 174 *ff.*

2 In 29 18 the reference is to people in general (not to the Jewish people particularly) and to law or instruction in general (not to the Jewish Tōrāh), and the word *vision* (חזון) is error of text.

3 Cheyne, however, thinks that there is a real portraiture of the Messiah in these passages; see his *Jew. Rel. Life*, 145 *ff.* Cp Toy, 'Proverbs' (in *Internat. Crit. Comm.*), and art. 'The King in Jew. post-exil. writings' (*JBL*, 1899).

4 A Messianic hope is seen by some writers (*e.g.*, Smend, *AT Rel.-Gesch.* 491) in 2 21 *f.*; this passage, however, hardly affirms anything more than a general trust in God's protecting power.

5 𝔊's rendering of 11 7 appears to assume immortality; but it is not a rendering of our Heb., and may reflect the idea of a later time.

put very late. Of the idea of bodily resurrection (which was adopted by the Jews hardly earlier than the second century B.C.) there is no trace.

The central religious conception of Proverbs is the fear of God, reverence for him as ruler and law-giver; the sages, though philosophers, are distinctly religious. In chaps. 1-9 the expression 'fear of God' represents simply an attitude; the fear is described as the essence of wisdom, and its content is given in ethical terms. In the remainder of the book God is regarded as the protector and benefactor of those who fear him. It must be added that, while 'wisdom' in a part of Proverbs (10-31) generally means sagacity, common-sense or prudence, it has in 1-9 a peculiar religious or divine character which it is not easy to define with precision. In 8 it is both a human (*vv.* 1-21) and a divine quality (*vv.* 22-31).

Whether the author conceived of it as an energy pervading the universe, or as a faculty breathed into man by God, or in some other way, it is difficult to say. For it is not shared by all men, and the only statement that God bestows wisdom on man occurs in an interpolated passage (2 5-8), and does not accord with the rest of the book. Probably the sage did not define the conception to himself, but held generally that true wisdom could dwell in him only who lived in sympathetic and reverent obedience to the Lord of the world. Throughout the book the interest of the writers is in wisdom as such.

The religious feeling of the sages forces them to identify wisdom with the divine government; the definition of wisdom as essentially the fear of God (1 7), the recognition of God as absolute disposer of human affairs (16 1 33 17 3), the affirmation of the happiness of those who trust in him (16 20), and similar statements, may be regarded as sincere attempts to harmonise the philosophical point of view with the national religious conviction.[1]

(*e*) *Relation to Ecclesiasticus.*—The position of Proverbs in the arrangement of OT books, the fact, that is, that it stands in the Third Canon, favours the view that it is late, since the other books in this canon are either exilic or post-exilic. But, more particularly, a post-exilic date is suggested by its relation to Ben-Sira.[2] The two books are so much alike in point of view, spirit, and contents that their relation can be explained only by one of two suppositions: either one imitates the other, or the two are products of the same period. But if Ecclus. imitates Proverbs (and the latter is confessedly the earlier of the two), the more natural explanation of the fact is that they stand near together, just as the earlier part of Enoch and Daniel are near each other in time as in content.

One of the most striking of the similarities between the books is the fact that neither lays claim to divine inspiration, in contrast with the other writings (prophets and Tōrāh) that give the terms of acceptance with God. This fact indicates in general a post-prophetic post-legal period,[3] the period of the sages, who are a branch of the class of scribes, and obviously later than the legal development of the fifth century B.C. In Ecclus. (38 24-39 11) learned men are distinctly recognised as a separate class, sharply distinguished from artisans, and their methods of study and their function are described at length. The picture of them in Proverbs is less sharply drawn, and it may be inferred that an interval of time, though not a very great one, separates the two books.

It thus appears that, since the thought is substantially the same throughout Proverbs, the whole of the book in its present form is post-exilic, not earlier than the second half of the Persian period, and not later than the first half of the Greek period.[4] The external

1 Cp Oort, *Spreuken* (*Th.T*, 1885). A similar harmonisation is found in Ecclus. but not in the original Ḳōhéleth. In the latter there are many harmonising additions, in Proverbs apparently only one, in 2 5-8.

2 See WISDOM LITERATURE, and cp Holtzmann, in Stade, *GVI* 2 292 *ff.*; Cheyne, *Job and Sol.*, and *Jew. Relig. Life*, chap. 4; Montefiore in *JQR* 2 (1889-90).

3 Prophetic and legal material no doubt continued to be produced down to the second century B.C.; but it was fragmentary and complementary. The creative prophetic thought began to die out in the sixth century, but lingered till the fourth; the law-books were practically finished by the year 400 B.C.

4 It is understood, of course, that no little of the general

influences of the time, when the Jews were scattered and brought into intimate intellectual relations with the great world, combined with the natural forward movement of the people, led them in the direction of a philosophical conception of life.

How much, in this movement, is due to Persia and how much to Greece, it may be hard to say; the two streams of influence were doubtless blended and assimilated to the fundamental Hebrew thought.[1] But it would appear that, while the contribution of Persia was mainly in the realm of the supernatural (eschatology, angelology, demonology), that of Greece was mainly philosophical (identification of virtue with knowledge, conception of the unity of the cosmos). It is not impossible also that some material was taken from Egyptian sources.[2]

(*f*) *Linguistic Character.*—The vocabulary of Proverbs necessarily agrees largely with that of other OT books. Its linguistic peculiarities are partly due to the nature of its material, partly belong to the later usage.[3] It is not always possible to say whether a given word is late-Hebrew or poetical; for particular discussions reference must be made to the commentaries. In any case the number of words which may probably be regarded as post-exilic or Aramaic is not large;[4] in this respect Proverbs differs from the lately-discovered Hebrew text of Ben-Sira. It is not clear that there are any Arabic or Greek words.[5] The syntactical constructions are characterised by the curtness and compression which naturally belong to gnomic writing. The general style of the book agrees with what we might expect of the time when Aramaic influence was beginning to make itself felt, and the Hebrew was entering on its later stage—that is, the fourth and third centuries B.C.

8. Process of formation.

The custom of teaching by aphorisms and short discourses is illustrated by the whole of the series of early Jewish philosophical works (in which the *Pirḳē Ābōth* may be included).[6] In the fourth and following centuries B.C. there must have been in circulation a number of proverbial sayings, and out of these our Book of Proverbs was made up.[7] The divisions visible on the face of the book have been mentioned above (§ 5), and the differences between them, in content and form, suggest that they represent separate small collections (very much as in the composition of the Psalter). The same fact is indicated by certain repetitions in the book.

Where merely a line is repeated (as in 11 4 24 6), this need not show difference of editorship or of authorship, for a teacher might naturally vary his expressions. Where, however, a couplet occurs twice in exactly the same form (as in 18 8 26 22 19 1 [as emended] 28 6 22 3 27 12, etc.) we may infer that the two have been inserted by different collectors.[8] Such comparisons do not, however, aid in making out the primary divisions; for this we must depend on form and content.

The central part of the book, 10 1-22 16, stands out by itself, but, if we may judge by the form, is really composed of two smaller parts, 10 1-16 2 and 16 3-22 16; the second of these is mostly made up of comparisons and other single sentences, whilst the first employs the antithetic form. With the second agree 25-27 and part of 28 *f.*; with the first agrees the other part of 28 *f.* These seem to have been the earliest collections (ethical couplets); then came the two groups of quatrains, 22 17-24 22 and 24 23-34, which, by their distincter mention of 'sages' and the freer character of their material, indicate a later time; the more elaborate discourses of 1-9 (omitting 2 5-8 3 27-35 6 1-19 9 7-12) may be still later; and 30 *f.* form an appendix. Within these divisions smaller sections occur (such as 16 3-9 [or, 1-9] 16 10-15 25 2-7 26 1 3-12 27 23-27), which may well have been independent productions. Exactly when and how the various parts were combined into a book it is hardly possible to say, nor is the question very important; the main point is that the process probably went on through the fourth and third centuries, and that the appendix, 30 *f.*, may have been added still later; Agur's dictum somewhat resembles Ḳōhéleth, and the artificial tetradic form in 30 11-31 and the alphabetical poem, 31 10-31 suggest a late time. Apart from the sections and sub-sections no principle of arrangement of couplets and quatrains is recognisable.[1]

9. Hebrew aphoristic literature.

It thus appears that the history of ancient Hebrew aphoristic literature is parallel to the course of such literary developments in other peoples—it belongs to the maturest period of the nation. The proverbs of half-civilised peoples do not deserve to be classed as literature; they are merely shrewd popular observations on the passing affairs of everyday life; those broader and deeper observations that are more properly called aphorisms are the product of cultivated reflection. In Egypt the mature philosophical and ethical maxims that bear the names of Ptaḥḥōtep, Any, and others had their origin in one of the most flourishing periods of the Empire (see EGYPT, § 21). Hindoo proverbial literature falls in a similar period in the history of Indian thought. The Greek proverbs ascribed to Menander are probably to be referred to the time that witnessed the rise of the great post-Platonic schools of philosophy. Similarly Hebrew aphoristic literature appears after the beginning of the philosophical movement that is introduced by the Book of Job; and it maintains itself into the Talmudic period, that is, up to the point when the main Jewish literary activity, abandoning philosophy and apocalypse, devoted itself to the legal and ethical exposition of the Torah. The fall of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews throughout the Roman Empire had as one effect the concentration of attention on the law, which was now the sole bond of union between the scattered communities. But, till this revolution was accomplished, aphoristic literature continued to be cultivated. The Book of Proverbs was followed by Ben-Sira; a number of proverbs are found in Ḳōhéleth; and the sayings in Pirḳē Ābōth ascribed to the great sages doubtless represent the period beginning in the second century B.C. and extending into the first two centuries of our era. These sayings are analogous to those that tradition puts into the mouths of the 'seven wise men' of Greece; philosophy arose early in Greece, late among the Jews. The Book of Proverbs, standing midway in the philosophic development, is the finest philosophical fruitage of the national Jewish spirit broadened and matured by intellectual contact with the best foreign thought of the time.

10. Literature.

i. *Text and versions.*—Vogel (in Schultens), 1769; Jäger, *Observv. in Prov. Sal. vers. alex.*, 1788; Schleusner, *Lexicon*(2), 1829; Lagarde, *Anmerk. z. griech. Uebers. d. Prov.* 1863; Dyserinck, *Krit. Schol.* (*Th.T*, 1883); Oort, *Spreuken*, 1-9 (*Th.T*, 1885); Baumgartner, *Étude crit. sur . . Prov.*, 1890; Bickell (*WZKM*, 1891); Pinkuss, *Die syr. Uebers. d. Prov.* (*ZATW*, 1894); Grätz, *Exeget. stud.* (in his *Monatsschr.*,

thought, theistic and ethical, and some of the particular illustrations, may be older than the fourth century; the present form, however, is not popular but academic.

1 On Jewish borrowing from other nations cp M. Lazarus, *The Ethics of Judaism* (ET), 1 12 *ff.*

2 See Erman, *Ægypten*, 237 *f.*, and cp Griffith, art. 'Egypt. Lit.' in *Library of the World's Best Lit.* (New York, 1897).

3 Cp the lists of words given by Driver, *Introd.*, and Wildeboer, *Die Sprüche.*

4 The following appear to be late: the plur. form אישים, 8 4; מאור, 15 30; נבע, 'to utter,' 1 5, etc.; the expression עלה ביר, 26 9, in the sense 'come into the possession of'; קרת, 8 3; and perhaps זך, 16 2, פתי, 1 4 and some others. Aramaic are the terminations ות and ין, and the words בר, 31 2; חסד, 'sin,' 14 34; כסא, 7 20, and perhaps some others.

5 The obscure word וזר, 21 8, may be Arab., but it is doubtful whether it is the right reading; אלקום, 30 31, is error of text; אטון, 7 16 may be Gk. ὀθόνη, or the Gk. may come from a Semitic term; שמע, 21 28, is textual error.

6 Cp the Gk. 'Menander,' and the Syriac work bearing the same name. The instruction in the Synoptic Gospels is of the same character.

7 These would be of various times and origins, as is the case everywhere. Cp Oort, in *Bible for Learners* [or, *for Young People*], Bk. iii. chap. 7; Back in Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, 1875-1884; Wünsche, *Die Räthselweisheit b. d. Heb.*, 1883.

8 For lists of repetitions, see Introductions and Commentaries.

1 For attempts at a determination of small sub-divisions see Ewald, Delitzsch, and Chajes.

1884), and *Emendationes*, 1892-94; Nestle, art. 'Bibelübersetzungen,' in Herzog-Hauck, *PRE*(3), and published separately; Chajes, *Prov.-Stud.*, 1899; Kautzsch, *Heb. text of Prov.* (*SBOT*, 1901); Wildeboer, *De Tijdsbespaling des Spreukenboekes*, 1899.

ii. *Transl. and Comm.—Midrash Mišlē*, ed. Buber, 1893; Saadia, ed. Derenbourg, 1894; Aben Ezra, ed. Horowitz, 1884; Rashi, Aben Ezra and Levi b. Gersom are given in Giggeius, *In Prov. Sal. Comment. trium Rabbin.*, 1620; and other Jewish commentaries are named in Cahen, *La Bible*, 1847; H. Deutsch, *D. Sprüche Sal.'s nach d. Auffass. i. Talm. u. Midr.*, etc., 1885; Mercerius, 1573, 1651; Geier, 1653 . . 1725; Schultens, 1748, and ed. Vogel, 1769; Ewald, 1837, 1867; Hitzig, 1858; Kamphausen (in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*), 1868; Delitzsch, 1873; Reuss, Fr. ed. 1878, Germ. ed. 1894; Nowack, 1883; Horton, 1891; Kautzsch, *D. Heil. Schr. d. AT*(2), 1896; Wildeboer, 1897; Frankenberg, 1898; Strack(2), 1899; Toy, 1899; Oort, *Het Oude Test.*, 1898-1900; M. D. Conway, *Sol. and Solomonic Lit.*, 1900; Kautzsch, in *SBOT*, 1901.

iii. *General Works.*—Bruch, *Weisheitslehre d. Heb.*, 1851; Bois, *La poésie gnom.*, etc., 1886; Cheyne, *Job and Sol.*, 1887; in *Sem. Stud.*, ed. Kohut, 1897; *Jew. Rel. Life*, etc., 1898; Montefiore, *Notes*, etc. (*JQR*, 1890); Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*, 1893; Pfeiffer, *D. rel.-sittl. Weltanschau. d. B. d. Spr.*, 1897.

iv. *Other gnomic collections.*—Jennings, *Prov. phil. of Confucius*, 1895; Erman, *Ægypt.*; Halévy, *Mélanges de critique*, etc., 1883; Jäger (in *BA*), 1892; Böhtlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*; M. Williams, *Indian Wisdom*; *Pirkē Ābōth*, ed. C. Taylor; *Menander*, eds. of Meineke and Koch; Syriac Menander, in Land, *Anecd. Syr.* 1; Freytag's *Meidani*; Jacob, *Altarab. Parall. z. AT*, 1897; Malan, *Proverbs*, with numerous parallels from a great number of aphoristic collections of other peoples. See also *The Story of Aḥiḳar* (1898); cp ACHIACHARUS.

C. H. T.

PROVINCE (*provincia;* etymology uncertain), in the Roman sense, may be defined as the department or sphere of duty[1] assigned to one of the higher magistrates (the consuls and prætors). When, however, with the spread of the Roman arms, the government of conquered countries grew to be one of the most important duties of the higher magistrates, the term province, from designating the government of a conquered country as one particular duty of a Roman magistrate, came to be used generally as a designation of the country itself.

It is somewhat in this sense that the word is used in EV to translate מְדִינָה, *mĕdīnāh* (apparently from √דין, 'judge,' hence lit. jurisdiction)[2] for which 𝔊 almost always has *χώρα* (*ἐπαρχεία* in Esth. 4 11, *σατραπεία* in Esth. 8 9). A division of Israel into *mĕdīnōth* is mentioned in the time of Ahab (1 K. 20 14 *ff.*; see GOVERNMENT, § 18); *mĕdīnōth* of the Babylonian empire are alluded to in Ezek. 19 8 Dan. 8 2 (Elam), Lam. 1 1 (Judæa); those of the Persian empire are referred to with great frequency in the Book of Esther (1 1, etc.); the Jewish territory was one of them (Neh. 7 6 Ezra, 2 1; cp GOVERNOR, 1; GOVERNMENT, § 25; PERSIA, § 1 *f.*, SATRAPS; TIRSHATHA). The word is also used in a general sense in Eccl. 5 8 (RV^mg. 'the state'); cp 2 8. The frequent use of *χώρα* in Maccabees (where EV has 'country,' but 'province' would perhaps be better) may be noted.

Augustus in 27 B.C. divided the provinces into imperial and senatorial. Those which, from their proximity to the frontier or from the turbulence of their population, required the presence of an army were placed under the direct control of the emperor; those which needed no troops were left to be administered by the senate. (1) The senatorial provinces were ruled by an annual governor as under the republic. Of these provinces Augustus ordained that Africa and Asia should be consular, the rest prætorian; but all the governors of the senatorial provinces were now called proconsuls (cp PROCONSUL). Their powers and dignities were much the same as they had been under the republic, except that they had now no troops, or only a handful to maintain order. (2) The imperial provinces were governed by imperial lieutenants (*legati Cæsaris*), who were nominated by the emperor and held office at his pleasure; all of them had the power of the sword (*jus gladii*). For the administration of the finances these lieutenants had procurators under them, whilst the governors of the senatorial provinces continued to have quæstors as under the republic. Another class of imperial provinces consisted of those which from the physical nature of the country (as the Alpine districts), or the backward state of civilisation (as Mauretania and Thrace), or the stubborn character of the people (as Judæa and Egypt) were not adapted to receive a regular provincial constitution. These were regarded as domains of the emperor, and were managed by a procurator (in the case of Egypt by a præfect), nominated by and responsible to the emperor.

The word *ἐπαρχεία* (EV 'province') occurs in NT. In Acts 23 34 Felix asks concerning Paul *ἐκ ποίας ἐπαρχείας ἐστίν*—of which kind of province he is—whether provincial or senatorial. (Cilicia was probably in the time of Felix an imperial province; cp CILICIA, § 3.) In 25 1 the province of Festus the procurator of Judæa is intended (see GOVERNMENT, § 30, col. 1914; ISRAEL, § 90, col. 2275).

PRUNING HOOK (מַזְמֵרָה; ΔΡΕΠΑΝΟΝ; *falx* [*ligo in* Mic.]), Is. 2 4 18 5 Joel 3 [4] 10 4 3†. See VINE and cp AGRICULTURE, § 7.

PSALM (מִזְמוֹר; 𝔊 Theod. ΨΑΛΜΟϹ; Aq. ΜΕΛΩΔΗΜΑ. Sym. ΩΔΗ, ΑϹΜΑ; Tg. תושבחתא; cp Staerk, *ZATW* xii. [1892] 94 137. On the linguistic affinities see BDB and Ges.-Buhl).

The meaning of the Hebrew word is not clear. According to Lagarde (*Or.* 2 23 *f.*), מזמור, *mizmōr*, came into use as a technical term of synagogue-worship, in contradistinction to *tᵉhillāh*, *tᵉhillīm* (תְּהִלִּים, תְּהִלָּה), which was specially appropriated to the temple cult. Grätz (*Psalmen*, 79 *f.*), with whom B. Jacob (*ZATW* 16 [1896] 164 *f.*) inclines to agree, thinks that *mizmōr* has no musical reference, merely indicating that a new psalm begins: it is equivalent therefore to 'chapter,' and, but for the carelessness of copyists, would stand at the head of every psalm. Delitzsch (introd. to Ps. 3) conjectures that it was an artificial expression coined by David. The word, which occurs exclusively in the headings of 56 psalms and in Ecclus. 49 1 (see PSALMS [BOOK], § 1), and to which the cognate languages offer no corresponding terms except loanwords, is most probably—like so many other terms in the headings—corrupt.

The true word must be one which by its meaning justifies its close connection with the phrases לדוד, לבני קרח, etc., and admits of being corrupted not only into מזמור but also into שיר (a corruption of a correction of מזמור), with which it is so often combined, and which in the sense of 'song' is as superfluous as מזמור in the sense of 'psalm.' The required word is either רָשׁוּם, 'marked' (Dan. 10 21) or רוּשַׁם, 'mark' (Aram.). The Aram. √רשם corresponds to the Heb. חקק, 'to mark' (cp. Tg., Is. 10 1). 'Marked: Of the sons of Korah' is just what we should expect to find at the head of a poem transcribed from the Korahite collection, and in the prefix to the title we cannot be surprised to find an Aramaism. In Ps. 98 1, where מזמור stands, we must supply לְדָוִד, following 𝔊, and on the analogy of Ps. 100 1, where לתודה (like לדוד) is most probably a corruption of לידיתון, 'of Jedithun.'

It is very possible that the familiar phrase 'the Book of Jashar' (סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר), for which 𝔊 substitutes 'song-book,' סֵפֶר הַשִּׁיר, should rather be, 'the book of the marked poems' (סֵפֶר הָרָשׁוּם)—*i.e.*, the collection of poems whose source is indicated רשום collectively). W. Robertson Smith considered 𝔊's reading certain; it is at any rate probably very near the truth.

T. K. C.

[1] In familiar language any business was called a province.

[2] In Aramaic and Arabic the cognate word means 'city' (so, too, in Palm. inscriptions, but in bilinguals רחימי מ׳, 'lovers of their city' [in parallelism with 'fearers of their gods'] is represented by *φιλοπάτριδες*; cp Vog. *Syr. Cent.* 13. Bevan, *Dan.* 220). In Arabic el-Medīna is *the* city, *par excellence.*

PSALMS [BOOK]

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSION

II. RECENT CRITICISM

III. FRESH SURVEY OF PSALTER

I. INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSION

1. Title. The Book of Psalms or the Psalter, the first book of Hagiographa in the Hebrew Bible,[1] bears the Hebrew title תְּהִלִּים, *tĕhillīm*, or סֵפֶר תִּלִּים, *sēpher tillīm*, 'the book of hymns' or rather 'songs of praise.'[2] The singular תהלה, *tᵉhillah*, is properly the infinitive or *nomen verbi* of הלל, *hillēl*, a verb employed in the technical language of the temple service for the execution of a jubilant song of praise to the accompaniment of music and the blare of the priestly trumpets (1 Ch. 16 4 *f.* 25 3 2 Ch. 5 12 *f.*). The name is not therefore equally applicable to all psalms, and in the later Jewish ritual the synonym *hallēl* specially designates two series of psalms, 113-118 and 146-150, of which the former was sung at the three great feasts, the encænia, and the new moon, and the latter at the daily morning prayer (see HALLEL). That the whole book is named 'praises' is clearly due to the fact that it was the manual of the temple service of song, in which praise was the leading feature. For an individual psalm, however, the usual name is *mizmōr* (מזמור; only in titles of psalms [except in Ecclus. 49 1]),[3] which is applicable to any piece designed to be sung to a musical accompaniment. Of this word, ψαλμός, 'psalm,' is a translation, and in the Greek Bible the whole book is called 'Psalms' (ψαλμοί) or 'Psalter' (ψαλτήριον).[4] The title Psalms (ψαλμοί) or Book of Psalms (βίβλος ψαλμῶν) is used in the NT (Lk. 20 42 24 44; Acts 1 20); but in Heb. 4 7 we find another title, namely 'David.'

Hippolytus tells us that in his time most Christians said 'the Psalms of David,' and believed the whole

2. Traditional authorship. book to be his [and even Theodore of Mopsuestia accepted the Davidic authorship of the Psalter as a whole]. But this title and belief are both of Jewish origin. [Thus in 2 Ch. 29 30 David and Asaph appear to be combined as joint-authors of the Psalter, and] in 2 Macc. 2 13 'the [writings] of David' (τὰ τοῦ Δαυειδ) means the Psalter. Besides, the title of the apocryphal 'Psalms of Solomon' implies that the previously existing Psalter was ascribed to David. [Whether, however, we must also assume that the psalms entitled לדוד were necessarily ascribed to king David, is questioned by Lagarde and B. Jacob, and the correctness of the reading לדוד may be strongly doubted, as also the reading of the title לשלמה. See § 12 (*a*) (*d*).] Jewish tradition does not make David the author of all the psalms; but as he was regarded as the founder and legislator of the temple psalmody (1 Ch., *ut sup.*; Ezra 3 10 Neh. 12 36 45 *f.* Ecclus. 47 8 *f.*), so also he was held to have completed and arranged the whole book, though according to Talmudic tradition[1] he incorporated psalms by ten other authors: Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. [Cp Driver, *Introd.*(6), 7 *f.*; Neubauer, *Studia Biblica*, 2 6-8. Another good authority on Jewish tradition—Dr. B. Jacob—writes thus: 'Not till quite late, according to the Midrash, did David take possession of the entire Psalter. In the second century the most important teachers of the Mishna still debate the questions whether all the psalms are by David (R. Meir), and whether they all refer to David (R. Elasar), or to the community (R. Joshua), who composed the Hallēl, etc. (*Pĕsāḥīm*, 117 *a*). The Church fathers, too, in the earliest age protest against the erroneous opinion that David is the author of all the psalms, and seek for reasons why the whole Psalter is nevertheless named after him' (*ZATW* 16 [1896], 162 *f.*).]

With this it agrees that the [Hebrew] titles of the psalms name no one later than Solomon, and even he is not recognised as a psalmodist by the most ancient tradition, that of 𝔊, which omits him from the title of Ps. 127 (𝔊R inserts the name)[2] and makes Ps. 72 be written εἰς Σαλο[ω]μων, *i.e.*, not by but of him.

The details of the tradition of authorship show considerable

1 [The part of this article signed 'W. R. S.' was originally written in 1886. It was, however, virtually re-indorsed in 1892 in the seventh of the Lectures on Biblical Criticism now so often referred to as *OTJC*(2), in which, as the author states, he has incorporated the main conclusions of his article. Much water has flowed under the bridge since 1892, and the progress of the critical study of other books cannot but react on that of the Psalms. No better starting-point, however, for the study of this great book could be had than the sketch here adopted as the introduction to our article; and if we decline to hold it certain that a renewed investigation of the Psalter from the point of view enforced upon us by the present circumstances of criticism and philology would have led the writer to the same conclusions as in 1886, no disparagement to an enthusiastically admired comrade can be intended by the scholar whose signature is appended to the larger part of the article.]

2 Hippol., ed. Lag., 188; Eus. *HE* vi. 25 2; Epiph. *Mens. et Pond.* § 23; Jerome's preface to *Psalt. juxta Hebræos.*

3 [If the reading of the Cairo Hebrew text be correct, מזמור could be used of secular songs. But Halévy, זמרה.]

4 Similarly in the Syriac Bible the title is *mazmōrê*.

1 The passages are collected in Ḳimḥi's preface to his commentary on the Psalms, ed. Schiller-Szinessy, Cambridge, 1883.

2 [The significance of this fact is changed, if מעלות and שלמה are both corruptions of the same original. See § 12.]

variation; according to the Talmudic view Adam is author of the Sabbath psalm, 92, and Melchizedek of Ps. 110, whilst Abraham is identified with Ethan the Ezrahite (Ps. 89). According to older Jewish tradition attested by Origen,[1] Ps. 92 is by Moses, to whom are assigned Pss. 90-100 inclusive, according to a general rule that all anonymous pieces (ἀνεπίγραφοι, יתומים) are by the same hand with the nearest preceding psalm whose author is named; and Ps. 110, which by its title is Davidic, seems to have been given to Melchizedek to avoid the dilemma of Mt. 22 41 *f.* Origen's rule accounts for all the psalms except 1 and 2, which were sometimes reckoned as one poem (Acts 13 33 in the Western text; Origen, *B. Bĕrākhôth*, 9 *b*), and appear to have been ascribed to David (Acts 4 25). The opinion of Jerome (*Præf. in Ps. Heb.*) and other Christian writers that the collector of the Psalter was Ezra does not seem to rest on Jewish tradition.

3. Number of psalms.

[The number of the psalms both in 𝔊 and in MT is 150, though the mode of arriving at this number is different; 𝔊 unites 9 and 10, 114 and 115, and divides 116 and 147; the apocryphal psalm at the end is not reckoned. The oldest Jewish tradition reckoned 147 psalms (cp Gen. 47 28); Pss. 9 and 10 are one, 70 and 71 are one, 114 and 115 are one, and 117 and 118 1-4 are one, whilst 118 5 begins a separate psalm (see, *e.g.*, the Vienna MS described by Ginsburg, *Introd.* 777). The inaccuracy of an arrangement which divides Pss. 9 and 10, 42 and 43 is manifest.]

4. Psalter—a temple handbook?

Whatever may be the value of the titles to individual psalms, there can be no question that the tradition that the Psalter was collected by David is not historical; for no one doubts that [at any rate] some of the psalms date from after the Babylonian exile. The truth that underlies the tradition is that the collection is essentially the hymn-book of the second temple, and it was therefore ascribed to David, because it was assumed, as we see clearly from Chronicles, that the order of worship in the second temple was the same as in the first, and had David as its father: as Moses completed the law of Israel for all time before the people entered Canaan, so David completed the theory and contents of the temple psalmody before the temple itself was built. When we thus understand its origin, the tradition becomes really instructive, and may be translated into a statement which throws light on several points connected with the book—the statement, namely, that the Psalter was (finally, at least) collected with a liturgical purpose. Thus, though the Psalms represent [according to the writer's earlier view] a great range of individual experience, they avoid such situations and expressions as are too unique to be used in acts of public devotion. Many of the psalms are doxologies or the like, expressly written for the temple; others are made up of extracts from older poems in a way perfectly natural in a hymn-book, but otherwise hardly intelligible. Such ancient hymns as Ex. 15 1 *ff.* [cp EXODUS, BOOK OF, § 6], Judg. 5 1 S. 2 1-10 [cp SAMUEL, BOOKS OF, § 3], are not included in the collection, though motives borrowed from them are embodied in more modern psalms; the interest of the collector, we see, was not historical but liturgical. Again, the temple, Zion, the solemn feasts, are constantly kept in the foreground. All these points go to show that the collection was not only used but actually formed for use in the temple.

5. Necessary qualification.

[The preceding statement with regard to the object and use of the collection would probably have received from the original writer some qualification. Most critics would now admit that many of the psalms were probably never either used in the temple or intended for use in the temple. The synagogues were 'prayer-houses' like the temple, and it is difficult to believe that prayer did not include praise; moreover, the 'missionary psalms' and the so-called 'Puritan psalms' had a special applicability to the Jews of the Dispersion (Che. *OPs.* 12 14 363; Duhm, *Psalmen, Einl.* x.; Briggs, in *New World*, March 1900, 177). Duhm even thinks that many psalms can only have been used for private edification. At any rate, it is safer to call the Psalter the prayer-book and hymn-book of the (post-exilic) Jewish community[1] than to connect it as a whole too closely with the services in the temple. It is thus left open to suppose that many of the psalms were hymns of the Dispersion (see Roy), and at the same time to deny that the religious experiences are ever purely personal.

6. 'I' of the psalms.

Prof. Robertson Smith, at a later date, qualified his original statement respecting 'individual religious experience,' and the following passage (*OTJC*(2) 189, n.) deserves to be quoted.] 'Some recent writers go so far as to maintain that in all (or almost all) the psalms, the speaker is Israel, the church-nation personified, so that the "I" and "me" of the psalms throughout mean "we," "us," the community of God's grace and worship. So especially Smend in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 8 49 *ff.* (1888). Few will be disposed to go so far as Smend [who has indeed since 1888 taken opportunities of qualifying his original position, and in his *Lehrbuch der AT Rel.-gesch.*(2), 361, says that he is in essential agreement with Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, 261 *ff.*]. But the view that many psalms are spoken in the name of the community is no novelty, and can hardly be disputed. There is, of course, room for much difference of opinion as to the extent to which this method of interpreting the "I" and "me" of the psalms may be applied. Driver, *Introd.*(1) 366 *f.* [389 *ff.*] would confine it to a few psalms [but cp the fuller statement in ed. 6], while Cheyne (whose remarks on the bearing of the question on the use of the Psalter in the Christian Church will repay perusal) gives it a much larger range (*Origin of the Psalter*, 1891, Lecture vi.).' [On this subject see further Schuurmans Stekhoven, *ZATW* 9 [1889], 131 *ff.*; Budde, *TLZ*, May 14, 1892, col. 254; Beer, *Individual- und Gemeinde-Psalmen* (1894); Coblenz, *Ueb. das betende Ich in den Psalmen* (1897); H. Roy, *Die Volksgemeinde u. die Gemeinde der Frommen im Psalter* (1897); D. Leimdörfer, *Das Psalter-ego in den Ich-Psalmen* (1898), and Baethgen's commentary.]

[It is often said that the practice of those who prepare hymn-books for congregational Christian use is against Smend's view, hymns which were originally the expression of the inward experience of individuals in circumstances more or less peculiar to themselves being adapted to more general use by omissions, additions, and other large or small alterations. The comparison, however, is hazardous, the awakening of individual life in the Western nations since the introduction of Christianity having no parallel in the Semitic East. Those hymns in the OT which were traditionally supposed to be the effusions of individuals (1 S. 2 1-10 Is. 38 10-20 Jon. 2 2-9 [3-10]), turn out to be nothing of the kind, but simply expressions of the faith of the pious community of Israel. The same may on the whole be affirmed of the 'Psalms of Solomon.' The truth is, that the controversy as to the 'I' psalms is not so important as has been supposed. It is not a part of the larger question as to the date of the psalms, for the representation of a body of men as a single being is primitive; 'I' psalms might, if the tone of thought and the social background permitted, be pre-exilic. Nor does it greatly affect the exegesis of the psalms, except indeed when by means of forced interpretations Duhm and B. Jacob endow the speakers of the psalms with a vigorous and almost self-assertive personality. Between those who contend that the speaker of a psalm (or of a part of a psalm) is a representative or typical pious Israelite, and those who regard the speaker as the community itself personified, there is, exegetically, but a slight difference. And yet this difference is not to be wholly disregarded. A close study of the psalms, especially in connection with a keen textual criticism, will probably show the greater naturalness (from the point of view of *Völkerpsychologie*) of the latter way of accounting for the phenomena. Occasionally, of course, *e.g.*, in 34 11 [12] 45 2 [1] 78 1 *f.* 106 4 *f.*, there is no possible doubt that it is the poet himself who speaks; but these passages are widely different from those about which somewhat too lively a dispute has arisen among critics of the Psalter. The evidence of the heading of Ps. 102 cannot rightly be brought against the view here recommended; the 'afflicted one' (עָנִי) there spoken of is manifestly the pious community (cp עָנָו, 61 3 77 4).]

[The chief names on the other side[2] are those of Nöldeke, B. Jacob, and Duhm. According to Nöldeke (*ZATW* 20 [1900], 92 *f.*), the 'I' psalms refer as a rule to the poet himself; this is based on the observation that in the songs in the Hebrew text of Ecclus. 51 2-12 and 13-29 it must be Ben Sira who speaks.[3] Very different is the view of B. Jacob (*ZATW* 17 [1897], 544 *ff.*),

[1] *Opp.* 2 514 *f.* ed. de la Rue; cp Hippol. *ut supra;* Jerome, *Ep. CXL* (*ad Cypr.*), and *Præf. in Mal.*

[1] Olshausen (*Psalmen*, 1853) already gives this definition of the Psalter; but he does not give a clear notion of the great Jewish community, which, though conscious of its unity (symbolised even by so apparently trifling a point as the turning of a worshipper towards Jerusalem even when away from the Holy Land), was nevertheless not merely Palestinian but scattered in many lands.

[2] We do not mention König (*Einl.* 400), because he admits the representative character of most of the individuals who are the supposed speakers in the psalms. In Ps. 23, however, the speaker, he thinks, is not the collective community (Smend), but a fugitive, who is cut off from visits to the temple, like David, according to 1 Sam. 26 19. (But surely the speaker in this and parallel psalms is the company of faithful Israelites and diligent frequenters of the temple, who formed the *kernel* of the post-exilic Judæan community.)

[3] This observation of Nöldeke, however, is hardly self-evident so far as 51 2-12 is concerned.

who maintains that psalms were composed for the use of individuals who had some sacrificial rite to perform in the temple, as a means of deliverance from sickness, or as a thank-offering for recovery; and goes so far as to define the Psalter (in opposition to Olshausen and many others) as 'ein Gemeinde-opfergesangbuch—das hat uns סלה gelehrt,—ein Privat(opfer)-gebetbuch—das sollte להזכיר zeigen.' To these we may add Duhm, who, as a commentator, represents the same tendency, and carries the individualising interpretation of the speakers of the psalms to an extreme. The objections to this view will appear to any student of Duhm's always clear and consistent, but too often strained, exegesis. See further, §§ 16, 37.]

The question now arises, Was the collection a single act, or is the Psalter made up of several older collections?

7. Steps in redaction: five books. Here we have first to observe that in the Hebrew text the Psalter is divided into five books, each of which closes with a doxology. The scheme of the whole is as follows:—

Book i., Pss. 1-41: all these are ascribed to David except 1 2 10 (which is really part of 9) 33 (ascribed to David in 𝔊); *doxology* 41 13.

Book ii., Pss. 42-72: of these 42-49 are ascribed to the Korahites (43 being part of 42), 50 to Asaph, 51-71 to David (except 66 67 71 anonymous; in 𝔊 the last two [not 67 𝔊ℵ] bear David's name), 72 to Solomon; *doxology* 72 18 19 followed by the subscription 'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.'

Book iii., Pss. 73-89: here 73-83 bear the name of Asaph, 84 *f.* 87 *f.* that of the Korahites, 86 of David, 88 also of Heman, 89 of Ethan; *doxology* 89 52.

Book iv., Pss. 90-106: all are anonymous except 90 (Moses), 101 103 (David)—𝔊 gives also 104 to David; here the doxology is peculiar, 'Blessed be Yahwè God of Israel from everlasting and to everlasting. *And let all the people say* Amen, Hallelujah.' [On this doxology with the preceding benediction see § 17, end.]

Book v., Pss. 107-150: of these 108-110 122 124 131 133 138-145 are ascribed to David, and 127 to Solomon, and 120-134 are pilgrimage psalms; 𝔊 varies considerably from the Hebrew as to the psalms to be ascribed to David, and assigns some to Haggai and Zechariah; the book closes with a group of doxological psalms.

The division into five books was known to Hippolytus;[1] but a closer examination of the doxologies shows that it does not represent the original scheme of the Psalter; for, while the doxologies to the first three books are no part of the psalms to which they are attached, but really mark the end of a book in a pious fashion not uncommon in eastern literature, that to book iv., with its rubric addressed to the people, plainly belongs to the psalm, or rather to its liturgical execution, and does not, therefore, really mark the close of a collection once separate.

i. In point of fact, books iv. and v. have so many common characters that there is every reason to regard them as a single great group.

ii. Again, the main part of books ii. and iii. (Ps. 42-83) is distinguished from the rest of the Psalter by habitually avoiding the name Yahwè (EV the LORD) and using Elōhīm (God) instead, even in cases like Ps. 50 7, where 'I am Yahwè thy God' of Ex. 20 2 is quoted but changed very awkwardly to 'I am God thy God.' This is due not to the authors of the individual psalms, but to an editor; for Ps. 53 is only another recension [with some peculiar variations[2]] of Ps. 14, and Ps. 70 repeats part of Ps. 40, and here Yahwè is six times changed to Elōhīm, whilst the opposite change happens but once. The Elōhīm psalms, then, have undergone

[1] 'The witness of Hippolytus is found in the Greek (ed. Lag., 193; closely followed by Epiphanius, *De Mens. et Pond.* § 5; see Lagarde, *Symmicta*, 2 157) in a passage of which the genuineness has been questioned; but the same doubt does not attach to the Syriac form of Hippolytus's testimony (Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, 1858, p. 86). The Greek speaks of a division into five books (βιβλία), the Syriac of five parts or sections (*mĕnawâthê*). The latter expression agrees best with Jerome's statement in the *Prologus Galeatus*, 'David quem quinque incisionibus et uno volumine comprehendunt [*scil.* Hebræi].' In the preface to his *Psalt. iuxta Hebræos* Jerome refuses to allow the expression '"five books" which some used' (*OTJC*(2), 194, n. 1). For the oldest Jewish evidence Schechter (*ibid.*) refers to *B. Ḳiddûshîn*, 33*a* ('two-fifths of the Book of Psalms').

[2] [The critics are not of one mind as to the comparative merits of the two recensions. Delitzsch, Duhm, and Wellhausen prefer Ps. 14, but Hitzig, Ewald (at least in 1829, see *St. Kr.* 774 *f.*), Olshausen, and (lately) Budde are in favour of Ps. 53. The text of both 'recensions' is surely very defective. Bickell (*ZDMG* 26 811) finds in Ps. 14 the acrostic אַיֵּה הַשֵּׁם, 'where is God?']

a common editorial treatment distinguishing them from the rest of the Psalter. And they make up the mass of books ii. and iii., the remaining psalms, 84-89, appearing to be a sort of appendix.

iii. When we look at the Elōhīm psalms more closely, however, we see that they contain two distinct elements: Davidic psalms and psalms ascribed to the Levitical choirs (sons of Korah, Asaph).

The Davidic collection as we have it splits the Levitical psalms into two groups, and actually divides the Asaphic Ps. 50 from the main Asaphic collection 73-83. This order can hardly be original, especially as the Davidic Elōhīm psalms [practically 51-71] have a separate subscription (Ps. 72 20). But if we remove them we get a continuous body of Levitical Elōhīm psalms, or rather two collections, the first Korahitic [42-49] and the second Asaphic [50 73-83], to which there have been added by way of appendix by a non-Elohistic editor a supplementary group of Korahite psalms [84 *f.* 87 *f.*] and one psalm (certainly late) ascribed to David [86].

[This very attractive theory is due to Ewald, *Dichter des alten Bundes*(2), 1 249, who remarks that (1) the force of the subscription in 72 20[1] (which indicates that something quite different follows) now first becomes manifest, and (2) Ps. 42-49 50 73-80 are now placed in a natural juxtaposition.]

The formation of books iv. and v. is certainly later than the Elohistic redaction of books ii. and iii., for Ps. 108 is made up of two Elōhīm psalms (57 7-11 [8-12] 60 5-12 [7-14]) *in the Elohistic form*, though the last two books of the Psalter are generally Yahwistic.

iv. We can thus distinguish the following steps in the redaction:—(*a*) the formation of a Davidic collection (book i.) with a closing doxology; (*b*) a second Davidic collection (51-72) with doxology and subscription, and (*c*) a twofold Levitical collection (42-49, 50 73-83); (*d*) an Elohistic redaction and combination of (*b*) and (*c*); (*e*) the addition of a non-Elohistic supplement to (*d*) with a doxology; (*f*) a collection later than (*d*), consisting of books iv. v. Finally, the anonymous psalms 1 2, which as anonymous were hardly an original part of book i., may have been prefixed after the whole Psalter was completed. We see, too, that it is only in the latest collection (books iv. v.) that anonymity is the rule, and titles, especially titles with names, occur only sporadically. Elsewhere the titles run in series and correspond to the limits of older collections.

A process of collection which involves so many stages must plainly have taken a considerable time, and the question arises whether we can fix a limit for its beginning and end, or even assign a date for any one stage of the process.

8. Dates of collections.

i. *External evidence.*—An inferior limit for the final collection is given by the Septuagint translation. This translation itself, however, was not written all at once, and its history is obscure; we only know, from the prologue to Ecclesiasticus, that the Hagiographa, and doubtless, therefore, the Psalter, were read in Greek in Egypt about 130 B.C. or somewhat later.[2] And the Greek Psalter, though it contains one apocryphal psalm at the close, is essentially the same as the Hebrew; there is nothing to suggest that the Greek was first translated from a less complete Psalter and afterwards extended to agree with the extant Hebrew. It is, therefore, reasonable to hold that the Hebrew Psalter was completed and recognised as an authoritative collection long enough before 130 B.C. to allow of its passing to the Greek-speaking Jews in Alexandria. Beyond this the external evidence for the completion of the collection does not carry us.

It appears indeed from 1 Ch. 16 8-36 2 Ch. 6 41 42, that various psalms belonging to books iv. and v. were current in the time of the Chronicler,[3]—that is, towards the close of the Persian or

[1] [Ewald compares Job 31 40 Jer. 51 64, and Robertson Smith (*OTJC*(2), 196, n. 2) refers to a parallel subscription in the Dīwān of the Hodhalite poets (236 end), *tamma hādhā walillāhi 'l-ḥamdu*, etc., showing that the collection once ended at this point. Whether the words 'son of Jesse' always stood at the end of 72 20 has been doubted; see § 12 (*d*), end.]

[2] The text of the passage is obscure and in part corrupt; but the Latin 'cum multum temporis ibi fuissem' probably expresses the author's meaning. A friend has suggested to the writer that for συγχρονίσας we ought perhaps to read συχνὸν ἐγχρονίσας.

[3] [Duhm, however, regards the compilation in 1 Ch. 16 as the insertion of a later hand. Similarly, but in more cautious words, St. *GVI* 2 215, n. 2. See § 17.]

more probably in the earlier part of the Greek period. But it is not certain that the psalms he quotes (96 105 106 132) already existed in their place in our Psalter, or that Ps. 106 even existed in its present form.

ii. *Internal evidence.*—Turning now to internal evidence, we find the surest starting-point in the Levitical psalms of the Elohistic collection. These, as we have seen, form two groups, referred to the sons of Korah and to Asaph. At the beginning of the Greek period or somewhat later Asaph was taken to be a contemporary of David and chief of the singers of his time (Neh. 12 46), or one of the three chief singers belonging to the three great Levitical houses (1 Ch. 25 1 *f.*). The older history, however, knows nothing of an individual Asaph; at the time of the return from Babylon the guild of singers as a whole was called Bnē Asaph (Ezra 2 41), and so apparently it was in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 11 22 Heb.).[1] The singers or Asaphites are at this time still distinguished from the Levites; the oldest attempt to incorporate them with that tribe appears in Ex. 6 24, where Abiasaph—that is, the eponym of the guild of Asaphites—is made one of the three sons of Korah. But when singers and Levites were fused the Asaphites ceased to be the only singers; and ultimately, as we see in Chronicles, they were distinguished from the Korahites and reckoned to Gershom (1 Ch. 6), while the head of the Korahites is Heman, as in the title of Ps. 88. It is only in the appendix to the Elohistic psalm-book that we find Heman and Ethan side by side with Asaph, as in the Chronicles, but the body of the collection distinguishes between two guilds of singers, Korahites and Asaphites, and is therefore as a collection younger than Nehemiah, but presumably older than Chronicles with its three guilds.

The contents of the Korahite and Asaphic psalms give no reason to doubt that they really were collected by or for these two guilds.

(*a*) Both groups are remarkable from the fact that they hardly contain any recognition of present sin on the part of the community of Jewish faith—though they do confess the sin of Israel in the past—but are exercised with the observation that prosperity does not follow righteousness either in the case of the individual (49 73) or in that of the nation, which suffers notwithstanding its loyalty to God, or even on account thereof (44 79). Now the rise of the problems of individual faith is the mark of the age that followed Jeremiah, whilst the confident assertion of national righteousness under misfortune is a characteristic mark of pious Judaism after Ezra, in the period of the law but not earlier. Malachi, Ezra, and Nehemiah, like Haggai and Zechariah, are still very far from holding that the sin of Israel lies all in the past.

(*b*) Again, a considerable number of these psalms (44 74 79 80) point to an historical situation which can be very definitely realised. They are post-exilic in their whole tone, and belong to a time when prophecy had ceased and the synagogue worship was fully established (74 8 *f.*). But the Jews are no longer the obedient slaves of Persia; there has been a national rising and armies have gone forth to battle. Yet God has not gone forth with them: the heathen have been victorious, blood has flowed like water round Jerusalem, the temple has been defiled, and these disasters assume the character of a religious persecution.

These details would fit the time of religious persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, to which indeed Ps. 74 is referred (as a prophecy) in 1 Macc. 7 16. But against this reference there is the objection that these psalms are written in a time of the deepest dejection and yet are psalms of the temple choirs. Now when the temple was reopened for worship after its profanation by Antiochus, the Jews were victorious and a much more joyous tone was appropriate. Besides, if the psalms are of the Maccabee period, they can have been no original part of the Elohistic psalm-book, which certainly was not collected so late. But there is one and only one time in the Persian period to which they can be referred, viz., that of the great civil wars under Artaxerxes III. Ochus (middle of 4th cent. B.C.). The Jews were involved in these and were severely chastised, and we know from Josephus that the temple was defiled by the Persians and humiliating conditions attached to the worship there. It would appear that to the Jews the struggle took a theocratic aspect, and it is not impossible that the hopeful beginnings of a national movement, which proved in the issue so disastrous, are reflected in some of the other pieces of the collection.[1]

(*c*) All this carries the collection of the *Elohistic psalm-book* down to quite the *last years of the Persian period* at the earliest, and with this it agrees—to name but one other point—that the view of Israel's past history taken in Ps. 78, where the final rejection of the house of Joseph is co-ordinated with the fall of Shiloh and the rise of Zion and the Davidic kingdom, indicates a standpoint very near to that of Chronicles. The fusion of the separate Korahite and Asaphic psalm-books in a single collection along with the second group of Davidic psalms may very probably be connected with the remodelling of the singers in three choirs which Chronicles presupposes.

(*d*) Now books iv. and v. are, as we have seen, later than the Elohistic redaction of books ii. and iii., so that the collection of the *last part of the Psalter* must, if our argument up to this point is sound, be thrown into *the Greek period*, and probably not the earliest part thereof.

This conclusion (§ 8 *d*) is borne out by a variety of indications.

9. Confirmations of result so far.

i. First of all, the language of some of these psalms clearly points to a very late date indeed.[2] The Jews had even in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 13 24) been in danger of forgetting their own tongue and adopting a jargon compounded with neighbouring idioms; but the restorers of the law fought against this tendency with vigour, and with so much success that very tolerable Hebrew was written for at least a century longer. But in such a psalm as 139 the language is a real jargon,[3] a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic, which, in a hymn accepted for use in the temple, shows the Hebrew speech to have reached the last stage of decay.

ii. Again, though no part of the Psalter shows clearer marks of a liturgical purpose, we find that in books iv. and v. the musical titles [if we may follow the majority and admit, comparing Duhm, *Psalmen*, 'Einl.,' 30 *f.*, that there are musical titles] have entirely disappeared. The technical terms, that is, of the temple music which are still recognised by the Chronicler[4] have gone out of use, presumably because they were already become unintelligible, as they were when the Septuagint version was made. This implies a revolution in the national music which we can hardly explain in any other way than by the influence of that Hellenic culture which, from the time

[1] The threefold division of the singers appears in the same list according to the Hebrew text of *v.* 17; but the occurrence of Jeduthun as a proper name instead of a musical note is suspicious, and makes the text of 𝔊BNA [which suggests a twofold division; see GENEALOGIES, § 7, ii. (*a*), n. 3, but cp § 26 (*c*), end] preferable. The first clear trace of the triple choir is, therefore, in Neh. 12 24—*i.e.*, not earlier than Alexander the Great, with whom Jaddua (*v.* 22) was contemporary. [See EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 11; NEHEMIAH, § 1.]

[1] Ps. 83, in which Judah is threatened by the neighbouring states acting with the support rather than under the guidance of Asshur (the satrap of Syria?), is also much more easily understood under the loose rule of Persia than under the Greeks, and the association of Tyre with Philistia (as in 87 4) agrees with Pseudo-Scylax (see *EB*(9) 18 809), who makes Ascalon a Tyrian possession. If this psalm has a definite historical background, which De Wette and Hupfeld doubt, it must be later than the destruction of Sidon by Ochus, which restored to Tyre its old pre-eminence in Phœnicia.

[2] For details as to the linguistic phenomena of the Psalms, see especially Giesebrecht in Stade's *Zeitschr.*, 1881, p. 276 *f.* The objections of Driver (*Journ. of Phil.* 11 233) do not touch the argument that such psalms as 139 [at least if MT is correct] belong to the very latest stage of biblical Hebrew. [See also Cheyne, *OPs.*, Appendix ii., where, however, as also in Giesebrecht's and Driver's essays, due account is not taken of the uncertainty of MT.]

[3] [So again in *OTJC*(2) 208. But in arrest of judgment see *Ps.*(2), where it is maintained that there is much corruptness in the traditional text.]

[4] [So according to MT of 1 Ch. 15 20 *f.* (RV, 'set to Alamoth,' 'set to the Sheminith'); but see § 26 (*bb*), and SHEMINITH.]

of the Macedonian conquest, began to work such changes on the whole civilisation and art of the East. Cp MUSIC, § 12.

iii. Once more, the general tone of large parts of this collection is much more cheerful than that of the Elohistic psalm-book [42-83].

It begins with a psalm (90) ascribed in the title to Moses, and seemingly designed to express feelings appropriate to a situation analogous to that of the Israelites when, after the weary march through the wilderness, they stood on the borders of the promised land. It looks back on a time of great trouble and forward to a brighter future. In some of the following psalms there are still references to deeds of oppression and violence; but more generally Israel appears as happy under the law, with such a happiness as it did enjoy under the Ptolemies during the third century B.C. The problems of divine justice are no longer burning questions; the righteousness of God is seen in the peaceful felicity of the pious (91 92 etc.). Israel, indeed, is still scattered and not triumphant over the heathen; but even in the dispersion the Jews are under a mild rule (106 46), and the commercial activity of the nation has begun to develop beyond the seas (107 23 *f.*).

The whole situation and vein of piety here are strikingly parallel to those shown in Ecclesiasticus, which dates from the close of the Ptolemaic sovereignty in Palestine. But some of the psalms carry us beyond this peaceful period to a time of struggle and victory.

In Ps. 118 Israel, led by the house of Aaron—this is a notable point—has emerged triumphant from a desperate conflict and celebrates at the temple a great day of rejoicing for the unhoped-for victory; in Ps. 149 the saints are pictured with the praises of God in their throat and a sharp sword in their hands to take vengeance on the heathen, to bind their kings and nobles, and exercise against them the judgment written in prophecy.

Such an enthusiasm of militant piety, plainly based on actual successes of Israel and the house of Aaron, can only be referred to the first victories of the Maccabees, culminating in the purification of the temple in 165 B.C. This restoration of the worship of the national sanctuary under circumstances that inspired religious feelings very different from those of any other generation since the return from Babylon, might most naturally be followed by an extension of the temple psalmody; it certainly was followed by some liturgical innovations, for the solemn service of dedication on the twenty-fifth day of Chislev was made the pattern of a new annual feast (that mentioned in Jn. 10 22). Now in 1 Macc. 4 54 we learn that the dedication was celebrated with hymns and music. In later times the psalms for the encænia, or feast of dedication, embraced Pss. 30 and 113-118 (the so-called HALLEL). There is no reason to doubt that these were the very psalms sung in 165 B.C., for in the title of Ps. 30 the words 'the song for the dedication of the house' (שִׁיר־חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת) which are a somewhat awkward insertion in the original title, are found also in 𝔊 (*ψ. ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου*), and therefore are probable evidence of the liturgical use of the psalm in the very first years of the feast (cp, however, § 24). But no collection of old psalms could fully suffice for such an occasion, and there is every reason to think that the *hallēl*, which, especially in its closing part, contains allusions that fit no other time so well, was first arranged for the same ceremony. The course of the subsequent history makes it very intelligible that the Psalter was finally closed, as we have seen from the date of the Greek version that it must have been, within a few years at most after this great event.[1] From the time of Hyrcanus downwards the ideal of the princely high priests becomes more and more divergent from the ideal of the pious in Israel, and in the Psalter of Solomon (§ 41 *f.*) we see religious poetry turned against the lords of the temple and its worship. [Besides the more recent commentaries, cp Riedel's article, *ZATW* 19 (1899) 169 *ff.* The question of the date of the final redaction will be treated more decisively when the text and the grouping of the psalms has been examined more thoroughly.]

All this does not, of course, imply that there are not in books iv. and v. any pieces older than the completion of books ii. and iii. (§ 8 *d*), for the composition of a poem and its acceptance as part of the Levitical liturgy are not necessarily coincident in date, except in psalms written with a direct liturgical purpose. In the fifteen [so-called] 'songs of degrees' (Pss. 120-134) we have a case in point.

10. Older poems included?

According to the Mishna (*Middōth*, 2 5) and other Jewish traditions [see Delitzsch and Grätz] these psalms were sung by the Levites at the Feast of Tabernacles on the fifteen steps or degrees that led from the women's to the men's court. But when we look at the psalms themselves we see that they must originally have been a hymn-book, not for the Levites, but for the laity who came up to Jerusalem at the great pilgrimage feasts; and the title of this hymn-book (which can be restored from the titles derived from it that were prefixed to each song when they were taken into the Levitical connection) was simply 'Pilgrimage Songs.'[1]

All these songs are plainly later than the exile; but some of them cannot well be so late as the formation of the Elohistic psalm-book.

The simple reason why they are not included in it is that they were hymns of the laity, describing with much beauty and depth of feeling the emotions of the pilgrim when his feet stood within the gates of Jerusalem, when he looked forth on the encircling hills, when he felt how good it was to be camping side by side with his brethren on the slopes of Zion[2] (133), when a sense of Yahwè's forgiving grace and the certainty of the redemption of Israel triumphed over all the evils of the present and filled his soul with humble and patient hope.

The titles which ascribe four of the pilgrimage songs to David and one to Solomon are lacking in the true 𝔊, and inconsistent with the contents of the psalms. [In Ps. 122 the title seems to have been suggested by *v.* 5, the true rendering of which is, 'for there were set thrones of judgment, the thrones of the house of David.'[3]]

[Of the titles of other pieces in book v.] the name of Moses in Ps. 90 and that of David in Pss. 101 103 108-110 138-145 are better attested, because found in 𝔊 as well as in the Hebrew, and therefore probably as old as the collection itself. But where did the last collectors of the Psalms find such very ancient pieces which had been passed over by all previous collectors, and what criterion was there to establish their genuineness? No canon of literary criticism can treat as valuable external evidence an attestation which first appears so many centuries after the supposed date of the poems, especially when it is confronted by facts so conclusive as that Ps. 108 is made up of extracts from Pss. 57 and 60, and that Ps. 139 is marked by its language as one of the latest pieces in the book. The only possible question for the critic is whether the ascription of these psalms to David was due to the idea that he was the psalmist *par excellence*, to whom any poem of unknown origin was naturally ascribed, or whether we have in some at least of these titles an example of the habit so common in later Jewish literature of writing in the name of ancient worthies. In the case of Ps. 90 it can hardly be doubted that this is the real explanation, and the same account must be given of the title in Ps. 145, if, as seems probable, it is meant to cover the whole of the great *hallēl* or *tĕhillah* (Pss. 145-150), which must, from the allusions in Ps. 149, as well as from its place, be almost if not quite the latest thing in the Psalter.

For the later stages of the history of the Psalter we have, as has been seen (§ 8 *f.*), a fair amount of circumstantial evidence pointing to conclusions of a pretty definite kind. The approximate dates which their contents suggest for the collection of the Elohistic psalm-book [42-83] and of books iv. and v. confirm one another, and are in harmony with such indications as we obtain from external sources. But, in order to advance from the conclusions already reached

11. Books i. *f.*: 'Davidic' psalms.

1 Possibly under Simon; compare the other *hallel* (Ps. 146-150) with 1 Macc. 13 50 *f.* [See also *OPs.* 11 *f.*; Peters, *New World*, June 1893, p. 298.]

1 שיר המעלות (מעלה as in Ezra 7 9) seems to be properly a plural [meaning, 'the songs of Pilgrimage'] like בית האבות. [Cp, however, § 12 (*d*).]

2 [For the writer's interesting explanation of 133 2 *f.* see *OTJC*(2), 212, note.]

3 *OTJC*(2), 213.

to a view of the history of the Psalter as a whole, we have still to consider the two great groups of psalms ascribed to David in books i. and ii. Both these groups appear once to have formed separate collections and in their separate form to have been ascribed to David; for in book i. every psalm, except the ntroductory poems Ps. 1 *f.* and the late Ps. 33, which may have been added as a liturgical sequel to Ps. 32, bears the title 'of David,' and in like manner the group Pss. 51-72, though it contains a few anonymous pieces and one psalm which is either 'of' or rather, according to the oldest tradition, 'for Solomon' (cp § 12, *ad init.*), is essentially a Davidic hymn-book, which has been taken over as a whole into the Elohistic Psalter, even the subscription 72 20 not being omitted. Moreover, the collectors of books i.-iii. knew of no Davidic psalms outside of these two collections, for Ps. 86 in the appendix to the Elohistic collection is merely a cento of quotations from Davidic pieces with a verse or two from Exodus and Jeremiah. These two groups [3-41 51-72], therefore, represented to the collectors the oldest tradition of Hebrew psalmody; they are either really Davidic or they passed as such.

This fact is important; but its weight may readily be over-estimated, for the Levitical psalms comprise poems of the last half-century of the Persian empire, and the final collection of books ii. and iii. may fall a good deal later. Thus the tradition that David is the author of these two collections comes to us, not exactly from the time of the Chronicler, but certainly from the time when the view of Hebrew history which he expresses was in the course of formation. It is not too much to say that that view—which to some extent appears in the historical psalms of the Elohistic Psalter [42-83]—implies absolute incapacity to understand the difference between old Israel and later Judaism, and makes almost anything possible in the way of the ascription of comparatively modern pieces to ancient authors.

Nor will it avail to say that this uncritical age did not ascribe the psalms to David but accepted them on the ground of older titles, for it is hardly likely that each psalm in the Davidic collections had a title before it was transferred to the larger Psalter; and in any case the titles are manifestly the product of the same uncritical spirit as we have just been speaking of, for not only are many of the titles certainly wrong, but they are wrong in such a way as to prove that they date from an age to which David was merely the abstract psalmist, and which had no idea whatever of the historical conditions of his age. [But cp § 45.]

(*a*) For example, Pss. 20 *f.* are not spoken by a king, but addressed to a king by his people; Pss. 5 27 allude to the temple (which did not exist in David's time), and the author of the latter psalm desires to live there continually. Even in the older Davidic psalm-book [3-41] there is a whole series of hymns in which the writer identifies himself with the poor and needy, the righteous people of God suffering in silence at the hands of the wicked, without other hope than patiently to wait for the interposition of Yahwè (Pss. 12 25 37 *f.* etc.). Nothing can be farther removed than this from any possible situation in the life of the David of the books of Samuel; and (*b*) the case is still worse in the second Davidic collection [51-72], especially where we have in the titles definite notes as to the historical occasion on which the poems are supposed to have been written. To refer Ps. 53 to Doeg, Ps. 54 to the Ziphites, Ps. 59 to David when watched in his house by Saul, implies an absolute lack of the very elements of historical judgment. Even the bare names of the old history were no longer correctly known when Abimelech (the Philistine king in the stories of Abraham and Isaac) could be substituted in the title of Ps. 34 for Achish, king of Gath.

In a word, the ascription of these two collections to David has none of the characters of a genuine historical tradition. [On the whole question cp § 25.]

At the same time it is clear that the two [Davidic] collections do not stand on quite the same footing. The Elohistic redaction—the change in the names of God—extends only to the second [51-72]. Now the formation of the Elohistic Psalter [42-83] must have been an official act directed to the consolidation of the liturgical material of the temple, and if it left one of the so-called Davidic collections untouched the reason must have been that this collection had already a fixed liturgical position. In other words, book i. is the oldest extant liturgy of the second temple, whilst there is no evidence that the Davidic psalms of book ii. had a fixed liturgical place till at least the close of the Persian period.

And now the question arises: May we suppose that the oldest liturgy of the second temple was also the liturgy of the temple of Solomon?

12. Book i. not pre-exilic.

i. We have it in evidence that music and song accompanied the worship of the great sanctuaries of northern Israel in the eighth century B.C. (Am. 5 23); but from the context it appears probable that the musicians were not officers of the temple, but rather the worshippers at large (cp Am. 6 5). So it certainly was in the days of David (2 S. 6 5) and even of Isaiah (30 29 [but 30 27-33 may be a later insertion, see ISAIAH (BOOK), § 12 *b*]); the same thing is implied in the song of Hezekiah (Is. 38 20); and in Lam. 2 7 the noise within the sanctuary on a feast-day which affords a simile for the shouts of the victorious Chaldæans suggests rather the untrained efforts of the congregation than the disciplined music of a temple choir. The allusion to 'chambers of singers' in Ezek. 40 44 is not found in the text of 𝔊, which is justified by the context,[1] and the first certain allusion to a class of singers belonging to the sacred ministers is at the return from Babylon (Ezra 2 41). The way in which these singers, the sons of Asaph, are spoken of may be taken as evidence that there was a guild of temple singers before the exile; but they cannot have been very conspicuous or we should have heard more of them.

ii. The historical books, as edited in the captivity, are fond of varying the narrative by the insertion of lyrical pieces, and one or two of these—the 'passover song' (Ex. 15) and perhaps the song from the book of Jashar ascribed to Solomon (see *OTJC*(2), 434; JASHER, BOOK OF, § 3)—look as if they were sung in the first temple; but they are not found in the Psalter, and, conversely, no piece from the Psalter is used to illustrate the life of David except Ps. 18, and it occurs in a section which can be shown to be an interpolation in the original form of 2 S.

iii. These facts seem to indicate that even book i. of the Psalter did not exist when the editing of the historical books was completed, and that in music as in other matters the ritual of the second temple was completely reconstructed. Indeed, the radical change in the religious life of the nation caused by the captivity could not fail to influence the psalmody of the sanctuary more than any other part of the worship.

(*a*) The book of Lamentations marks an era of profound importance in the religious poetry of Israel, and no collection formed before these dirges were first sung could have been an adequate hymn-book for the second temple. In point of fact, the notes struck in the LAMENTATIONS (*q.v.*) and in Is. 40-66 meet our ears again in not a few psalms of book i., *e.g.*, Ps. 22 25, where the closing prayer for the redemption of Israel in a verse additional to the acrostic perhaps gives, as Lagarde suggests (*Symmicta*, 1 107), the characteristic post-exile name Pedael as that of the author;[2] Ps. 31, with many points of resemblance to Jeremiah; Ps. 34 *f.* where the 'servant of Yahwè'[3] is the same collective idea as in Deutero-Isaiah; and Pss. 38 41. The key to many of these psalms is that the singer is not an individual but, as in Lam. 3, the true people of God represented as one person; and only in this way can we do justice to expressions which have always been a stumbling-block to those who regard David as the author.

(*b*) At the same time, other psalms of the collection treat the problems of individual religion in the line of thought first opened by Jeremiah. Such a psalm is 39, and above all Ps. 16. Other pieces, indeed, may well be earlier. When we compare Ps. 8 with Job 7 17 *f.* (on the text of which cp JOB (BOOK), § 5), we

1 [For שרים, 'singers,' read שְׁנַיִם, 'two,' with Hitz., Smend, etc.; point לְשָׁכוֹת.]

2 [Lagarde makes a similar suggestion for Ps. 34, where the additional verse begins with פּוֹדֶה יהוה. See Rahlfs, עני *und* ענו *in den Psalmen*, 41, and cp PEDAIAH.]

3 [This involves reading in 34 22 עַבְדּוֹ for עֲבָדָיו.]

can hardly doubt that the psalm lay before the writer who gave its expressions so bitter a turn in the anguish of his soul, and Ps. 20 *f.* plainly belong to the old kingdom. But on the whole it is not the pre-exilic pieces that give the tone to the collection.

Whatever the date of this or that individual poem, the collection as a whole—whether by selection or authorship—is adapted to express a religious life of which the exile is the presupposition. Only in this way can we understand the conflict and triumph of spiritual faith, habitually represented as the faith of a poor and struggling band living in the midst of oppressors and with no strength or help save the consciousness of loyalty to Yahwè, which is the fundamental note of the whole book.

Whether any of the older poems really are David's is a question more curious than important, as, at least, there is none which we can fit with certainty into any part of his life. If we were sure that 2 S. 22 was in any sense part of the old tradition of David's life, there would be every reason to answer the question in the affirmative, as has been done by Ewald; but the grave doubts that exist on this point throw the whole question into the region of mere conjecture.

[Driver remarks (*Introd.*(6), 380), 'The generality of 2 S. 22 1 detracts considerably from its value: there was no "day" on which Yahwè delivered David "out of the hand of Saul." Contrast 2 S. 1 17.']

The contents of book i. make it little probable that it was originally collected by the temple ministers, whose hymn-book it ultimately became. The singers and Levites were ill provided for, and consequently irregular in their attendance at the temple, till the time of Nehemiah, who made it his business to settle the revenues of the clergy in such a way as to make regular service possible. With regular service a regular liturgy would be required, and in the absence of direct evidence it may be conjectured that the adoption of the first part of the Psalter for this purpose took place in connection with the other far-reaching reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, which first gave a stable character to the community of the second temple. In any case these psalms, full as they are of spiritual elements which can never cease to be the model of true worship, are the necessary complement of the law as published by Ezra, and must be always taken along with it by those who would understand what Judaism in its early days really was, and how it prepared the way for the gospel.

13. Date of second Davidic collection.

The second Davidic collection, which begins with a psalm of the exile (Ps. 51; see the last two verses), contains some pieces which carry us down to a date decidedly later than that of Nehemiah. Thus Ps. 68 27 represents the worshipping congregation as drawn partly from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and partly from the colony of Galilee [so Wellhausen]. In several psalms of this collection, as in the Levitical psalms with which it is coupled, we see that the Jews have again begun to feel themselves a nation, not a mere municipality, though they are still passing through bitter struggles; and side by side with this there is a development of Messianic hope, which in Ps. 72 takes a wide sweep, based on the vision of Deutero-Isaiah. All these marks carry us down for this as for the other collections of the Elohistic Psalter [42-83] to the time when passive obedience to the Achæmenians was interrupted. Several points indicate that the collection was not originally formed as part of the temple liturgy. The title, as preserved in the subscription to Ps. 72 20, was not 'Psalms' [though 𝔊 gives ὕμνοι = תְּהִלּוֹת[1]] but 'Prayers of David.' Again, while the Levitical psalms were sung in the name of righteous Israel, of which, according to the theory of the second temple, the priestly and Levitical circles were the special holy representatives, these Davidic psalms contain touching expressions of contrition and confession (51 65). And, while there are direct references to the temple service, these are often made from the standpoint, not of the ministers of the temple, but of the laity who come up to join in the solemn feasts or appear before the altar to fulfil their vows (Ps. 54 6 55 14 63 66 13, etc.). Moreover, the didactic element so prominent in the Levitical psalms is not found here.

[1] [Grätz and T. K. Abbott accept this reading.]

14. Why called Davidic.

Such is the fragmentary and conjectural outline which it seems possible to supply of the history of the two Davidic collections, from which it appears that the name of David which they bear is at least so far appropriate as it marks the generally non-clerical origin of these poems. The positive origin of this title must be sought in another direction and in connection with book i. From the days of Amos, and in full accordance with the older history, the name of David had been connected with musical skill and even the invention of musical instruments (Amos 6 5 [but cp DAVID, § 13, n. 3, col. 1034]). In the days of Nehemiah, though we do not hear of psalms of David,[1] we do learn that instruments of the singers were designated as Davidic, and the epithet 'man of God' (Neh. 12 36) probably implies that, agreeably with this, David was already regarded as having furnished psalms as well as instruments. But it was because the temple music was ascribed to him that the oldest liturgy came to be known in its totality as 'Psalms of David,' and the same name was extended to the lay collection of 'Prayers of David,' while the psalms whose origin was known because they had always been temple psalms were simply named from the Levitical choirs, or at a later date had no title.

[At the close of his monograph on the Titles of the Psalms according to early Jewish authorities (*Studia Biblica*, 2 57) Neubauer writes thus:—

15. Technical terms in titles.

'From all these different expositions of the titles of the Psalms it is evident that the meaning of them was early lost; in fact, the LXX and the other early Greek and Latin translators offer no satisfactory explanation of most of them. Of the best Jewish commentators like Ibn Ezra and David Kimḥi, the former treats them as the opening words of popular melodies, the other as names of instruments, both confessing that the real meanings are unknown. Saadyah is no more successful; the Karaitic writers refer them mostly to the present exile, which is more Midrashic than the Midrash upon which the Targum is based. Immanuel [of Rome, the friend of Dante] and Remokh [of Barcelona] put Averroism in them and in the Psalms. The Syriac headings are a comparatively late production and arbitrary. Thus, when all traditional matter is exhausted, the only remaining resource is the critical method, which, however, on the present subject has as yet made no considerable progress' (see § 26).

On musical notes like Neginoth, Sheminith, etc., no suggestion is offered either in the *EB* article on the Psalms or in *OTJC*(2). On one point, however, the writer had reached a definite opinion (cp *OTJC*(2) 209), viz., that a number of the psalms were set to melodies named after popular songs,[2] and that of one of these songs, beginning אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת (see titles of Pss. 57 58), a trace is still preserved in Is. 65 8 (see *OTJC*(2), 209, and cp AL-TASCHITH).]

16. Use of psalms in temple.

From this [interesting feature in some of the musical titles] we may infer that the early religious melody of Israel had a popular origin, and was closely connected with the old joyous life of the nation. From the accounts of the musical services of the Levites in Chronicles no clear picture can be obtained or any certainty as to the technical terms used [cp Neubauer, as above, § 15]. From Theophrastus (ap. Porph., *De Abstin.* 2 26)—perhaps the first Greek to make observations on the Jews—we may at least gain an illustration of the original liturgical use of Pss. 8 134. He speaks of the worshippers as passing the night in gazing at the stars and calling on God in prayer, words suggestive rather than strictly accurate. Some of the Jewish traditions as to the use

[1] *I.e.*, not in the parts of the book of Nehemiah which are by Nehemiah himself.

[2] Compare the similar way of citing melodies with the prep. *'al* or *'al ḳālā*, etc., in Syriac (Land, *Anecd.*, 4; Ephr. Syr., *Hymni*, ed. Lamy). [Cp *OTJC*(2) *l.c.*]

of particular psalms have been already cited; it may be added that the Mishna (*Tāmīd* 7 3) assigns to the service of the continual burnt-offering the following weekly cycle of psalms,—(1) 24, (2) 48, (3) 82, (4) 94, (5) 81, (6) 93, (Sabbath) 92, as in the title. [Cp Neubauer, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Herzfeld, *GVI* 3 163 Grätz, *MGWJ* 27 217 *ff.* The notice in the Mishna is in the main confirmed by the LXX, which for most of these psalms mentions the appointed day of the week in the title; the exceptions are 82 and 81. It is remarkable that in the Hebrew text only the psalm for the Sabbath is indicated, which may confirm the view mentioned below (§ 26 [26]) that ליום השבת is a corruption of לשמינית—*i.e.*, perhaps לאיתנים 'of the Ethanites.'] Many other details are given in the treatise *Sōphèrīm;* but these for the most part refer primarily to the synagogue service after the destruction of the temple. For details on the liturgical use of the Psalter in Christendom the reader may refer to Smith's *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Psalmody.' W. R. S.

II. SURVEY OF RECENT CRITICISM

17. Recent criticism.

If Kautzsch's statement of the case in his *Outline of the History of the Literature of the OT* (1898, with which some pages from his pen in *Th. Stud. u. Krit.* 1891, pp. 577 *ff.*, may be compared) is correct, no very striking progress has been made in the criticism of the Psalter since the first publication of Robertson Smith's article. That there are some pre-exilic pieces in the collection, though none that can plausibly be shown to be Davidic, was stated in 1886 in this article, and Prof. Kautzsch does little more than restate it. These are his words, as given by the translator of his excellent work (p. 143):—

'Our present Psalter in all probability contains a fair number of pre-exilic songs or fragments of songs. To say nothing of the so-called Royal Psalms, 20 21 45, which can only be understood as songs from before the exile, or of the manifold traces of antique phraseology, *one* circumstance in particular supports this. Such energetic denial of the necessity of the sacrificial ritual as is found in 40 7 [6] 50 8 *ff.* and 51 18 [16] *f.* (softened down with much trouble by the liturgical addition, *v.* 20 [18] *f.*) could not have found its way into the temple hymn-book till the psalms which contain it had long been clothed with a kind of canonical dignity' (p. 143).

Elsewhere (p. 145 *f.*) Kautzsch admits isolated Maccabæan psalms in the second collection (Pss. 42-89) and a larger number in the third (Pss. 90-150). He makes no reference, however, to the existence of an imperfectly solved problem, and here Robertson Smith's article is superior to the *Outline*.

It must be admitted that several of the best-known scholars agree on the main point (pre-exilic psalms) with Kautzsch. Thus König (*Einl.* 401 *ff.*) recognises the Davidic origin[1] of some psalms as historically probable (!), and as careful a scholar, Driver (*Introd.*[6] 380, 384 *ff.*), recognises certain pre-exilic psalms, beginning with 2 18 20 21, and ending with 101 110. Among American scholars we find J. P. Peters expressing the opinion[2] that not only Ps. 20 21, but even 'perhaps the greater part' of book i. of the Psalms, is pre-exilic, and that some at least of the psalms of the Korahite and Asaphite collections are *based* on old Israelite originals, Pss. 42 and 46 being ultimately derived from the N. Israelitish temple of Dan, and Pss. 77*b* 80 and 81 from that of Bethel (!). Dr. Peters is also of opinion that Davidic psalms, edited, adapted, added to, and subtracted from, and therefore hardly to be identified, survive in our Psalter.

Kirkpatrick[3] represents a less original type of

[1] When König states that *OPs.* 193 *f.* 205 admits a Davidic element in Ps. 18 he is evidently under a misunderstanding, as will appear from the phrases in *OPs.* ('inspired by the teaching of the higher prophets'; 'inconsistent with Davidic authorship.')

[2] *New World*, June 1893, pp. 303 *f.*

[3] *Divine Library of the OT* (1891), 150-152; *Book of Psalms* (1891-1895), Introd. xxxii *f.*; also pp. 14, 20, 73, etc.

traditionalism. In his commentary he repeatedly speaks of more or less probable, or even certain, Davidic psalms. Elsewhere he refers for pre-exilic psalms in the first place to the royal psalms, and to the psalms of praise for the deliverance of Jerusalem (46 48 75 76), which can 'securely (?) be claimed for the age of the kingdom,' and which 'may carry many others with them,' also to the phrase 'the sweet psalmist (!) of Israel,' which he accepts as the true meaning of 2 S. 23 1*e*,[1] and to the improbability (?) that late psalmists could write fairly good Hebrew.

Budde is more cautious. He expresses the view (1892) that many pre-exilic elements must have passed 'into the flesh and blood of the post-exilic temple-poetry,' though he says that he does not feel at all bound to indicate them,[2] and (1899) that many psalms 'were the expression of such a relation (viz., of blissful intercourse with God) before the community ever appropriated them.'[3]

Wildeboer (*Letterkunde*[1] [1893], 306) says: 'Though it is not possible to tell with certainty which psalms are pre-exilic, and what form they originally had, it is most probable that, especially out of the oldest of the collections which form the foundation of our Psalter, some have been transferred to our Psalter.'

Such are the judgments of the chief critics who support Kautzsch. One of them, however (Budde), gives him only a qualified assent, and it may now be added that Wellhausen, 'the William Tell of critics,' makes up by his consistency for the hesitation of some of his colleagues. In the notes to the English version of the psalms in *SBOT* (1898), this eminent scholar repeats the substance of a sentence which he inserted in Bleek's *Einleitung in das AT*[4], in these emphatic words:—

'It is not a question whether there be any post-exilic psalms, but rather, whether the psalms contain any poems written before the exile. The strong family likeness which runs through the Psalms forbids our distributing them among periods of Israelitish history widely separated in time and fundamentally unlike in character' (163).

Duhm, too, in a work to which no one can deny the merit of acuteness (*Psalmen*, 1899), has altogether broken with the critical hypothesis of pre-exilic psalms; and so too has the present writer, who in 1891 only with some hesitation admitted Ps. 18 to be late pre-exilic—a concession long since retracted, though in 1896 he held it to be not impossible 'that some of the psalms (in an earlier form) were written in Babylonia before the Return—*i.e.*, between 538 and 432, the date of the return of the Golah, according to Kosters.'[4]

At the same time, it is only too plain that even the advanced criticism represented by Wellhausen and Duhm is to a large extent only provisional. Negatively, the position of these scholars may rightly seem to them secure; but positively, they would be the first to admit that often they do but see in twilight. Duhm, for instance, whose criticism of the text is often so unmethodical, cannot feel equal confidence about all the

[1] Can it be probable that the composition of sweet songs for Israel's use would be made parallel to the having received the sacred unction as king? Even if we read זִמְרַת (Ges.-Bu., W. R. Smith ?), and rendered 'the sweet musician of Israel,' we should only gain a parallelism (not phraseological) with 1 S. 16 16; there would still be no parallelism with 2 S. 23 1*d*. 'The favourite of the songs of Israel' (Klost., Kittel) is syntactically easier, but still not parallel to *d*. 𝔊BA seems to have found a difficulty in נעים (εὐπρεπεῖς ψαλμοὶ Ἰσραηλ). The parallel opening of Balaam's third and fourth oracles suggests שֹׁמֵעַ אִמְרֵי אֵל, and this would fit in well with *v.* 2.

[2] *TLZ*, May 14, 1892, col. 252. In *Exp. T.* 12 (1901) 288 he says that, in his opinion, 'the majority of the psalms will have passed through a whole series of phases before reaching their present form.' This opens the door to a large acceptance of pre-exilic elements, and seems an exaggeration; at least, the evidence adduced in Budde's discussion of Pss. 14 and 53 seems hardly to warrant the hypothesis, so far as this psalm in its twofold form is concerned.

[3] *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, 198.

[4] 'The Book of Psalms,' etc., in *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut* (1897), p. 115. Date of essay, 1896.

details of his system. According to him, the oldest psalm, among those which have a clearly defined date, is 137, which has been adapted from a popular song, written during the Babylonian exile. Yet, strange to say, Duhm cannot mention any psalm which specially suggests the Persian period for its composition. On the other hand he assigns not a few psalms to the pre-Maccabæan Greek period—viz., 3 4 11 16 42-43 (23 27*a*?) 46 48 51 (?) 52 62 76 87 (?); to the Maccabæan struggle, 12 (?) 13 (?) 24*c* (?) 35 44 55 69*a* 74 77 79 83 118 149; to the time of the Asmonæan high priests, 60*a* 66*a* 60*b* 85 99 101 110 1-4; 2 18 (144*a* and *b*), 20 21 45 61 63 68 72 84*b* 89 132, and a large number of psalms, including 9 10 14 56 57 58 59 64 82 92 94 140 (psalms which, he thinks, show a remarkable resemblance to the 'Psalms of Solomon') to the Pharisees as opponents of the Asmonæans. This goes far beyond the views of Wellhausen ('Psalms,' *SBOT*, 1898), and those enunciated by the present writer in 1891 (*Origin of the Psalter*).

Evidently the criticism of the psalms is still only in a vigorous youth. There are still some critics who hold pre-exilic and even Davidic elements in the Psalter to be possible or even probable, and while Budde,[1] Briggs,[2] and Oort[3] have expressed considerable scepticism as to the feasibleness of dating individual psalms, the present writer in 1891 and Duhm quite recently have thought it to be often possible as well as desirable to search for a probable historical setting of psalms, many of the psalms being clearly the offspring of moods produced by definite historical circumstances. As to Maccabæan psalms, which are certainly by no means inconceivable,[4] whilst König (*Einl.* 403) can only see his way to recognise one Maccabæan psalm—viz., 74—many (*e.g.*, Baethgen, Kautzsch, and Cornill) declare that, at any rate, Pss. 44 74 79 and 83 must be early Maccabæan,[5] and Merx (*Festschrift zu Ehren von D. Chwolson*, 1899, pp. 198 *ff.*) undertakes to show that even in book i. there are manifest traces of Maccabæan transformation of earlier psalms, whilst Ps. 2 itself is of the very latest period. Driver (p. 385) appears to stand nearer to Kautzsch than to König; the only member of the group of four psalms which he omits is Ps. 44,[6] but he allows (p. 389) the attractiveness of Robertson Smith's Ochus-theory (§ 23). It is difficult, however, to separate Ps. 44 from Pss. 74, 79, and 83, though certainly there are excellent grounds for questioning its unity. If we accept MT as substantially correct (against which see § 28), it would seem that we must either, with Robertson Smith, assign 44 (or rather 44*b*), 74 (or rather 74*a*), 79 and 83, to the time of Artaxerxes III. Ochus, or (since the evidence for that king's oppression of the Jews is defective [see § 23]) follow the majority of critics and make them Maccabæan. To the latter course Prof. Schechter would object that the parallelisms between Ps. 44 18 [19] and Ecclus. 46 11*c* and between Ps. 74 10 *f.* 13 and Ecclus. 36 6 *f.* 10 exclude a Maccabæan origin.[7] Of these, the first is of no significance. With regard to the remaining parallelisms it would be permissible to suppose that the impassioned prayer in Ecclus. 36 1-17, together with 35 18-20, was inserted during the Syrian persecution, for it is certainly unique in the Wisdom of Ben Sira. Too plainly, there is no agreement as yet with regard to the course to be adopted. Nor are the critics even at one as regards the amount of indirect value to be attached to the headings of the psalms, and the grouping of the psalms in 'minor Psalters.'

18. On Maccabæan psalms.

This uncertainty is regrettable, but need not surprise us. It is only recently that the objections to a post-exilic date for the priestly code, with the attendant narratives, have been generally admitted to be invalid, and it is intelligible that some critics, jealous for the honour of early Israelitish religion, should declare themselves unable to form a satisfactory picture of pre-exilic religion without some distinct evidences that the teaching of the prophets had begun to produce in individuals a sense of personal communion with God. It is also intelligible that the discovery of early Babylonian and Assyrian hymns should have awakened a desire to be able to point to early Israelitish hymns, and that the modern longing to find organic development everywhere should have produced in some critics an inclination to be somewhat easy in the matter of evidence for early Israelitish hymns, which must, as they rightly assume, have been produced, and have influenced the form, if not the ideas, of the later psalms.

19. On pre-exilic psalms.

Nor is it likely that the belief in pre-exilic psalms would hold its ground, even if no fresh critical start were to be made. To those who have passed out of the semi-traditional phase of criticism the arguments offered for pre-exilic psalms in our Psalter cannot appear to have much cogency. Prof. Kautzsch, for instance, claims as such (though without dwelling much on this trite argument) the psalms referring to a king. It is more interesting to find that he rejects the theory that different views were taken in post-exilic times as to the origin and importance of the sacrificial cultus. Such differences, however, are to be found in other great religions (*e.g.*, Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity); why not also in early Judaism? No one would be so unwise as to suggest that any of the psalmists, at any rate if temple-singers, were directly opposed to the sacrificial system; but there were probably not a few psalmists who wrote with a view to the synagogue-worship, and, even apart from this, no psalmist who had any affinity to Jeremiah (see Jer. 7 22 *f.* 88) could miss the sublime truth that obedience and thanksgiving were the true 'divine service.'[1] It is highly improbable that Kautzsch regards B. Jacob's treatment of psalms like 40, 50, and 51[2] as adequate and satisfactory. Kautzsch does not deny the spiritualising Jeremianic tone of these psalms; but he accounts for this by the theory that they arose before the priestly code had arisen—*i.e.*, that they are pre-exilic. Now, the theory of late pre-exilic psalms influenced by Jeremiah, formerly held by the present writer (*Book of Psalms*, 1888), will not stand a close examination. Jeremiah's influence was felt not by his contemporaries but by posterity—a posterity which, to do honour to the spirit of prophecy, thought fit to expand largely the contents of the roll of Jeremiah's works. And with regard to the difficulty of conceiving how utterances of a non-sacrificial view of religion could have found admission into the larger Psalter, we may fairly ask how, after Pss. 40 and 51 have been admitted into 'Davidic' collections,[3] and Ps. 50 into a fasciculus of 'Asaphite' psalms, the psalms referred to could have been finally rejected by any editor. We may also express the opinion that the predilection of

1 *TLZ*, 14th May 1892, col. 254; that Budde should guard himself from an extreme statement, was only to be expected.

2 *New World*, March 1900, p. 176.

3 In a passage attached to the posthumous essay of Kosters on the Psalms of Solomon (1898), p. 33.

4 The vague phrase τὰ ἄλλα πάτρια βιβλία (not ἅγια) in the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus permits us to hold that the canon of the Kĕthūbīm was still open. On τὰ τοῦ Δαυιδ, 2 Macc. 2 13, see Wildeboër, *Het Ontstaan van den Kanon des Ouden Verbonds*(3), 137 (a collection of Davidic psalms, such as 3-41).

5 Even Delitzsch held 74 and 79 to be Maccabæan (cp *OPs.* 103).

6 Ps. 83, however, he includes doubtfully.

7 *Wisdom of Ben Sira* (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 26, 37. Schechter overlooks the conventionality of psalm-composition. It would have been better to quote passages from works in which the difficulties referred to were expressly dealt with, except of course so far as relates to Ben Sira. There is no more characteristic doctrine of the early Judaism than the typical character of the early Jewish history. The psalmists knew it well, and acted upon it.

1 See *OPs.* 364-367, and cp JEREMIAH, § 4, end.

2 *ZATW* [1897], 17 67 273-279.

3 We leave the name 'David' as yet unquestioned (see below, § 26 [4]).

the guardians of religious classics for uniformity belongs to a more advanced stage of theological development.

Another remark of the same critic (Kautzsch, in *Th. Stud. u. Krit.* as above) seems to deserve notice. It relates to the 'antique rust' which all the labours of editors of the psalms could not altogether remove from certain early psalms. For a genuine *ærugo vetustatis* we must all have great respect. But the value of the linguistic argument in OT criticism has been exaggerated. Kautzsch himself would surely admit that 'antique' forms, ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, etc., may often be due merely to accidents in the transmission of the texts;[1] and his own very long list of corruptions in the text of the psalms (see *Die heil. Schrift*, 'Beilagen,' 69 *ff.*), which might easily have been made considerably longer, detracts from the force of his remark.

The only other critic whom it is important to notice here is Budde, who, perhaps unintentionally, identifies two statements which ought to be carefully separated. That pre-exilic psalmody may well have influenced the form of post-exilic compositions is one proposition; that pre-exilic psalms, or parts of psalms, have passed into our Psalter is another. As stated above, we have no sufficient grounds for thinking that the religious teaching of the higher prophets found any wide acceptance among the people. Some influence, indeed, it may have exercised (Jeremiah evidently had powerful friends), but not enough to account for the production of poems like our psalms. We may, therefore, reaffirm the position that—

'In spite of the analogies from the Chaldæan, the Vedic, and the Zoroastrian hymns, it is not possible to hold that there is any large[2] admixture of old and new in the Hebrew Psalter; almost every psalm might be appropriately styled 'a new song.' And even if any relatively old songs *were* used as models by the temple-poets, the preference would surely be given to those inspired by the teaching of the higher prophets, such as . . . the lyric fragments incorporated into the Second Isaiah.'[3]

20. Robertson Smith.

Prof. Robertson Smith's criticism, then, when compared with that of other recent critics, may be regarded as fairly representative of that current at the close of the nineteenth century; and it is no disparagement to it to remark that its defect lay partly in its too mechanical character, partly in its want of a sufficiently firm textual basis.

First of all, the critic lays, it would seem, a somewhat exaggerated stress on the Psalters within the Psalter, and on his theory of the development of the singers' guilds. He did not undertake the comparative work required for distinguishing other groups than the traditional ones—viz., those which are proved to exist virtually by close affinities of language and ideas, and deserve not less consideration than those which, judging from the titles and from other external evidence, have still an objective existence as 'minor Psalters.'[4]

In the next place, he did not, it would seem, fully realise the state of the Hebrew text of the psalms, which, when closely examined, turns out to be in very many parts corrupt, nor did he recognise the fact that by a combination of old and new methods the text can often be restored with a high degree of probability, or even with certainty.

To this must be added that he does not appear to have considered the question whether some of the psalms, in addition to those recognised as such by Ewald (19 24 60 [?] 66 108 144), may not be composite.[5]

21. W. Sanday.

A somewhat similar point of view is represented by Sanday, but with a retrogressive tendency not observable in Robertson Smith. In his Bampton Lectures (*Inspiration*, 1893, pp. 256 *f.* 270 *ff.*) Sanday points out that the historical allusions in the Psalter 'are for the most part so vague, and our knowledge of the history of the period into which they are to be fitted is so imperfect, that no satisfactory conclusion can be drawn from them until the more external data have been fully estimated.' He then quotes the opinion of a 'judicious German scholar' (Budde), that the parallel texts, the Elohistic redaction of Pss. 42-83, and the separate collections indicated by the titles, may form an invaluable basis for the history of the Psalter, and proceeds to give 'a specimen suggested by Ps. 79, of the kind of considerations on which stress might well be laid.' These considerations have to do with the steps which must be supposed to have intervened between the composition of this psalm and its inclusion in the LXX version, and taking them together Sanday finds it extremely difficult to get them into the interval between the Maccabæan revolt and the date (100 B.C.?) of the Greek Psalter. He is aware (256, n. 3) that 'even writers so conservative as Driver and Baethgen allow the existence of Maccabæan psalms,' but apparently does not think it safe to admit that the few psalms contended for in the first instance by these scholars made their way into the composite Elohistic collection, the bulk of which is pre-Maccabæan.

A plea for revision of currently-held opinions is always welcome, and we shall wait to see whether any critic attempts to write the history of the formation of the Psalter on the lines proposed by Sanday. For our own part, we do not believe that that vivid realisation of the meaning of the psalms, which is the grand object of exegesis, will be brought nearer to us by such a procedure. We have to open our eyes to the phenomena of the Hebrew text, and learn to detect the true text underlying manifest corruptions; only then will the main problems of the Psalter become revealed to us. Even apart from this, the course recommended by Sanday is not a practical one; we could not wait for the history of the formation of the Psalter before attempting to study the historical allusions. Even to be mistaken would be a less misfortune than to be thrown back on the dim, colourless exegesis of Hupfeld and his school. Robertson Smith himself was by no means an extreme advocate of the external data; indeed, he helped forward the study of the historical allusions when he put forward the 'Ochus theory' (see § 21) in a more plausible form—a theory which may be right or wrong, but pointed in the right direction, and made it possible for some critics to explain Pss. 44 74 79 83 historically, without having to meet the difficulty (be it great or small) inherent in the Maccabæan hypothesis. These critics had no prejudice against the study of external data, though they could not accept Sanday's attempted rectification of boundaries. One of the most obvious gains to be expected from further study is the discovery of some of the sources from which the collectors of the 'minor Psalters' drew, for clear traces of earlier collections are still traceable in the Psalter. It is certain, however, that much greater results than this may be looked for from the adoption of a more frankly critical attitude towards the traditional text.

III. FRESH SURVEY OF PSALTER.

22. Fresh survey of Psalter.

It is now our duty to take a survey of the psalms, assuming the results of such a criticism as is described in the last paragraph. Before doing so (see § 27), however, we have (1) to consider (making our statement as compact as possible in view of the heavy demands upon our space) Robertson Smith's theory that certain psalms refer to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus (§ 23), (2) to take up a position towards G. B. Gray's theory respecting the royal psalms (§ 24), and (3) to put side by side with the traditional readings (which have received such conflicting explanations) of the headings of the psalms in MT, readings suggested by a careful criticism of the text, some of which appear to be approximately certain,

[1] *OPs.* 462.

[2] This cautious adjective might now be omitted.

[3] *OPs.* 194.

[4] Cheyne, in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Alex. Kohut*, 114. The principle of virtually existent groups has been adopted by Ewald (*Psalmen*(3), 1866), by the present writer (*OPs.* 1891), and with regard to a group of eleven psalms (22 25 31 34 *f.* 38 40 49 71 102 109), by Rahlfs (עני *und* ענו *in den Psalmen*, 1892). The date assigned by Rahlfs to the psalms of this group is late in and soon after the exile.

[5] The importance of this has been specially noted by J. P. Peters (*New World*, June 1893, pp. 287 *f.*); the idea was not new, but needed to be brought into greater prominence.

others distinctly probable, and a few, at any rate, more possible and plausible than those which are commonly received (§ 24).

Feeling it difficult to make Pss. 44 74 79 later than the Persian period, Robertson Smith[1] revived an early view of Ewald (*Dichter des Alten Bundes*$^{(1)}$ [1835], 353; *Hist.* 5 120, n.) that the occasion of these psalms is to be sought in the history of Artaxerxes Ochus. Between 363 and 345 there were two Palestinian rebellions against Persia (cp ISRAEL, § 66), and it is at least possible that the Jews may have failed to resist the temptation to take part in one of them. The reputation of Ochus for cruelty is well known (PERSIA, § 20), and it has till lately not been questioned that he punished the Jews severely for their rebellion. We have information of a conflict of the Persians with the Jews which ended in the destruction of Jericho, and the transportation of a part of the Judæan population to Hyrcania and Babylonia. According to Robertson Smith the narrative in Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 7 1) of the pollution of the temple by Bagoses is really 'a pragmatical invention' designed to soften, as being a divine chastisement, the outrages on city and people committed by order of Ochus. Wellhausen too appears to hold (or to have held) a similar view (*IJG*, 146), and Marquart (*Unters. zur Gesch. von Eran*, 25) infers from the passage in Josephus that a part of the Jewish community rebelled against the Persian rule. Many, too, have supposed (with Gutschmid and Nöldeke) that the wars of Ochus form the historical background of the Book of Judith.

23. Ochus theory.

Unfortunately, all this is only plausible. Moreover, one part of the evidence (that relating to the destruction of Jericho) has been shown by Reinach to refer to a much later period (see col. 2202, n. 2), whilst the second-hand evidence of the Byzantine chronographer Syncellus,[2] though accepted by such a keen critic as Marquart, cannot be held decisive. Willrich—a keen though perhaps somewhat too sceptical critic—claims Josephus as a witness against Persian oppression of the Jews, and quotes the passage, *c. Ap.* 2 11, § 134, which states that whereas the Egyptians were servants to the Persians and the Macedonians, the Jews were free and ruled over the cities round about. He holds that in the passage, Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7 1, 'Bagoses [*var. lect.* Bagoas] the general of the other Artaxerxes' (ἄλλου Ἀρτ.), 'other' is an interpolation, and that it was the Christian chronographers who, through identifying Bagoses with BAGOAS (*q.v.*), converted Artaxerxes Ochus into a persecutor of the Jews.[3]

It is true that from an exegetical point of view there is much to be said in favour of Robertson Smith's view which explains Pss. 44 74 79 by cruelties, partly in the nature of vengeance, partly dictated by religious opposition, on the part of this Persian king. Unless we are prepared to assign a good many more psalms than 44 74 79 to the Greek period, it is certainly unadvisable to assign the psalms mentioned either to the time of Ptolemy Lagi (who treated Jerusalem with cruelty[4]) or—a more plausible theory—to that of Antiochus Epiphanes. In the matter of historical criticism, however, we are all, by further experience, becoming more and more exacting, and it appears hazardous to build such an important theory on doubtful statements of uncritical writers.[5]

1 *EB*$^{(9)}$ 20 31; *OTJC*$^{(2)}$ 207 *f.* 438.

2 Ed. Dindorf, 1 486.

3 *Judaica* (1900), pp. 35-39.

4 For the evidence, see col. 2426. That Jerusalem was occupied and severely treated by Ptolemy Lagi, cannot be doubted (cp *OPs.* 114); but Appian's καθῃρήκει makes a very strong demand on our confidence. A much better authority would be required for the theory that the temple itself was destroyed on this occasion.

5 The present writer was the first to accept Robertson Smith's argument in *OTJC*$^{(2)}$ 438 as historically probable (*New World*, Sept. 1892; *Founders*, 220 *ff.*; cp *Intr. Is.* 360 *f.*). Beer (*Indiv. Psalmen*, etc., 1894) also adopted the new theory.

As for Is. 63 7-64 12 [11], though the supposed oppression of the Jews by Ochus would afford a full explanation of its gloom and despondency, we must regretfully hold that this is not the true key to the difficulties of the section, and must look out for a new and more solidly based theory which will account both for this passage and for the related passages of the Psalter. Nor shall we long look in vain (§ 28, v.; PROPHETIC LIT., § 43).

G. B. Gray's theory of the royal psalms (*JQR*, July, 1895, pp. 658-686) is an able attempt to show that even those psalms which, in so far as they refer to a king who is neither Yahwè nor a foreigner, may seem to be necessarily pre-exilic, can be explained as post-exilic without resorting to the improbable hypothesis that they refer to an Asmonæan king (or kings).

24. Gray on royal psalms.

He thinks that in Pss. 2 72 18 89 21 the king referred to is an idealisation of the people with reference to its sovereign functions, and that the expressions used in these psalms can only, or at least most satisfactorily, be explained by the circumstances, not of an individual monarch, but of the (royal) nation. In Ps. 61, probably also in Ps. 63, the poet speaks in the name of the nation, and consequently appropriates the term 'king.' Possibly Pss. 20 and 110 may be analogously explained. In Ps. 33 the reference is purely proverbial, and Ps. 45, the interpretation of which is specially difficult, may excusably be left out of account.

This view[1] does but give a sharper outline to a view to which some of the best scholars have been tending—viz., that the ideal king referred to in certain psalms is a representative and virtually a personification of the people. As the text stands, we find post-exilic Israel spoken of as Yahwè's anointed one in Ps. 28 8 89 38 51 [39 52] Hab. 3 13,[2] and it would have been but a step further to call the people of Israel by the ordinary royal title.

Was this step actually taken? Hardly, if it be true that there are in the prophetic literature distinct announcements of a future ideal Davidic king. The religious phraseology of the Jews would surely have been thrown into hopeless confusion if 'king' sometimes really meant 'king,' and at other times signified 'people.' There were honourable titles enough to give the personified people—'son of Yahwè,' 'servant of Yahwè,' and even perhaps 'Yahwè's anointed one.' The phrase 'Yahwè's anointed one,' if our text is correct in reading it, is specially important, because it 'is either applied or applicable to any one who has received from God some unique commission of a directly or indirectly religious character';[3] in other words, it does not necessarily connote royalty. When we consider that psalms addressed to the king, or relating to the king, had probably come down to our psalmists from pre-exilic times, it is very bold to assume that the psalmists sometimes use the term 'king' as an honorific title for the Jewish people.[4]

A problem, however, still remains to be considered. If it be true (as the present writer has provisionally maintained[5]) that it is only in Pss. 101 and 110 that a historical sovereign is spoken of, how are we to account for the strange addresses in other royal psalms to an as yet non-existent personage, as if he were already on the Messianic royal throne? We must return to this question later (see § 34, end).

With regard to the headings of the psalms, no scholar will presume to disparage the work of many generations of learned predecessors. It is high time, however, to take a step in advance. The theories at present in circulation have for the most part but little to recommend them. Even a phrase at first sight so transparent as לדוד (EV 'of David') occasions no slight difficulty.

25. Psalm headings.

1 See also Smend, *Rel.-gesch.*$^{(2)}$ 373-375; Wellh. *IJG*$^{(3)}$ 207. Smend has now given up the supposed reference of Ps. 2 to Alexander Jannæus (*Rel.-gesch.*$^{(1)}$ 384), and holds with Gray.

2 See *Psalms* in *SBOT* 176 (cp 164, n. on 2 7), and *Isaiah* in the same series, 196.

3 *OPs.* 338.

4 Toy's clear and instructive essay, 'The king in Jewish post-exilian writings,' *JBL* 18 [1899] 156-166, does not directly refer to this question.

5 *Jew. Rel. Life*, 105. A different view is taken in the present article.

According to Keil it was the custom of Arabian poets to attach their names to their works. This, however, cannot be shown. The old poets did not write their poems. Each of them had his *rāwī*, or 'reciter,' who learned each poem, and transmitted it to others.

Nöldeke has shown that late Arabic poems are sometimes ascribed to ancient writers with an object; also that narrators would illustrate dry historical narratives by poetical passages of their own composition which they assigned to their heroes. This is true, but does not touch the case of לדוד, for only by the merest illusion can the so-called Davidic psalms be said to be illustrative of the life of David. It is even more important to observe that the analogy of the titles לבני קרח (EV 'of the sons of Korah') and לאסף (EV 'of Asaph') is directly opposed to the theory that לדוד can mean 'composed by David.' (*Later* writers may have given לדוד this meaning; it seems to be distinctly implied by the subscription in 72 20, 'Ended are the prayers of David the son of Jesse.')

Then, too, how perplexing is the distribution of psalms bearing the title לדוד! If, in spite of 72 20, Ps. 101 was regarded as the work of David, how comes it to have been placed amidst psalms which are plainly later than the time of David?[1] It is true, David was regarded in the time of the Chronicler as the founder of the temple services as they were organised in his own time. That, however, does not account for the selection of particular psalms to bear the honourable title לדוד, and as Sanday remarks,[2] we should have expected that the influence of the Chronicler, who (if it be not rather a later editor) ascribes to David a composite psalm made up of three obviously post-exilic psalms, would have been sufficient to bring the name of David into the titles of the three psalms.

Difficulties of this sort might be multiplied. How, for instance, can לשלמה, in 72 1, mean 'Of Solomon,' when clearly the psalm consists of anticipations of the benefits to be enjoyed under some great king's rule? 𝔊, it is true, renders εἰς σαλο[ω]μων (*i.e.*, 'with reference to Solomon'); but what right has it to be thus inconsistent? And who can say that a perfectly satisfactory explanation has been given of the mysterious לידיתון (EV 'of Jeduthun'), or of the so-called musical notes?

Now if a step in advance is to be taken, we must not dream that it can be done by the application of the so-called inductive method, for which the Hebrew text of the phrases in the titles is ill-adapted. Our only hope can be from a slow and persistent use of the methods, continually becoming more refined and varied, of critical (as opposed to arbitrary) conjecture. The present writer has for a long time past endeavoured to apply these methods. The following conspectus presents his results so far as relates to the statements in the titles concerning the sources from which the psalms were severally derived and (if this be not a mistake) the liturgical use or performance of the psalms. So far as concerns the historical references mentioned in a number of titles, they will be given separately at the end of this article (§ 45). If the results are negative, they are also *positive*; *and who can say that the explanations for which, with extreme deliberation, substitutes are offered, are worthy of their place in commentaries and lexicons which are otherwise, even if far from perfect, at any rate neither unprogressive nor unmethodical?*

26. New explanations.

1. *'Alāmōth, upon* (עַל־עֲלָמוֹת), 46 [49]; *Ma'ălōth, the* (הַמַּעֲלוֹת), and *Ma'ălōth, for the* (לַמַּעֲלוֹת), 120-134 [לם' in 121]; *Maḥălath, upon* (עַל־מָחֲלַת, 53, and with the addition of *Lĕ'annōth* (לְעַנּוֹת), 88; *Nĕḥīlōth, upon the* (אֶל־הַנְּחִילוֹת), 5; *Solomon, for* (לִשְׁלֹמֹה), 72 127.

All these (for ל=אל=על) probably originated in לְשַׁלְמָה or

1 Cp Driver, in Sanday's *Oracles of God*, 142.
2 *Op. cit.* 143.

לְשַׁלְמַת—*i.e.*, of Ṡalmah = b'ne Salmah. In Ps. 9 עַל־מוּת לבן (see 18) should be לִבְנֵי שלמת. See (besides MAALOTH, MAHALATH, NEHILOTH) SOLOMON'S SERVANTS [CHILDREN OF], and observe that 127 combines המעלות and לשלמה—*i.e.*, the error and the *correction*.

The Salmæans then were a division of the singers. It is true, Salmah is a N. Arabian ethnic; but the truth probably is that all the divisions bear names indicating clans of N. Arabian extraction. The result, if accepted, is important. The title, 'song of degrees,' becomes in consequence transformed into 'Marked: of Salmah,'—*i.e.* officially attested (cp PSALM) as belonging to the Salmæan collection. The question as to the relation of the Salmah clan to the Shallum clan (which in Ezra 2 42 is reckoned among the b'nē šō'ărīm, or rather perhaps the b'nē Aššūrīm; see 10, *Jedithun*) cannot here be considered.

2. *Al-tašḥēth* (אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת), 57 58 59 75 and *Aijéleth haš-šáḥar* [*upon*] (עַל־אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר), 22. Probably from לְאֵיתָן הָאֶזְרָחִי, 'Of Ethan the Ezrahite.' See (6) *Ethan*.

3. *Asaph, of* (לְאָסָף), 50 73-83. *'Asaph' is evidently an ethnic* name; its proximity to 'Nethinim' (or rather 'Ethanim') in Ezra 2 41, etc. and ‖ passages, suggests as its original 'Zarephath,' through the intermediate form סֹפֶרֶת (Neh. 7 57; הַס', Ezra 2 55). Cp Saph, 2 S. 21 18; *ăsaphsūph*, Nu. 11 4 (see MULTITUDE, MIXED). 'Abiasaph' perhaps comes from 'Arāb-zarephath; cp Obed-edom = 'Arāb-edom, 'Abdê Shĕlōmōh [see 1] = 'Arāb-ṡalmah. It should be noticed that the title הַמְשֹׁרְרִים, prefixed to בְּנֵי אָסָף in Ezra 2 41, may originally have been intended to refer to the בני השערים (rather בני אשורים), the נתינים (rather איתנים) and the בני עברי שלמה (rather בני ערב שלמה); *i.e.*, all these clans were devoted to the service of song.

4. *David, of* (לְדָוִד), prefixed to all the psalms of book i. except 1 2 10 33 (which have no title in MT); to 21 in book ii; to 1 in book iii.; to 2 in book iv.; and to 17 in book v.; in all, to 78. Lagarde says (*Orientalia*, 2 23), 'Just as English professors can be called 'Margaret,' or 'Savilian,' or 'Hulsean,' etc., so in the temple choir one division could be named after David, another after Heman, or Korah, or any one else.'[1] 'It is no objection that some titles refer to events in king David's life, for (1) these appendages are worthless (David had other things *to bring before Yahwè than those mentioned—e.g., in Ps. 3*), and (2) the headings are unknown to the Syriac, and are therefore not an original part of the collections of psalms' (*ibid.*). To this it may be added that these appendages have probably been obtained by recasting a misread text, which said something quite different (see § 24), and which, when we get the key, we can plausibly correct. לדוד (which even Lagarde assumes to be authentic) has most probably come from לירידות (see 13, *Loves, song of*), which in turn comes from לִידִיתוּן, 'Of Jĕdīthūn.' It will be observed that in the titles of Ps. 39 and 62 the two readings, לידיתון or לידותון [עַל־י'] and לדוד, are combined; also that, in 72 20 בֶּן יִשַׁי[2] (son of Jesse), and in 144 10 אֶת־דָּוִד are presumably later insertions, based on misunderstanding. See 10, *Jedithun, of*.

5. *Degrees, song of.* See 1, *Ma'ălōth, the*, and 30, *Song*.

6. *Ethan the Ezrahite, of* (לְאֵיתָן הָאֶזְרָחִי), 89, and *Memorial, to make?* (לְהַזְכִּיר), 38 70 ('to be sung at the presentation of the Azkārā'?[3]—'to confess [sin]'?[4]). 'Ethan' and 'Zerah' are both S. Palestinian and N. Arabian clan-names. Why the editor has given us but one Ethanite psalm is a mystery. Probably, however, 'Jedithun' (see 10) contains the name 'Ethan.' See also 2, *Al-tašḥēth* and *Aijéleth haš-šáḥar upon*, and 26, *Shĕmōnīth, on the*. See ETHAN.

7. *Gittith, upon the* (עַל־הַגִּתִּית), 8 81 84. Corrupt; perhaps from עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית. See 30, *Shĕmīnīth, upon the*.

8. *Heman the Ezrahite, of* (לְהֵימָן הָאֶזְרָחִי), 88. See 6, 18, also HEMAN.

9. *Higgāiōn* (הִגָּיוֹן), 9 16 [17], followed by סלה (Sélah), and 92 3 [4], followed by 'upon the lyre.' Corrupt (see HIGGAION); it is not a technical term at all.

10. *Jēdī(ū)thūn, of, or upon* (לידיתון, 39; עַל־ידותון, 62; עַל־ידיתון, 77). *Jedithun may come from 'Arāb-'ēthan* (*cp* JEDUTHUN) or less probably from Jerimoth (ירימות) = Jeremoth = Jerahmeel. In 1 Ch. 25 4, 'Jerimoth' is one of the sons of Heman. Obed-edom, or rather 'Arab-edom [or -aram = jerahmeel?], appears in 1 Ch. 16 38 as the son of a Jeduthun. The b'ne

1 Lagarde's view of 'David' as a choir named after David is accepted by Zenner (*Zt. f. kath. Theol.* 15 [1891] 361 *f.*). Against it see König, *Einl.* 395, who is content to explain לְ in לדוד as the ל *auctoris*, remarking that 𝔊 not only has (ψαλμὸς) τῷ Δαυιδ (3 1, etc.), but also τοῦ Δ. (26 1 etc.), quite apart from the differences of MSS (37 1 86 1).
2 The author of this interpolation must have seen in Ps. 72 a prayer of David for Solomon.
3 So Delitzsch and Baethgen.
4 Jacob, *ZATW* 18 52 63 *ff.* (similarly in 1 Ch. 16 4).

Jĕdūthūn were, according to 1 Ch. 16 42, 'at the gate' (לַשַּׁעַר)—*i.e.*, 'door-keepers,' שֹׁעֲרִים—but there is evidently some misunderstanding connected with these door-keepers, and perhaps the original title of the b'ne Jeduthun, as well as of the b'ne Shallum (Ezra 2 42) was אַשֻּׁרִים, 'Asshurites'='Geshurites' (cp 1, end). In 1 Ch. 26 1 4 the same Obed-edom is represented as a Korahite (*i.e.*, Jerohamite?); see 1. Observe (1) that in 39 and 62 לידיתון or על־ידותון is followed by the false reading לדוד; (2) that in the headings of 18 and 36 לְעֶבֶד יהוה ('of the servant of Yahwè') is a corruption of לידיתון (‖ לדוד); (3) that in the heading of 100 לידיתון has become לתודה; (4) that Ps. 70 (71) in 𝔊's Hebrew text had the double heading לדוד and לבני ידתון (υιων ιωναδαβ). On יְדִידֹת in 45 see 13; on עֵדוּת in 60 80 see 28. Cp 4, *David, of.*

11. *Jōnath-ēlem-rĕḥōkīm, upon* (עַל־יוֹנַת אֵלֶם רְחֹקִים), 56. That על־יונת comes from על־נגינות (cp 54 *f.* 61 and see 20, *Neginoth, upon*) may be taken as fairly certain. The interpretation of אלם רחקים given in col. 2572 was affected by the view taken of the difficult למנצח (now at length explained with high probability; see 19). If the explanations of דוד and קרח given here (nos. 4 and 12) are accepted, it will be difficult not to recognise underneath אלם רחקים the phrase אל־הקרחים = לירחמ[אל], 'of Jerahmeel,' which is virtually synonymous with the phrase which follows,—לדוד, *i e.*, לירימות=לידיתון (see 10).

12. *Korah, of the sons of* (לִבְנֵי קֹרַח), 42 44-49 84 *f.* 87 *f.* Korah (*q.v.*) is a southern clan-name. The true name, however, of this guild of singers was probably בני ירחם (as if בְּנֵי יְרֹחָם, 'sons of Jeroham,' but really shortened from בְּנֵי יְרַחְמְאֵל, 'sons of Jerahmeel'). ירחם was distorted (popularly?) into קרחים. See 2 Ch. 20 19, where, although the בני הקהתים and the בני הקרחים are apparently distinguished, we can hardly doubt (consistently with the principles of textual criticism we are applying) that הקהתים and הקרחים are both corruptions of the same name—*i.e.*, ירחמ[אל]. הקרחים occurs only once again, viz., in 1 Ch. 12 6, where it interrupts the list of names, and has evidently come in from the margin, where it stood as a variant to ירחם in the phrase בני יר' (*v.* 7 end). On the possible misconception at the root of the Chronicler's statements as to Korahite doorkeepers, see Porters, and cp 10, *Jedithun.*

13. *Loves, song of* (שִׁיר יְדִידֹת), 45. Shīr and Jĕdīdōth are brought together by a mistake; ידידת is a corruption either of לִידִיתוּן, 'of Jedithun'[1] or of לִירִימֹת, 'of Jerimoth' (from which name 'Jedithun' comes). In either case, we may compare the heading of Ps. 56, where רחקים (קרחים), *i.e.*, ירחם, and דוד are combined.[2] See 30, *Song.*

14. *Maḥălath, upon.* See 1.

15. *Maschīl.* See 19.

16. *Michtām* (מִכְתָּם), 16 56-60. Perhaps from תַּחֲנוּן, 'supplication' (מ=נו; כ=ח); cp חנכת, 30 1 (title), from תְּחִנַּת. See Michtam.

17. *Moses the man of God, of* (לְמֹשֶׁה אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים), in 90. According to Să'adya, לְמֹשֶׁה=לִבְנֵי מֹשֶׁה, 'of the sons of Moses' = 'of the Levites' (1 Ch. 23 14). But the text is corrupt. Most probably למשה comes not from [ל]שלמה, as we might at first suppose (cp 1), but from רָשׁוּם, 'marked' (see 24, *Psalm*); and איש האלהים from לְהֵימָן הָאֶזְרָחִי, 'of Heman the Ezrahite' (see 8). איש אלהים is due to a remodelling editor, who had before him a corrupt text, and made sense of it by the light of Dt. 33 1, הברכה אשר ברך משה איש אלהים. Ps. 90 *b* has in fact two points of contact (*vv.* 13*b* 15), not indeed with Dt. 33, but with Dt. 32.

18. *Mūth-labbēn, upon* (עַל־מוּת לַבֵּן), 9. Most probably from לִבְנֵי שַׁלְמַת, 'of the sons of Salmath.' See 1.

19. *Musician, to the chief* (לַמְנַצֵּחַ), in 55 headings, and in Hab. 3 19.[3] Probably from לְמִשְׁכָּן, 'as a thing deposited'='to be laid up in store' (an Aramaism). *Maschīl* (מַשְׂכִּיל), in fifteen psalms (see Maschil), seems to be another corruption of the same word. The significance of the fact that 𝔊 gives for לַמְ[נ]צח, εἰς τὸ τέλος, and has evidently no idea of a possible use of the verb נצח in a musical connection, is not perhaps generally recognized.[4]

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20. *Nĕgīnōth, on* (בִּנְגִינוֹת), 4 6 54 *f.* 67 76 Hab. 3 19 (with superfluous י attached), and once (61) *on Nĕginath* (עַל־נְגִינַת). In 6 בנגינות is followed by עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית. Both words, Nĕgīnōth and Shĕmīnīth, may be regarded as corruptions of the same original (see 26, *Sheminith, upon*).

21. *Nĕḥīlōth, on the.* See 1.

22. *Praise* (תְּהִלָּה), 145. Cp *v.* 21.

23. *Prayer* (תְּפִלָּה), 17 86 90 102 142. Cp 72 20.

24. *Psalm* (מִזְמוֹר), in the titles of 56 psalms. Probably from רָשׁוּם, 'marked,' *i.e.*, attested by an official statement. See Psalm.

25. *Sélāh* (סֶלָה), 71 times, also in Hab. 3 3 9 13, and (διάψαλμα) Ps. Sol. 17 31 18 10. Perhaps from לְשַׁלֵּם, 'for complementing, supplementing,' whence perhaps Tg.'s לעלמין, Aq.'s ἀεί. Very often סלה may be regarded as a corruption of some word which is an integral portion of the psalm. See Selah.

26. *Shĕmīnīth, on the* (עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית), 6 12. Probably from לְאֵיתָנִים (א, imperfectly written, having been confounded with ש). The Ēthānim, under the disguise of 'Nĕthīnim,' appear in Ezra 2 58, etc. (see *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* July, 1901). Possibly too לְיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת in 92 should be read לְאֵיתָנִים, 'of the Ethanites.' Note the ascriptions of Pss. 88 89 90 (see 17). It is not decisive against this view that 𝔊 assigns Ps. 92 to the Sabbath; 𝔊 also assigns other psalms to the other days of the week (except Tuesday and Thursday); see § 16. See also 7, 11, 20, 28).

27. *Shiggaiōn* (שִׁגָּיוֹן), 7, plur. in Hab. 3 1. A corruption of שמינית (מ=גי), Shĕmīnīth; see 26.

28. *Shōshannīm, upon* (עַל־שֹׁשַׁנִּים), 45 69; *Shōshannīm-'ēdūth, upon* (אֶל־שֹׁשַׁנִּים עֵדוּת), 80; *Shūshan-'ēdūth, upon* (עַל־שׁוּשַׁן עֵדוּת), 60. Probably 'Shōshannīm' and 'Shūshan' are corruptions of 'Shĕmīnīth' (see 26), and ''ēdūth' of 'Jĕdīthūn (see 10).

29. *Solomon, of.* See 1.

30. *Song* (שִׁיר), in the titles of 30 psalms, also (ᾠδή) in Ps. Sol. 15 17 (titles). Another corruption (see 24, *Psalm*) of רָשׁוּם, 'marked.'

31. *To bring to remembrance*, or *To make memorial* (לְהַזְכִּיר). See 6.

32. *To teach* (לְלַמֵּד), 60, and in 2 S. 1 18. Either a corrupt dittogram of לדוד, or miswritten for לירחמאל, a phrase synonymous with לירימות (cp 4).

One conclusion from the above emendations (§ 26)

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[1] So already Staerk (*ZATW* 12 136), with יְדִידְיָה (2 S. 12 25) as an alternative original.

[2] It will be remarked that according to our results 'Jerimoth' (cp 10) and 'Jeroham' both come from 'Jerahmeel.'

[3] According to Nestle (*ZATW* 20 [1900] 167 *f.*), the technical note in Hab. 3 19 is properly the heading of the next psalm in the collection from which this 'psalm' was taken.

[4] Driver, in a communication to Sanday (see the latter's *Oracles of God*, 146), says, 'I doubt greatly whether much weight is to be attached to the ignorance of the LXX. The LXX, in all parts of their translation . . . are apt to stand apart from the Palestinian tradition; they frequently show themselves to be unfamiliar not only with uncommon or exceptional words, but even with those which one would have expected to be well known.' He illustrates this from נִצַּח, the verb of which מְנַצֵּחַ (according to Driver, 'precentor') is the participle. 'It is hardly possible that a word familiarly known in Palestine *circa* 300 B.C., and (in its musical connection) retained in use in the temple services, should have had its meaning forgotten there during the period of one to two centuries which may have elapsed between 300 B.C. and the date at which the LXX translation of the Chronicles and Ezra was made; yet the translators of these books have evidently no idea of its meaning when used in that connection.' It is admitted, however, that there is no passage in Ezra, and but one in Chronicles, in which נצח is used with reference to music, and though Driver says that in 1 Ch. 15 21 the LXX 'show themselves to be entirely unacquainted with the meaning of the verb,' it does not appear that modern philology has succeeded in showing what לְנַצֵּחַ means. BDB states that בְּכִנֹּרוֹת עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית לְנַ׳ means, 'over the bass voices, leading them with כִּנֹּרוֹת.' But since בכ׳ is separated from לנ׳ by הַשְּׁמִינִית, and since no *proof* of the sense 'bass voices' for שמינית can be adduced, we may venture to question this interpretation which neither of the two other standard Hebrew Lexicons ratifies. Siegfried-Stade rightly questions the text. Aziel and Shemiramoth have probably been wrongly inserted under the corrupt forms, Azaziah and Sheminith, respectively; לנצח should be לְנַצֵּחַ (=תָּמִיד, 166). See Sheminith. The LXX therefore do not deserve the imputation of ignorance of the meaning of נִצַּח in a musical connection, because the word has not yet been proved to have a special musical sense (for an ingenious but very far-fetched suggestion, see Ges.-Buhl); and the fact that they substitute לנצח (see Musician, The Chief) for למנצח suggests that the translator, whose aloofness from Palestine may be exaggerated, knew that there was no real Palestinian tradition on the subject. The Cimmerian darkness can only be mitigated by critical conjecture. A possible and suitable one is offered above.

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will be that the history of the development of the guilds of singers has been written with an attempt at undue precision. That the singers originally called b'nē Asaph (but cp 2 Ch. 20 19[1]) gradually split up into many families, some of which called themselves with special emphasis b'nē Asaph, others b'nē Jedithun, others b'nē Heman,[2] is a conjecture entirely based on the traditional Hebrew text. There is no reason why there should not have been from the very beginning of the services in the second temple, several guilds of singers (Neh. 11 17 𝔊BNA scarcely justifies us in limiting the number to two; see BAKBAKKAR, BAKBUKIAH). Their names may have varied somewhat; but whichever names are preferred, they are always (when closely examined) clan-names of S. Palestine or N. Arabia. One might be inclined to surmise that the latest of the names borne by any of these guilds was Ṡalmah, or b'ne Ṡalmah; the reason would be the occurrence of the group of Salmah songs (EV 'songs of degrees') in book v., and the very late collection called ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος (*i.e.*, perhaps originally [see § 26 (1)] תְּהִלּוֹת שַׁלְמָה, 'praise-songs of Salmah'). But we must not be too positive as to this. Pss. 9-10, according to one of the statements in the title, belonged to the b'nē Ṡalmah (§ 26 (1), and it is not improbable that משלי שלמה (EV 'Proverbs of Solomon') in Prov. 10 1 25 1 originally meant 'Proverbs of Salmah'; besides, in Ezra 2, etc. (emended text), the Salmæans are co-ordinated with the *Ethanites*. Ethanites, we say, for we can hardly doubt that 'Nethinim,' both in Ezra 2 and wherever else it occurs, is a distortion of 'Ethanim,' and not only 'Ethan' the eponym of the clan has two psalms ascribed to him (and probably many more, see § 26 [10]), but the Ethanim or Ethanites, are mentioned, it would seem, in the titles of two other psalms (see § 26 [26]). Nor must we overlook the fact that what we have suggested as the right meaning of שלמה, and in some cases the reading, had been forgotten, at any rate among the Jewish scholars of Alexandria, as early as the time of 𝔊. As to the phrase 'the sons of Asaph' (= Asaph in the psalm-titles), that Asaph should sometimes (in Ch. Ezra Neh.) represent all the bands of singers, and ultimately be described (see ABIASAPH) as of Korahite affinities, need not surprise us. 'Asaphite' and 'Korahite,' 'Zarephathite' and 'Jerahmeelite' being in their origin virtually synonymous, a vagueness in the genealogical statements was only to be expected.

27. Guilds of singers.

Proceeding now, after dealing with these preliminary questions (§§ 22-27), to take a survey of the Psalter, we begin by taking specimens from different parts of it, with the object of getting a historical point of view, and select 35, 42-43, 44, 60, 74, 79, 83, 120, 137.

28. Historical backgrounds.

i. *Psalm* 35.—Psalm 35 is one of a group of psalms which are parallel both in tone and even in some phraseological details[3] to the Lamentations and to the Jeremianic Literature. Now Lamentations 4 5 (see LAMENTATIONS, §§ 7 *f.*) presuppose that either in the present or in the not distant past the Jewish people has been insulted and oppressed by the Jerahmeelites or Edomites. We have found reason to think that the N. Arabian leaders were principals in the siege and capture of Jerusalem and the captivity of the Jews, and that even during the Persian period and after there had been a return of many of the captives in Edom, the Edomites continued to commit outrages, to annoy, to plunder, and to oppress the pious Jewish community in Palestine. We could not be surprised to find evidence of this state of things in the psalms, and as a fact we find it. In 35 1, underlying very doubtful Hebrew, we find 'the Arabians' and 'the host of Jerahmeel.'[1] In *vv.* 11 *f.*:

'The Jerahmeelites vent their rage upon me, | the Ishmaelites plunder me.
The Rehobothites requite me with evil, | they bring calamity upon me.'[2]

In *v.* 15*b*:

'Those of Jerahmeel surround me, | they cry, We have swallowed him up.'[3]

In *v.* 19:

'Let not the Jerahmeelites rejoice, | the men of strife'[4] (cp 68 31*b* 120 7, below).

ii. *Psalms* 42-43.—In Pss. 42-43, the real or imaginary background is also the oppression, not of the Babylonians (as Theodore of Mopsuestia) but of the Jerahmeelites. We find mentioned the 'tribe of the Arabians' and the 'race of the Jerahmeelites'[5] (42 7 43 1). The speaker is apparently in the Jerahmeelite—*i.e.*, Edomite—region to the S. of Judæa, where Yahwè was not acknowledged (cp 2 Ch. 25 14 20). Speaking in the name of a larger or smaller company, he craves the divine guardianship and to be restored to his true home—the house of God.

iii. *Psalm* 44.—Ps. 44 is composite;[6] 44*a* is apparently the first part of a poetical retrospect of Israel's ancient history (cp 78); 44*b* is a prayer of the innocent martyr-nation. The Davidic king has been set aside, and further resistance has become hopeless. Many of the Jews have been killed or carried captive by 'Jerahmeel'; others seek refuge where they can. Yet Israel is true—sincerely true—to its religious obligations; it is indeed its strictness in this respect that so exasperates its foes. How can Yahwè be angry with his people? The real or assumed background, therefore, is not the time of Hezekiah and Sennacherib (cp Lagarde, *Mittheil.* 2 377), nor that of the Syrian persecution (Baethgen, etc., after Theodore of Mopsuestia) but that of the (Jerahmeelite) exile (see above), soon after the fall of the Davidic dynasty. The psalm is one of a large group of psalms, united by parallelism of contents, but is related most closely to Ps. 60 and 89*b*, the former of which we have next to consider.

iv. *Psalm* 60.—Ps. 60 has been thought to be composite—*e.g.*, most recently (1891) by Winckler (*GI* 2 205), who, like Ewald, thinks he can recognise a pre-exilic element in the psalm. The inconsistencies of the psalm, however, are illusory, and, as to the date, though MT strongly suggests the early Maccabæan period, the present writer's text-critical results make him certain that the oppressors spoken of are N. Arabian. The first stanza reminds us of Ps. 44*b*, the second of 2 and 18 (see below); the third of 89*b*. We can only quote stanza 2, referring for the rest to *Ps.*(2)

For with thee I shall break Geshur,
I shall divide Cusham and Maacath;
I shall measure out Miṣṣur and Aram,
I shall cast the cord upon Zarephath.
Yahwè will conduct me to Miṣṣur,
Yahwè will lead me unto Aram.[7]

v. *Psalm* 74.—Ps. 74 is variously assigned to the

[1] The present narrative, 2 Ch. 20, appears to have been altered from an older narrative (cp NEGEB, § 7, col. 3380).

[2] Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im Alten Test.* (1899), 150.

[3] Thus 35 21*b* and 25 are parallel to Lam. 2 16.

[1] Read שִׁמְרֵנִי י׳ מֵעַרְבִים | מִמַּחֲנֵה יְרַחְמְאֵל. יריב is recognised by 𝔊 here, but not in Is. 49 25 Jer. 18 19. לחם (Ḳal) is presupposed by 𝔊 both here and in 56 2 3. Both יריב and לחם may fitly be questioned in the present passage (and לחם also in 56 2 *f.*); see *Ps.*(2).

[2] For עֲדֵי חָמָס read יְרַחְמְאֵלִים; and for אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדַעְתִּי read יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים. יְשַׁאֲלוּנִי should be יְשַׁלְּמוּנִי, and שְׁכוֹל should be הִכְשִׁילוּ.

[3] Read בְּנֵי יְרַחְמְאֵל כִּתְּרוּנִי קָרְאוּ בִּלַּעֲנוּהוּ.

[4] Read אַל־יִשְׂמְחוּ יְרַחְמְאֵלִים אַנְשֵׁי מָדוֹן.

[5] On the very singular corruption, or editorial manipulation, see *Ps.*(2).

[6] Cp G. A. Barton's article in *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* (3 [1899] pp. 744 *ff.*), which recognises the composite character of the psalm, and distinguishes three strophes, representing (this is the weak part of the theory) three widely separated periods.

[7] On the very interesting corruptions see *Ps.*(2) מִי, in *ll.* 5 and 6, is a fragment of אלהים, which, as usual in these psalms, has displaced יהוה. Winckler, *GI* 2 205, has not observed this.

Chaldæan period ('everlasting ruins,' *v.* 3*a*; 'have set on fire thy sanctuary,' *v.* 7*a*) and to the Syrian or Maccabæan ('the synagogues,' *v.* 8; 'no more any prophet,' *v.* 9; 'blaspheme thy name,' *v.* 10). Of the phrases on which respectively the two theories are based, only that in *v.* 7*a* and that in *v.* 10 remain in the present writer's revised text. Whether the Babylonian warriors felt sufficient bitterness against Judah to blaspheme the name of Yahwè, may be reasonably doubted; it was quite otherwise with the Jerahmeelites or Edomites whom (as also perhaps in Ps. Sol. 2, see § 42) we believe we can recognise in this psalm. There is nothing said in the context about the defeat of Jewish armies (cp 44 11*a* 89 44); but the couplet which not improbably underlies *v.* 3—

Hide thy poor from the wickedness of their neighbours,
The Jerahmeelites, the Arabians, and the Geshurites,—

may probably be explained by 2 K. 24 2, where, according to a critically emended text, the enemies mentioned seem to be the Cushites, the Jerahmeelites, and the Miṣrites, combined with Jer. 39 3, where, originally, the princes named were those of the king of Jerahmeel (see NERGAL-SHAREZER). 'The synagogues' in *v.* 8 should most probably be changed to 'the name of Israel'[1] (let us sweep away from the land). On the complaint, 'there is no prophet' (*v.* 9), see col. 2207. That the historical background is imaginary, seems very probable (see col. 2207). We now see what must be the true explanation of Is. 63 7-64 12 [11]. The inserted passage (*vv.* 12-17) reminds us of 89 12 *f.* Is. 51 9.

vi. *Psalm* 79. In 1 Macc. 7 17 Ps. 79 2 *f.* are applied to the massacre of sixty leading ASSIDÆANS by ALCIMUS, and the phraseology of 1 Macc. 1 37 (*καὶ ἐξέχεαν αἷμα ἀθῷον κύκλῳ τοῦ ἁγιάσματος καὶ ἐμόλυναν τὸ ἁγίασμα*) seems to be suggested by *vv.* 1 *f.* of this psalm. This does not, however, prove that the psalm was known to have been composed during the Syrian persecution. In spite of Hitzig's attempt to show that it cannot have reference to the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., it is perfectly safe to explain it as referring to this, even if we incline to think that in this and the related psalms the historical background is an imaginary one. To deny that there was any slaughter of the Jews 'round about Jerusalem,' and that any other neighbours but the Chaldæans were considered to have afflicted the Jews at this period, is very bold. At any rate, after our revision of the texts, we are precluded from assenting to Hitzig. See 44 23 'For thy sake Jerahmeel has killed us,'[2] and the passage referred to above (2 K. 24 2) as to the hostile 'neighbours' of the Jews. This psalm, however, is far inferior to 74, and has somewhat the appearance of an imitation.

vii. *Psalm* 83.—Ps. 83 has been commonly explained by the light of 1 Macc. 5, though Ḳimḥi, Calvin, Delitzsch, and Lagarde, with what may now at length be recognised as remarkable insight, prefer to explain by 2 Ch. 20, and Robertson Smith, as we have seen, refers the psalm to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus. If, however, we apply to the difficulties of the text the critical processes which we have used elsewhere, the real or supposed occasion of the psalm becomes manifest. It is the banding of the N. Arabian peoples together (cp Ps. 59)—first to harass, and then to destroy the very existence of Israel—between about 602 and 586 B.C., of which the narrative in 2 Ch. 20 may have been like an

1 מוֹעֲדֵי־אֵל is a very improbable phrase for 'the synagogues.' בֵּית וַעַד (*Sōṭā* 9 15) is a synonym for בֵּית כְּנֶסֶת, which certainly does not mean מוֹעֵד אֵל, 'God's meeting-place'; indeed Tg. gives ב׳ כנשתא for the בֵּית הָעָם of MT in Jer. 39 8. מִקְדְּשֵׁי אֵל is the most obvious correction; but the obvious is often not the true. Having regard to 83 5 [4], we should most probably read שֵׁם יִשְׂרָאֵל. The enemy's ultimate object was to destroy, not sanctuaries, but worshippers. שרפו has probably come from נשבית. כל comes from a misplaced לכו. See further *Ps.*(2).

2 הֲרָגָנוּ יְרַחְמְאֵל for הורגנו כל־היום.

anticipation,[1] that is meant. 'Asshur' and 'Geshur' are constantly confounded, and 'Amalek' is only one of the common distortions of 'Jerahmeel.'

viii. *Psalm* 120.—Ps. 120 is admittedly no 'pilgrim-song.' According to Baethgen, it is the record of a time when the party of apostates fanned strife and sedition in Jerusalem, with pernicious consequences for the righteous. Rather it is the sigh of a band of exiles in the land of Jerahmeel (cp 42-43). *Vv.* 4 *f.* should not improbably run thus:—

'Arrows of a warrior are the tongues | of the folk of Jerahmeel:
Woe is me that I sojourn in Cusham, | beside the dwellings of Jerahmeel.'[2]

ix. *Psalm* 137.—According to Duhm, Ps. 137 was originally a folk-song, which arose among some Jews who had fled or migrated from Babylonia not very long after the destruction of Jerusalem. Budde, too (*New World*, 2 [1893]), infers from the metre that it was a folk-song, and consequently dates it early in the exile. But why the pentameter (Ḳina-metre) should indicate a folk-song is not at all clear; Ps. 35 is no folk-song, but it is in pentameters. Nor could a folk-song have contained such a glaring inconsistency—the enemy in *vv.* 1-6 8 *f.* being Babylon, but in *v.* 7 Edom—or have described the scene in such an improbable and scarcely intelligible manner (*vv.* 1 *f.*). The psalm is cleared up by the view that בבל, as in Gen. 10 10 Jer. 39 3, is a corruption of ירחמאל, so that the opening verse becomes:

'On the heritage (נחלת) of Jerahmeel we wept, | remembering Zion'

and *v.* 8 (with other emendations):

'To thee also, O house of Jerahmeel, | plunderers shall come;
Jacob shall uproot thee, and shall overthrow | all thy palaces.'[3]

This must be a near approximation to the truth. The background here, as elsewhere, is imaginary.

We may now approach other psalms with the right key in our hands—viz., the well-grounded theory that the bitterness of so many psalmists and the despondency of still more was caused by the cruel conduct of the Edomites and their neighbours towards the Jews, of which in the concrete we have hitherto formed a very insufficient idea. Let us now return to the royal psalms,[5] viz., 2 18 20 21 (28) 45 61 63 72 (84) (89) (101) (110) (132), to which 1 S. 2 1-10 may be added.

29. Royal psalms:[4] first, 2 18 and 110.

i. *Psalms* 2 18 and 110.—Pss. 2 18 and 110 have a specially intimate connection; the details of this depend somewhat upon our views of textual readings, but the fact of the connection itself cannot be set aside. Let us take first of all the description of the king's warlike energy. Even if we compare 2 8 *f.* 18 30-49 110 5-7 only in MT, we find in all these passages the same extraordinary fierceness which will not stop short of destroying the enemy and establishing an extensive Jewish empire. Until we critically emend the text, however, we do not understand this fierceness, this inhumanity. Ps. 2 8 *f.* runs thus in a text which has been slowly, methodically, and at last with much confidence revised,—

'Ask (this) of me, and I will give thee
The nations as thine inheritance,
The land's utmost parts as thy possession.
Thou shalt subvert Zarephath and Geshur,
Thou shalt beat down Jerahmeel and Miṣṣur.'[6]

With equal clearness the much-misunderstood author of Ps. 18 reveals the secret of his bitterness. The whole

1 The original story has been altered, owing either to mere textual corruption, or to a misinterpretation of history; or to both. Originally it was probably a Jerahmeelite and Miṣrite invasion that was meant.

2 Winckler's restoration of the text (*AOF* 3 417) is very unsatisfactory.

3 גַּם־לָךְ בֵּית יְרַחְמְאֵל | יֵאָתוּ הַשֹּׁלְלִים
יְשָׁרְשֵׁךְ יַעֲקֹב וְנָתַץ | אֶת־הֵיכָלָיִךְ

4 Compare above, § 23.

5 The numbers enclosed in parentheses are those of psalms in which the *word* מלך does not occur.

6 תַּהֲרֹס צָרְפַת וּגְשׁוּר
יְרַחְמְאֵל וּמִצּוּר תְּנַתֵּץ

passage referred to above would be too much to quote; but here is one of the stanzas (*vv.* 44-46 49*c*):—

44*a* Thou didst deliver me from the folk of the Arabians,
49*c* Thou didst rescue me from the men of Maacah;
44*b* Thou madest me the head of the nations,
44*c* People whom I knew not became my servants;
45*b* The sons of Gebal sought me eagerly,
45*a* The Ishmaelites became obedient unto me;
46*a* They brought frankincense and gold,
46*b* They offered chains of choice gold.

Now we see why, as the speaker says elsewhere, he beat his foes 'as small as the dust of the market-place,' and 'swept them away as the mire of the streets' (*v.* 43). It was because of the divine law that men of loyalty should receive the reward of their loyalty, and the proud and violent the retribution of their lawlessness (*vv.* 24-27 [25-28]). The men of loyalty are the Jews; the proud and violent are expressly identified with the Arabians and the Ishmaelites.

Not less fierce is the language of Ps. 110, nor does the ordinary text suggest any palliating considerations. Probably no psalm makes equally heavy demands on the textual critic. Applying our key, however, we seem to see that Ps. 110 is based on that earlier narrative which probably underlies our Gen. 14 (see MELCHIZEDEK, SODOM AND GOMORRAH), and represented the battle of the kings as fought near Kadesh, and the chief of the kings opposed to the king of Sodom as the king of Jerahmeel. To the psalmist this ancient exploit of the divinely favoured Abram was a type of the still greater exploit of Yahwè himself in destroying the people which had so cruelly oppressed the Jews. An approximate view of the original text is,—

5 The Lord will shatter Jerahmeel[1] | in the day of his wrath,
6*a* He will judge mighty kings | for the treason of their pride.
6*b* [The Lord] will smite Geshur[2] | on the land of the Arabians;[3]
The kings of Rehoboth[4] he will destroy, | the princes of Jerahmeel.[5]

Is any one of these three psalms a royal psalm, as referring either to a contemporary king or prince (such as Alexander Jannæus of whom Hitzig and Smend[6] have thought) or to the Messianic king himself?

(*a*) *Psalm* 2.—Certainly Ps. 2 is not. The antithesis throughout is between Yahwè and his people on the one hand, and the Jerahmeelites on the other. Partly through accidental corruption of the text, partly through editorial manipulation, Ps. 2 was made into a psalm of the Messianic king.

In the course of a thorough search for the underlying original text משיחו 'his anointed' and מלכי 'my king' naturally attract suspicion. משיחו has probably arisen out of חֲסִירו (similarly in 20 7 [6] *a* 28 8 84 10 [9] 89 52 [51] 105 15), and the words, so difficult to translate satisfactorily, ואני נסכתי מלכי (*v.* 6), should probably be וְעַל־מִשְׁכְּנֹתָיו יַחְמֹל, 'on his dwelling-place he has mercy.' The reason is (1) that מַלְכֵי (*v.* 2) and מְלָכִים (*v.* 10) are certainly corrupt (read ירחמאלים 'Jerahmeelites'), and (2) that the reading suggested makes the last couplet of stanza ii. correspond to the last of stanza i., which should probably run,—

Let us beat down their sanctuaries,
Let us destroy their palaces.

(*b*) *Psalm* 18.—Can we pronounce a different verdict on Ps. 18? It is natural to think that the psalm is a dramatic utterance of David, and that its exaggerations are to be viewed as virtual predictions of a future son (or future sons) of David, who shall raise his kingdom to a height never attained by the historical David (so *OPs.* 206). This is the view expressed in the liturgical appendix (*v.* 51 [50], unless *c* is a later addition), but is nevertheless wrong. The pious community is the speaker,[7] as is plain from the otherwise far too bold assertion of legal righteousness, and the Deuteronomistic phraseology employed.

It is true, the speaker is equally bold in the assertion of a reward already received for his righteousness. But a poet and a fervent believer in the promises can take this imaginative license. The warlike energy claimed is not more surprising in this psalm than in Ps. 29, or than in 149 6, where we learn that faithful Jews (חסידים) will know (by supernatural teaching?) how to wield a two-edged sword. There is no need, be it said in passing, to bring such psalms down to the Maccabæan period. The bitterness against the Edomites seems to have been perennial, and as they were probably types of all hostile peoples fresh occasion for vehement psalms was always arising.

The Davidic origin of Ps. 18 has been thought (*e.g.*, by Delitzsch, Baethgen, König, and Kirkpatrick) to be guaranteed by the occurrence of the psalm (with variations of reading) in 2 S. 22, a passage which, together with the *māšāl* in 23 1-7, forms probably, as Budde rightly states, the latest addition to the Books of Samuel.[1] When the hymn in question was appended to 2 S., a liturgical appendix (*v.* 51) referring to Yahwè's anointed king and to David and his descendants had already been attached; and the original title had been partly corrupted, partly deliberately altered, so as to make the hymn suit as an illustration of the life of David. The true text of the title (when emended according to the analogy of other titles, see § 45; cp § 12) makes no reference whatever to David. A Davidic, and even, more generally, a pre-exilic date is excluded by the idealistic religious and political outlook in *vv.* 32 44 50, by the Deuteronomic view of the covenant in *vv.* 21-28 and the Deuteronomic expressions in *vv.* 22-24, and by the points of contact between the psalm and the so-called song and blessing of Moses, Dt. 32 *f.* For it took time for the ideas and language of Deuteronomy (which, moreover, is no longer in its original form) to affect religious literature. The psalm, however, appears to be of earlier date, not only than Pss. 116 and 144 Prov. 30 (*v.* 5), and Hab. 3 (*v.* 19), but also than Is. 55 (*v.* 5), unless, indeed, we hold (this theory has much to recommend it) that Is. 55 3-5 is a very late insertion, made after Ps. 18 had become misinterpreted as a triumphal song of David. References to the Jerahmeelites and Arabians in stanzas 13 and 14 complete the parallelism between the second part of Ps. 18 and Ps. 2 (revised text).

(*c*) *Psalm* 110.—Ps. 110 remains. Is this a royal psalm? If so, who is the king or prince referred to? Bickell and G. Margoliouth[2] independently have noticed that *vv.* 1-4 (beginning with שֵׁב) form an acrostic with the name שִׁמְעֹן; the rest of the acrostic apparently was lost, the text of the psalm being mutilated and otherwise in disorder.

The present writer has shown[3] that, if the text is correct, any other Jewish sovereign but Simon the Maccabee is hardly conceivable as the subject of the psalm; on the acrostic, however, it would be unwise to lay any stress,[4] for nothing is easier, but nothing more hazardous, than to discover or imagine such acrostics. If the psalm was addressed to Simon, we can plausibly account for its imperfect form; the omission of the latter part may have arisen out of a desire to facilitate a Messianic reference.[5] The view is plausible; but על־דברתי מלכי צרק (*v.* 4*b*) has not been perfectly explained, and מלכי־צדק in Gen. 14 is explained elsewhere (see MELCHIZEDEK) as a corrupt reading.

Using the experience which long converse with the text of the psalm ought to give, we arrive at the reading (for *v.* 4*b*), 'I establish thee for ever, because of my covenant of loving-kindness' (see MELCHIZEDEK). To whom is this oracle addressed? Evidently to the same person as the promise of the subjugation of his enemies. The defeat of the king of Jerahmeel was a prophecy of the overthrow of all subsequent enemies, provided of course that the children of Abram displayed their father's character. Must not, then, the true subject of

1 ירחמאל several times underlies ימין. Here it is latent in על ימינך.
2 Underlying ראש.
3 Concealed under רבה.
4 Underlying בדרך.
5 Dittographed, and underlying על־כן and ירים.
6 In *Rel.-gesch.*(1) 385; but Smend now holds the people of Israel to be the 'king' referred to.
7 In support of this view we must not refer to the phrase 'of the servant of Yahwè' in the title, for לעבד יהוה, here, as in 36 1 (see § 25 [10]), is corrupt.

1 To assert with Cornill (*Einl.*(3) 107) that Ps. 18 was taken into the Psalter from 2 S. seems not very judicious.
2 See the instructive correspondence in the *Academy* for 1892.
3 *OPs.* 21-29.
4 Duhm (on Ps. 110) and Marti (*Jesaia*, 242) think otherwise.
5 Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 105.

the psalm be Abram?[1] On this, however, we lay far less emphasis than on the previous results. All that we can assert with confidence is that the psalm is not a royal one. If the text of *v.* 4*a* is correct, it predicts the perpetuity of a priesthood; if an appeal be made to 'Melchizedek,' we reply that even Duhm, who accepts *v.* 4*a*, is prevented by his critical conscience from accepting *v.* 4*b*, except after cancelling the interpolated (?) 'Melchizedek,' and that if he had listened to his linguistic conscience he must have questioned the prosaic and ambiguous על־דברתי. But though the original psalm is neither royal nor Maccabæan, we may plausibly conjecture that the text was edited and conjecturally restored in early Maccabæan times with reference to Simon.

ii. *Psalms* 20 *f.*—Pss. 20 and 21 may also conceivably have been edited and partly recast in Maccabæan times.

30. Secondly, Ps. 20 *f.*

We might thus account for the vehemence which deforms Ps. 21,[2] and which, unless our well-tested principles of textual criticism are altogether at fault, did not appear in the same intensity in the original psalm. Christian psalms, indeed, they are not; but the bitterness is not so excessive as has been imagined, and can be accounted for by the extreme provocation given to the Jews by the Edomites. The fifth quatrain of Ps. 21 and the first half of the sixth should probably run nearly as follows:—

Thou wilt put an end to the Rehobothites and the Ishmaelites;
Thy presence, O Yahwè! will annihilate them.
The Zarephathites thou wilt make to perish from the land,
And the Misrites from the face of the ground.
Yea, thou wilt put an end to the Aramites and the Cushites,
The Rehobothites thou wilt rebuke to their face.[3]

When Pss. 20 and 21 are looked at as wholes, it becomes plain that the speaker ought, in accordance with parallels elsewhere, to be the pious community, whose salvation in time of trouble brings joy to each and all of its members (20 6*a*), and who can permissibly be described both as a person and as a collection of persons (20 10*a* and *b*; 20 6 21 2).

The only objection is drawn from הַמֶּלֶךְ in 20 10 [9] and מֶלֶךְ in 21 2 [1], from מְשִׁיחוֹ in 20 7 [6], and perhaps from the עֲטֶרֶת פָּז in 21 4 [3]. But the ה in המלך is dittographed; מלך is a corruption of עמך (cp *y* and ל in the Palmyrene script), and משיחו as in 2 2 of חסידו (cp also, especially, 28 8 *f.*). As for the 'crown of choice gold,' it means no more than what is said in 8 6 [5], 'with glory and state didst thou crown him.'

iii. *Psalms* 61 and 63.—Pss. 61 and 63 are obscure only as long as we hesitate to criticise the MT. Ps. 61

31. Thirdly, Pss. 61 and 63.

is composite. Verse 1 [2] is a fragment of a psalm of exile, which is akin to Pss. 42-43; the rest of the psalm illustrates Pss. 2 21 83 110. It is enough to quote *vv.* 4-7 [5-8],—

For thou hast heard my wail,
Thou wilt grant Israel's request;
He will shatter Jerahmeel and Zarephath,
He will beat them down like Moab and Midian.
He will abide before Yahwè for ever,
Lovingkindness and faithfulness will preserve him.[4]

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[1] לארני is most unlikely. Since ד and ר are scarcely distinguishable, and ני and ם are constantly confounded, we may provisionally read לא[ב]רם, and continue מירחמאל [ב]שב[ו]. ליכיניעד may easily have arisen out of מירחמאל by metathesis and slight corruption.

[2] Duhm once more brings in Alexander Jannæus.

[3] We can only mention here that מותנור (*v.* 10) probably comes from רְחֹבוֹתִים, and אשלעת from יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים. באפו is an editorial insertion; פָּנֶיךָ goes with יְבַלְּעֵם (so point; cp Lam. 4 16). מושכם probably comes from אֲרָם וְכֻשִׁם; בכיתריך from רְחֹבוֹתִים; תכונן from תּוֹכִיחַ.

[4] On the emendations see Ps.(2). We can only mention here that יראי in *v.* 5*b* comes from ישראל, that the following word שמך should be a corruption of יְמַחֵץ, and that ימים and עלימי מלך are both corruptions of ירחמאל (dittographed), while תוסיף is one of the many corruptions of צרפת. מן in v. 8*b* probably comes from a dittographed מרין; the preceding line should run יִתְּצֵם כְּמוֹאָב וּכְמִדְיָן.

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Ps. 63 also refers to the hated enemy; but the intemperate language of *v.* 11 [12] is due to textual corruption. The leading idea is simply this—that pious Jews, at a distance from the sanctuary, and in peril of their lives, call upon Yahwè to restore to them their priceless spiritual privileges. At the close of the psalm the speaker expresses his confidence that Yahwè will annihilate Israel's dangerous foes, and that Israel will praise God for his goodness in the temple. Why should a king be referred to? Both Grätz and Toy (*JBL* 18 162) have noticed the problem; but the key was wanting. The clause in question comes after a description of the sufferings caused to the Jews by the N. Arabian populations, and the right reading almost certainly is יְרַחְמְאֵלִים יְמַחֵץ יהוה, 'The Jerahmeelites Yahwè will shatter.'[1]

iv. *Psalms* 89*b* and 132.—Pss. 89 (or rather, 89*b*[2]) and 132 have been thought to refer to the Jewish people

32. Fourthly, Pss. 89*b* and 132.

as Yahwè's anointed. This at least is plain—that the psalmist could not have written the words 'they insult the footsteps of thine anointed' (*v.* 51 [52]), meaning 'they insult thy people in its goings.' Nor is it easy to admit that after promising perpetuity to the family of David (132 11 *f.*) and joy to the pious members of the community of Zion (*v.* 16*b*), a psalmist could proceed to say that on Mt. Zion Yahwè would cause a horn to spring forth to David, and that he had prepared a lamp for his anointed. Thus there is only a slight parallelism between the two psalms—viz., their common reference to the perpetuity promised to the house of David. Ps. 89 records the deep despondency of the community at the apparent failure of the promises;[3] Ps. 132 is a dramatic representation of the culminating point in the traditional life of Solomon, with an underlying reference to the future Messianic king. In the latter psalm, 'mine anointed' (משיחי) needs no alteration; in the former, criticism proves convincingly that עקבות משיחך is a corruption of כְּלִמּוֹת חֲסִידֶיךָ ('the insults of thy loyal ones') ‖ to חֶרְפַּת עֲבָדֶיךָ ('the contumelies of thy servants').[4]

The most various opinions have been held as to the relation between 132 8-10 and 2 Ch. 6 41 *f.* The form in which the passage is given in the psalm is surely the more original (cp Ehrt, *Abfassungszeit*, etc., 66 *ff.*); but that does not prove that Ps. 132 is of later date than Chronicles. An interpolation in 2 Ch. from the psalm seems very probable.

v. *Psalms* 45 72 101.—Pss. 45, 72, and most prob-

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[1] The parallel line has fallen out.

[2] The composite character of Ps. 89 is plain from the difference both of metre and of subject in the two parts. Verses 1-18 [2-19] are mostly in tetrameters and describe the greatness of Yahwè and the happiness of his people; *vv.* 19-51 [20-52] are in trimeters and describe the promises to David and Israel and their failure. According to Baethgen, 89 18 [19] refers to the ideal king—the Messiah, who is visible only to the eyes of faith. This is most unnatural. Unless we are willing to suppose a ל of emphasis, we must read כי יהוה מגן לנו | וקדוש ישראל מלכנו, 'for Yahwè is a shield unto us, the Holy One of Israel is our king.'

[3] Sellin (*Serubbabel*, 194 *ff.*; *Studien*, 2 191 *ff.*) thinks of ZERUBBABEL [*q.v.*], the unsuccessful Messianic king (?). But the real or imaginary background of Ps. 89*b* is the Jerahmeelite oppression from 600 B.C. onwards.

[4] Verses 51 *f.* [50 *f.*] represent the same couplet in different forms (see *Ps.*(2)). Duhm thinks that עק׳ מש׳ may mean 'the footsteps of thy fugitive king,' alluding to the flight of Alexander Jannæus (88 B.C. ?); cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 14 1 *f.* As if any psalmist could have spoken thus of such a miserable king! Besides, in Ecclus. 47 2 there seems to be an allusion to Ps. 89 20 [19]: מורם (cp הֲרִימוֹתִי); and in Ecclus. 45 15*e* to Ps. 89 30 [29]: ולזרעו כימי שמים.

ably 101, however, are royal psalms; the king is the Messiah; every other view is encumbered with difficulties,[1] and the one difficulty specially attaching to the present theory which is enforced upon us by textual criticism, can be surmounted. The Messiah is described in all three psalms as a second Solomon. Of course it is the later legend of Solomon that is built upon.

33. Fifthly, Pss. 45, 72, and 101.

We see this especially in the poetic picture in Ps. 45. Admiring mention is made of the king's singular wisdom and eloquence (cp 1 K. 4 29-33 [5 9-13] 10 6 *f.* 23 *f.*), of his success in war (2 Ch. 8 3), and of his righteous rule (1 K. 3 16-28). Of all these divine gifts, the greatest is the king's inflexible justice (eulogised again in Pss. 72 and 101), of which his political influence, his extensive commerce, and his vast supply of gold (1 K. 10) are the reward. It is the crown of his felicity that he has a queen-consort, beautiful, and richly adorned, who is an Egyptian princess (see translation below, and cp 1 K. 3 1 11 1-3). Lastly, the king addressed has a prospect of a family of sons, whom (with an allusion to 1 K. 4) he may place over the provinces of Palestine.

In Ps. 72 the Solomonic element is much less striking. The king is called the 'king's son,' a phrase suggested by the coronation of Solomon during David's lifetime, and glowing expectations are formed of the justice of his rule. He is tender to the righteous poor but severe to the oppressor, and more especially severe to those Cushites, Jerahmeelites, and Edomites, who were the worst enemies of the Jews in the Babylonian and Persian periods. This contemporary reference is more prominent in Ps. 45 than in Pss. 72 and 101; but of its existence criticism hardly permits us to doubt.

Of these three psalms—the only strictly Messianic ones in the Psalter—brief specimens may be given. The reader will find that where the translation appears most novel, the text as it stands is singularly obscure. A near approximation to the truth is, of course, all that can be asked.

45 6 Upon those that hate thee, O thou hero! thine arrows will descend;
They will fall upon the men of Arabia and Jerahmeel.[2]
7b A sceptre of justice is the sceptre of thy kingdom,
8 Righteousness thou lovest, iniquity thou hatest;
Therefore peoples do homage unto thee,
[All kindreds of the nations serve thee].

*

11 Hearken, O Egyptian maiden,[3] lean thine ear;
Forget thine own people, and thine own father's house:
12 For the king longs deeply for thy beauty;
For he is thy lord [and Yahwè's Anointed]:
13 And unto thee will they bow down, O Egyptian maiden, with gifts,
The richest of [all] people will sue for thy favour.

*

72 5 He shall crush the folk of Cusham,
And destroy the race of Jerahmeel;[4]
6 He shall bring down Maacath and Amalek,
Those of Rehoboth and of Zarephath.

*

[1] As long as we adhere to the traditional text, it is difficult not to look out for a post-exilic king to whom Ps. 45 in particular may be applied, and Smend (*Rel.-gesch.*(2) 376, n. 2) still (1899) applies Pss. 45 and 72 to some Greek king. In (1) (1893) he thought of Ptolemy Philadelphus for Ps. 72. The fullest treatment of the claims of this Ptolemy to be the hero of Pss. 45 and 72 will be found in *OPs.* (1891), pp. 144-146, 156, 168-172, 183. The Messianic hypothesis, however, is adopted in *Jew. Rel. Life*, 106-108. Pratt (*JBL* 19 [1900] 189 *ff.*) finds a reference to the bridal relation between Yahwè and his people, and supposes a nucleus, consisting of a secular royal ode of smaller dimensions. Really, if we presuppose MT, we may form almost any theory. Budde, in his treatment of Ps. 101 (*Exp.T.* 8 202 *ff.*) shows a freer spirit. He thinks that the psalm was originally an utterance of Yahwè, and that it has been transformed to make it suitable for the community. No doubt some passages of the psalm might be applied to Yahwè. No doubt, too, if a historical king wrote the psalm, we might accuse him of self-consciousness. But the psalm is virtually a prophecy, and corresponds to Is 11 3-5.

[2] בלב איבי המלך (*v.* 6) should probably be בערבים וירחמאלים. Duhm's מִלֵּב for בְּלֵב is far too superficial to meet his object.

[3] For בת וראי (*v.* 11) and בת צר (*v.* 13) read בַּת מִצְרַיִם. The original tradition made Solomon's chief wife a Miṣrite; but the tradition was presumably already corrupted in the time of the Psalmist.

[4] וירכא עושק and ייראוך עם שמש are both corruptions of יַדְכָּא עַם כּוּשָׁם. שמשו also covers over ישמ״ד. לפני, as elsewhere, should be לבני. ירח דור דורים comes from ירחמאלים. For the other emendations see *Ps.*(2).

9 Before him those of Cush shall bend the knee,
The Arabians shall lick the dust;
10 The Ishmaelites shall bring gifts,
Those of Sheba shall offer gold.

101 Lovingkindness and justice will I seek, | Yahwè's righteousness will I practise.
To the cause of the orphan I will give heed, | to the suit of the widow.
In Jerahmeel I will destroy | all the wicked ones of the land,
That I may cut off from the land of Yahwè | all workers of wrong.[1]

We have now practically closed our consideration of the royal psalms, for on Pss. 28 and 84 it is enough to refer back to the remark (§ 29, i. *a*; 30, ii.) that משיחו, 'his anointed,' is several times in the Psalter miswritten for חסידו, 'his loyal (or pious) one.' There are no royal psalms in the sense supposed by most critics; there are three, and only three, psalms which are in the narrower sense Messianic, though in the broader sense a large proportion of the psalms deserve this distinctive epithet.

34. Result.

We can now return to the question raised in a former paragraph (§ 24, end), How are we to account for the addresses in certain psalms to an as yet non-existent king? Any interpreter approaching Pss. 45 72 101 for the first time would suppose them to refer to a contemporary king. Yet there are strong reasons for rejecting this view. The psalmists are not ordinary poets. They are all heroes of faith, and some of them, at any rate, hold strongly to the belief in the Messiah, and regard the two kings who were specially idealised by the popular imagination—David and Solomon—as types of the expected ideal king. They trusted God's promise, and prophesied the coming of the king by portraying him in the likeness of Solomon, as if he were already on earth. 'For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given.'

We will next take a brief survey of four important psalms, which have been traditionally held to contain references to the immortality of the individual. These psalms are two (David) Jedithun-psalms, viz. 16 and 17; one Korah-psalm, viz. 49; and one Asaph-psalm, viz. 73.

35. Psalms of immortality?

i. *Psalms* 16 and 17.—Both 16 and 17 express strong love for the temple, and a sense of security derived from Yahwè's presence in the sanctuary. Both also represent the speaker as exposed to danger from the N. Arabian enemies, *though the references are obscured in* our present corrupt text.

Ps. 17 reminds us strongly of Ps. 22*a*, in which the Jerahmeelite or Edomite oppressors are variously designated (see Che. *Ps.*(2)) as 'lions' and 'wild oxen with pointed horns,' 'traitors' (ברני, misinterpreted in *v.* 19 [18] as בְּגָדַי, 'my garments'), and of Ps. 18 (a part of the description of the terrifying 'snares' and 'floods' given in this psalm recurs in 17 10, restored text). Ps. 16, in its triumphant contempt for outward dangers, reminds us of Pss. 3 4 and 23.

The two psalms (16 *f.*) are connected by their parallel ending; and both are akin to the large group of psalms expressing love of the temple, and especially perhaps to Ps. 27 *a* and to the miscalled royal psalm, 61 (cp 61 8*a* with 16 11 17 15).

In Ps. 16 the speaker rejoices in the sure hope of deliverance. *In spite of his troubles, he continues to praise Yahwè, and his* one delight is to visit the sanctuary, where he renews that sense of the divine favour which keeps his inner being in perfect peace. He is confident that Yahwè will not suffer his 'loyal one' to perish. Does the psalmist mean himself? No; it is Israel who says that in heart, mind, and body it is jubilant. The glorious Messianic time (Messianic, in the wider sense) is at hand. When it comes, life will be life indeed. The way to this life is

[1] For אשירה, אזמרה read אֶשְׁמְרָה, אֲשַׁחֵר (*v.* 1). Also בְּיֵרַחְמְאֵל אַצְמִית (*v.* 2), and אַשְׂכִּיל בִּדְבַר יָתוֹם | בְּרִיב אַלְמָנָה (*v.* 8*a*), and מֵאֶרֶץ יהוה (*v.* 8*b*). Verse 8*a* does not resume what has gone before, but adds a fresh detail. The worst offenders against morality are in the land of Jerahmeel or Edom. Here, too, the Messianic king, who is the speaker, will put an end to the wicked. Thus, as the result of all this purification, Yahwè's land will have none but righteous people (Is. 60 21*a*).

known to Yahwè, who will show it to his people, and fill Israel with joys which are past imagining.

> 10 My soul thou wilt not yield to the nether world,
> Thy loyal one thou wilt not suffer to see the pit;
> 11 Thou wilt make known to me the path of life,
> Thou wilt satisfy me with joys in thy presence.[1]

The prayer for protection in Ps. 17 follows upon an earnest self-justification in *vv.* 2-5. The protection which the speaker craves is guaranteed by the presence of Yahwè in the sanctuary; while stands the temple, pious Israel will stand. Yes; here again there is nothing which according to a strictly critical exegesis points to an individual. It is Israel who, perceiving the imminent danger in which, humanly speaking, he stands, breaks out into a curse—a borrowed curse (see 11 7)—on the enemy. For himself, however, he expresses the sure confidence of Messianic felicity. Israel will behold Yahwè's face in unclouded brightness, and the temple will be richer in spiritual privileges than at present it can be.

> 15 As for me, by [thy] righteousness | I shall behold thy face;
> I shall be satisfied with thy loving-kindness | in thy habitation.

ii. *Psalm* 49.—Ps. 49 too, has nothing to do with the individual, according to a critical exegesis. It deals with a problem very familiar to Jewish sages—viz., the right attitude of the pious in view of the prosperity of the wicked.

The answer, Wellhausen supposes, is that 'death makes all equal, and strikes the man who has much to lose harder than him who has little.' The correctness of this may, however, be doubted, and even Wellhausen holds that *v.* 15 [16] supplements the negative consolation that death closes the happiness of the ungodly by the positive comfort that God may deliver the godly from sudden death ('Psalms,' *SBOT* 185). Duhm, however, is of opinion that the psalmist holds a doctrine of the immortality of the pious, which must, he thinks, have been connected with well-defined ideas as to the place to which a good man was 'taken' after death. (So also *OPs.* 382 406 *ff.*; cp Eschatology, § 31, col. 1346.) Obviously this interpretation has a bearing on the question of the date of the psalm; in fact, Duhm includes Ps. 49 (like Ps. 73) among his Pharisee psalms.

So much at least is undeniable, that for a certain class of persons, according to the psalmist, death has a penal character. But can we stop short here? Is it likely that the psalmist, who wrote not for a remote age but for his own generation, only referred vaguely to the persons punished by death as the rich and the wicked? Certainly not. We have to seek for underlying references to historical people, and if we seek these aright, we shall find them; for Jewish editors were not arbitrary forgers—they did but put the best interpretation they could on inaccurately transmitted passages, and they have left us the means of correcting their errors. The only passage in Ps. 49 which we can safely assign to the editor is *vv.* 3 and 4 [4 and 5]. The remainder is really an attack on the Jerahmeelites or Edomites, who would seem to have settled amongst the Jews, to have amassed great wealth, not always by legitimate means, and to have denied the moral government of God (10 4 11 13 14 1, etc.). The first stanza should probably run thus,—

> 1 Hear this, all ye Edomites,
> Attend, all ye Jerahmeelites,
> 2 Both traitors and deniers,
> The wicked and the impious together.

And the three most disputed verses (13-15 [14-16]) should probably run thus,—

> 13 This is the fate of those that deny God,
> The latter end of those that insult Israel.
> 14 For ever they will be prostrate in the pit,
> They will seek earnestly in the darkness for daybreak.
> *
> The pangs of death will affright them,
> The terrors of Shĕōl will take hold of them.
> 15 (But) surely my soul God will ransom,
> From the hand of Shĕōl he will take me.[1]

1 That the speaker looks for an endless *life* is certain (cp 21 5 [4] 61 8 [7]). But נצח (EV, 'for evermore') has passed out of the revised text. All the stanzas of Ps. 16 have four lines except (at first sight) the fifth. The four preceding lines all have a verb; the fifth has none. This is the more remarkable as the adverb [ל]נצח follows. The truth is that, for נעמות בימינך נצח we should read חסר במשכנותיך. This is also the true close of Ps. 17. By accident, it was copied into Ps. 16 from the column in which Ps 17 was written. See *Ps.* (2).

Stern and uncompromising is the refrain,—

> 12 20 Traitors will not come up from Shĕōl.
> The impious are destroyed in Deathland.

Thus the background of Ps. 49 is the same as that of so very many other psalms—the Jerahmeelite oppression; and the comfort proffered to Jewish sufferers is that there will soon be an end of the oppressors in Shĕōl.

iii. *Psalm* 73.—Ps. 73 has the same historical background as Ps. 49. The Edomites are settled in the land, and their prosperity, which violates the orthodox doctrine of retribution, tempts the Jews to apostasy. It is not very likely *a priori* that such a psalm would express, even as it were by a lightning-flash, the intuition of immortality.

As the traditional text stands, it is natural to suppose this, mainly on account of *vv.* 15-17, where the speaker apparently distinguishes himself from the 'generation' of Yahwè's 'sons'—*i.e.*, the pious community—and also refers to a visit which he paid, during his mental struggle, to the sanctuary of God. If the speaker in the psalm is an individual—as this passage appears to imply,—must we not suppose that in *vv.* 25 *f.* he expresses the assurance of the perpetual duration of his blissful communion with God? Verses 15-17, however, are not altogether correctly read, and the order of the lines has been disturbed. The psalm consists of fourteen quatrains; nos. 8 9 and 10 should be composed of *vv.* 16 and 21; *vv.* 15 and 22; and *vv.* 17 and 18. When we examine the text closely, we find that the 9th and 10th quatrains need emendation. The whole passage should probably run thus,—[2]

> 16 And when I sought to comprehend this,
> Too painful seemed it unto me;
> 21 For my heart was astonished,
> And in my reins I was horror-stricken.
> *
> 15 I myself rejected wisdom,
> Thy loving-kindness and faithfulness I denied;
> 22 I became a dullard, I was ignorant,
> I lacked discernment concerning thee;
> *
> 17 Until I gave heed to the judgments of God,
> And discerned the future of those men:
> 18 How (suddenly) calamities overtake them!
> Thou castest upon them gloom (of Deathland).

A section of the Jewish community (including, it would seem, many of the leading members) had, inwardly at any rate, 'denied God,' even if some of them did not actually join the 'assembly of the impious' mentioned in Ps. 50 (*v.* 18, emended text). Looking back upon this, they saw how foolish they had been, and recognised that they had missed the only possible explanation of the facts, viz. that when God's time (the Messianic judgment) has come, the wicked will be suddenly swept away like grass (cp 92 7 [8]). Pious Israel recovered its balance, and the joyous consciousness of the divine Companion returned to it. No inward temptation nor outward misfortune can cause him to stumble. He longs for Yahwè—the peerless God—to reveal himself by some mighty deed as Israel's eternal portion.[3] No more will he give way to doubt; the denial of Yahwè leads to ruin.

Our conclusion is that there are no immortality psalms

1 The emendations which, the present writer holds, are forced upon us are too many to be all given here (see *Ps.* (2)). A few, however, may be mentioned. In *l.* 1 read זה־דרך מכחשי יהוה; in *l.* 2, ואחרית מחרפי ישראל. The refrain is—

בֹּגְדִים מִשְּׁאוֹל לֹא יַעֲלוּן
נְבָלִים בְּמוֹת נִדְמוּ

2 In *ll.* 5, 6 read—

אֲנִי מָאַסְתִּי חָכְמָה
חַסְדְּךָ וַאֲמִתְּךָ כִּחַדְתִּי

In *l.* 8 read, with Grätz, תְּבוּנוֹת חָסַרְתִּי עִמָּךְ. In *l.* 9, עַד־אַשְׂכִּיל אֶל־מִשְׁפְּטֵי אֵל; in *l.* 10, עֲלֵיהֶם הִפַּלְתָּ צַלְמוּת.

3 Verse 26 has received some accretions. It should probably run thus,

> My flesh and my heart pine for him;
> Yahwè is my Rock and my Portion for ever.

for the individual, only for the community, and that

36. Result. Ps. 73 is not only a psalm of faith in immortality, but also a psalm of doubt of God's fundamental attributes—a doubt from which the community emerged with a full spiritual assurance based on the more deeply realised doctrine of the imminent Messianic judgment. As a psalm of doubt, Ps. 73 has its parallels in Pss. 39*a*, 94*a*, and 116; but we must not here enter on the consideration of these much misunderstood poems. We may, however, state the conclusion, forced upon us by our new textual criticism, that the view of Rudinger, Olshausen, Hitzig, Frankel (*Einfluss der Palästin. Exegese auf die Alexandrin. Hermeneutik*, 1851, p. 233), that at any rate Ps. 73 indicates contact with Hellenism, is incorrect. The problem before the psalmist in this and in the parallel psalms is the prosperity of the wicked rich who had flocked into Palestine from the neighbouring regions, and who ground down the poor and faithful Jews.

From what has been said, it will be plain that a historical sketch of the different phases of thought in

37. Ideas of Psalter varied. the Psalter would be extremely difficult to make. The religious ideas of the Psalter[1] are no less varied than those of the community, nor could we be so rash as to attempt to describe them at the close of a critical article. From what has been said already (see § 2) it must be plain that we have in the Psalter no merely local product. The Psalter is, at least in theory, catholic and œcumenical; meant for synagogues as well as for the temple; for the whole empire of Yahwè as well as for the central Judæan province. That its ideas should be all equally noble, was not to be expected. It is probable, however, that the nett gains from a more thorough criticism of the text of the psalms would be much in excess of the losses, and that the average religious standard of the psalmists would prove to be as much above that which it is commonly supposed to be as the character of their Hebrew style. The imprecatory psalms, in particular, would be seen to be less shocking throughout than they appear to be in the traditional text (see Che. *The Christian Use of the Psalms*, 1899). This, if correct, is of no slight importance, for it is a heavy drawback to the religion of the psalmists that fervent love of God should be accompanied with such intemperate expressions of hostility to 'the wicked.' While these psalms stand in their present form, it is difficult indeed to respect the Psalter as much as we should like, and we can hardly wonder that such a candid writer as Duhm should express such strong repugnance to much that it contains. Only upon the basis of a thoroughly revised text can we, properly speaking, maintain that the Psalter is a record of the religious consciousness of the Jewish Church.[2]

The definition here given of the Psalter is in harmony with the result of the controversy as to the 'I'-psalms (see § 6). It is still more obviously in accordance with the fact that most of the psalms in books iv. and v. are congregational utterances. 'One might illustrate the combination of "I"- and "We"-psalms by parallels from the Greek choruses. But the phenomena of books iv. and v. are perhaps best explained thus. The instinctive personification of the church-people in the "I"-psalms was a survival—an inheritance from antiquity. It was natural that later religious poets should begin to look upon their nation in a more modern light as an organisation of individualities. They did not indeed go so far as those modern hymnists who have half-filled the popular hymnals with lyrics of a strongly personal tone. Rarely do the Hebrew psalmists disclose their personality. They had indeed their private joys and sorrows; but they did not make these the theme of song. The individual consciousness was not sufficiently developed for this. . . . But the later "We"-psalms, though not less national than the others, indicate a perception that, as Kingsley has said, "communities are for the divine sake of individual life, for the sake of the love and truth that is in each heart, and is not cumulative—cannot be in two as one result"' (*OPs.* 265 *f.*).

It must, however, be remembered that not only do books iv. and v. contain 'I'-psalms, but a later uncanonical Psalter (that 'of Solomon'; §§ 41 *f.*) has a number of psalms of the personified community. Individualism needed for its development a new and unique impulse; not yet could the floods of personal feeling and emotion break through the dams, and transform the whole aspect of poetry.

With regard to the chronology of the Psalms, it is not much that we can say, taking our stand on a

38. Chronology of Psalms. carefully revised text. It is, however, reasonable to hold that the groups or collections of psalms—Pss. 90-106 Pss. 107-129 Pss. 135-145, and Pss. 146-150—in which the psalms only occasionally bear titles, contain many works of the Greek period. Among the possible or probable representatives of an earlier age are Ps. 90 at any rate, for the first part of this psalm (90*a*) can hardly be separated from Ps. 89*b*, both being, from the same causes, in the same despondent tone and both (as criticism shows) Ezrahite psalms; also Ps. 94, which interrupts the 'new song' of praise, and goes with the kindred 73rd psalm; also 137, as one of the chief of the anti-Edomite psalms, and the group called שיר המעלות, or rather לשלמה, 'of Salmah,' but best known to English readers as 'Songs of degrees,' which may have been originally enclosed by Hallelujah groups (*i.e.*, before 119 was inserted). Pss. 113-118, called the 'Egyptian Hallēl,' a group which seems filled by the hope of a new and great event comparable to the Exodus (cp Is. 10_{24} $_{26}$)—such a hope as the conquests of Alexander may well have fanned into a flame—and Ps. 146-150, cleverly called by Nachman Krochmal 'the Greek Hallēl,' must surely be allotted to the Greek age. Not, however, to the Maccabæan age. As we have seen, even 149 *b* has its parallels in psalms which we have no reason for bringing down to the time of the Maccabees. We must be careful not to exclude, on grounds of principle, from the psalms of the Greek age all those which have a real or assumed Jerahmeelite or Edomite background. It was of course not till the time of John Hyrcanus that the so-called Idumæa became a Jewish province, and we could well understand that even at a later time 'Edomite' might still be a synonym for 'oppressor.' Beyond this, it is not safe to go. The text binds us—not indeed the Massoretic or the Septuagint text, but that which underlies the tradition, and which can to a considerable extent be recovered by methodical investigation. We cannot, therefore, say with Duhm that Pss. 74 79 83 and 110, being clearly (he thinks) Maccabæan, supply fixed points for the chronology of the Psalter, and the other psalms which this critic regards as revealing their date hardly less distinctly than these—*e.g.*, the so-called royal psalms, which he places in the first rank of evidence for the time of Alexander Jannæus—are, for us, equally devoid of clear references to contemporary history.

Nor can we attach any importance to the widely held theory that Pss. 96 $105_{1\text{-}15}$, and 106_{1} $_{47}$ $_{48}$, and also $132_{8\text{-}10}$, must have been known to the Chronicler[1]—a theory which, as generally expressed (see *e.g.*, Strack, *Einl.*(4) 119), involves holding that the so-called fourth Book of the Psalms was already in existence in the Chronicler's time. This last thesis is not in itself probable. The division between books iv. and v. is not natural, and was probably not made till the final redaction of the Psalter, which cannot plausibly be said to have occurred till after the Chronicler's time. It is also less probable that the dividing doxology in Ps. 106_{48} originally contained the words וְאָמַר כָּל־הָעָם אָמֵן, 'and let all the people say, Amen,' than that these words were taken, with one slight and necessary altera-

1 For the religious ideas of the Psalter, according to the newer criticism, see *OPs.* (1891), pp. 258-452; Smend, *Rel.-gesch.*(1), 1893; (2), 1899.

2 The word 'church' is used in the wider sense, as by Dean Stanley in the phrase 'the Jewish church.' 'Community' is less familiar to us than the corresponding word *Gemeinde* is to Germans; it is also somewhat too narrow a word for use in all connections.

1 Cp Ehrt's comparison of the texts, *Abfassungszeit*, 43 *ff.*

tion, from 1 Ch. 16 36, where we read, at the close of the strange composite psalm, וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל־הָעָם אָמֵן, 'and all the people said, Amen.' This at least is Wellhausen's view (Bleek's *Einl.*(4) 506, n. 1), which, however, seems to need supplementing. It is probable (1) that the whole of the close of Ps. 106—viz., *vv.* 47 *f.*—is borrowed from 1 Ch. 16 35 *f.*[1] (beginning וְאִמְרוּ הוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ and ending, וְהַלֵּל ליהוה [rather הַלְלוּ־יָהּ]), and (2) that both the close (*vv.* 1-5) and the opening of Ps. 106 are accretions on the main body of Ps. 106, which had been handed down in an incomplete form, and needed some such additions to make it usable. As a consequence, we cannot commit ourselves to the view that 1 Ch. 16 34 is borrowed from 106 1 (which may well be later than the Chronicler). The formula was a conventional one, and occurs in 107 1 118 1 136 1. Nor can we venture to assert positively that it was the Chronicler who copied 96 105 1-15 (see 1 Ch. 16 8-33) and 132 8-10 (see 2 Ch. 6 41 *f.*). The books of Chronicles, like other books, passed under the hands of redactors, and it is very possible that the insertions from the Psalter referred to were made by one of these.[2] We cannot, therefore, safely use the argument which is often based on these insertions to determine the date of at least a few psalms.

That there are no pre-exilic psalms, nor ascertainable fragments of such psalms, is for us at least quite certain. And though there is the abstract possibility that psalms were written in the lands of exile before the arrival of Ezra and his band at Jerusalem, the uniformity of the historical background of the psalms of book i. does not favour the hypothesis. In spite of Duhm, whose chronology of the psalms is opposed (1) to a thorough textual criticism, and (2) to the literary phenomena of the fragments of the Hebrew Sirach, we must hold that at any rate books i.-iii. belong most probably (with the exceptions of the anonymous psalms 1 2 and 33, unless 𝔊 rightly prefixes to 33 τῷ Δαυειδ) to the Persian period, or to the Persian and the very beginning of the Greek period.

It would no doubt be helpful to make out the extent of the indebtedness of the Psalter to Is. 40-66, of Jeremiah, and to Job. Owing, however, (1) to the doubt which in an especial degree hangs round the text of the Psalter and of Job, and (2) to the composite origin of all the three books mentioned, we cannot here lay much stress upon this. In a complete Introduction to the Book of Psalms a phraseological comparison of the Psalter with these books would have to be instituted; but a critical revision of the text of all four books would of course be presupposed. That there is a small element of truth in Hitzig's theory of Jeremianic psalms can hardly be doubted,[3] and even in book i. of the Psalms it is impossible not to recognise some clear points of contact with the Colloquies of Job. It is also beyond question that Pss. 93 and 96-100 are even strikingly parallel to Is. 40-66,[4] and the amount of real parallelism between psalms even in books i.-ii. and the Colloquies of Job is not inconsiderable (cp Barth, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des B. Hiob*, 1876). It would also be important in the Introduction here suggested to sift the comparisons of passages in the Psalter and in the Hebrew text (so far as known) of Ben Sira given by Schechter (*Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 13-25). There seem

39. Phraseological argument.

[1] This passage consists of a current liturgical prayer, and a liturgical benediction and doxology (similar to those placed by editors at the end of books i. ii. and iii.).

[2] Similarly Reuss, Stade, and Duhm (cp § 4, n. 3).

[3] Campe (*Das Verhältniss*, etc., 19 24 27 31 33 35) decides that Jer. 17 8 10 24 20 10 23 12 10 25 13 are the originals of Ps. 1 3 6 2 [1] 31 14 [13] 35 6 79 6 *f.* 135 7. König (*Einl.* 397) pronounces this insecure; but he has perhaps not a good eye for phraseological points of contact. Campe certainly errs on the side of moderation. Ps. 79 6 *f.*, however, is an interpolation. [Cp 𝔊's insertion of Jer. 9 23 *f.* (22 *f.*) in 1 K. 2 10.]

[4] Similarly Driver, *Intr.*(6) 383; cp Ehrt, *Abfassungszeit* (1869), 53-55; Grätz, *MGWJ* 30 (1881) 1 *ff.*; and Delitzsch's commentary.

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to be several reminiscences of Ps. 147 in Ben Sira, which is a point of some critical interest. So much, as Nöldeke remarks, is clear—that Ben Sira lived at the time and in the circles in which a great part of the later psalms were written.

The linguistic argument, to which we have referred already (§ 9), has been treated with moderation by König. He computes the number of occurrences of אנכי and אני respectively, of the relative שׁ (only towards the end of the Psalter), and of רַבַּת 'much,' 'often' (also chiefly at end of Psalter), and the designation of 'myriad' by רְבָבָה (3 7 [6] [?], 91 7) and רִבּוֹ (68 18 [17] [?]). J. P. Peters' attempt to account for linguistic peculiarities in the שיר ה[מעלות by the influence of Babylonian environment, assumes, rather too confidently, the accuracy of MT. It is in fact the state of the text of the Psalter that makes it peculiarly difficult to form conclusions which can command general assent. The present writer's inference from a revised text of the Psalms is much in their favour. If the text of the Hebrew fragments of Ben Sira can be trusted, he would be unwilling to bring many of the psalms very near the generally accepted date of Ben Sira's Wisdom. Unfortunately, the correctness of many parts of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira, in its present form, is liable to the greatest doubt, and the present writer would probably go even beyond Nöldeke (*ZATW* 20 [1900] 84 *ff.*) in the extent to which he traces unbiblical words, idioms, and constructions to deep-seated corruption of the text.

40. Linguistic argument.

A singular argument is used by Duhm to confirm the late date which he assigns to a group within the group of what he calls Pharisee Psalms (viz., 9-10 14 56 57*a* 58 *f.*, 64 82 92 94 140, probably also 5 26 54 141). These psalms, he says (*Psalmen*, 'Einl.' 22), which are probably directed against Alexander Jannæus and his adherents, have a striking resemblance to most of the 'Psalms of Solomon.' Elsewhere he expresses surprise that the critics have not recognised how near chronologically the Davidic Psalter is to the Solomonic. Frankenberg too[1] has arrived at a somewhat similar result; only he assigns the Psalms of Solomon, together with a (large?) group of canonical psalms, to the period of the Syrian persecution. The existence of points of contact may be granted; but, as is shown elsewhere (see ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 64, 66), the eschatology of the Psalter of Solomon differs from that of the canonical psalms.[2] To this we must add that, in our judgment, Kosters is right[3] (against Frankenberg) in denying that there is any distinct reference in the Psalter of Solomon to contemporary history. The psalms appealed to by Frankenberg as proving a Maccabæan date and by Wellhausen[4] (cp MESSIAH, § 6) as proving a reference to the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C., really refer, according to Kosters, to the catastrophe of 586 B.C.

41. Psalter of Solomon.

On this subject the present writer strongly holds with Kosters. He thinks that the references to the capture of Jerusalem may be used in illustration of Pss. 74 and 79, and even thinks it possible that the writer (?) of these psalms continues the tradition of the Jerahmeelite captivity.[5] For want of the Hebrew text we cannot

42. Their background and name.

[1] *Die Datirung der Psalmen Salomos* (1896).

[2] So too Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, Introd. xxxvii *f.*

[3] *De historische achtergrond van de Psalmen van Salomo* (Verslagen der Koninglijke Akad. van Wetenschappen, 42), 1898.

[4] *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer* (Beilage), 1874.

[5] In Ps. Sol. 2 26 [30], where the death of the 'dragon' is related, ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων Αἰγύπτου may represent עַל־הָרֵי מִצְרִים 'on the mountains of Miṣrim,' and ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης עַל־אֶרֶץ יְרַחְמְאֵל 'on the land of Jerahmeel.' So too in *v.* 29 [33] ἐγὼ κύριος γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης may be based on a faulty text, which should have run, אני אֲדוֹן ארץ ירחמאל, and in 17 15 [17] ἐν μέσῳ ἐθνῶν συμμίκτων may be a misinterpretation of בְּתוֹךְ עַמֵּי עֲרָב 'amidst the peoples of Arabia.'

finally prove the latter point; but our experience with the canonical psalms justifies us in regarding it as at least not improbable. Highly imitative the Psalms of Solomon certainly are, and among the signs of this imitativeness we may probably reckon the heading of each of the psalms *ψαλμὸς τῷ σαλωμων*—*i.e.*, מזמור לשלמה—which, consistently with our explanation of מזמור and of שיר המעלות לשלמה (Ps. 127), we may explain 'Marked: of [the sons of] Salmah' (see § 21). In other words, though the old clan-names of the temple-singers had gone out of use, the collector of these Pharisee Psalms (as Ryle and James fitly call them) adopted one of these names as a prefix to the collection and to the psalms within it. Cornill's remark (*Einl.* 295), 'How they came to the designation "Psalms of Solomon" is quite inexplicable,' is, we may venture to hope, too despondent.

Thus the Psalms of David, the Lamentations, and possibly the Psalms of Solomon agree in their assumed historical background, though the want of originality in the text of the third of these collections forbids us to speak as enthusiastically of it as of the two former books.

43. Imitative psalms.

It is true, the Lamentations as well as many of the canonical psalms are imitative; so too the psalms assigned by redactors to Hannah and Jonah respectively (1 S. 2 1-10 Jon. 2 2-9) are imitative, nor is there much originality in the psalms assigned to Hezekiah (Is. 38 10-20) and Habakkuk (Hab. 3; see HABAKKUK, § 9). But amidst these imitative compositions there are at least some, which, if not absolutely original, nevertheless shine out by a true lyric beauty.

No doubt many psalms not only of pre-exilic but also of post-exilic date have been lost. We could wish that gleanings had reached us, as in the case of the proverbs.

44. Psalm-composition.

At any rate, we have late specimens of psalm-composition in the Wisdom of Ben Sira (Ecclus. 36 1-17 50 22-24 51 1-12 51 12 (1) 51 13-29; see Hebrew text), in the Greek Daniel, in Judith and Tobit, in the Assumption of Moses (10 1-10; see Charles), and even in the NT (see HYMNS). Indeed, since prophetic inspiration still appears to have existed in NT times, we can hardly wonder that psalms as well as prophecies are mentioned as characteristic of early Christianity (cp 1 Cor. 14 26). Long indeed is the history of the development of the psalm from the rude cries of the primitive Arabian worshipper on a visit to the sanctuary (see Wellh. *Heid.*(1) 107, (2) 110; WRS, *RS*(2) 340, n. 2) to the carefully elaborated songs of the temple and perhaps too of the synagogue service.

In conclusion we give, conjecturally but not without good grounds, restorations of the historical references in the original titles of some of the canonical psalms.

45. Historical reff. in psalm-titles.

It will be remembered that again and again, in articles dealing with OT narratives and prophecies it has been maintained that these have been altered from earlier narratives and prophecies, partly misread, partly misinterpreted, so that they present historical and geographical statements widely differing from those originally conveyed. These transformed passages are analogous to the transformed psalm-titles. If by taking this course we help to rehabilitate the authors or supplementers of the titles, this can hardly be reckoned to our discredit. Such hard words have been used by critics (cp § 11) respecting the unintelligence and incapacity for clear thinking of the unfortunate editors of the psalms that a plausible critical defence of them may appeal to those who can put aside prejudice, and look at facts with a single eye. We omit the portions of the titles relative to the collections to which the psalms severally belong (on which see § 25 *f.*), and refer for details to *Ps.*(2)

Ps. 3. At the approach of the sons of Arabia and the sons of Ishmael.
Ps. 7. With reference to the Arabians, the Cushites, the Jerahmeelites.
Ps. 18. The words of Israel in the day that Yahwè delivers him from the hand of all the Arabians and from Ishmael.
Ps. 30. A Sabbath (?) supplication.[1]
Ps. 34. When the hosts of those of Jerahmeel and of Geshur fled.[2]
Ps. 51. For the Sabbath (?).
Ps. 52. Against the house of Jerahmeel.
Ps. 54. [Concerning] the Zarephathites.
Ps. 56. At beholding (?) the Zarephathites.
Ps. 57. When the sons of Ishmael and the Arabians drew near.
Ps. 59. Concerning the Ishmaelites and the house of Jerahmeel.
Ps. 60. At the oppression (of Israel) by Aram-jerahmeel and Aram-missur.
Ps. 63. At the goings-up to the house of Yahwè.
Ps. 142. When . . . among the Arabians.[3]
Ps. 143. When the sons of Jerahmeel pursued. (Based on 𝔊.)
Ps. 144. Concerning the captivity. (Based on 𝔊.)

If the truth has not always been reached, the theory that Jerahmeelite oppression is the real or assumed background of very many of the psalms has been confirmed. Neither the authors nor the editors of the psalms and the psalm-titles deserved the disparaging epithets often of late years applied to them.

The study of the psalm-titles in the versions stands aside from our present subject. It need only be said that if the explanations of לדוד and לשלמה given in § 26 are correct, the ascription of certain psalms in 𝔊 to Jeremiah, or to Haggai and Zechariah, would seem to be discredited, as belonging to a time when לְדָוִד and לִשְׁלֹמֹה (explained as giving authors' names) were already found in the titles.

46. Psalm-titles in versions.

See Staerk, 'Zur Kritik der Psalmenüberschriften,' *ZATW* 12 [1892] 91-161; B. Jacob, *ZATW* 16 [1896] 155-166; Baethgen, *Untersuch. über die Psalmen nach der Peschita*, Kiel, 1878 (unfinished); *JPT*, 1882, pp. 405 *ff.* 493 *ff.*; 'Der Psalmencommentar des Theodor von Mopsuestia in syrischer Bearbeitung,' *ZATW* 5 [1885] 53-101; 'Siebenzehn makkabäische Psalmen nach Theod. von Mops.', *ib.* 6 [1886] 261-288 7 [1887] 1-60. Baethgen's communications from the Syriac recast of Theodore's exegesis are very interesting. It is to Theodore that Theodoret alludes in the words, τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τῶν ψαλμῶν τινες ἀπεκάλεσεν (*Præf. ad Psalmos*). He does not, however, reject the Davidic origin of the psalms, but only the reference of certain psalms to events in the life of David. David often spoke, Theodore believes, prophetically, and assumed the character of men yet unborn. This will not satisfy the Bishop of Cyrus: τολμηρὸν οἶμαι καὶ λίαν θρασὺ ψευδεῖς ταύτας προσαγορεύειν. The influence of Theodore, through the book called *Exegesis*, on early English theology has been well shown by Prof. J. D. Bruce of Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania (see 'Literature').

Poetical form, obviously, cannot be treated in a small compass. The subject is of great importance.

47. Poetical form.

As Briggs well says,[4] the study of the measurement of the line, and the strophical arrangement of the psalms, combined with the study of their grouping, throws fresh light upon the Psalter. The most necessary preliminary information is given under POETICAL LITERATURE, §§ 8, 9, where, too, the appended bibliography gives adequate references to the current literature. A metrical arrangement of the psalms ought to go on *pari passu* with textual revision. Unfortunately a thorough textual criticism is still a desideratum, though a thankworthy beginning has been made by Grätz, Lagarde, Duhm, and others. Whether SELAH [*q.v.*] has any relation to the divisions of psalms, is still a moot point. Refrains are clearly marked in Pss. 42-43 46 49; less certainly in Ps. 107 (*v.* 6 destroys the

[1] חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת (what does this mean?) should probably be תְּחִנַּת הַשַּׁבָּת.

[2] It has actually been thought that the historical assignment of this psalm in the present title was suggested by the occurrence of טַעַם in *v.* 9 [8], and that the scribe or editor substituted 'Abimelech' for 'Achish' by a slip. Delitzsch and Kirkpatrick, however, find it hard to suppose such a slip of memory. In reality אבימלך comes from ירחמאל.

[3] It has been strangely supposed (Hupfeld, Duhm) that the title in MT and 𝔊 was suggested by מַסְגֵּר, 'confinement,' in *v.* 8 [7].

[4] *Presbyterian Review*, Oct. 1888, p. 661.

connection). Various forms of alphabetic structure appear in seven psalms (9-10 25 34 37 111 119 145).

Originally no doubt Ps. 9-10 was a perfect alphabetic poem. A later editor, however, broke it into two parts which became independent psalms through the insertion of what now forms 9 20 [19] *f.* The only fairly connected portion of the original psalm which we can with probability indicate, is *vv.* 1-12 [2-13]. In Ps. 25 34 145 (cp Prov. 31 Lam. 4), each letter begins a couplet; but in psalms 25 and 34 the ו couplet is wanting, and there is a supernumerary פ couplet. In Ps. 37, each letter begins a stanza of four lines, and in Ps. 119 each line a stanza of eight lines. For parallel compositions, see ECCLESIASTICUS (§ 16); LAMENTATIONS (§ 1); NAHUM (§ 6). We have no means of ascertaining whether this artificial form of poetry was used in pre-exilic times. The supposed acrostic in Ps. 110 is precarious (see § 14 *a*). Cp König, *Einl.* 399, n. 1; Driver, *Introd.*(6) 367 *f.* T. K. C.

48. Ancient versions.[1] i. The oldest version, the LXX, follows a text generally closely corresponding to the Massoretic Hebrew, the main variations being in the titles and in the addition (lacking in some MSS) of an apocryphal psalm ascribed to David when he fought with Goliath. Pss. 9 and 10 are rightly taken as one psalm, but conversely Ps. 147 is divided into two.

The LXX text has many 'daughters,' of which may be noticed (*a*) the Memphitic (ed. Lagarde, 1875), see also iv. below; (*b*) the old Latin, which as revised by Jerome in 383 after the current Greek text forms the *Psalterium Romanum*, long read in the Roman Church and still used in St. Peter's; (*c*) various Arabic versions, including that printed in the polyglots of Le Jay and Walton, and two others of the four exhibited together in Lagarde's *Psalterium, Iob, Proverbia, Arabice*, 1876; on the relations and history of these versions, see G. Hoffmann, in *Jenaer Literaturz.*, 1876, art. 539; the fourth of Lagarde's versions is from the Peshitta. The Hexaplar text of the LXX, as reduced by Origen into greater conformity with the Hebrew by the aid of subsequent Greek versions,[2] was further the mother of (*d*) the *Psalterium Gallicanum*,—that is, Jerome's second revision of the Psalter (385) by the aid of the Hexaplar text; this edition became current in Gaul and ultimately was taken into the Vulgate of (*e*) the Syro-Hexaplar version (published by Bugati, 1820, and in facsimile from the famous Ambrosian MS by Ceriani, Milan, 1874).

ii. The Christian Aramaic version or Peshittā is largely influenced by 𝔊; compare Baethgen, *Untersuchungen* (see § 25). This version has peculiar psalm-titles taken from Eusebius and Theodore of Mopsuestia (see Nestle, in *TLZ*, 1876, p. 283).

iii. The Jewish Aramaic version or Targum is probably a late work. The most convenient edition is in Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, 1873.

iv. The best of all the old versions is that made by Jerome after the Hebrew in 405. It did not, however, obtain ecclesiastical currency—the old versions holding their ground, just as Anglicans still read the psalms in the version of the "Great Bible" printed in the Prayer Book. Jerome's (important) version was first published in a good text by Lagarde, *Psalterium iuxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, Leipsic, 1874.

[Baethgen's articles, 'Der textkrit. Wert der alten Ueberss. z. d. Ps.' in *JPT*, 1882, should by all means be consulted. On E. W. Budge, *The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter* (1898), see Brightman, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 2 275 *f.* See, further, 'Bibliography,' ii. (§ 49), and TEXT AND VERSIONS.]

49. Bibliography. i. *Exegetical Works.*—While some works of patristic writers are still of value for text criticism and for the history of early exegetical tradition, the treatment of the Psalms by ancient and mediæval Christian writers is as a whole such as to throw light on the ideas of the commentators and their times rather than on the sense of a text which most of them knew only through translations. For the Psalms, as for the other books of the OT, the scholars of the period of the revival of Hebrew studies about the time of the Reformation were mainly dependent on the ancient versions and on the Jewish scholars of the Middle Ages. In the latter class Ḳimḥi stands pre-eminent; to the editions of his commentary on the Psalms must now be added the admirable edition of Dr. Schiller-Szinessy (Cambridge, 1883), containing unfortunately only the first book of his longer commentary. Among the works of older Christian scholars since the revival of letters, the commentary of Calvin (1557)—full of religious insight and sound thought—and the laborious work of M. Geier (1668, 1681 *et sæpius*) may still be consulted with advantage; but for most purposes Rosenmüller's *Scholia in Pss.* ((2), 1821-22) supersedes the necessity of frequent reference to the predecessors of that industrious compiler.

Of more recent works the freshest and most indispensable are Ewald's in the first two half-volumes of his *Dichter des alten Bundes* ((2), Göttingen, 1866; ET 1880), and Olshausen's (1853). To these may be added (excluding general commentaries on the OT) the two acute but wayward commentaries of Hitzig (1836, 1863-65), that of Delitzsch (1859-60, then in shorter form in several editions since 1867 [(4)]; ET, by Eaton, from 4th Germ. ed., 1887-89) and that of Hupfeld ((2), by Riehm, 1867, 2 vols.; (3), by Nowack, 1888). The last-named work, though lacking in original power and clearness of judgment, is extremely convenient and useful, and has had an influence perhaps disproportionate to its real exegetical merits.

ii. The question of the text was first properly raised by Olshausen, and has since received special attention from v. Ortenberg (*Zur Textkritik der Psalmen*, 1861), Lagarde (*Proph. Chald.*, 1872, and *Psalterium Hieronymi*, 164 *f.*); Bruston (*Du Texte primitif des Psaumes*, 1873); Dyserinck, in the 'scholia' to his Dutch translation of the Psalms, *Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1878, pp. 279 *ff.*; [H. Grätz, 1882-83], and Bickell (*Carmina VT metrice*, etc., Innsbruck, 1882), whose critical services are not to be judged merely by the measure of assent which his metrical theories may command [cp POETICAL LITERATURE, end]. In English we have among others, the useful work of Perowne ((7), 1890), that of Lowe and Jennings ((2), 1884-5), and the valuable translation of Cheyne (1884, and with comm., 1888).

The mass of literature on the Psalms is so enormous that no full list even of recent commentaries can be here attempted, much less an enumeration of treatises on individual psalms and special critical questions. For the latter Kuenen's *Onderzoek*, vol. 3, is, up to its date (1865), the most complete, and the new edition now in preparation will doubtless prove the standard work of reference. [The new edition was interrupted by the author's lamented death; Part 3 (1), edited by Matthes, closes with Proverbs, but does not include Psalms.] As regards the dates and historical interpretation of the psalms, all older discussions, even those of Ewald, are in great measure antiquated by recent progress in Pentateuch criticism and the history of the canon, and an entirely fresh treatment of the Psalter by a sober critical commentator is urgently needed. W. R. S.

iii. *Translations with or without notes;* Ch. Bruston, 1865; W. Kay, (2), 1874; E. Reuss, 1875 (French), 1893 (German); Dyserinck, 1877 (Dutch); De Witt, 1894 (New York), and (new translation) 1891; E. Kautzsch, 1893; G. Bickell, *Die Dichtungen der Hebräer* (3, der Psalter), 1883, from a revised and metrically arranged text. [Fr. W. Schultz, in *KGK*, 1888; edited by H. Kessler, 1899; Fr. Baethgen, 1892; (2), 1897; Kirkpatrick (in Cambr. Bible), vol. i., 1891; vol. ii., 1895; vol. iii., 1901; B. Duhm, 1899. S. Minocchi (Italian), 1895; E. G. King, pt. i., 1898; J. Wellhausen, ET by Furness, J. Taylor, and Paterson, in *SBOT*, 1898; S. R. Driver, *The Parallel Psalter, being the Prayerbook Version of the Psalms and a New Version . . . with an Introduction and Glossaries* (1898).

iv. *Articles and monographs.*—(See the introductions of Driver, König, Cornill, Baudissin, and the OT Theologies of Schultz, Smend, etc.) Delitzsch, *Symbolae ad psalmos illustrandos isagogicae* (1846); Ehrt, *Abfassungszeit u. Abschluss des Psalters zur Prüfung der Frage nach Makkabäerpsalmen*, 1869; J. Mühlmann, *Zur Frage der makkab. Psalmen*, 1891; H. Graetz, 'Die Tempelpsalmen,' *MGWJ* 27 [1878] 217 *ff.*; Büchler, 'Zur Gesch. der Tempelmusik u. der Tempelpsalmen,' *ZATW* 19 [1899] 96 *ff.*; Lagarde, *Orientalia*, 2 [1880] 13-27; Baethgen's articles on the old versions, *JPT* for 1882, and on Theodore of Mopsuestia, *ZATW* for 1885, 1886, 1887 (see §§ 46, 48); F. Giesebrecht, 'Ueber die Abfassungszeit der Psalters,' *ZATW* 1 [1881] 276-332 (see col. 3928, n. 2); M. Kopfstein, *Die Asaphpsalmen untersucht* (1881); John Forbes, *Studies in the Book of Psalms*, 1888; Kessler, *Die asaphitische Psalmengruppe untersucht*, 1889 (as to Maccabæan pss.); T. K. Abbott, 'The alphabetical arrangement of Pss. 9 and 10,' etc., *Hermathena*, 1889; 'Critical notes,' *ibid.*, 1891, pp. 65 *ff.* (see 12 6 40 8 59 10 *f.*, etc.); C. G. Montefiore, 'The Mystic Passages in the Psalms,' *JQR*, Jan. 1889, pp. 143 *ff.*; R. Smend, 'Ueb. das Ich der Psalmen,' *ZATW* 8 [1888] 49-147; G. Beer, F. Coblenz, H. de la Roy, D. Leimdörfer, referred to above (§ 6); Ad. Neubauer, 'The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms,' etc., *Studia Biblica*, 2 [1890] 1-58; W. Campe, *Das Verhältniss Jeremias zu den Psalmen*, 1891; WRS, 'The Psalter,' *OTJC*(2), 1892, pp. 188-225; Isid. Loeb, *La Littérature des pauvres dans la Bible* (1892); J. Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im AT*, 1899; J. K. Zenner, *Die Chorgesänge im B. der Psalmen*, 1896; Che. *OPs.* (1891); 'The Book of Psalms, its origin, and its relation to Zoroastrianism,' *Semitic Studies in Memory of Alex. Kohut*, 1897, pp. 111-119; *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, 1892; *The Christian Use of the Psalms*, 1899; W. T. Davison,

[1] See, further, TEXT AND VERSIONS.

[2] See Field, *Origenis Hexapla*, where the fragments of these versions are collected. That of Symmachus is esteemed the best.

The Praises of Israel (1893; (2), 1897); Budde, *TLZ*, 1896, cols. 561 *f.* (review of Wellhausen's *Psalms*); B. Jacob, 'Beiträge zu einer Einleitung in die Psalmen,' *ZATW* 16 [1896] 129-181 265-291; 17 [1897] 48-80 263-279; 18 [1898] 99-120; J. Halévy, *REJ* 22 26 (Ps. 9); *ib.* 19 1 (Ps. 68); *Rev. Sém.*, 1893, etc. (Ps. 22 etc.); W. Staerk, 'Zur Kritik der Psalmenüberschriften,' *ZATW* 13 [1892] 91-151; W. Riedel, 'Zur Redaktion des Psalters,' *ZATW* 19 [1899] 169 *ff.*; A. Merx, 'Ps. 9 u. 10 und anderes Makkabäische,' *Festschrift zu Ehren von Daniel Chwolson*, 1899, pp. 198 *ff.*; B. Stade, 'Die messianische Hoffnung im Psalter,' *ZTK*, 1892, pp. 369-413 (reprinted in *Akad. Reden u. Abhandlungen*); A. Rahlfs, עני *und* ענו *in den Psalmen*, 1892; W. Sanday, 'On the date of the Psalter,' *Oracles of God*, 1891, pp. 129 *ff.*; cp *Inspiration*, 270 *ff.* (see § 21); G. B. Gray, *JQR*, July 1895, pp. 658 *ff.* on the royal psalms (see § 24); Wellhausen, 'Bemerkungen zu den Psalmen,' *Skizzen* 6 (1899) 163-187; J. D. Bruce, 'The Anglo-Saxon version of the Book of Psalms commonly known as the Paris Psalter' (1894; see § 46); G. Wildeboer, in *Feestbundel aan M. J. de Goeje* [1891], 45-56 (on 16 1-4); Nestle, *JBL* 10 [1891] 151 *f.* (68 31 [30]); *Exp.T.* 8 287 (12 6); *ZATW* 19 182 (103 5); 20 167 *f.* (Hab. 3 19 in relation to the Psalter); Nestle and Wildeboer, *ibid.*, 16 323 17 180 (17 12); Che. *ZATW* 19 [1899] 156 (68 28 31); *Expos.* 9 5th s. [1899] 252-263 (on text of the psalms; also specially on 39); 3 6th s. [1901] 115-117 (49 11 109 23); *Exp.T.* 8 236 336 (12 6); 9 519 *f.* (56 8); 10 141 *f.* (45 2 [3]); Schwally, *ZATW* 11 [1891] 258 *ff.* (Ps. 12 9 35 3 16 etc.); Bu. *Exp.T.* 8 [1897] 202 *ff.* (10 1); 12 [1901] 285 *ff.* (Ps. 14 and 53); Van Gilse, *Th.T* 30 96 *ff.* (Ps. 84); W. Diehl, 'Ps. 47,' (dissertation) 1893; Peters, *JBL* 11 [1892] 49-52 (68 12-15; 118 27); W. E. Barnes, *Expos.*, 1898, pp. 303 *ff.* (137); D. A. Walker, *JBL* 17 [1898] 204 *f.* (121 1); G. A. Barton, *Amer. Journ. Theol.* 3 [1899] 740 *ff.* (date of Ps. 44); J. Derenbourg, *ZATW* 1 [1881] 332 *f.* (16 1-4); *REJ* 6 161 (84); J. Döller, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 22 [1900] 174 *ff.* (22); Rosenthal, 'Sonderbare Psalmenakrosticha,' *ZATW* 16 [1896] 40 (9-10); B. Jacob, *ZATW* 17 [1897] 93-96 (12 7); W. S. Pratt, *JBL* 19 [1900] 189 *ff.* (45, very elaborate, see § 33); W. Rothstein, 'Ps. 78,' *Theol. St. Kr.* 1901, Heft 1; see also German ed. of Dr. *Introd.* (on Psalms); Couard, 'Problem der Theodicée in der Ps. 37 39*a* 73,' *Theol. St. Kr.* 1901, pp. 10 *ff.*

W. R. S., §§ 1 [2] 7-14 [16] 48 49 i. ii.;
T. K. C., §§ 3 5 *f.* 15 17-47 49 iii.

PSALTERY (כְּלִי נֶבֶל, 1 Ch. 16 5; נֵבֶל עָשׂוֹר, Ps. 83 2; פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, פְּסַנְתְּרִין, Dan. 3 5 7 10 15). See MUSIC, § 7 *ff.*

PTOLEMAIS (ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΣ: 1 Macc. 5 15 22 55 10 1 39 56 *ff.* 60 11 3 22 24 12 45 48 13 12 2 Macc. 13 24 *f.* Acts 21 7), or ACCHO, RV ACCO (עַכּוֹ; in Judg. 1 31 ακχω [BAL]). For Josh. 19 30 see below, § 5.

There seem to have been two forms of the native name, for each of them appears through several languages.

1. Name. The Heb. עכו is confirmed by the Assyr. Ak-ku-u (see below, § 6), and is reproduced in the Talmud, עכו (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 231), and even on crusading coins as *Accon* (De Saulcy, *Num. de la Terre Sainte*, 153).[1] But the earliest extant inscriptions, the Egyptian (below, § 4), give 'A-ka and '-ka;[2] the Phœn. (on coins of Alexander the Great, § 7) was עכא and עך; the Greek was Ἀκη (so Diod. Polyb. Menander [in Jos. *Ant.* ix. 14 2 where, however, Niese reads Ἀρκη], Strabo, xvi. 2 25, and Josephus in *Ant.* viii. 2 3, etc.; see § 7): the Latin *Ace* or *Acce* (Pliny, *HN* 5 17), and the Arabic down to the present day *'Akka*, or *'Akkā*. The difference may have been originally only one of inflection.

From the form 'Akka the Crusaders produced Acre, one of the earliest instances of the vulgar addition of *r* to a terminal *a* (cp vulgar English India*r*). The fuller modern name St. Jean d'Acre was properly the title of the establishment of the Knights Hospitallers, but was carelessly extended to the whole town. On the origin of the name Ptolemais see below, § 7.

2. Site and neighbourhood. At the N. end of the sandy coast of the Gulf of 'Akka, there rises a short rocky promontory, on which lies the modern city. The site is favourable for fortification. On two sides and a half (W., S., and ½ E.) is the sea: round the other side and a half (N. and ½ E.) the disposition of the rock has rendered easy the construction from sea to sea of the present lines of wall and ditch. From the S. end of the promontory a few ruins of crusading times (*PEFM* 1 160) running E. into the sea represent an ancient mole; the remains of another lie under the sea S. from the SE. corner of the present city. The anchorage is good. To the N. the coast extends for some distance unbroken; the nearest coast town is ez-Zīb (ACHZIB) some 9 m. away. Inland the maritime plain extends nearly 4 m., opposite the city, to the foothills of Galilee and farther S. bulges to a greater breadth towards the entrance to Esdraelon. That the plain holds much water, is proved by the Nahr Na'mān, the ancient Belus, which, rising in a marsh (probably the Cendevia of Pliny [36 26]) at the foot of Tell Kurdāneh, becomes in its short course of 5 m. or so a considerable body of water. It reaches the sea a little more than a mile S. from the city. The sandy mouth of the Belus was famed for the manufacture of glass (cp GLASS), and of purple dye (cp PURPLE) from the shells of the murex once gathered there in great quantities and still to be found. 'I have succeeded in extracting the dye from some of these I have collected here' (Laurence Oliphant, *Haifa*(2), 1887, p. 103). There are rich gardens and groves between the river and the town. Indeed the whole plain and the foothills beyond it are very fertile.

All these various opportunities and endowments of the town are represented on its ancient coinage. On a coin of Trajan (De Saulcy, 159), Ptolemais is represented as a woman with a turreted crown, seated on a rock, in her right hand some ears of corn, at her feet a river. On other pieces the cornucopia and ears of corn are frequent, and sometimes an olive tree is given; whilst the command of the sea is symbolised by Neptune or a dolphin or a rudder (*Ib.* 153-169 and Pl. viii.; see also Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* iii. 305; Head, *Hist. Num.* 676).

Within a radius of 7 m. from 'Akka there are some villages and ancient Tells—more of course on the foothills than on the plain. There is not, however, and never has been a city large enough to hold 'Akka as its port. Nothing dominates the town. The nearest mound, Tell el-Fokhkhār (96 ft. above sea level) is over ⅜ m. from the present fortifications; but probably the ancient city extended nearly to this Tell. Guérin (*Galilée*, 1 502-525) found remains up to nearly 800 metres E., and about the same distance N. of the present walls. The next mound, Tell eṭ-Ṭanṭūr (260 ft. high), is about three miles and a half distant.

3. Importance. The strength and isolated character of the position, its standing on the coast and near the mouth of the great plain of Esdraelon, the comparative security of the harbour, and the fertility of the neighbourhood form for the town an assurance of fame. It is no exaggeration to say that in and around 'Akka, as much history has been transacted as upon any site in Palestine, with the exception perhaps of two or three. Pietschmann (*Gesch. der Phönizier*, 29 *f.* 79 *f.*) regards 'Akka's political inferiority to Tyre and Sidon in ancient history as due to the absence from its 'Hinterland' of those enormous mountain ranges which so fully protect them. He is wrong, however, in supposing (p. 80) that 'Akka was more shut off than her sister cities from the great lines of traffic across Syria. All commerce between Egypt and Mesopotamia which followed the Phœnician coast must have visited them alike, whilst she lay nearer than the rest to the other line which bent inland to Damascus. Indeed 'Akka, not Tyre or Sidon, is the natural port not only for Galilee and the plain of Esdraelon, but also for Damascus, Ḥaurān, and Gilead, the roads from which reach it without having to cross either of the Lebanons. Not 'a small piece of the world' (as Pietschmann says) but all Galilee, Esdraelon, and the country E. of Jordan found their clearest outlet through 'Akka. At the present day during harvest some thousands of camels enter it daily with the grain of Ḥaurān;[1] and its bazaars contain a greater motley of people than those of any other coast towns. Ḥaurān peasants, and Druses from Jebel ed-Drūz, Damascus merchants, the fellāhīn of W. Palestine and Gilead, merchants from Nāblus—and all this in spite of the recent rivalry of Ḥaifā at the opposite end of the Gulf. The commercial activity of 'Akka cannot have been less in ancient times. It is true that in OT and NT the city is mentioned only twice, possibly thrice: as Acco in Judg. 1 31 (cp

[1] Cp Church of St. Nicholas Acons in Lombard Street (Wilson, in Smith's *DB*(2) 1 22 *a*).

[2] Wi. (*KB* 5) transliterates Akka.

[1] According to Schumacher 4000-5000 daily.

Josh. 19_{30} 𝕲 [below, § 5]), and as Ptolemais in Acts 21_{7}; but the monuments of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Assyria, the Books of Maccabees, Josephus, and Latin and Greek writers supply us with material for a larger estimate of its ancient importance.

'Akka first comes into the light of history during the Egyptian occupations of Syria in the fifteenth and following centuries B.C.

4. Early Egyptian relations.

In the lists of the Syrian conquests of Thotmes III. (1503 *ff.*), No. 47 is read by W. M. Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 181) as 'A-ka; but Flinders Petrie (*Hist. of Eg.* 2_{32}; cp PALESTINE, § 15) reads A'aag (=Ajjah), and neither Tyre nor Sidon is given in the lists. In any case all three cities must have passed at this time, or previously, into Egyptian hands, for in his last campaign Thotmes is said to have taken Arkatu (=Arka) to the N. of them all; he is said elsewhere to have subdued the inhabitants of the 'harbour towns' (Pietschmann, 255), and in the following century 'Akka is represented as (apparently long since) an Egyptian fief. In the Amarna despatches, one of the letters is from Zitaadna of Akku protesting his fidelity to Egypt (Fl. Petrie, *Hist. Eg.* 2_{277}, no. xliv., Wi. *KB* $5_{158\ 160}$) a second is from the same announcing a revolt (Petrie, xlvi., Wi. 159); whilst a third addressed to Amenḥotep IV. (1383-1365) from the king of Karduniyaš complains that Zitaadna has murdered the king's ambassadors and appropriated the gifts they were carrying to Egypt (Petrie, xlviii., Wi. 11). This last shows the position of 'Akka in the line of traffic between Egypt and Mesopotamia. A list of Sety I. in Abydos gives '-ka which Müller (*op. cit.* 191) identifies with 'Akka: in any case 'Akka fell with the rest of Phœnicia as far as the Nahr el-Kelb under Sety's successor Rameses II. It is not mentioned under Rameses III.

'Akka lay within the land assigned by biblical writers to Asher. The MT of Josh. 19_{24-31}, which defines the limits of Asher, does not contain its name,

5. In OT.

but for the first word of *v.* 30, where we should expect to find it, 𝕲ᴮ reads Αρχωβ, which suggests the emendation of the Hebrew עמה to עכה or עכו (ακκω is the reading of a number of cursives in H and P). In Judg. 1_{31} (J) it is stated that Asher did not dispossess the inhabitants of 'Akka. There is no allusion to 'Akka either in the account of transactions between Phœnicia and Judah or Israel, or in any diatribe of the prophets on the Phœnician cities. Its absence from the former is not altogether explicable. 'Akka was of no use in the trading between Solomon and Hiram—Tyre was nearer the cedars and Joppa the port for Jerusalem; whilst between Phœnicia and N. Israel, if all commerce was not by land, Dor and the harbour of 'Athlit would be more convenient for Samaria, the capital of the Israelite dynasty most closely connected with Phœnicia. Yet Dor and the ancient representative of 'Athlit and 'Akka are alike unnoticed by the Books of Kings; as striking a proof as we have of the fragmentary character of those historical records. 'Akka would have been the natural port for the Galilean fugitive, Jonah, to have been brought to in that prophetic narrative.[1] That Joppa has been chosen instead is another indication of the late and Jewish origin of the Book. The absence of 'Akka from the prophetic passages on Phœnicia is due, no doubt, to 'Akka's political inferiority to Tyre and Sidon—a fact amply proved by the Assyrian monuments.[2]

'Akka is not mentioned among the states which Assyria encountered in the fight at Ḳarḳar

6. On the Assyrian monuments.

(neither are Sidon and Tyre) nor does it occur among the Phœnician towns paying tribute about 840 to Shalmaneser II., or about 804 to Adad-nirari. Shalmaneser IV. and Sargon held all Phœnicia subject, but still 'Akka is not mentioned; and its first appearance in the Assyrian annals is as one of the towns of Luli of Sidon, whom Sennacherib overthrew (1 Rawl. 37_{42}). It is noticed in Esarhaddon's annals, and the first Assyrian mention of it, apart from Tyre, is after the subjection of the latter by Ašur-bani-pal, when he reports that he punished Usu and 'Akku at the time (640) that he fought against the Arabians. All this makes it clear that till Tyre fell 'Akka was but one of her subordinate towns, and explains the silence of the prophets. On this Assyrian evidence see Schrader, *KAT*, 173 288 291, ET 1 161 281 284; and Del. *Par.* 284.

'Akka is not much in evidence during the Persian empire; but it is now that we have the first clear instance of its military importance as a place of

7. In Greek times: Ptolemais.

muster for large armies, which distinguished it during the Greek and Roman period, for according to Diodorus Siculus (15_{41}) Artaxerxes Mnemon gathered his troops there for his invasion of Egypt (cp Strabo, xvi. 2_{25}). There are extant a very large number of coins of Alexander the Great struck at עכא or עך as it is called in Phœn. letters on some of them.[1] As Schürer says, they prove the importance of the place from Alexander's time onwards; yet the fact that Heracles not only appears in Greek coins of Ἀκη, as the town is now called, but is associated by a Greek legend[2] with the origin of the town, proves that 'Akka's subordination to, and close connection with, Tyre lasted into Greek times. The town was obviously subject to Tyre religiously as well as politically. After the death of Alexander, 'Akka was at first under Antigonus, then under Ptolemy Lagi, who destroyed it in 312 when Antigonus forced him to retire (Diod. Sic. 19_{93}).

During the next century we have no particular data for the history of 'Akka, and are therefore unable to decide with certainty when it received the official name of Ptolemais (Πτολεμαΐς). This can hardly have been during its brief occupation by Ptolemy Lagi (against Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phön.* 76), but may have been due to Ptolemy II. whose conquest of Phœnicia was more permanent (see Schürer's note, *op. cit.* 92; he quotes in evidence the *Pseudo-Aristeas*). In any case the name appears to have displaced that of Ἀκη among the Greeks by the close of the third century B.C. In describing the occupation of the town by Antiochus the Great in 219, Polybius (5_{61} *f.*) implies that it was then called Ptolemais; yet a more conclusive proof that the name had been bestowed long before this is found in the fact that the Seleucids did not attempt to alter it, but suffered this record of their enemies' previous possession and patronage of the town to remain on its coins, alongside that of their own.

The inhabitants obtained the envied right to call themselves Ἀντιοχεῖς—οἱ ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι; and received equal privileges with their old superiors of Tyre; the titles on some of the Seleucid coins are ἱερὰ ἄσυλος and ἱερὰ αὐτόνομος (Eckhel, *op. cit.* iii. 305 *f.*; De Saulcy, *op. cit.* 153 *ff.*; Gardner, *Catal. of Gk. Coins in Brit. Mus.: Seleucid Kings*, 41).

We now reach the detailed history of Ptolemais furnished by Greek historians but especially by the Books of Maccabees and Josephus, a history which describes the naturally increasing importance of a town, so favourably situated for the enterprises first of its Greek and then of its Roman masters. For Egypt, for Asia Minor, for the Greek Isles and mainland, and for Italy its harbour was (even after the building of Cæsarea by Herod) the most convenient on the Syrian coast; and its history till the end of the NT period is that of the arrivals of great men from those shores, of the

[1] [Does not this add fresh plausibility to the view of Jonah as traditionally a prophet of the Negeb given in PROPHET, § 44?—T. K. C.]

[2] It should be noted, however, that Reland's suggestion that in Mic. 1_{10} בכו stands for בעכו has found favour with many scholars. But see We. *Kl. Proph. l.c.*

[1] They run from the year 5 to the year 46 of the Alexandrian era—*i.e.*, they were struck with Alexander's name long after his death. See Schürer, *Hist.* ii. 1_{91}, n. 143.

[2] The name Ἀκη was derived from the supposed healing (ἀκέομαι) of Heracles, through a plant discovered on the site, after he was poisoned by the Lernæan Hydra. See Steph. Byzant. Περὶ Πόλεων, *s.v.* Ακη.

muster of large armies, of the winter camps of the invaders of the Syrian Hinterland, and of bitter conflicts between Greeks and Jews.

In 164-3 Ptolemais participated in the general hostility of the Syrian Greeks against the Jews (1 Macc. 5 15). Simon the Maccabee routed the Greeks up to its gates (*ib.* 22; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 1 2 6). In 153 Alexander Balas took it from his rival Demetrius (1 Mac. 10 1; *Ant.* xiii. 2 1).

While it was in Alexander's hands Demetrius cleverly bribed the Jews by assigning it and its lands to the Jews 'for the expenses that befit the Sanctuary at Jerusalem' (1 Macc. 10 39). When Alexander defeated Demetrius he married Ptolemy's daughter at Ptolemais in 151-150, and Jonathan the Maccabee met the two kings there and was greatly honoured by them (*ib.* 48-66; *Ant.* xiii. 4 1 6 9). It was at Ptolemais also that Jonathan in 143 by treachery fell into Trypho's hands (1 Macc. 12 45 *ff.*; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6 2 *BJ* i. 2 1).

In 104 Alexander Jannæus besieged Ptolemais (*Ant.* xiii. 12 2), but raised the siege out of fear of Ptolemy Lathurus (*ib.* 3), who in turn besieged (*ib.* 4) and took the town (*ib.* 6); which, however, soon after fell into the hands of Queen Cleopatra of Egypt, his mother (*Ant.* xiii. 13 1 2). Soon after 70 it was taken by Tigranes of Armenia (*ib.* 16 4), and relinquished by him under fear of the Romans. The Ptolemaitans received Pacorus of Parthia (*BJ* i. 13 1).

8. Under the Romans.

Herod landed at Ptolemais from Italy (*BJ* i. 15 3; *Ant.* xiv. 15 1), came there from Antioch (*Ant.* xiv. 15 11), entertained Cæsar there (*Ant.* xv. 6 7, cp *BJ* i. 20 3), and endowed the town with gymnasia (*BJ* i. 21 11). The town had an era dating from Cæsar's visit, 47 B.C. (for this see Eckhel, *op. cit.* iii. 425; De Saulcy, *op. cit.* 154 *ff.*). 'Akka had now to suffer the rivalry of Cæsarea; but however fine might be the harbour which Herod built there, and however suitable for official traffic between Jerusalem and Italy, Cæsarea could not compete with Ptolemais for the commerce with Damascus and eastern Palestine. This too was the period of Galilee's greatest prosperity, and Ptolemais was *the* port of Galilee. It does not appear by name in the Gospels; but lying only some 14 m. from Nazareth and in constant communication with the towns on the Lake of Galilee, it must have helped to supply the Jews with that knowledge of Gentile ways which appears in all the evangelists, and Jesus with 'the vision of all the kingdoms of this world.'

The next stage in the history of Ptolemais dates from its establishment as a *colonia* by Claudius (Pliny, *HN* v. 17; *colonia Claudii Cæsarii quæ quondam Ace*; for the coins with *col. Ptol.* see, as cited above, Eckhel and De Saulcy) without, however, the rights of a colony (see Schürer's quotation, 94 n. 161, from the *Digest*). To this point belongs the visit of Paul coasting from Tyre to Cæsarea, the more natural port for his goal in Jerusalem (Acts 21 7).

9. The territory of Ptolemais.

1 Macc. 10 39 mentions a certain territory as 'appertaining to' Ptolemais in the second century B.C., and it is possible from data supplied by Josephus to define the extent of this during the first Christian century. How far N. it extended is uncertain. On the E. it was bounded by Galilee (*BJ* iii. 3 1; 'Ptolemais the neighbour of Galilee'), the border of which lay 60 stadia from Ptolemais (*id.* ii. 10 2), *i.e.*, along the base of the foothills.

BJ ii. 18 9 says that Cestius advanced from Ptolemais ἐπὶ πόλιν καρτερὰν τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ζαβουλὼν ἣ καλεῖται ἀνδρῶν. Schlatter (*Zur Topog. u. Gesch. Paläst.* 355, n. 1)—so also Niese—proposes to read Χαβουλων, *i.e.*, the modern Kābūl, on the plain just off the foothills, and some nine miles SE. from Ptolemais, which Josephus elsewhere mentions as a border town of Galilee (*Vit.* 43-45). Schlatter proposes to delete ἀνδρῶν as a dittography for a subsequent ἀνδρῶν; but ἣ καλεῖται ἀνδρῶν seems rather to be the gloss of some scribe who confused Χαβουλων with another town of Galilee on this Ptolemaitan border, viz., Γαβαρα or Γεβαρα (as if from גִּבּוֹרִים=ἀνδρῶν) to which Vespasian advanced from Ptolemais (*BJ* iii. 7 1; for Γαδαρα read Γαβαρα; cp *Vit.* 15 where Γαδαρεις should be Γαβαρεις, and 25). There is little doubt that it is the modern Kh. Kābrā, due E. from Ptolemais on a direct road from the latter into Galilee—the present Wādy esh-Shāghūr. Farther S. the territory of Ptolemais appears to have run more inland upon the plain of Esdraelon. Josephus *Vit.* 24 cp *BJ* ii. 18 1, iii. 3 1) gives two towns on the border, Geba and Beṣara. Neither has been satisfactorily identified with a modern site;[1] but Josephus's description of the former as on the great plain and on Carmel and 60 stadia from Simonias (mod. Semūniyeh) implies a position well inland on the NE. slopes of Carmel.[2] This would agree with the probability that Carmel itself, which was always in Phœnician or Greek hands, lay within the territory of Ptolemais; and indeed Josephus affirms that the maritime districts of Judæa extended to Ptolemais (*BJ* iii. 3 5).

10. The Civil War.

In the war between the Jews and the Romans Ptolemais formed the main base of the Romans so long as the war was waged in Galilee. Varus (*BJ* ii. 5 1; *Ant.* xvii. 10 9), Vitellius (*Ant.* xviii. 5 3), Petronius (*BJ* ii. 10 3 *ff.*; *Ant.* xviii. 8 2) and Cestius (*BJ* ii. 18 9) all mustered or wintered their troops at Ptolemais, and it was a constant port for Italy (*Ant.* xviii. 6 3). Placidus and Josephus faced each other in front of it (Jos. *Vit.* 43). Ptolemais was also Vespasian's base (*BJ* iii. 2 4; 6 1 *f.*; 9 1), and Titus from Egypt joined him there (4 2). There is a description of the town at this time in *BJ* ii. 10 2.

In Christian times Ptolemais became a bishopric and its bishops were present at the councils of Cæsarea (198), Nice (325), Constantinople (381), Chalcedon (451), and Jerusalem (536). In 638 Ptolemais was taken by the Mohammedans, under whom its political, but not its commercial, importance dwindled. In 1103 it was captured by Baldwin I. and in 1187 it surrendered to Saladin. In 1189 Guy de Lusignan began the long and doubtful siege, which Saladin attempted to raise. He was defeated and the town taken (in 1191) and further fortified. St. Louis increased the fortifications in 1252; but in 1291 the town finally fell to the Saracens (under Sulṭān Melek el-Akraf) and was ruined. Marino Sanuto (1322) gives a plan of the city as it was under the Christians (*Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* in *Orientalis Historia* [1611] Tom. II.) reproduced in *PEF Mem.* 1 163. See also Key, *Monuments des Croisés en Syrie*, 172. There is a double wall round the landward end, with two moles from the SW. and SE. corners. In 1558 the ruins were visited and described by the Chevalier d'Arvieux. In 1749 the Sheikh Dhaher el Amer began the reconstruction. In 1799 Napoleon besieged 'Akka, but was prevented from taking it by a British fleet under Sir Sydney Smith. In 1831 the town was taken from the Turks by Ibrahīm Pasha and the fortifications were partly rebuilt out of the ruins of 'Athlīt. In 1840 it was bombarded by the fleets of Britain, Austria, and Turkey, and has since been in Turkish hands.

Besides the works already cited see Reland's *Palestina;* Robinson, *LBR* 115 *ff.*; and Hildesheimer, *Beiträge*, 11 *ff.*

G. A. S.

PTOLEMY, AV **PTOLEMEUS** or **PTOLEMEE** (πτολεμαιος—*i.e.*, 'the warlike'; *Ptolemæus*), a name apparently of Macedonian origin, which became the dynastic name of the Greek kings of Egypt. For a complete list of these kings see EGYPT, §§ 71-73, and for full details of their history see, besides the histories of Israel, Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*.

1. Biblical references.

The only Ptolemy expressly mentioned in the Greek Bible is Ptolemy VI. [VII.] Philometor (1 Macc. 1 18 10 51 *ff.* 11 1-18 15 16 *ff.* 2 Macc. 1 10 4 21 9 29; probably also Esther 11 1 [?]). In Dan. 11 25, however, the same king seems to be again referred to as 'the king of the south'; and earlier in the same chapter his five predecessors are alluded to (*vv.* 5 *ff.*). See the Commentaries on Maccabees and Daniel; also the articles MACCABEES [BOOKS] and DANIEL. Cp also Willrich, *Juden und Griechen*.

2. Early Ptolemies.

1. Ptolemy I., Soter, son of Lagos, 322-285 B.C., is alluded to in *v.* 5 of Dan. 11. When, on the death of Alexander the Great, the Macedonian kingdom was divided among his generals, Soter became ruler of Egypt. Subsequently, he acquired possession of CŒLESYRIA [*q.v.*] and Judæa, and afterwards even attacked and captured Jerusalem, taking its defenders unawares on a Sabbath

1 Guérin (*Gal.* 1 395 *f.*) places Geba at Sheikh Abrēk; Schlatter at Kh. el-Medīna; and Besara=Beth Sara=βησαρα at Tell Ṯōra (*Zur Topog. u. Gesch.* 296).

2 Schürer (*Hist.* ii. 1 128, n. 306) denies that Geba can be the present Jebata; but this is by no means clear.

(see JERUSALEM, § 26). He then carried away many Jews and Samaritans to Egypt, but being, as Graetz expresses it, 'the gentlest of the military followers of Alexander' his treatment of the Jews was by no means harsh; he set an example of leniency which was followed by his immediate successors. See DISPERSION, §§ 7, 15. Ptolemy was not allowed, however, to remain long in undisputed possession of Cœlesyria. His ambitious rival Antigonus cast envious eyes on the coveted province; and at length his son Demetrius confronted Ptolemy with an army. The battle of Gaza (312) resulted in the defeat of Ptolemy. Subsequently, Antigonus and Demetrius made a combined attack on their enemy. Ptolemy was at first obliged to retreat, and the possession of Cœlesyria for a time remained doubtful; but at length in 301 Antigonus was severely defeated and lost his life at Ipsus. The kingdom was then divided between Ptolemy and his allies; he himself taking Egypt, while Seleucus received the greater part of Asia. This marks the beginning of the Seleucidean era. See SELEUCIDÆ.

Ptolemy's kindly feeling did much to foster, if it did not start, the growth of the Jewish community at ALEXANDRIA [*q.v.*]. See DISPERSION.

2. Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, 285-247 B.C., is alluded to in Dan. 11 6. His daughter Berenice was given in marriage to Antiochus II., Theos; see DANIEL (BOOK), § 7. In Philadelphus' reign Cœlesyria and Judæa again caused trouble, Antiochus IV. Callinicos instigating them to revolt. It was in this reign that Jewish literature, under the influence of Greek thought, began to undergo such an important development (see HELLENISM, HISTORICAL LITERATURE); and it is commonly supposed that under the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus the Greek version of the OT was undertaken (see, however, TEXT AND VERSIONS and DISPERSION, § 19).

3. Ptolemy III., Euergetes I., 247-222 B.C., who is alluded to in Dan. 11 7, was the brother of Berenice, wife of Antiochus II. His history is supposed to have been closely bound up with that of the adventurer Joseph, nephew of Onias. See, however, ONIAS, § 4.

4. Ptolemy IV., Philopator, 222-205 B.C., is alluded to in Dan. 11 11 (cp 3 Macc. 1 1-5). His reign marks the decline of the Ptolemies; for, as Cornill says, 'the fourth Ptolemy, a Louis XV. on the Egyptian throne . . . allowed everything to decay and rot, while at the same time in Antiochus III. incorrectly called the Great, the throne of the Seleucidæ had received at least an enterprising and energetic ruler.' Cœlesyria again became a bone of contention, and Ptolemy was roused from his life of luxury by the approach of Antiochus. Contrary to what might have been expected, Ptolemy contrived to ward off the attack; his adversary was severely beaten at Raphia (217), retired and gave up Cœlesyria. For this reign, cp ONIAS, § 4 *f.*

3. Decline of dynasty.

5. Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, 205-182 B.C., who is alluded to in Dan. 11 14 *f.*, was only a child when he succeeded his father. He was still in his minority when Antiochus returned to the attack. This time Antiochus met with complete success; the Egyptians under Scopas were badly defeated, and Palestine and Cœlesyria became a province of Syria. Ptolemy Epiphanes married Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III. (see DANIEL [BOOK], § 7). On his death, Cleopatra held the regency during the minority of Ptolemy VI. [VII.], Philometor.

5*b*. Ptolemy [VI.], Eupator, 182 B.C. He died very soon after his accession to the throne.

6. Ptolemy VI. [VII.], Philometor, son of Ptolemy V. and Cleopatra, 182-146 B.C., is mentioned by name in the Apocrypha (see above). An attempt to recover for Egypt her Syrian provinces resulted in his defeat by Antiochus IV. Epiphanes near Pelusium (170 B.C.). After Philometor's younger brother had been proclaimed king in Alexandria, Antiochus made a second expedition (169 B.C.) into Egypt. He besieged Alexandria without success. The two brothers, whose rivalry had been encouraged by Antiochus for his own purposes, then became reconciled. Thereupon, Antiochus proceeded to attack them both (168 B.C.); and he was again preparing to lay siege to Alexandria when he was stopped by the Romans, who compelled him to evacuate Egypt and consolidated, at least for a time, the peace between the two brothers. It was on his return from this campaign that Antiochus IV. Epiphanes began his persecution of the Jews. See, further, ISRAEL, §§ 70 *ff.*, and SELEUCIDÆ; and on Ptolemy IV.'s attitude towards the Jews, DISPERSION, § 7 *f.* For Ptolemy's brother, PTOLEMY VII., Euergetes II., see also EUERGETES.

Other persons of the name of Ptolemy mentioned in the Apocrypha are: (1) One of the 'friends' (see FRIEND) of Antiochus Epiphanes, who took part in the campaign of 166 B.C. We learn, further, from 2 Macc. —not a very trustworthy authority, yet our only one—that he was son of Dorymenes (4 45),—probably that Dorymenes who opposed Antiochus the Great on his occupation of Cœlesyria (Polyb. 5 61),—that he was surnamed Macron (10 12), that he had been entrusted with the government of Cyprus by Ptolemy Philometor, but had abandoned the island and withdrawn himself to Antiochus Epiphanes, who rewarded him with the governorship of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia. His policy of 'observing justice towards the Jews,' and endeavouring 'to conduct his dealings with them on peaceful terms' led to his being impeached before Antiochus Eupator, the successor of Antiochus Epiphanes, with the result that he poisoned himself (10 12 *f.*). This Ptolemy is not to be confounded with the Ptolemy of Megalopolis, son of Agesarchus, who lived at the court of Ptolemy IV. Philopator, and wrote a history of that king.

4. Other Ptolemies.

2. Son of Abubus, and son-in-law of Simon the Maccabee, whom with two of his sons he murdered (1 Macc. 16 11-16; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7 4 8 1).

3. Father of LYSIMACHUS, 1.

4. Son of DOSITHEUS, 4; along with his father he carried to Egypt the 'epistle of Phrurai' alluded to in Esth. 11 1 𝔊.

PUAH (פּוּאָה, or [Gen. 46 13, Nu. 26 23, AV **PUA**; RV PUVAH], פֻּוָּה; φουα [BAFL]), father of TOLA,[1] an Issacharite judge (Judg. 10 1), whence *both* names appear in post-exilic lists as 'sons' of Issachar (Gen. 46 13, AV PHUVAH φουλ [L], 1 Ch. 7 1, -τ [B], Nu. 26 23 AV **PUA**, -λα [L]; ethnic *ib.* הַפּוּנִי, PUNITES, φου[α]ει [B] -αι [A] -υι [F], -υλαι [L]). The name is possibly to be read for פֻּרָה (see PHURAH) in Judg. 7 10 *f.*

PUAH (פּוּעָה; φουα [BAL]), the name of one of the Hebrew midwives in Egypt (Ex. 1 15).

PUBASTUM (פִּי־בֶסֶת), Ezek. 30 17, AVmg., EV PI-BESETH (*q.v.*).

PUBLICAN (τελωνης), Mt. 10 3. See TAXATION, ISRAEL, § 90.

PUBLIUS (ποπλιος), the 'chief man' (πρωτος) of Melita (see MELITA, § 3), who received and entertained Paul and his companions after the shipwreck, and whose father was cured of his fever by the apostle (Acts 28 7-8).

Later traditions named him the first bishop of the island, and bishop of Athens after the demise of Dionysus; and according to Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 19) he died a martyr's death.

PUDENS (πουδης [Ti. WH]) joins in Paul's salutation to Timothy (2 Tim. 4 21). Even if these salutations belong, at any rate, to a Pauline element in the epistle, we have no right to assume that this Pudens is the husband of the Claudia (Quinctilla) who appears in an inscription in *CIL* 6 15,066. See CLAUDIA, and cp Lightfoot, *S. Clement*, 1 76-79.

The name occurs in the list of the 'seventy' given by the Pseudo-Hippolytus; and in that of the Pseudo-Dorotheus it is said that Pudens, Aristarchus, and Trophimus suffered martyrdom at Rome along with Paul. In the apocryphal *Acts of Praxedis and Pudentiana* (his daughters) Pudens figures as a disciple of Paul; in later Roman tradition, he comes into the Peter-legend, and is represented as a senator, and as entertaining Peter at his house on the Viminal.

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[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that while Tola means the *Coccus ilicis*, the source of the crimson dye, Puah is the *Rubia cinctorum*, Linn., another source of a red dye (Löw, *Pflanzennamen*, p. 251).

PUHITES (פּוּתִי), 1 Ch. 2 53 AV, RV PUTHITES (*q.v.*). See also SHOBAL.

PUL (פּוּל; φουλ [BAQ^mg.] φουθ [ℵQ*]; *in Africam*) Is. 66 19, correct reading פּוּט. See PUT, n. 2.

PUL (פּוּל; φουα [BAL], 2 K; φαλωχ [B], φαλως [A], φουλ [L], 1 Ch.). In 2 K. 15 19 we read that 'Pul, king of Assyria, came against the land (of Israel)'; the historical points raised by this statement are considered elsewhere (see MENAHEM). In 1 Ch. 5 26 the captivity of certain tribes of Israel is ascribed to an impulse divinely given to 'the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tilgath-pilneser, king of Assyria.' The language of the Chronicler (we are not here concerned with the historical contents of his statement)[1] led to the supposition that Pul was a different person from Tiglath-pileser III., and several suggestions were made—such as that he was the general of that king; that he was a pretender to the Assyrian throne; and that he was a Babylonian ruler (Berossus[2] represents Pul as a Chaldæan king) who in troublous times had obtained possession of the Euphrates valley, and descended thence upon Syria and Palestine—'Assyria' might be a scribe's error for 'Chaldæa.' This explanation received likewise a certain amount of support from the Canon of Ptolemy, which gives *χινξηρος* and *πωρος* (Ukīn-zēr and Pul) as having reigned, together, five years, namely, from 731 to 726 B.C. The likeness between Pul and Poros was naturally taken as a confirmation of the theory.

No king Pūlu, however, is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, and the Babylonian Chronicle only speaks of Tiglath-pileser, whose reign in Babylonia lasted two years, making, with the three years of Ukīn-zēr, the total of five years given by the Canon of Ptolemy. A second ruler of either country seems, by these statements, to be excluded. There is, therefore, hardly a doubt that the two names indicate one and the same person, and this is confirmed by the fact that the Babylonian Canon (from which the Canon of Ptolemy was to all appearance copied) gives the name of Pūlu or Pul after that of Ukīn-zēr, with the same length of reign as that of Tiglath-pileser, namely, two years (728-726 B.C.). Oppert (*PSBA*, 1898, pp. 43 *ff.*) says that there were two rulers named Pul, the earlier being more than thirty years anterior to the Pul who was the Poros of the Ptolemaic canon 'the antagonist of Tiglath-pileser, whom he turned out from Babylon at least once if not twice.' In order to make room for the earlier Pul he places a gap of 'just forty-six years (the reign of several monarchs),' between Ašur-nirari and Tiglath-pileser, his successor (the Pūlu of the Babylonian canon).

There is more than one possibility as to the reason why this king bore two names. As Pūlu occurs in the Babylonian Canon, the question naturally arises whether he may not have received that name on account of the Babylonian opinion of his character (cp Ass. *bûlu* 'wild animal'). It is more probable, however, that, as Pūlu is otherwise known (Tablet K. 8143 [Johns, *Assyr. Deeds*, 860], col. 2, *l.* 15) as a personal name in the inscriptions of Assyria, it was his original name,[3] exchanged for that of Tiglath-pileser on his coming to the throne on account of the memories connected with those of his predecessors who bore it.[4] Nothing is known of the early life of this king; but the suggestion that he had been a general in the army of his predecessor on the throne of Assyria, Ašur-nirari, is as probable as any other.

The Greek forms Phaloch and Phalos seem to suggest that the translators had an idea that the word was connected in some way with the element *phal* in the Greek form Thaglathphallasar (see TIGLATH-PILESER).

[Another view is proposed in *Crit. Bib.*, where evidence is produced to show that in the case of the names of some of the foreign kings with whom Israel came into contact there has been a confusion of traditions. 'Pul,' it is there held, was really king of the southern Asshur (in N. Arabia), which is supported by the fact that N. Arabia exercised a constant pressure, sometimes friendly, sometimes adverse, on the Israelitish states. 'Pul,' or Phaloch (𝔊^B) may be a corruption of 'Jerahmeel'; cp PHICHOL.]

Literature.—G. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, 2 386 *ff.*; *ZDMG* 25 453 *ff.*; *COT* 1 219 *ff.*; Mürdter-Delitzsch, *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* 182; Sayce, *Assyria, its princes, etc.* 37; G. Smith, *History of Babylonia*(1), ed. Sayce, 114, and 2nd ed. (1895) ed. Sayce, 111; Hommel, *GBA* 639 *ff.*; *PSBA*, 1884, pp. 193 *ff.*; *JRSA*, 1887, pp. 656 658 665 673 (Babylonian Chronicle, lines 19-26) [Schr. *KGF* 422-460; *KAT*(2), 238 *ff.*]

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PULPIT, EV^mg. 'tower' (מִגְדָּל; βημα; *gradus*; Neh. 8 4). Read perhaps מַעֲלֶה, *ma'ăleh*, 'raised place,' the word used in a similar context in Neh. 9 4 (cp STAIRS).

PULSE (RV^mg. 'herbs') is the rendering in Dan. 1 12 of זֵרֹעִים† and, *ib.* 16, of זֵרְעֹנִים†. If the reading is correct, זרעים[1] should be = זֵרוּעִים (Is. 61 11, cp Lev. 11 37). The form זֵרְעֹנִים would seem to be a diminutive. It occurs in the Talmud, and may be borrowed from Aram. ܙܪ̈ܥܘܢܐ (Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 140). The meaning assigned is 'garden herbs'; the context is thought to suggest that fruits or uncooked vegetables are meant (so, *e.g.*, Bertholdt, Marti). The expression, however, is vague and hardly probable.

Cheyne suggests (*Crit. Bib.*) that מן־הזרעים (*v.* 12) may be a corruption of קֶמַח שְׂעֹרִים, 'barley-meal,' and זרענים (*v.* 16) of שְׂעֹרִים, 'barley.' The phrase קמח ש' occurs in 2 S. 17 28. In the same passage of 2 S. EV gets over the difficulty which the repetition of קָלִי occasions by rendering it first 'parched (*corn*),' and then 'parched (pulse).' But קָלִי simply means 'parched grain'; the second קָלִי is most probably a scribe's error.

PUNISHMENTS. See LAW AND JUSTICE, §§ 11-13.

PUNITES (הַפּוּנִי), Nu. 26 23. See PUAH, i.

PUNON (פּוּנֹן), Nu. 33 42 *f.* See PINON.

PUR (פּוּר), Esth. 3 7 9 26. See PURIM.

PURAH (פֻּרָה), Judg. 7 10 *f.* AV PHURAH (*q.v.*).

PURIFICATION, PURIFYING. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN. The words are:—

1. טֹהַר, *ṭōhar*, טָהֳרָה, *ṭohŏrah*, Lev. 12 4 6 2 Ch. 30 19 Neh. 12 45.

2. חַטָּאת, *ḥaṭṭāth*, Nu. 8 7 (ἁγνισμός) 19 9 17 (ἅγνισμα). AV agrees with 𝔊. RV, however, '(water of) expiation,' 'a sin-offering'; so Dillmann. Cp חִטֵּא, Lev. 8 15 (EV 'purify'), Ezek. 43 22 *f.* (EV 'cleanse'), etc. Cp SACRIFICE.

3. מְרוּקִים, *m^erūḳīm*, תַּמְרוּקִים, *tamrūḳīm*, Esth. 2 3 9 12. Cp PERFUMES.

4. ἁγνισμός, Acts 21 26 (cp *v.* 24) 24 18; ἁγνίζω, Jn. 11 55. In Ex. 19 10 for קִדֵּשׁ. Cp הִתְקַדֵּשׁ, Josh. 3 5 1 S. 16 5 2 S. 11 4, EV 'to sanctify oneself.'

5. καθαρισμός. Of the 'washings' before meals, Jn. 2 6 (cp Mt. 15 2); see MEALS, § 5. Of special 'purifications,' Mk. 1 44 Lk. 5 14 2 22. καθαρίζω repeatedly of leprosy (*e.g.*, Mt. 8 2 *f.*). On the 'questioning about purifying,' Jn. 3 25, see JOHN THE BAPTIST, § 6.

PURIM (פּוּרִים, Esth. 9 26; φρουραι [Bℵ*^vid. AL], -ριμ [ℵ^c.a]), a feast of the later Jews to further the observance of which is the purpose of the book of

1 [Schr. (*KAT*(2) 239, n. 1) remarks that the Chronicler blends the statement of 2 K. 15 29 (which refers to Tiglath-pileser) and 2 K. 17 6 (which refers to Shalmaneser).]

2 Alex. Polyhistor in Eusebius, *Arm. Chron.* 1 4.

3 Prof. Cheyne (in TIGLATH-PILESER) suggests that the Poros of the Canon of Ptolemy may preserve the more correct form—*i.e.*, Būr, 'child,' the second part of the name, which would naturally be the name of a god (*e.g.*, Ninib, in accordance with the usual explanation of Tiglath-pileser), having been dropped. Cp Bur-Ramman, Bur-Sin. See, however, E. Meyer, *Ent.* 30.

4 Another case of a double name is that of Tiglath-pileser III.'s successor, Shalmaneser IV., who is called Ululāa (Elulæus, 'he of the month Elul') in the Babylonian Canon. As a personal name Ululāa is more common than Pūlu, and may likewise have been the original name of its bearer. [Winckler (*GBA* 221) adds the case of Ašur-bāni-pal, the Kandalanu of the Babylonian lists; cp col. 451.]

1 On the form, cp Barth, *NB* 42.

ESTHER (*q.v.*, § 6 *f.*); cp Esth. 11 1, the Epistle of PHURIM (RV PHRURAI, ΦΡΟΥΡΑΙ [BL] -Α [א*] -ΙΜ [א$^{c.a}$]).

According to Esth. 9 26 the name is from PUR (פּוּר; *φρουραι* [Bא*vid. AL] *φρουρ* [א^c]), which is explained in 3 7 as 'lot' (*ἔβαλεν κληρούς* [BאAL]). This derivation of the name, however, has but a slight connection with the story; still it has a better claim on our acceptance than the narrative in which it occurs (cp ESTHER). Because Haman, the arch-enemy of the Jews, cast lots to ascertain the day favourable for the execution of the decree against them, the festival (we are to believe) was called in grim irony 'the Lots.' Nothing, however, in the essentials of the festival itself required that the name of it should be of that meaning. On the other hand, if a good independent reason be found for a name Purim, in the sense of 'lots,' it is worth considering whether the name, being already in existence, may not have suggested the insertion of the episode of Haman's casting lots, into the story, after its association with the festival.

1. Inadequacy of meaning 'lot.'

As actually observed, the institution commenced with a fast observed on the 13th of Adar. This was called 'the fast of Esther,' and explained as in memory of the fast which Esther and her maids observed and which she, through Mordecai, enjoined on the Jews in Shushan (Esth. 4 16). This fast was so integral a part of the observance that if the 13th fell on the Sabbath, the fast was put back to the fifth day of the week, the sixth being impossible for a fast, as the preparation of food for the sabbath and the feast days which would follow necessitated tasting the dishes prepared. The 14th and 15th of Adar were feast days. As soon as the stars appeared on the night of the 13th, when the 14th began, candles were lighted in all the houses, as a sign of rejoicing, and the people repaired to the synagogue. After prayer and thanksgiving, the reading of the Roll (Megillah) of Esther began.

2. Jewish observances at Purim.

This was accompanied by a running translation, with comments, in the vernacular of the district. The reading was dramatic in style so as to bring out the full force of the passages, and the congregation punctuated it with curses on Haman, or 'the ungodly' in general, whenever the name was uttered. This afforded an opportunity to exprobrate Christians as well as Persians, Macedonians, or Amalekites; the name in the narrative being understood to cover the others according to the nationality most prominent as oppressors at the time. After the Megillah is read through, the congregation solemnly curse Haman, Zeresh, idolators in general, and pronounce a solemn blessing upon Mordecai, Esther, the Israelites, and even the Gentile Harbonah, because he hanged Haman.

Then the people return to a light supper of milk and eggs. In the morning of the 14th, after prayers in the synagogue, the lesson from the Law (Ex. 17 8-16) relating to the destruction of the Amalekites, of whom was Agag, the ancestor of Haman (Esth. 3 1), is read and the Megillah is read again in the same manner as before. It is a sacred duty for all to attend this reading. The 14th day is looked upon as the actual day of deliverance, and in 2 Macc. 15 36 is called Mordecai's day. When the ceremony in the synagogue is over, all give themselves up to rejoicings and feastings, which are continued on the 15th. Excess on these occasions is excused. The gifts given to the poor, and the mutual interchange of gifts, are a custom much honoured. So great was the esteem in which the feast was held that its observance was regarded as certain to survive when the temple and the prophets had failed. If a second Adar occurred, the festival was repeated, if not the fast.

There seems no reason to doubt that all this, not intimately connected with the temple, nor altogether in keeping with dominant religious sentiment, was the embodiment of a national feeling of intense joy at some deliverance and a bitter, if veiled, resentment against some specific oppressors. The Jews had but too good reason to perpetuate a feeling of resentment, changing the people aimed at, from time to time.

3. Historical occasion of institution.

The details of the observance may not always have been the same; but in its essential character we can recognise no great change. If we dismiss the account given in the Megillah itself as impossible historically, there seems no event so likely to have been the occasion of the institution as the defeat of Nicanor by Judas Maccabæus, on the 13th of Adar, 161 B.C. (1 Macc. 7 49). This gave rise to a festival kept on that day as Nicanor's day, perhaps afterwards transferred to the 14th, as the day on which the victory became known. Such at least is the view taken by Erbt, *Die Purimsage*, 80. Even the name of Hadassah, Esther's first name, may be a reminiscence of Adasa, where the battle took place. It seems evident that, at this period, no general observance of Purīm by the Jews was in force. In times of such national extremity, popular festivals may have been neglected, even if the religious feasts were kept up.

But the question arises: Was there no Purīm feast before the event just mentioned? Many attempts have been made to assign to it a more general meaning. A full-moon feast of Adar is a natural suggestion, made by Ewald (*GVI* 2 496 *ff.*). Winckler regards Purīm, Saturnalia, Sakaia, etc., as primarily the festival of the supernumerary *ḫamuštu* at the end of the year, which was regentless, and an interregnum in the calendar, whence emerged (by lot?) the consuls, eponyms, or other regular annual rulers. His theory serves to connect many of the Esther personages with astral divinities, but seems to demand the last week in Adar for its celebration.

4. Possible non-Jewish origin of Purim feast.

(*a*) *Oppert and Lagarde.*—The assumptions that there was such a Purīm feast in older times, and that the story of the Megillah is borrowed from non-Jewish sources and is radically connected with Purīm, have led to many attempts to discover the source of both in close combination. Guided by the indications of the Megillah itself, Oppert, *Revue des Études Juives*, 1894, p. 34 *f.*,[1] found many words that he regarded as Persian, more or less corrupted. Lagarde, however, showed that the resemblances were fallacious and involved too great a stretch of the imagination. Above all, he showed that no Persian word for 'lot' could be the origin of Purīm. He fell back on 𝔊 and especially Lucian's reading of the name, as *φουρδια*, as a foundation for the theory that Purīm was a lineal descendant of the Persian Farwardigān, or New Year's Feast. There certainly were elements in the observances of that day which have counterparts in the Purīm. Even, however, if we admit the white-washing, etc., of the tombs, vouched for by Schwally, as Persian in origin, there is no evidence of its essential connection with Purīm, and all the poetic description of the Persian feast given by Lagarde only shows its dissimilarity to Purīm. At both, gifts were distributed to the poor and to mutual friends.

The foundation itself is too slight. The name *φουρδια* may be taken as a mere error for *φουραια* as is done by Erbt, or may be the attempt of a learned Greek to connect the festivals. The Egyptian colouring of the translation throughout, shows rather that the translator was unfamiliar with Persian terms and aimed at finding an etymology in his own tongue. He may have derived Purim from *φουρειν* and given it a form *φουραια* to help his derivation.

The transfer of a New Year's feast to the 14th of Adar remains unaccounted for, and such a change is always a thing difficult to accomplish in practice.

(*b*) *Jensen.*—The publication by Jensen of his *Elamitische Eigennamen* (*WZKM* 4 37, etc.) brought into prominence the Babylonian affinities of some parts of the Megillah. He showed that whilst Esther and Mordecai recall the Babylonian Ištar and Marduk, Haman can be taken to be Ḫumman the Elamite chief

[1] Cp *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Jan. 1864.

god, and Zeresh may be Girisă, supposing a ז written in error for ג. Hence, at least some part of the story may go back to a national epos of Babylonia, representing the conflict between the gods of Babylonia and of Elam. Efforts were accordingly made to discover, either in the Creation-story or in the Gilgameš epic, a source for this portion. Although, however, there may be reminiscences, there is no known Babylonian account that could be regarded as the literary source of the story.

The Creation-story does not associate Ištar and Marduk as allies against Elamite gods, as would be required if it were the source. Nor will it admit, in its present form, of their alliance against Tiāmat and her helpers, as Erbt ingeniously attempts to show.

In the Gilgameš-story, even if Gilgameš as a solar hero be confused with Marduk, a sun god, we should have a sun-god and Babylonian tutelary divinity as champion against Ḫumbaba of Elam, rather than against Ḫumman. There is no place for any other of the Esther personages. A story of national conflicts is the most we could recognise. Ištar indeed occurs; but the hero and Ištar are there essentially hostile.

(*c*) *Zimmern.*—At the same time, the resemblances brought out by these attempts do show that the Esther story is indebted for some of its incidents to the sources adduced, unless indeed it is directly drawn from some unknown source, which had already absorbed them. Intimately connected with these attempts was Zimmern's derivation of Purīm from *puḫru*, the Babylonian name for the assemblage of the gods, at the Zakmuku, or New Year's festival, when under the presidency of Marduk the fates of the year were determined (see *ZATW* 11 157-169). With this assemblage of the gods it is possible to connect the earlier portion of the Creation-story, where Marduk takes his place as chief among the gods and controller of the tablets of destiny. Hence it is not impossible that the recitation of this section of the Creation-story may have formed part of the ritual on the Babylonian New Year's Day; but that proves nothing for the month of Adar.

The derivation of Purīm from *puḫru*, however, even after the intervention of the Syriac פוחרא, Mandaic פוהרא, is difficult. The loss of the ḫ is a grave objection. Besides, *puḫru* does not mean 'lot.' Erbt suggests that after the Jewish fashion a Hebrew etymology was found from a root פרר, Assyrian *parāru*, which by meaning 'to break in pieces,' could come to mean 'a small stone,' after the types of גורל and ψῆφος. This, however, does not explain why 'lots' needed to be reached as the meaning of the word. If the feast had to be assigned a name, why fix on Purīm, even if corrupted from Puḫru, unless Puḫru had been the name of the feast already? If that be granted, then Zimmern's view must follow. If, however, the feast was already called Purīm, *puḫru* is a difficult derivation. Nor does Erbt's suggestion that *puḫru* may have already become *pūru* in Babylonian help at all. Certainly Jensen would not venture on such an assertion.

Let us, however, sum up the present position of the inquiry as soberly as possible. It is a fact that in Babylonian *pūru* has these meanings—a small 'round stone,'[1] a 'counter' (the origin of the 'circle' to denote the number 10), a 'vessel' for holding oil, a stone 'urn' or 'jar.' It also means 'lot,' and is used of dividing an inheritance 'by lot.'[2] Further, in Assyrian it denotes a 'term of office,' specially the year of eponymy. These offices were entered upon at the New Year feast in Assyria. Hence whilst that festival may have been called the Puḫru festival, it may also have been called the Pūru festival. Such a name for the New Year festival, however, remains undiscovered in cuneiform literature. If it were fully established, we should still have to account for the transference of the date. As on the New Year festival all officials entered on their offices, however, it is conceivable that those offices were previously fixed in Adar. Then the Puḫru and Pūru festivals would be separate. Marduk's fixations of the fates may have been anticipated by the previous appeal to the 'lot.' True, in historical times, the eponyms appear to follow a regular order, and an appeal to the lot seems out of question. Still, in the later Assyrian times this order is widely departed from, and granting the royal favour to have 'loaded the dice,' we may imagine a formal appeal to the 'lot.'

5. Present position of inquiry.

The Babylonian hemerologies have yet to be consulted as to the observances in Adar. Unfortunately, these await publication. But the 13th of Adar was so far a fast day that on it no fish or fowl might be eaten: in one tablet the 13th is marked 'not good,' whilst the 14th and 15th are 'good'; on another the 14th was marked as 'not favourable,' whilst the 13th is 'favourable.' On this tablet there is no entry preserved for the 15th; but we know that at Sippara, in the ninth century B.C., of the six great yearly festivals of Šamaš, for which Nabū-aplu-iddin left rich vestments and endowments, one was held on the 15th of Adar. Hence, we see that a fast on the 13th, and feasts on the 14th and 15th, are quite in keeping with known Babylonian observances in Adar.

Further, the antagonism of Marduk and Esther outside the Creation-story and Gilgameš-epic is not so complete that one and the same day might not be sacred to Marduk and Ištar, as was actually the case in the second Elul.

Even if it be the case that the real derivation of Purīm carries back both name and meaning to Babylonian times, the association of the stories told in Esther with the Jewish festival may have no parallel in its prototype. Indeed, as de Goeje has pointed out, there are elements of the story to be found in the Arabian Nights. Jensen has also shown reason to suppose Judith another Purīm legend, with the same *motif*, though with different nomenclature. Erbt agrees with this, and has further shown that Esther itself is of composite origin. There seems to have been a somewhat wide circle of stories, more or less closely linked by popular association with the original Babylonian Purīm festival or its Canaanite relative, and some of them are blended into these Jewish tales, adorned with incidents perhaps originally unrelated, but all twisted to serve the purpose of illustrating God's care of his chosen people and his vengeance on their enemies. That Persian editions of some of these stories may have furnished some further modifications is not impossible; but the Persian colouring may be artificial, being within the powers of a Jew even in the Macedonian times. Hence whilst the Nicanor day is probably the starting-point of the specifically Jewish festival, which may be artificial and intentional, the older sources of the Megillah are probably Gentile, Babylonian, with some Persian influence, and a free adaptation of material. The observances are appropriate to an occasion of national rejoicing for deliverance from disaster; but they may preserve non-Jewish features of widely different origin. The time of observance is linked closely with the historic date of institution, but may be identical with previously observed festivals of other origin.

C. H. W. J.

Following Zimmern, J. G. Frazer inclines to hold that Purīm was derived by the Jews, probably at the time of the captivity, from the Babylonian New Year festival of Zakmuk, which fell about the vernal equinox. Further, adopting the view of Br. Meissner, he would identify Zakmuk with the Sacæa, a Babylonian festival described by Berossus (Athenæus,

6. Further developments in 'Golden Bough.'[1]

[1] Cp the present writer's article in *Expos.*, Aug. 1896, pp. 151-154; Jensen, in Wildeboer's *Esther*, 173.

[2] For references to passages see *Assyria, Deeds and Documents*, vol. iii., p. 156 *ff.*

[1] [The condition of critical progress being the full development of a theory, taking in as many data as possible from all sources, we have no hesitation in appending a sketch of J. G. Frazer's view of the origin of Purīm (*Golden Bough*(2), 3 138-200), to which will be added a very brief sketch of the position necessitated by another inquiry which has the closest bearing

14 639 *c*; cp Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* iv.69 *f.* M) and Strabo (xi. 85). A serious objection, however, to identifying Zakmuk with the Sacæa is that, whereas Zakmuk was held in spring, the Sacæa seems to have fallen in summer, probably in July. The two chief features of the Sacæa were (1) its Bacchanalian or orgiastic character, and (2) the appointment of a condemned criminal to be a mock or temporary king (Zoganes), who after enjoying full license for five days, including permission to use the king's concubines, was stript of his royal robes, scourged, and hanged or crucified. Resemblances to these two features of the Sacæa are found (1) in the orgiastic character of Purīm, and (2) in the story of Haman and Mordecai, of whom one sought and the other attained a temporary grant of royal honours, while the unsuccessful aspirant perished on the gallows. Further, a vestige of the leave granted to the mock king of the Sacæa to use the king's concubines may perhaps be discerned in the suspicion of Ahasuerus that Haman intended violence to the queen (Esther 78). Following Jensen and others, Frazer identifies Mordecai and Esther with the great Babylonian deities Marduk and Ishtar, and he further inclines to accept Jensen's identification of Haman and Vashti with the Elamite deities Ḫumman and Vashti. Frazer conjectures, however, that this opposition between the native Babylonian deities on the one hand and the deities of the hostile Elamites on the other hand was not original but sprang from a later misunderstanding. Originally, if he is right, Haman and Vashti on the one side and Mordecai and Esther (Marduk and Ištar) on the other represented the same divine couple viewed under different aspects. Haman and Vashti stood for the god and goddess of fertility regarded as decaying and dying with the old year; Mordecai and Esther stood for the same divine beings coming to life again with the new year in spring. He supposes that at the New Year festival the god and goddess were personated by a human couple, a mock king and queen, whose temporary union was meant to promote, by means of sympathetic magic, the fruitfulness of the earth and the fecundity of the flocks and herds for the year. When the mock king (the Zoganes of the Sacæa) had discharged this function, he was put to death, originally perhaps at the end of the year, and his place was taken by a new representative of the deity, who after a similar union with another mock queen shared the fate of his predecessor. Movers pointed out long ago (*Die Phönizier*, 1490 *ff.*) that the legends of Sardanapalus and Semiramis appear to embody reminiscences, both of the debauchery of these temporary kings and queens and of the violent death of the male partner. Thus, on Frazer's theory, Haman and Vashti were originally the outgoing representatives of the powers of fertility, of whom at the end of the year one was slain and the other deposed: Mordecai and Esther (Marduk and Ishtar) were the incoming representatives of these same powers, who were appointed at the beginning of the year in spring, and after enjoying their regal and conjugal privileges for a season went the way of their predecessors. A reminiscence of a conjugal relation between Mordecai and Esther is preserved in Jewish tradition (J. J. Schudt, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, ii. Theil, 316). The whole custom may thus have been the oriental equivalent of those popular European ceremonies which celebrate the advent of spring by representing in a dramatic form the expulsion or defeat of winter by the victorious summer; and it would be intimately related to the custom of personating the powers of vegetation by a king and queen of May. At the Sacæa, at least in later times, the mock king was always a condemned criminal; so that public opinion was not shocked by the custom of putting him to death.

From the *Acts of St. Dasius*, published a few years ago by Prof. Franz Cumont of Ghent (*Analecta Bollandiana*, **16**, 1897, pp. 5-16), we learn that in like manner the Roman soldiers at Durostolum in Mœsia used to appoint one of their number as a representative of the divine king Saturn, who was put to death at the Saturnalia after enjoying a nominal reign of thirty days.[1] In later times the Jews have been wont to make effigies of Haman and destroy them at Purīm. Such a ceremony has not unfrequently been a mitigation of an older practice of putting a man to death. There are some grounds for thinking that all over the ancient world, from Italy to Babylon, there prevailed at a very remote era a custom of annually appointing a human representative of the divine powers of fertility, who exercised his divine and royal functions for the purpose of quickening the earth and the flocks, and then suffered a violent death. Of such a custom both Purīm and the Saturnalia are, on Frazer's theory, mitigated survivals.

J. G. F.

on the criticism of the theories so ably and zealously being elaborated in Germany and England.—Ed.]

7. Probable results of textual criticism.

The hospitality given to rival though closely connected theories which assume that in the main the MT is correct, justifies us in pointing out here that the use of Babylonian material, and the application of a mythological key derived from that material to the problems of the story of Esther is only to a slight extent legitimate if the results of criticism referred to under MORDECAI and VASHTI (cp *Crit. Bib.*) are correct. The critical view of the origin of Esther to which they lead is that this book, like Judith, is based on an earlier narrative, the traces of which are still visible in the proper names, and which had a different geographical and historical setting. That Mordecai has no connection with Marduk, but is simply a corruption of a name such as Carmeli (one of the popular distortions of Jerahmeeli), appears to the present writer, from a text-critical point of view, certain (cp Ezra 22 Neh. 77). Hadassah and Esther seem to be equally remote from Ištar, being simply variants of the same name, which in its original form is Israelith (cp Judith). Haman is Heman or Hemam. Hammedatha is an outgrowth of Hemdan (Gen. 3626). In fact, the original Esther referred to *a captivity of the Jews in Edom* (cp OBADIAH, BOOK). The Persian element has been exaggerated.

If we reserve the bulk of the text-critical evidence, it may suffice to remark here that in 13 חיל פרס ומרי הפרתמים should be emended into יְרַחְמְאֵלִים וְצָרְפָתִים (cp PARAS). With regard to פּוּר (87 [where לפני המן is no doubt an error for לפני אלהים] 924) and פּוּרִים (926, etc.), one must venture to say that, however plausible the connection with Ass. *pūru* 'a round stone' may be, and willing as one may be to admit the possibility that, when Esther was edited in its present form, there may have been a Hebrew word פּוּר with that meaning (cp גּוֹרָל and BDB 174*a*), one can hardly believe that 'the stones'—*i.e.*, 'the lots'—gives the right meaning of Purim. Even from the point of view of a conservative textual criticism, it is difficult to make a connection of Purim with the Babylonian New Year's festival probable, and from a text-critical point of view it is most improbable.

The origin of 'Purīm' cannot be finally settled. In the view of the present writer, however, it is not improbable that Pur and Purīm are corruptions of a place-name, and that place-name very possibly was some collateral form of Ephrath, for there seems to have been an Ephrath in Jerahmeelite[2] territory; cp PARADISE, § 5, end, RACHEL.

It is at Ephrath that the peril and the deliverance of the Jews are localised. It may, however, be cheerfully

1 The analogy between the treatment of this Roman representative of Saturn and the mockery and death of Jesus was first pointed out by P. Wendland (*Hermes*, 33, 1898, pp. 175-179). Frazer has also been struck by this analogy. He conjectures that the Jews may have borrowed from the Babylonians the custom of putting a malefactor to death at Purīm in the character of Haman, and that Jesus may have suffered in that character. For the details of his theory see *The Golden Bough*(2), 3 187 *ff.*

2 Jerahmeelite is here used in its proper sense, referring to the land of the Negeb.

granted that, as in the case of the stories of Abraham, Joseph, Moses, a few elements of mythic affinities may have found their way, in a very pale form, into the Esther story. There were doubtless, many such *motifs*, and narrators could not help using them.

This attempted solution of the problem of Purim (and of Esther) may be supported by a brief reference to a possible similar solution of the problem of the stories of Daniel. 'Daniel,' רנאל, in Ezek. 14 14 20 28 3 is most easily explained as a corruption of 'Jerahmeel,' ירחמאל. It is by no means improbable (when we consider the extent to which the editorial transformation of certain literary works has gone in the OT) that the hero of the stories in our Book of Daniel was originally called by some popular mutilation of 'Jerahmeel' such as Carmeli, that 'Babel,' בבל, is a distortion of רכל=ירחמאל (Jerahmeel), that 'Nebuchadrezzar' comes from Nebrod (named after the great North Arabian hero—see NIMROD), and 'Belshazzar' from 'Baal, prince of Miṣṣur.' This is supported by the theory (see NERGAL-SHAREZER; OBADIAH [BOOK], § 5 *ff.*) that the Miṣrites took part in the siege of Jerusalem, and carried away captives from it, and, in fact, by the arguments already offered in the case of the Book of Esther. It may be added that the force of the evidence for the editorial resetting of biblical traditions is cumulative (see *Crit. Bib.*). T. K. C.

Literature. For the literature of the subject, see Erbt, *Die Purimsage*, 1-5. For a discussion of the distinct Esther and Marduk stories and allied stories which afford more or less close parallels, see Erbt, 45-76. For the Babylonian *pūru* see Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Bab. Religion.* The indirect contributions of Winckler, *AOF*, 2 101 182 353 381, note, etc., are to be read for their suggestiveness, but hardly account for all the facts.

C. H. W. J., §§ 1-5; J. G. F., § 6; T. K. C., § 7.

PURPLE. The two sorts of purple dye mentioned in the OT are called respectively אַרְגָּמָן, *'argāmān* (in 2 Ch. 2 7 [6] אַרְגְּוָן) and תְּכֵלֶת, *tĕkēleth*. For *argāmān* (a bright red kind) EV gives 'purple'; for *tĕkēleth* (a violet blue) the rendering is 'blue.' The two terms often occur together, like their cognates in Assyrian (*KAT*(2) 154 *f.*). It is remarkable that there is only one biblical mention of purple stuffs of native Phœnician origin; but though it refers nominally to the time of Solomon, it can only be used for the third century B.C. (2 Ch. 26 [7] 13 [14]). According to Ezekiel (27 7) both purple-red and purple-blue stuffs were imported from the 'coastlands of ELISHAH' (*q.v.*), as if the Tyrians preferred expensive foreign to cheaper native products—an improbable idea, which of itself suggests that an examination of the basis of the view that Tyre is the city meant by Ezekiel is not superfluous (see *Crit. Bib.*). Certainly the industry of preparing purple dye in Phœnicia must have been of great antiquity; the Phœnicians indeed were traditionally regarded as its inventors (cp PHŒNICIA, § 1). To this day large accumulations of the shells of the purple-producing murex are to be found in the neighbourhood of Tyre,[1] and remains of the vats in which the dye was prepared are still found at Sidon. In Europe the S. Italian coasts (Elishah?) and those of Laconia and the Euripus, in Asia Minor the coast of Caria, and in North Africa the island of Meninx (SE. of Carthage) and the Gætulian coast are specially mentioned as, besides the Phœnician coast, sources of the murex (cp Plin. *HN* 9 60).

It is not surprising that the costly purple stuffs were much in request for sanctuaries and sacred officers. Van Hoonacker (*Le sacerdoce Lévitique*, 341 *ff.*) takes the trouble to show that the purple and violet of the Jewish high priest's dress are no indication of a royal as distinct from the pontifical dignity. Other priests and high-priests wore purple—*e.g.*, the chief priest of Hierapolis in Syria (Lucian, *De Syr. Dea*, 42), the priest of Zeus at Magnesia in Asia Minor (Strabo, 14 648), the priest of Hercules at Tarsus (Athen. 5 54), and the Roman augurs (Serv. *ad Æn.* 7 612).[2] The blue purple seems to have been more used for sacred purposes than the red. See TABERNACLE.

Supplementing the article COLOURS (§§ 13, 15) we may draw attention to three biblical passages (about each of which there is something new to be said) which are not specially considered there.

(*a*) In Cant. 3 10 MT we read that the centre (AV 'covering,' RV 'seat') of Solomon's grand palanquin was 'of purple.' It is obvious, however, that 'silver-gold-purple-love' form an odd combination. 'Purple' should be *algummīm* = almuggim-wood; 'love' should be 'ebony' (see LITTER).

(*b*) In 1 K. 22 10 MT makes Ahab and Jehoshaphat sit in their robes of state 'in a threshing-floor' (see RVmg.). What the narrator really said was that they seated themselves (at the entrance of the gate of Samaria) '*in purple robes*' (*argaman* for *bĕgōren*; Kamph., Ki.). A writer in a Bible Dictionary (Riehm, *HWB*(2) 1268*a*) says that there is nowhere any reference to the use of purple robes by kings of Israel. If the suggestion just made be accepted this will now be seen to need qualification. It would certainly be strange if so late as the time of Ahab purple robes were unused by the Israelitish kings. The Midianite kings are reported to have worn them (Judg. 8 26), and the Books of Daniel (5 7 16 29) and Esther (8 15) speak of the gift of purple raiment as a signal mark of favour from Babylonian and Persian kings.

(*c*) In Bar. 6 72, to heighten the effect of the sarcasms on idolatry, it is said (cp Jer. 10 9) that the idols are seen to be no gods by the 'purple and * * that rots upon them,' τῆς πορφύρας καὶ τῆς μαρμάρου [BAQ]; Vg. 'a purpura quoque et murice'; EV 'bright purple,' RVmg. 'purple and brightness.' The key to this passage (supposed to be desperate) is Cant. 5 15, where 𝔊 has μαρμάρινος for שֵׁשׁ. The writer of Bar. 6 72 most certainly translates from a Hebrew original; he confounds שֵׁשׁ 'white marble' with שֵׁשׁ 'fine linen.' 'Purple and fine linen' is a natural combination (Esth. 1 6 8 15 בוץ וא׳).

PURSE.[1] 1. כִּיס is thus rendered only in Pr. 1 14; elsewhere it is translated 'bag.' See BAG, 2.
2. βαλάντιον, Lk. 10 4 etc. See BAG, 5.
3. ζώνη, Mt. 10 9 Mk. 6 8. See GIRDLE, 2 *n*.

PURSLAIN (חַלָּמוּת), referred to in Job 6 6 RVmg. The general sense of the context is clear (see FOWLS, § 4); but expositors waver between 'white of an egg' and 'purslain' as the rendering of *ḥallāmūth*. This is not such a trifle as it may seem; the first reply of Job to Eliphaz (see JOB [BOOK], § 5) is so fine that we cannot endure that our impression should be spoiled at the opening by the very poor sixth and seventh verses. It is one step towards the recovery of sense to substitute 'purslain' for 'white of an egg,' if this can be justified.

First, as to 'white of an egg.' This sense is thought to be supported by the Talmudic חַלְמוֹנָא, 'yolk of an egg' (*Tĕrūmōth* 10 12; *'Ăbōdā zārā*, 40*a*), as if the 'slime (?) of the yolk of an egg' were a natural phrase for 'white of an egg.' Next as to 'purslain.' For this the Syrian *ḥ'lemta*, NH חַלְמִית are compared. It is true, this means not strictly 'purslain,' but the *anchusa*, Germ. *Ochsenmaul* (see Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, no. 120), a plant such as only the poorest would eat, like the *borago*, which indeed is related to the *anchusa*. The English reader, however, would gain nothing by the substitution of *anchusa*; let us therefore conventionally retain 'purslain.'

The rest of the verse, however, is quite impossible, and the correction, though it has been missed, lies close at hand. Instead of AV's

Can that which is unsavoury be eaten without salt,
Or is there any taste in the white of an egg?

we should probably read thus,

Can I eat my morsel with leaves of mallow,
Or drink purslain broth?

'My morsel' is suggested by 𝔊 (ἄρτος); 'leaves of mallow' by Job 30 4 (emended text), a passage fully explained elsewhere (see JUNIPER), which combines these two plants—mallow and purslain (rather *anchusa*), as foods of the poorest and meanest class. Those who read *vv.* 5 and 6 together now, will not be disappointed. Cp MALLOW.

The Hebrew is הַאֹכַל פִּתִּי בְּעֲלֵי־מַלּחַ אִם־אֶשְׁתֶּה מְרַק חַלָּמוּת. The latter part occurs in a corrupt variant in *v.* 7*b*; on *v.* 7*a* (which is misplaced) see Duhm. T. K. C.

PUT, AV (twice) PHUT (פּוּט Gen. 10 6 1 Ch. 1 8 Jer. 46 9 Ezek. 27 10 30 5 38 5 Nah. 3 9 †;[2] φουδ[3] in Gen. [ADE] and Ch. [BA], also Judith 2 23, elsewhere λιβυες [BAQ] except in Nah. της φυγης [BℵA]; AV has 'Libyans' once and 'Libya' twice).

According to the present form of Jer. 46 9 Ezek. 27 10 30 5 38 5 Neh. 3 9, a people which, like Lud (Lydians?),

[1] The late Heb. name for the *murex* is חִלָּזוֹן; in *Shabb.* 26*a* the collectors of the shells are spoken of (See Jastrow, *Lex.*).
[2] The references are from Dillmann-Ryssel (*Ex. Lev.* 342).

[1] From βύρσα; see LEATHER.
[2] On Ezek. 38 5 see PARAS, and on Nah. 3 9 see LUBIM.
[3] 𝔊 BAQmg. also gives φουδ, where MT has פּוּל, in Is. 66 19. Probably פּוּט is the true reading.

supplied mercenary troops to Egypt and to Tyre. Doubt has been thrown, however, on the authenticity of the text of these passages. It is very possible that prophecies which originally referred to North Arabian regions have been so altered, partly by accidental corruption, partly by editorial manipulation, as to refer to Egypt and Egyptian cities and to countries connected, locally or otherwise, with the Nile-valley (see NO-AMON, and *Crit. Bib.*). At any rate, if we grant (see CUSH, § 2) that כוש ומצרים in Gen. 10 6 (1 Ch. 1 8) means the North Arabian regions called Kuš and Muṣur, it becomes reasonable to hold that the region intended there by פוט lay between Muṣur (see MIZRAIM) and Canaan; and the corruption of names being such a common phenomenon in the MT, we can hardly avoid supposing that פוט in Gen. 10 6 comes from צָרְפַת or possibly from פְּלֶשֶׁת or פֶּלֶת, into which (see PELETHITES) צרפת (Zarephath) appears to the present writer to be sometimes corrupted. How important and troublesome a population in early times the Zarephathites were, is shown elsewhere.[1] See ZAREPHATH, and cp LETUSHIM.

1. In Gen. 10 6.

The determination of the locality of the true Put (if we may admit its existence) is not easy. This at least is clear—that Put is not the land of Punt (famous from Queen Ḥa'tšepsut's expedition; see EGYPT, §§ 48, 53), for Punt never supplied Egypt with warriors. Nah. 3 9 (best reading; see LUBIM) suggests a better view of Put and Ludim as the 'helpers' of No-Amon (the Egyptian Thebes) in the latter part of the Assyrian period; cp Jer. 46 9, Ezek. 27 10. Put and Lud (or Ludim) might therefore be the Carian and Lydian mercenaries of the later Egyptian kings. (This suggests a not impossible explanation of Ludim, in Gen. 10 13.) This view may perhaps be confirmed by a cuneiform fragment on the war of Nebuchadrezzar against Amasis, published by Strassmaier, and translated by Sayce (*Acad.* 11th April 1891, 25th July 1892) and Winckler (*AOF* 1 511 *f.*). It is there stated that in the course of his campaign Nebuchadrezzar had to do with an ally of Amasis whose city or land was called Puṭu-Yaman, and is described, with another town of the same prince, as 'far regions in the midst of the sea.' Krall (*Acad.* 23rd May 1891) identified Putu-Yaman with Cyrene, Sayce with Pelusium. It seems more natural, however, to think of some remoter country, such as the island of Samos (so Wi.), or at any rate of some part of the coast of Asia Minor, such as Caria, close to which Samos lay. Such conjectures as these are necessary if we accept the traditional text of the prophetic passages referred to above. But the question is whether 'Put' may not be simply due to textual corruption—whether the editor may not have retained it out of conscientiousness, and without holding any opinion as to the connection of a region called Put with Mizraim or Egypt. T. K. C.

2. Elsewhere.

PUTEOLI (ποτιολοι, Acts 28 13), called by the Greeks Dicæarchia, was a colony from the neighbouring Cyme (Cumæ), itself the first Greek colony planted on Italian soil. It lay on the northern shore of the bay of Naples: about 5 m. eastward was Neapolis (Naples), also a colony from Cumæ. The name Puteoli (= 'Wells'; mod. *Pozzuoli*) was probably given to Dicæarchia by the Romans in 194 B.C., when a citizen colony was planted there (Strabo, 245). The harbour was excellent; and 'Ostia and Puteoli became the great marts, not only for Syrian unguents and Egyptian linen, but also for the faith[2] of the East' (Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, ET 3 437).

The transmarine traffic, chiefly one of imports, was concentrated in those two harbours, the traffic in luxuries being mainly directed to Puteoli, in the immediate neighbourhood of which town was a market hardly inferior to that of the capital itself—viz., the district of Baiæ, which was the great resort of the wealthy.

In the last years of the Republic and the early period of the Empire, Puteoli was the great Italian port for the Mediterranean trade (cp Stat. *Silv.* 3 5 75, *litora mundi hospita*), especially for that of its eastern half.[1]

Puteoli had attained this importance even before the ruin of Delos (Strabo, 486); but that event assured its supremacy, and gained it also the name itself of 'little Delos' (cp Festus, 122, *minorem Delum Puteolos esse dixerunt quod Delos aliquando maximum emporium fuerit totius orbis terrarum, cui successit postea Puteolanum*, etc.). Though the town was 150 m. from Rome, travellers going to the capital often preferred to land at it (*e.g.*, Cicero, see *Pro Planc.* 26 65, *cum. . . decedens e provincia Puteolos forte venissem*; from Sicily. Cp Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 12 1 xviii. 7 2; Jews journeying to Rome from Palestine).

The accumulation of sand at the Tiber's mouth compelled the grain-ships also to anchor at Puteoli, if they were not to be unladed in the open sea at Ostia (cp Strabo, 231). In the second year of Claudius a new harbour at Ostia was begun (Dio Cass. 60 11), which was completed under Nero, and known as the *Portus Augusti*. The construction of this harbour sealed the fate of Puteoli (cp *CIL* 10 182 *f.*; Beloch, *Campanien*, 114 *f.*); but some years would elapse before the trade was permanently diverted to the northern harbour. The latter may not yet have been completed when Paul landed at Puteoli (60 A.D.): or the ship, as Ramsay suggests (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 345), proceeded to Ostia. Seneca gives a graphic account of the arrival of the Alexandrian fleet at Puteoli (*Ep.* 77). All ships entering the bay were obliged to strike their topsails (*suppara*), except the grain-ships, which could therefore be distinguished at a distance. It was also the practice to send forward fast-sailing vessels (*tabellariæ*) to announce the coming of the fleet, whose safe arrival meant so much for the populace of Rome (cp Suet. *Aug.* 98).

It was a natural result of the intercourse of Puteoli with the East, that Paul found Christians there (*v.* 14).

After the time of Domitian, the road to Rome went along the coast (the *Via Domitiana*) to Sinuessa, where it joined the great *Via Appia*. In Paul's time the Appian Way was joined at Capua by the cross-road called the 'Campanian' Road, leading from Cumæ Baiæ and Puteoli (cp Suet. *Aug.* 94; Pliny, *HN* 18 29; Hor. *Ep.* i. 15 10 *f.*). W. J. W.

PUTHITE (פּוּתִי, cp PITHON [פִּיתֹן]; μειφειθειμ [B], ηφιθειν [A], αφφουθι [L]; Vg. *Aputhei*; AV, by a misprint [corrected in RV], PUHITE), a post-exilic family of Kirjath-jearim (1 Ch. 2 53). See SHOBAL.

PUTIEL (פּוּטִיאֵל; φουτιηλ [BAL]), apparently the father-in-law of Eleazar (Ex. 6 25 [P]). The name of the child of the 'daughter of Putiel' was Phinehas, and both Putiel and Phinehas have been thought to have an Egyptian origin. In the case of Putiel, indeed, it is of course only the first part which comes into question (cp the hybrid form Pet-baal [Brugsch, GÄ 197 239]); but it is conceivable that the Hebrew *el* was substituted by P for the Egyptian ph-ra (cp POTIPHERA). Upon this theory 'Putiel' means 'He whom El (God) has given.'

[In the Egyptian Aramaic inscriptions and papyri of the end of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. we often find פט as an element of names (cp Gk. compounds like πετ-οσιρις = Aram. פטוסרי, *CIS* 2 138 A). A still earlier example is quoted from an inscription belonging to Teima in Arabia (see *CIS* 2 113).]

But though Hommel (*AHT* 293) treats 'Putiel' as a genuine Israelitish name of the Mosaic epoch, we must bear in mind the frequency of corruption in the genealogies. Phinehas, too, is most likely corrupt; the name should probably be Jerahmeel. When we remember the strong S. Palestinian connection of Levi, a half-Egyptian origin of Putiel is very improbable. Most likely Puti is an ethnic, and *l* simply an afformative (cp 'Nethaneel,' etc.); on the Put of S. Palestine or N. Arabia, see PUT. T. K. C.

[1] To complete this statement it should be added that חם (Ham) in Gen. 10 5 is not improbably a fragment of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel).

[2] It is significant that the first temple to the living Augustus was erected in Puteoli, by a private person; cp Marq. *Röm. Staatv.* 1 201, n.

[1] Cp *CIL* 10 1797, a dedication to L. Calpurnius Capitolinus by the *mercatores qui Alexandriai Asiai Syriai negotiantur.* See Beloch, *Campanien*, 121 *f.*

PUVAH (פֻּוָּה), Gen. 46 13 RV, AV PHUVAH. See PUAH i.

PYGARG (דִּישֹׁן, *dišōn;* 'leaper' [?]; πυγαργος —*i.e.*, 'white-rumped' [BL], πυγαδαργος [A]; *pygargus*), a clean animal mentioned only in Dt. 14 5† (see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 8). The rendering of EV, derived from 𝔊, is improbable, and the AVmg. 'bison' is almost certainly incorrect. Targ. Pesh. favour 'mountain-goat,' which is the meaning of the doubtless related Ass. word *daššu.*[1] *Dišōn* is identified by Tristram with the Addax[2] (*Addax nasomaculatus*); this denizen of Arabia and Northern Africa, it is true, can hardly be said to have been known in Palestine, in recent times at least; but it is improbable that the ancients distinguished clearly between the species. Herodotus (4 192) uses the word to denote some Libyan deer or antelope; but possibly any antelope with a white rump may have been meant.

The Addax is rather over than under 3 ft. in height, of a yellowish-white colour, with a brown head, neck, and mane; the horns attain a length of nearly 3 ft., measured along the spiral, and are ringed at the base. The Bedouins regularly hunt the Addax in the deserts and wastes which it frequents; the flesh is eaten. The name recurs as that of a Seirite clan; see DISHON.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

PYRRHUS (πυρρος [Ti. WH]), Acts 20 4, father of SOPATER (*q.v.*).

PYTHON (πνευμα πυθωνα), Acts 16 16, EVmg., EV a spirit of DIVINATION (*q.v.*).

[1] For the Ass. analogy cp Del. *Ass. Studien*, 1 54; Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 391; and see *TSBA* 5 346 and Ball, *PSBA* 11 395 (who translates 'spotted deer'). For the Pesh. ܪܝܡܐ, *raimā*, see UNICORN.

[2] This is supported by *addacem* (in the accus.) which, according to Pliny, is the African name for the Strepsiceros (cp mod. Ar. names *adas*, *akas*; cited by Houghton, Smith's *DB*).

END OF VOL. III